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**VISION AND DEVOTION IN BOURGES AROUND 1500:  
AN ILLUMINATOR AND HIS WORLD**

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## Abstract

This thesis presents the first full study of the anonymous illuminator known by the name of convention, the Master of Spencer 6, after his finest work, ms. 6 in the Spencer Collection at the New York Public Library. Active at the turn of the sixteenth century, during the transitional period between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, this artist provides a revealing case study for examining the changing tastes and preoccupations of the patrons, as well as the way in which illuminators were operating in order to secure work and forge a career.

The career of the Master of Spencer 6 can be reconstructed from nearly forty surviving books and fragments. He appears to have painted manuscripts for a wide range of clientele, from unknown merchants to figures such as Henry VII of England. The quality of his execution is equally varied, from modest, hastily prepared images, to exquisite paintings invested with verisimilitude and invention that deserve wider acknowledgement. This illuminator, presumably based in Bourges, seems to have travelled as far as Troyes, Paris, Tours, and possibly Lyon, in search of patronage. Although he specialised in devotional images, he also illustrated texts of historical and moral interest.

The Master of Spencer 6 was particularly talented in drawing. He appears to have been required to work quickly, in order to respond to the high demand for books; yet, despite the haste, he was able to produce images that were pleasing. A large part of the appeal in his images seems to rely on the quality of line. While his colours were clean and bright, he often applied them hastily or carelessly over the contour lines. Nearly always these shortcomings appear unnoticeable due to the beauty of the lines that define the design.

The variety of decorative schemes, layouts, spatial devices, compositions and iconographic motifs utilised by the Master of Spencer 6 demonstrate one of the keys to his success. He was able to diversify his canon to realise any potential order from the vast geographical and social range of his clientele. He also managed to develop his style according to current tastes and fashions. He adapted ideas and techniques from his collaborators, the Colombe workshop and Jacquelin de Montluçon.

This thesis provides also the first study of Jacquelin de Montluçon, the painter identified here as the main collaborator of the Master of Spencer 6. Methods of technical art history are used to analyse his sophisticated manner of mixing pigments to produce convincing effects of light. The way in which he applied paint onto a surface, on parchment, panel and stained glass, is used to support attributions and explore the versatile artist that emerges from the analysis.

This investigation into these two hitherto little-known artists demonstrates, on one hand, what was required for artists to succeed over others in the profession of manuscript illumination in late fifteenth-century France, and on the other hand, what the concerns of the individuals commissioning images were.

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## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Patronage of manuscripts in Bourges

In the fifteenth century, Bourges was one of the major cities of France. The Dauphin Charles, the future Charles VII (r. 1422-61), chose to reside in Bourges, the capital of the duchy of Berry, one of his appanages, during the civil war between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians. His great-uncle, Jean, Duke of Berry (1340-1416), from whom he inherited the province, had built a magnificent palace and a Sainte-Chapelle, on the model of Paris, and established a rigorous territorial administration in the city. Charles's unofficial title, before he was crowned at Reims, was the 'King of Bourges'. In Bourges Charles found the support of the ancient noble families of Chauvigny, La Trémoille, Albret, and others, whom he later remembered by tax pardons and other benefits.<sup>1</sup> From 1425, Charles VII resided mainly in the more secure fortresses of Touraine, in Chinon, Loches and Amboise.<sup>2</sup> Bourges therefore lost its primary position in the French kingdom as the court moved west, where it remained during the reign of Louis XI (r. 1461-83) in the castle of Amboise and Plessis,<sup>3</sup> during the reign of his son, Charles VIII (r. 1483-98), again in Amboise, and during the reign of Louis XII (r. 1498-1515) in his grandfather's residence, the castle of Blois, some thirty kilometres upstream on the Loire. However, the city of Bourges and its artists continued to benefit from the geographical proximity to the epicentre of power in the Loire valley.

Patronage of art, including manuscript illumination, continued in Bourges in the second half of the fifteenth century, owing to the presence of such significant figures as Jacques Cœur, a merchant trader who had become the richest private individual in the French kingdom. During the brief tenure in the city by Charles of France, Duke of Berry (1446-72) and younger brother of Louis XI, certain highly significant manuscripts were produced, including the Hours made for Charles by an illuminator of exceptional imagination and talent.<sup>4</sup> Queen Charlotte of Savoy (1441-83), the wife of Louis XI, commissioned a number of manuscripts from Jean Colombe, an illuminator whose life

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<sup>1</sup> Favière 1996, 61-62.

<sup>2</sup> Chevalier 2005, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Although for a large part of his reign, Louis XI appears to have travelled from one city to another, managing the various issues rising in his kingdom; see Du Fresne de Beaucourt 1860, 37-38.

<sup>4</sup> The Hours of Charles of France, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 473.

is relatively well established today by virtue of research done over recent decades.<sup>5</sup> The queen's nephew, Charles I, Duke of Savoy (1468-90), engaged Colombe to complete the unfinished *Très riches heures du duc de Berry*, now in his possession, in the latter half of the 1480s.<sup>6</sup> The rest of the manuscript illumination produced in Bourges at the end of the fifteenth century, some of very high quality, has remained in the shadow of Colombe as regards scholarship. Numerous late medieval illuminated manuscripts can be ascribed to the Berry region but, due to their anonymous illuminators, most of them have prevailed in obscurity. The modern manuscript trade has tended to group these manuscripts within the 'school of Bourges'; and, given the high value placed by contemporary scholarship on identifying a manuscript with a distinct personality, any manuscript showing stylistic resemblance to the best-known Bourges master would be attributed 'influence of the Colombe shop'.<sup>7</sup> However, a re-evaluation of painting in late medieval Bourges and its surrounding region is needed in order to propose a more faithful panorama of the actual activity and production, bringing to light artists who in modern scholarship have remained in the shadow of Jean Colombe.

The archives in Bourges reveal a handful of names for the *peintres* and *enlumineurs* active in the city around 1500 that can potentially be matched with surviving works. Among the manuscripts identifiable as Bourges productions, one anonymous master rises above his contemporaries in skill, versatility, and productivity, his output representing the biggest group of surviving works in one style - namely, the so-called Master of Spencer 6. This illuminator from modest beginnings emerged from the shadow of Jean Colombe and forged a successful career that saw him working for such high-ranking patrons as Madeleine d'Amboise, the sister of Georges d'Amboise - cardinal and the principal minister of Louis XII - and for Claude Seyssel, ambassador of Louis XII, for whom 'he'<sup>8</sup> prepared manuscripts to be offered to Henry VII of England and Charles II of Savoy. How did he do it? Who was he? What set him apart from the other anonymous illuminators who disappeared from the scene before him?

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<sup>5</sup> In particular, Ribault 2001, and most recently, Jacob 2012.

<sup>6</sup> Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 65.

<sup>7</sup> Private discussions with Christopher de Hamel.

<sup>8</sup> For want of a common single pronoun, 'he' includes the possibility of 'she'.

## 1.2 Current state of research

The Master of Spencer 6 was named by François Avril after the most extensively illuminated and refined manuscript by this anonymous artist, a book of hours that is ms. 6 in the Spencer Collection in the New York Public Library; this name of convention was first published by John Plummer at the exhibition *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420-1530 from American Collections* held in New York in 1982.<sup>9</sup> Plummer attributed (on Avril's advice) four further manuscripts to the illuminator: the Lallemant Missal, the Boisrouvray Hours, the Geneva Hours, and the printed Huntington Hours.<sup>10</sup> The New York exhibition also included the Langres Hours, which Plummer saw as derivative in style from the Master of Spencer 6.<sup>11</sup>

Bernard Gagnebin had already remarked, in 1976 (again, on Avril's advice), on the resemblance of the figure types, the landscapes and the particular borders made of pruned branches in the Geneva Hours to those found in the Spencer Hours.<sup>12</sup> He attributed the Geneva Hours to a Bourges workshop under the influence of Jean Colombe, highlighting the similarity between the hills, trees, figure types and groups of warriors with those found in the Paris *Troye* of the late Colombe workshop.

The fullest account of the Master of Spencer 6 was given by Nicole Reynaud on the occasion of the exhibition *Quand la peinture était dans les livres: Les manuscrits enluminés en France, 1440-1520*, co-organised with François Avril in Paris in 1993.<sup>13</sup> Avril and Reynaud multiplied the list of attributions, adding the Hours of Bérenger Bollioud (although the provenance was not published on the occasion), the Paris *Troie*, the Hours of Guillaume de Seigne, the Paris and London copies of the *Anabase*, the Arsenal Hours, the Louvre fragments, the *Épître à Dame Furie*, the *D'estre* Hours, the Rose Hours, two copies of hours in French: *Les Heures de la croix* and *Les Heures traduit en vers*, the Copenhagen Hours, the Chantilly Monstrelet, and the five Drouot leaves.<sup>14</sup> Reynaud concurred with Plummer's published opinion that the Langres Hours shows only the influence of the Master of Spencer 6, and she added another Champagne manuscript -

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<sup>9</sup> Plummer 1982, 73-74, no. 95A.

<sup>10</sup> Full reference details of the manuscripts, books and fragments attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 are given in the bibliography and the catalogue; a list of them can be found on p. 58.

<sup>11</sup> Plummer 1982, 73, no. 95.

<sup>12</sup> Gagnebin 1976, 144-46, no. 63.

<sup>13</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 343-45.

<sup>14</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 338, 343-45.

the Hours of 1488 - to this group; this one made for use in Troyes. François Avril supported this opinion in 2007.<sup>15</sup>

October 2005 saw the opening of the exhibition *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library*, which included the eponymous Spencer Hours. Roger Wieck emphasised the atypical character of the manuscript: the opening diptych of the *Expulsion*, the full-page calendar miniatures, and the unusual iconography.<sup>16</sup> The New York manuscript is an accomplished and carefully painted work but, considered within the whole œuvre of the Master of Spencer 6 and in the context of his contemporaries, it is not surprising or atypical. Both the pairing of the *Expulsion* with the *Annunciation*, and the full-page calendar miniatures, derive ultimately from the *Très riches heures du duc de Berry*, thus placing the Master of Spencer 6 firmly in the tradition of Bourges illumination. As will be shown, the illuminator borrowed these visual devices from his collaborators, the Colombe and the Montluçon workshops. The final characteristic emphasised by Wieck, the unusual iconography, is particularly interesting. Wieck suggested that the galleys and ships included in the images of the Spencer Hours are indicative of the manuscript's patron. In light of the unusual seaware and seascapes found in other manuscripts attributable to the illuminator, this thesis explores, on one hand, the patronage of manuscripts by mercantile society, and, on the other hand, the influence of the local river shipping on the character of our illuminator's repertoire.

The Arsenal Hours in the use of Troyes, attributed to the Master of Spencer 6, made part of the 2007 exhibition *Très riches heures de Champagne*. On this occasion François Avril added the Moscow Hours to the list of attributions.<sup>17</sup> He remarked on the illuminator's fascination with maritime scenes, the importance of the *Très riches heures du duc de Berry* as the source for the calendar miniatures, and the influence of Jean Poyer on the illuminator's later style, evident in the Arsenal manuscript - particularly in the intensity of the facial expressions.<sup>18</sup>

In 2010, I added to the list of attributions with the Bouer Hours, a manuscript the Master of Spencer 6 appears to have painted in collaboration with Jacquelin de

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<sup>15</sup> Avril 2007, 186.

<sup>16</sup> Wieck 2005, 278-82, no. 62.

<sup>17</sup> Avril 2007, 186.

<sup>18</sup> Avril 2007, 186.

Montluçon for the Bouer family of Bourges.<sup>19</sup> On this occasion, I compared the Bouer miniatures with those in the British Library's copy of *Les Sept articles de la foi*, which had earlier been attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 by Mara Hofmann as part of her cataloguing work at the library. I proposed the possibility that a single illuminator was responsible for the manuscripts grouped under the Master of Morgan M.271 and the Master of Spencer 6. A name of convention had been created around the artist of the Langres Hours, the Master of Morgan M.271,<sup>20</sup> believed to be a follower of the Master of Spencer 6,<sup>21</sup> and responsible also for the miniatures in the Hours of 1488.<sup>22</sup> While the Langres Hours have previously been dated to between 1495 and 1500,<sup>23</sup> the close stylistic and codicological resemblance of this manuscript with the Hours of 1488 suggests that it was painted around the same time, a decade earlier than the previous dating. Furthermore, these two manuscripts are in fact very similar, both stylistically and in their iconographical programmes, to the Getty leaves and the Bouer Hours, manuscripts that have not been included in the earlier studies of this illuminator and stylistic group. Following further analysis of the whole group of the Spencer attributions, I demonstrate that the so-called Master of Morgan M.271 in fact represents the early career of the Master of Spencer 6.<sup>24</sup> In addition to sharing iconography, compositions, style, use of colours, (and other elements that could be copied from one artist to another), the Hours of 1488 includes a tell-tale motif, a cloud drawn in a particular manner (see below p. 99), found also in manuscripts attributed to the Master of Spencer 6. It appears unlikely that a follower of a style would copy such a personal manner of moving a paintbrush. Moreover, an analysis in this thesis of all the manuscripts in the Spencer corpus reveals a coherent chronological development of style in which the Langres Hours and the Hours of 1488 appear naturally placed.

The 2011 exhibition *Royal Manuscripts: the Genius of Illumination* included a copy of the *Anabase*, Claude de Seyssel's diplomatic gift to Henry VII of England. The exhibition and catalogue entries concentrated on the historical and textual aspects of the

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<sup>19</sup> Airaksinen 2010.

<sup>20</sup> This title was first used when the Hours of 1488 was offered for sale at Sotheby's in 2004; Sotheby's, London, 7 December 2004, lot 47.

<sup>21</sup> Plummer 1982, 73, no. 95; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 343.

<sup>22</sup> When the Hours of 1488 was offered for sale at Sotheby's for the first time in 1987; Sotheby's, London, 1 Dec 1987, lot 67.

<sup>23</sup> Plummer 1982, 73, no. 95.

<sup>24</sup> Airaksinen 2011.

manuscript and no further information was added about the illuminator.<sup>25</sup> Reynaud had already summarised the conditions of the commission when the "twin" manuscript, the copy offered by Seyssel to his duke, Charles II of Savoy, was exhibited in Paris in 1993.<sup>26</sup>

Also in 2011, two fragmentary leaves attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 were exhibited at the Louvre as part of the show *Les Enluminures du Louvre: Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, but no new discoveries (since they were previously exhibited by Avril and Reynaud in 1993) were published about them on this occasion.<sup>27</sup>

The following year in Tours, the exhibition *Tours 1500: Capitale des arts* brought to light the Hours of Jean de La Rue, a remarkable manuscript attributed to the Master of Spencer 6, up until then entirely unknown.<sup>28</sup> This book of hours enables a more extensive analysis of the stylistic influence of Jean Poyer on the later career of the Master of Spencer 6 to be made, and a fuller appreciation of his artistic contribution.

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<sup>25</sup> Jackson 2011, 406-7, no. 145.

<sup>26</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 345.

<sup>27</sup> Hofmann 2011, 196-200; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 343-44.

<sup>28</sup> Avril 2012, 346-47.

### 1.3 Aims of the thesis

This is the extent of the research on the Master of Spencer 6 up to date, limited to attributions of a group of manuscripts based on stylistic observations, such as certain female figures with bulbous foreheads and male figures with shoulder-length hair and fringes. This thesis argues that the hitherto marginalised illuminator was an artist of great skill and versatility, one whose images advance narration, evoke emotion and devotion, and recurrently derive from a good sense of humour. Essentially, he was an illuminator ready to work for individuals of various social backgrounds and purse sizes, resulting in a body of work of varying quality. The quality of his work at its best is equal to that of some of his leading contemporaries in France, Jean Bourdichon and Jean Poyer. His artistic importance is unrecognised, yet immediately obvious, for instance in the exquisite profile Madonna that he painted in the Geneva Hours, apparently the first of its kind known in French manuscript illumination (fig. 4.4.31). Painted by this anonymous "provincial" artist, the miniature provides crucial evidence for the development of tastes and the transmission of Italianate ideas into French visual arts. The Master of Spencer 6 was clearly an important figure at that time, something the lack of studies does not suggest today. This thesis brings to light the substantial character that his paintings and patrons expose, examining the visual evidence with contextual information and archival documentation.

Exhibitions in recent years that have displayed works attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 have added manuscripts to the list of attributions; however, there has been no chronology of the works of the Master of Spencer 6, or analysis of his style that considers his entire œuvre. This thesis offers a tentative chronology of all the manuscripts, books and fragments painted in the Spencer style, achieved from an analysis of every material and contextual piece of evidence. A number of works are here added to the œuvre of the Master of Spencer 6: the Venice Hours, the Getty leaves, the Lallemand Boccaccio and *La Danse aux aveugles*, the Bodleian *Visitation*, the Guémadeuc *Mass*, the *Horloge* of Madeleine d'Amboise, the Tours Psalter, the *Christ in Majesty* miniature, and the loose fragments of *Pentecost*, *Massacre of the Innocents*, and *Annunciation to*

*the Shepherds.*<sup>29</sup>

It has been presumed that the Master of Spencer 6 was based in Bourges, as his style shows a great debt to the Colombe workshop and his hand can be identified in certain late productions attributed to the Colombe workshop, made in the 1490s.<sup>30</sup> However, all the earliest works in the Spencer style, grouped around the dated Hours of 1488, are in the use of Troyes. Furthermore, all the late works in the Spencer style, made throughout the first decade of the sixteenth century until the dated Psalter of 1511, are in the use of Tours or the unlocalisable, general use of Rome. Therefore, his localisation requires further thought. Using textual, visual and contextual evidence, the works attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 are localised, allowing the route of the illuminator and his patrons to be followed, and his career reconstructed.

Previous scholarship on the Master of Spencer 6 has mainly ignored the extent and nature of variety in his œuvre and the reasons for this diversity. Nicole Reynaud commented on this illuminator's character appropriately in saying that he was capable of the best and the worst, without the quality of painting being an indication of date.<sup>31</sup> Indeed, on one hand, copies painted with simple compositions, bare of decorative elements, featuring only the main protagonists depicted in a summary manner, are found among manuscripts painted in this style throughout the entire period to which they are datable, from the late 1480s to about 1511. On the other hand, carefully painted manuscripts that display considerable talent can be dated as early, as well as late works within the group. To some extent, the varied mixture of his clientele explains the variability: lower payment undoubtedly meant that less time and care was spent on the work. Furthermore, religious and profane subject matters appear to have required, and received, different levels of engagement on the part of this artist.

Nicole Reynaud also characterised the Master of Spencer 6 as a provincial artist whose client network and artistic relations could be established from one region to another.<sup>32</sup> One of the aims of this thesis is to explore how this happened. Was it the manuscripts, the patrons or the illuminator who moved? Did the illuminator move in search of clients, or did potential patrons enter his shop in Bourges when they were

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<sup>29</sup> I am grateful to a number of individuals for bringing various manuscripts to my attention, above all to François Avril, but also especially to Nicole Reynaud, Jean-Yves Ribault, Roger Wieck, Peter Kidd, Marie Jacob and Christine Seidel.

<sup>30</sup> Plummer 1982, 74; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 343.

<sup>31</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 343.

<sup>32</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 343.

passing the city on their travels? Or did the commissions reach him through intermediary *libraires* who searched for provincial artists outside their circle to satisfy the growing demands of their customers? What were the connections that led to new commissions? In what order did it all happen?

Liturgical use of the manuscripts, identifiable patrons and collaborators, as well as contextual evidence, all suggest that the Master of Spencer moved from Bourges to Champagne, to Paris, possibly to the region of Lyon, and to Tours. Along the way, his style was transformed. Yet, is it certain that we are dealing with one artist? Could different illuminators, working in Troyes, Bourges, Paris and Tours, have shared the same style? The following analysis will demonstrate certain elements of the pictorial engagement that appear to prove that one individual was responsible for at least most of the large miniatures throughout the group of attributions. However, the transformation in style requires further investigation. Was it contact with new collaborators which changed his style? Did regional trends, to which he had become exposed, shape the way in which he worked? Was it, in fact, the region that imposed the style, rather than an artist's individual choice and aptitude? Through analysing the stylistic shifts within the group of works, can a chronological development of an individual artist be detected?

Issues that also remain to be tackled are the variety in quality within individual Spencer attributions, and the subsequent question of a possible existence of a workshop. The hand of the Master of Spencer 6 is above all recognised by the drawing of the heads. Foreheads of figures without headwear are depicted as high and bulbous. The small facial features are administered with quick brush-strokes in black. Younger male figures have a thick shoulder-length mane of reddish-brown hair, highlighted in gold, with a matching beard and often a few individual short fluffs as a fringe. Young female figures have thick and long wavy hair of a similar golden tone as their male counterparts, and both tend to have a high parting that creates a prominent ogee shape. Older male figures have distinctively white hair and beard. Despite the apparent homogeneity in style and technique of the Spencer group of miniatures, the variation in quality within certain manuscripts, particularly between large and small miniatures, let one believe that another hand may have been involved in the secondary illumination. The general coherence of the group, however, strongly indicates that one figure was responsible for the work throughout as the head of a workshop, but an assistant, who occasionally painted the smaller images, may have supported him.

Authors regularly rely on their readers to perceive visual information in an identical manner to themselves, often taking shortcuts in vague descriptions and even overlooking evidence that contradicts their arguments. Furthermore, recent research has justly criticised the use of ambiguous language in art historical discourse, such as the phrase 'sense of relaxation' (*sentiment de détente*) used since the nineteenth century to describe art production in the Loire Valley.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, the use of terms such as elegance, refinement and finesse is questionable on their own in describing a style, for their meaning remains imprecise without further qualification; this terminology offers such vast possibilities for interpretation, it fails to signify anything *per se*.<sup>34</sup>

In order to overcome the danger of discussion becoming detached from the works and to reduce subjectivity to a minimum, this study will assess every aspect of the illumination in the corpus of works and analyse every part of the production, from designing the layout and constructing space, to drawing, choosing colours and applying paint. All descriptions and comparisons are demonstrated with examples. Furthermore, close observation of objects with the naked eye are supplemented in this investigation by methods of technical art history.<sup>35</sup> Until recently, studies in technical art history have concentrated on panel and wall painting, while the techniques of manuscript illuminators remain little explored. Nevertheless, technical art history represents an immensely important tool for interpretation, applied here for a fuller appreciation and understanding of the artistic endeavour of medieval painting in manuscripts.

Previous scholarship in late medieval French painting has tended to concentrate on attribution and regional centres of production.<sup>36</sup> This thesis shifts the focus onto examining how an individual artist developed and operated, altering his style and

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<sup>33</sup> Chancel-Bardelot et al. 2012, 37-48.

<sup>34</sup> This problematic area was touched upon by Pascale Charron at the conference 'Enjeux de la recherche sur l'enluminure médiévale. Les Manuscrits à peintures en France: vingt ans après' on 30 November 2013 in Paris.

<sup>35</sup> As part of the research, I conducted microscopic examination and infrared imaging of the Bouer Hours at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, with the help of the pigment scientist Paola Ricciardi, to whom I am particularly grateful. The micrographs acquired during this examination (figs.) were taken through a Leica M80 stereomicroscope coupled to an EOS 5D MKII Canon camera operated in remote shooting mode via the EOS Utility software installed on a laptop; illumination was provided by a Leica CLS 150x cold light source. The infrared images (figs.) were taken with a Canon 30D camera equipped with a Canon compact macro lens and an X-nite 830 filter; illumination was provided by a Bowens Gemini GMT50 Pro light.

<sup>36</sup> Following the model of the ground-breaking exhibition in Paris 'Quand la peinture était dans les livres' organised by geographical regions (Avril and Reynaud 1993) that appeared a decade after 'The Last Flowering' exhibition in New York, also treating the major centres of manuscript production in fifteenth-century France chronologically (Plummer 1982).

technique, in order to survive and find success. The expansion of markets and demand for illuminated manuscripts played their role in the story of an artist who presumably was not famous at the outset but eventually came to receive highly important commissions. Also significant was the illuminator's capacity to respond to the developing expectations of late medieval patrons, particularly for devotional images, not only in providing new images for rapidly growing saints' cults, such as images of Saints Gond and Roch, venerated against the plague, but also in painting pictures that appealed to the spiritual vision of the pious. Although this thesis also takes a traditional, codicological "counting and measuring" approach in providing a catalogue of the books and fragments, the main analysis examines the artistic personality, development and importance of the Master of Spencer 6.

Who was the Master of Spencer 6? No documentary evidence has come to light that decisively uncovers his identity. While the Master of Spencer 6 remains anonymous, his career has to be reconstructed from formal analysis of the manuscripts. It is assumed that he trained and at least initially worked in Bourges, since his work, particularly in the early period of his career, includes more books in the liturgical use of the diocese of Bourges than any other location, as well as several visual references to local illumination and recognisable topographical portraiture from the region.<sup>37</sup> A tentative identification with one Laurent Boiron, an illuminator documented in Bourges in 1479-1512, was suggested by Nicole Reynaud, who herself was following advice from Jean-Yves Ribault, the former departmental archivist in Bourges.<sup>38</sup> Ribault had discovered the *enlumineur* Boiron in documents dated to the two decades around 1500, the period of activity approximated for the Master of Spencer 6. Although as yet not proven beyond all doubt, the archival documents point to Boiron as a likely identity for the anonymous illuminator. This thesis re-examines the archival documentation and proposes new evidence for the identification of the anonymous master.

While the great fire of Madeleine which ravaged Bourges in 1487 destroyed a large amount of local documentation, the archives that follow the incident and coincide with the activity of our illuminator have been for the most part little studied. Baron de Girardot in the nineteenth century, and Jean-Yves Ribault and Philippe Goldman more recently, have made significant discoveries in the local archives regarding artists active in

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<sup>37</sup> Plummer 1982, 74; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 343.

<sup>38</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 343; Ribault 2002b, 43-44; Goldman 2002, 3-34.

Bourges in the fifteenth century.<sup>39</sup> Alain Collas and David Rivaud, in their turn, have brought to light information relating to the circumstances of the noble families in the city, their findings stemming from this rich archival source.<sup>40</sup> Some of these families, such as the Lallemand and Bouer families, can be identified as patrons of the Master of Spencer 6, while others may have commissioned manuscripts from this illuminator, but their patronage remains anonymous or their manuscripts no longer survive or are in private collections. This study brings together evidence from the archives and the manuscripts to further bring alive these inhabitants of late medieval Bourges, by exploring their social and devotional needs.

This thesis is also the first thorough examination of the painter and illuminator of unquestionable talent that is Jacquelin de Montluçon, identified here as the main collaborator of the Master of Spencer 6. Technical examination<sup>41</sup> provides unprecedented information on how the two artists, Jacquelin de Montluçon and the Master of Spencer 6, worked, analysed here within the context of the changing climate between medieval and modern periods.

Why is it important to study illumination? A large number of paintings on panels and walls in France were destroyed due to changes in tastes, through neglect, and in the Wars of the Religion and during the Revolution. In addition, a great deal of monumental art, as well as architectural treasures, was lost in the several fires that demolished medieval cities, particularly in Bourges during the great fire of Madeleine in 1487. Paintings in books, on the other hand, were hidden within covers and portable, and have thus survived in larger numbers; studying them is essential in order to fully understand the history of French painting.

Why is it important to study this illuminator? The grouping of manuscripts painted in one style allows a clearer view of illumination during a particular period and, to an extent, location. The less fragmented vision provided by a critical study of the works will encourage new research approaches and makes the definitive identification of the artist more likely.<sup>42</sup> The œuvre of the Master of Spencer 6 is particularly revealing since his career falls during the transitional period in French art. His early images

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<sup>39</sup> Girardot 1861; Ribault 1994, 2001, 2002<sup>a</sup> and 2002<sup>b</sup>; Goldman 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2013.

<sup>40</sup> Collas 2010; Rivaud 2007.

<sup>41</sup> The microscopic examination and infrared imaging of the Bouer Hours, a manuscript on which these two illuminators collaborated, was conducted at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.

<sup>42</sup> For studies on anonymous masters, see Lorentz 2007.

disseminate pictorial forms and symbolism conjured by a medieval mind, while his later pictures reflect the new ideals of the Renaissance. Although the transition is certainly not as clear-cut as this may suggest, the various classicising features that increasingly inhabit his work from around 1500 onwards make his career a fascinating case study for a better understanding of the birth of the Northern Renaissance.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, a study of illuminators working in late medieval Bourges also demonstrates the continuing importance of manuscripts produced locally at the beginning and the middle of the fifteenth century by the Limbourgs or the Master of Charles of France. Local artists and patrons appear to have enjoyed the visual nostalgia and found immense inspiration in the works of these celebrated forerunners. Finally, among his best works, the Master of Spencer 6 displays great qualities of innovation. In the interest of art production in general, it is worthwhile to study such manifestations of originality, and an artist demonstrating curiosity and creativity.

In the broader context, studies in French painting during this period are crucial for understanding Western art history. The over-emphasis on the Italian, particularly Tuscan, Renaissance in visual arts, stems from the tradition of Italian historical writing. Although Jean Pélerin had included several French artists, such as Jean Poyer and Colin d'Amiens, in the list of twenty-four artistic excellences he praised in his treatise on perspective in 1521, thirty years before Giorgio Vasari's *Lives*, Pélerin's account was soon forgotten and subsequent historians of painting in France based their views on Vasari, the founder of art history.<sup>44</sup> If France had nurtured its own Vasari, a historian recollecting the lives of major artists in France, he would undoubtedly have found the beginnings of the Renaissance in the works of Jean Pucelle and André Beauneveu, these masters of illusionism, rather than Giotto. Consequently, the general view of the Renaissance could be very different. This thesis belongs to the recent movement in the

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<sup>43</sup> For a standard work on the topic, see Nash 2008.

<sup>44</sup> Tolley 2007, 133-137; Brion-Guerry 1962, 428-443.

re-examination of artistic developments in France at the dawn of the Renaissance.<sup>45</sup>

Finally, this thesis examines style and technique, not only for identification purposes, but also in order to answer questions about the ways in which painters managed to invest their images with a sense of presence and devotional quality, and the means by which their images responded to the concerns and expectations of their patrons. This approach, as adopted here for the investigation of the Master of Spencer 6 and Jacquelin de Montluçon, proposes a new direction for studying French artists.

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<sup>45</sup> The topic is a current one: in recent years, the interests of both an academic and general audience have been directed to French visual arts during this changing period. In 2010, Grand Palais in Paris organised the seminal exhibition 'France 1500: Entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance', which was seen the following spring in Chicago under a new title 'Kings, Queens and Courtiers: Art in the Early Renaissance France' (see Taburet-Delahaye, Bresc-Bautier and Crépin-Leblond 2010; Wolff 2011). This double show was followed by regional exhibitions, the first of which was held in Tours in 2012, 'Tours 1500: Capitale des Arts' (see Chancel-Bardelot et al. 2012), followed in 2013-2014 by exhibitions in Angers ('Trésors enluminés des Musées de France: Pays de la Loire et Centre', Musée des Beaux-Arts), Lille ('Illuminations: Trésors enluminés de France. Jan Fabre: Chalcosoma', Palais des Beaux-Arts) and Toulouse ('Trésors enluminés: De Toulouse à Sumatra', Musée des Augustins). The new Louvre-Lens Museum also chose to focus on this important period in its inaugural exhibition in 2013: 'Renaissance: Révolutions dans les arts en Europe, 1400-1530' (see Bresc-Bautier 2012).

## 2 Late Medieval Bourges

### 2.1 Historic, economic and social context

The strategic geographical position of Bourges in the middle of the kingdom was important. The four great itineraries of the pilgrimage route passing through France to the resting place of Saint James the Great started from the pilgrimage sites of Tours, Vézelay, Le Puy and Saint-Gilles-du-Gard; Bourges was the second stop on the itinerary from Vézelay.<sup>46</sup> The archdiocese of Bourges was founded in the third century, with Saint Ursinus as the first bishop. In the twelfth century, the viscounty of Bourges constituted the only lands that the French kingdom possessed south of the Loire.<sup>47</sup> In the later Middle Ages, Bourges still counted among the most important cities of France due to its commercial activities and its municipal and royal functions. Its geographical position was economically advantageous, between the hubs of Paris and Lyon. The physical position of Bourges, surrounded by rivers on all but one side, provided natural defences, a major asset throughout its history.

Bourges reached the peak of its importance for the kingdom during the first third of the fifteenth century. Jean, Duke of Berry, the third son of the king, Jean le Bon, invested great efforts into transforming his beloved Bourges into a magnificent capital of his appanage. He established a rich princely court in the city; with the reconquest of Poitou in 1372 the duke had become the most powerful lord of the kingdom. In 1379, he created the *Chambre des Comptes* of Bourges, ensuring strict administration of finances. The duke Jean oversaw the completion of the façade of the Cathedral, reinforcing the city walls and most importantly, constructing the ducal palace and the *Sainte-Chapelle*.<sup>48</sup> The nearby castle of Mehun-sur-Yèvre, which he had begun transforming into an exceptional palace in 1367, was used in the summer months by the duke and his family.

The mad King Charles VI disinherited his son, the Dauphin Charles in 1421. Upon Charles VI's death, the following year, his son-in-law, Henry V of England was recognised as the King of France by the English and the Burgundians. The opposing side, led by the Armagnacs, supported the Dauphin's right to the crown. During the

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<sup>46</sup> Tucker 2001, 123.

<sup>47</sup> Troadec 1999, 27-28.

<sup>48</sup> Autrand 2000, 364-365.

English occupation of Paris and northern France, when two kings reigned concurrently, only half of the French kingdom considered Paris to be the capital.<sup>49</sup> Inflicted in the civil war between the Armagnac and Burgundian factions, the Dauphin Charles had had to flee Paris in 1418, almost immediately after his elder brothers - first Louis, then Jean - had died, making him the Dauphin. Charles resided in Bourges - and elsewhere in Berry and the Tours area - first as the Dauphin, then as the King. Tours subsequently became the preferred residence of political personnel and ambassadors,<sup>50</sup> and retained its status, hosting the King, the court and the government, even after the political reunification of France in 1436.<sup>51</sup>

The second half of the fifteenth century saw a centralisation of royal power in France. This was preceded by local uprisings against the monarch, Louis XI, notably the *Ligue du Bien public* (League of Public Welfare) organised in 1465 by the dukes of Brittany and Bourbon who persuaded the king's younger brother, Charles, Duke of Berry, to be their figure head. The rebellion involved a number of nobles, officers and artisans of Bourges, many of whom were arrested, killed or executed during the monarchy's subsequent suppression.<sup>52</sup> Many lords of Berry, who had been in favour at the beginning of Louis XI's reign, lost their positions as a consequence of the war of *Bien public*.<sup>53</sup> This insurgency was followed by two urban riots in Bourges in 1474 and 1485.<sup>54</sup> On the death of Louis XI, the lords of the city tried to re-establish its earlier municipal liberties by appealing to the regent, Anne of France.<sup>55</sup>

Louis XI changed the government of Bourges in 1474, from the system of *élus*, chosen by magistrates, to a city administration that constituted a mayor and twelve (later four) *échevins* (the king had reorganised the *échevinat* of Troyes only four years earlier in 1470). The first mayor of the city was Philippe Bouer, the likely patron of the Bouer Hours in Leeds.

Bourges continued to enjoy royal favour. In 1484, Charles VIII moved the fairs of Lyon to Bourges and subsequently spent some time in the city. Bourges remained a

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<sup>49</sup> Chevalier 1996<sup>b</sup>, 338.

<sup>50</sup> Chevalier 1996<sup>b</sup>, 342.

<sup>51</sup> Chevalier 1996<sup>b</sup>, 338.

<sup>52</sup> Ribault 1992, 67.

<sup>53</sup> Brejon de Lavergnée 1996, 64.

<sup>54</sup> Collas 2010, 10.

<sup>55</sup> Goldman 1987, 10.

significant city at the end of the fifteenth century, undoubtedly due to its strategically important placement, on the route from Tours to Italy.

In 1492, Charles VIII reorganized the municipal administration of Bourges: the inhabitants of the four quarters, Auron, Bourbonnoux, Saint Sulpice and Faubourg de Saint Privé, could elect eight *notables* each, who would then elect the mayor and the four *échevins* to exercise jurisdictional power, including issuing statutes regulating the arts and professions.<sup>56</sup>

Despite its status and importance, Bourges was not among the biggest cities in France. In 1487, at the time of the fire of Madeleine, Bourges had only about 15,000 inhabitants (in comparison to up to 200,000 in Paris), making it one of the twenty biggest cities in the kingdom.<sup>57</sup> The enthusiasm of the local historians should be treated with caution: economically Bourges was not comparable to cities like Lyon, Toulouse, Montpellier and Rouen.<sup>58</sup>

Agriculture was vital; Bourges was surrounded by gardens, vineyards and fields, where sheep were kept for the important textile industry.<sup>59</sup> The city was encircled by water, utilised by some twenty wheat mills, all but one belonging to religious communities.<sup>60</sup> Commercial activity in Bourges itself was concentrated on Place Gordaine, where butchers, fishmongers, and money-changers could be found.<sup>61</sup>

Until the sixteenth century, textiles were the predominant industry of Bourges; from the beginning of the fourteenth century, textiles made in the city had been exported as far as Florence.<sup>62</sup> Between 1443 and 1487, Bourges even became one of the kingdom's principal textile producers following Charles VII's accord of new statutes that encouraged reputable northern textile professionals to establish in the city.<sup>63</sup> The fire of Madeleine in 1487 unfortunately partially destroyed the industry.<sup>64</sup>

The *rôle de taille* of 1480, concerning Bourbonnoux, one of the four quarters of Bourges, lists seventy-five professions.<sup>65</sup> The most heavily represented profession in this quartier, and in Bourges as a whole, was wine-growing; for instance, the faubourg of

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<sup>56</sup> Meslé 1988, 125.

<sup>57</sup> Goldman 1987, 8; Goldman 1998b, 13.

<sup>58</sup> Taillemite 1948 cited in Goldman 1987, 9.

<sup>59</sup> Goldman 1987, 9.

<sup>60</sup> Goldman 1998b, 15.

<sup>61</sup> Goldman 1998b, 15.

<sup>62</sup> Goldman 1987, 9.

<sup>63</sup> Goldman 1998b, 16.

<sup>64</sup> Goldman 1998b, 16.

<sup>65</sup> AM Bourges, CC4; Goldman 1987, 11.

Château was populated almost solely by viticulturists.<sup>66</sup> The professionals who paid most tax were the apothecaire, the *émailleur* (artisan working on enamel), the *courtier* (a profession in money-changing), the five *chaussetiers* (makers of *chausses*, the part of clothing that covered the legs), the eight hoteliers, and the three merchants.<sup>67</sup>

The nobility of Bourges had their origins in merchandise and commerce - from the thirteenth century, cloth and exchange were the most important trades in Bourges.<sup>68</sup> The commercial potential of Bourges can be measured by the fact that the fairs of Lyon were moved in 1484 to Bourges, instead of Tours or Troyes.<sup>69</sup> The city of Bourges argued their case by stating that

'Bourges est plus grand [que Troyes] et y a cinq ou six principales grans rues belles, bien pavées, et bien larges [...] et y a plus d'espace et plus de belles places à tenir foyres et marches [...] et sont les maisons myeulx appropriées à tenir marchandises...'<sup>70</sup>

Interestingly, the argument from Troyes against the fairs being moved to Bourges was that Bourges 'possédait bonnes sûres maison pour le feu';<sup>71</sup> an unfortunate premonition that took effect three years later.

The role of the numerous fires in the history of Bourges is momentous. Few cities suffered as many fires as did Bourges, or were ruined to the same extent by these incidences. There were twelve major fires, six of which happened before our period. The first large fire is recorded for the year of 588; the fire of 1252 apparently left nothing standing but the Cathedral and one house; in 1353, fire destroyed almost everything again except for the Cathedral and the Palace of the Archbishop; in 1407, 1463, and 1467, fire burned a quarter of the parish of Saint-Bonnet and extended as far as the dwelling of the king.<sup>72</sup> Five fires are recorded in the city after our period of interest in the sixteenth century - in 1538, 1540, 1545, 1552, and 1599, of which the fire of 1552 was the most destructive, ruining the Cathedral's chapels, one of its portals, and

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<sup>66</sup> Goldman 1987, 11-12.

<sup>67</sup> Goldman 1987, 14. It should be noted, however, that only a partial image of the society is given, as nobles and religious institutions were not represented in this quartier.

<sup>68</sup> Collas 2010, 15-17.

<sup>69</sup> Goldman 1987, 10. According to Bernard Chevalier two fairs were transferred to Bourges, two to Troyes (Chevalier 2005, 143), although the Troyes fairs appear to have been developed only after the Bourges fairs were ceased in 1487.

<sup>70</sup> Goldman 1987, 10.

<sup>71</sup> Goldman 2008, 4.

<sup>72</sup> Thaumassière 1689, 31-2.

melting its organ, whilst also burning the beautiful hall of Saint Guillaume in the Archbishopric Palace, in which had been composed the Pragmatic Sanction.<sup>73</sup>

The fire that falls within the period of our illuminator's activity was arguably the most dramatic in the history of Bourges. Bourges had become an important city in the kingdom with competitive commerce, but the fire hit the city with such destructive force that it was never able to fully recover its former economic power. The fire of Saint Madeleine started on the feast day of that saint (22 July) in 1487 during the evening Vespers in the house of a *menuisier* living on rue Mont-chevry in the parish of Saint Sulpice.<sup>74</sup> The fire rapidly spread throughout most of the city, notably the abbeys of Saint-Ambroise, Saint-Laurent, the church and cloister of the Augustins, the cloister of the Carmelites, the churches of Saint-Pierre-le-Marché, Saint-Julien, Saint-Quentin, Saint-Bonnet, Notre-Dame-du-Fourchault, the priory of Saint-Michael, Oratory of Saint-Maurice close to the Carmelites, the priory house of la Comtal where the *maires*, *échevins* and inhabitants of the city kept their assemblies.<sup>75</sup> Perhaps as many as three thousand houses were burned and some two hundred merchant families ruined.<sup>76</sup> The fire thus destroyed approximately one third of the city, including the principal artisan and commercial quarters.<sup>77</sup>

Philippe Goldman has tentatively visualised the area affected by the fire of Madeleine (map 5).<sup>78</sup> These included quarters inhabited by illuminators, the fire reaching almost to the house of Jean de Montluçon, and those of a number of patrons, namely the hôtels of the Lallemand and Bouer families. However, these families may have escaped from the worst destruction since the fire appears to have stopped at the end of their road, rue de la Naretta, and did not continue further to the east, never reaching the Cathedral and its quarters.<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, abundant evidence can be gathered for the

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<sup>73</sup> Thaumassière 1689, 31-2.

<sup>74</sup> Thaumassière 1689, 31-2.

<sup>75</sup> Thaumassière 1689, 31-2; Goldman 1987.

<sup>76</sup> Thaumassière 1689, 31-2. Recent historians have doubted the number was as high; see Goldman 1987, 4.

<sup>77</sup> Goldman 1998b, 13.

<sup>78</sup> Goldman 1987, 19.

<sup>79</sup> In light of this historical event, it is interesting to consider one particularly curious codicological feature of the Bouer Hours. The sides of a number of its parchment leaves have crinkled in a peculiar manner, as if they had once been stretched and then released again. When examining this manuscript in Leeds with Scot McKendrick back in 2010, he commented that although he could not explain how it might have happened, it seemed to him as if the manuscript had once got very hot (thus the parchment would have lost moisture and contracted). Might this provide evidence, although highly tentative, that the manuscript was in the house of Philippe Bouer, or the Montluçon workshop, at the very edge of the fire of Madeleine on 22 July 1487?

adverse effects of the fire, the lengthy rebuilding required and the fear it must have brought to the inhabitants. In locally-made manuscripts, for instance, Saint Barbara, a saint venerated against fires, was included particularly frequently at the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>80</sup> Following the fire, the important fairs that had been established in Bourges by Charles VIII in 1484 ceased, and in July 1498 Louis XII moved them back to Lyon.<sup>81</sup> The fairs had attracted several merchants to Bourges, including the Vulcob of Flanders, Nicolas Riglet, and Jean Jaupitre of Troyes,<sup>82</sup> and with their move, Bourges illuminators and *libraires* would have lost an essential opportunity to sell ready-made manuscripts and find patrons in their local town.

The period in which the Master of Spencer 6 had to forge an independent career was one characterised by great economic difficulties. How did he survive? The evidence shows that the illuminator had to find his clients outside Bourges. Troyes profited from the misfortune that befell Bourges by developing its own Christmas and August fairs.<sup>83</sup> The manuscripts attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 following the fire of Madeleine were made for patrons in the dioceses of Troyes and Langres in Champagne. The dated Hours of 1488 exactly place his activities in Troyes in the year of the fire, 1487. Around the fairs of Lyon the Master of Spencer 6 can possibly be located working in Lyon or its environs. The Hours painted in the Spencer style in the late 1490s for Bérenger Bollioud, *procureur* in the county of Forez, southeast from Bourges towards Lyon, suggests that he took this direction in search of work. The Guémadeuc Hours, in which one miniature can be attributed to the Master of Spencer 6, may also have been illuminated in Lyon around 1500.<sup>84</sup> The importance of Lyon in this period, in competition with Tours and Paris in providing royal residence, is shown by the fact that Charles VIII spent half of the years 1496 and 1497 in the city, and Louis XII five

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<sup>80</sup> Her protection against fires was not the only reason for her popularity, by all means, for she was one of the four main female saints venerated in the later Middle Ages, in as much for her protection against sudden death, a destiny much feared in the Middle Ages, since it meant dying before one had been able to take the Last Sacrament. And crucially, the veneration of Barbara in Berry was undoubtedly also related to the fact that her relic was conserved locally in the Benedictine priory of Saint-Martin-des-champs, near Bourges (Laugardière 1951-2, 45-46; the same monastery that conserved a relic of Saint Clair).

<sup>81</sup> Thaumassière 1689, 98-9. The fairs may have been moved in any case, as they had not been particularly successful in 1485 (see Ribault 1992, 71), and in any case, Louis XII's military interests in Italy would have influenced his decision to move the fairs to Lyon.

<sup>82</sup> Thaumassière 1689, 99.

<sup>83</sup> Meslé 1988, 126.

<sup>84</sup> König and Tenschert 2000, 1.

months in 1500, 1501 and the whole year of 1503.<sup>85</sup> Lyon provided the ideal base for their military campaigns to Italy.

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<sup>85</sup> Chevalier 1996<sup>b</sup>, 347.

## 2.2 Religious and intellectual context

In the fifteenth century the city of Bourges was dominated by the presence of its magnificent Gothic cathedral dedicated to Saint Étienne (Stephen). This imposing building could be seen from afar as one approached the city, as it still can today. The earliest surviving representation of Bourges Cathedral, from c. 1412-1416, is found in the *Très riches heures du duc de Berry*, where the Limbourg brothers painted the cityscape of Bourges - recognisable from the Cathedral and the Great Tower - behind the *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 2.2.1).<sup>86</sup> In 1478 Pope Sixtus IV granted plenary and jubilee indulgences for those who visited the Cathedral during the feast of Saint-Pierre-aux-liens in the first year and during Pentecost in the following years, and gave money for the construction of the Cathedral, particularly its towers.<sup>87</sup> The north tower appears to have been finished around 1480,<sup>88</sup> but the acceleration of the works, undoubtedly encouraged by the indulgence of 1478, led to concerns about their mediocre quality and, from 1504, fears for the solidity of the tower grew - finally ending in disaster when the tower collapsed on New Year's Eve in 1506.<sup>89</sup> After 1506, one Colin Byart appears to have been summoned from Paris to plan the reconstruction of the tower.<sup>90</sup> The rebuilding began the following year.

The Cathedral chapter of Bourges was directed by a dean, a head singer, a chancellor and an archdeacon, and since the end of the twelfth century it offered forty prebends, each receiving a portion of the chapter revenue, of which over thirty were canons.<sup>91</sup> Bourges had thus a middle-sized chapter in comparison to Laon with 83, Chartres with 72, Orléans with 49, and Paris with 52 canons.<sup>92</sup>

Bourges Cathedral possessed a number of important relics in the fifteenth century; fifteen were counted in the inventory of 1537.<sup>93</sup> Jean, Duke of Berry, had given two fragments of the True Cross and some portions of the instruments of the Passion, while a Florentine ambassador passing in the city in 1462 mentions the head of Saint

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<sup>86</sup> See also Chancel-Bardelot 2008, 106-7.

<sup>87</sup> Laugardière 1951-2, 47-48.

<sup>88</sup> There is uncertainty about the exact date: according to L. Raynal the tower was finished around 1490, while Étienne Hamon more recently has argued the work was achieved ten years earlier; both cited in Orrit 2008, 4.

<sup>89</sup> Laugardière 1951-2, 47-48.

<sup>90</sup> Goldman 2013, 25; Hamon 2011.

<sup>91</sup> Chancel-Bardelot 2008, 60.

<sup>92</sup> Chancel-Bardelot 2008, 60.

<sup>93</sup> Bardelot 2009, 24.

Guillaume covered in pearls, as well as an ornamental tablet for the altar, entirely in gold and decorated with pearls and precious stones, representing scenes of the Crucifixion and Passion in enamel.<sup>94</sup>

The Franciscan order was the best-represented mendicant order in fifteenth-century Berry.<sup>95</sup> The Benedictine order, by contrast, was represented in the monastery of Saint-Sulpice in Bourges, the religious institution where the copy of *Épître à Dame Furie* was written and translated before it was given to the Master of Spencer 6 for illumination. At the end of the fifteenth century, amongst other religious institutions, the Augustinian abbey of Saint-Ambroise, the Benedictine abbey for women of Saint-Laurent, the Cistercian abbey of Notre-Dame-de-Bussières, and the Franciscan convent of Sainte-Claire (formed most recently, in 1470, with the encouragement of the archbishop, Jean Cœur), could be found in Bourges.<sup>96</sup> Sainte-Claire had very modest beginnings with its chapel constructed only in wood, but it was soon replaced in the early sixteenth century with a richer building, partly financed by the de Bueil and d'Amboise families whose arms decorate the rib of the annexe to the chapel that survives today.<sup>97</sup> From the sixteenth century, and perhaps since its foundation in 1470, the church of Sainte-Claire convent hosted the corporation of painters and stained glass makers in Bourges.<sup>98</sup> Jean, Duke of Berry, had founded the chapter of the Sainte-Chapelle, and there were chapters also attached to the collegiate churches of Saint-Ursin and Saint-Aoustrille-le-Château. The Jacobites were established in Bourges as well, as, since the fourteenth century, were the Carmelites.<sup>99</sup> Adding to these religious houses, Jeanne of France founded the order of the Annuniate in Bourges in 1502.<sup>100</sup> Jeanne was not content with founding a convent for an order that already existed, as her mother and sister had been, but wished to create a new order, one to be inspired by the ten virtues or pleasures of the Virgin Mary.<sup>101</sup> The convent was built on land occupied by

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<sup>94</sup> Bardelot 2009, 24.

<sup>95</sup> Lacour 2008, 14, 17.

<sup>96</sup> Lacour 2008, 15.

<sup>97</sup> Buhot der Kersers, 1977, 250.

<sup>98</sup> Les anciennes corporations 1881, 226-235.

<sup>99</sup> Thaumassière 1689, 252.

<sup>100</sup> Bibliothèque municipale de Bourges 2002, 20. (Cf. 1503 in Thaumassière 1689, 135-6, or 1500 in Thaumassière 1689, 325 and Buhot de Kersers 1977, 246).

<sup>101</sup> Bibliothèque municipale de Bourges 2002, 19-20.

prostitutes, according to her wishes, between the church of Montermoyen, the ducal palace and the city walls, and was finished in 1504, only a few months before she died.<sup>102</sup>

In addition to religious manuscripts, patrons in late medieval France commissioned profane manuscripts, corresponding particularly to their interests in history and allegorical poetry. The "court intellectual" was invented in French society toward 1500, including such rhetoricians as Jean Molinet, Jean Mechinot, Pierre Gringore, Jean Marot and Jean Lemaire de Belges.<sup>103</sup> The latter, Jean Lemaire de Belges, a poet employed in the courts of Pierre II of Bourbon, Margaret of Austria and Anne of Brittany, authored the allegorical poem *La Plainte du désir* in 1503, comprising a discussion between Painting, Rhetoric and Nature. Art historians have often cited this work due to Lemaire's mention of painters who were considered of particular merit, such as Jean Fouquet and Jean Poyer. Under Louis XII, Italian humanists who resided or visited the French court, such as Paolo Emilio, Fausto Andrelini, Fra Giocondo, Mario Enquicola and Sannazaro, accelerated the spread of humanism in France.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Bibliothèque municipale de Bourges 2002, 20.

<sup>103</sup> Elsig 2004, 45.

<sup>104</sup> Dionisotti 1995, 76.

### 2.3 The university, production of books, printing

The demand for books in Bourges would have grown exponentially when Louis XI favoured his natal city by establishing a university there, on the request of his brother, Charles, Duke of Berry, in 1463. The university was founded in the refectory of the Jacobins convent and its schools were established between rue Moyenne and the church of this convent (map 4).<sup>105</sup>

The first known *libraire*, or bookseller, in Bourges was one Jean Coffin.<sup>106</sup> Originally from Morlac, south of Bourges, he is documented as the bookseller of the University of Bourges in 1484, and is still active until 1489, at least.<sup>107</sup> Possibly relevant in relation to the Master of Spencer 6, the University bookseller documented in 1505 was one Maître Laurent; documents mention him in 1505, when he took part in a quarrel between the University and the city of Bourges,<sup>108</sup> but he may have been in operation much earlier, perhaps having taken over from Coffin in 1489. It has been suggested that Maître Laurent was Laurent Croff,<sup>109</sup> the *libraire* documented in Bourges in 1494/5,<sup>110</sup> but since another libraire, Pierre Lestore, succeeded Croff in his house the year after,<sup>111</sup> and there appears no further mention of him, it seems more likely that Maître Laurent was Laurent Boiron, the figure documented in Bourges as *enlumineur* between 1479 and 1511, and as *libraire* as late as 1508 (thus the possible Maître Laurent of 1505).<sup>112</sup>

The Master of Spencer 6 also became closely involved with books produced by printing. It is not known with certainty when printing first arrived in Bourges, but there may have been a printer called Guyon Calabre working in the city as early as 1485, and certainly from 1508 the printer Pierre Gresle published some letters of indulgence in Bourges, and two letters of indulgence that were issued by the Augustinian convent in Bourges in 1512 were probably printed in the city.<sup>113</sup> However, there is no evidence of a permanent establishment for the printing of books in Bourges until 1530, when the

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<sup>105</sup> Buhot de Kersers 1977, 283.

<sup>106</sup> Jenny 1973, 93.

<sup>107</sup> Jenny 1973, 93.

<sup>108</sup> Boyer 1854, 45.

<sup>109</sup> Jenny 1973, 93; reiterated by Goldman 2002, 7.

<sup>110</sup> Goldman 2002, 7.

<sup>111</sup> AD, 7 G 190-192; Goldman 2002, 7.

<sup>112</sup> AD 7 G 177, p. 35.

<sup>113</sup> Jenny 1973, 95-96.

Parisian printer Jean Garnier was summoned to the city.<sup>114</sup> From the period of our illuminator's activity, evidence of eight printed editions of books of hours in the use of Bourges survives, all of them printed in Paris.<sup>115</sup> In fact, it is in the capital that printing spread most suddenly and expansively, involving illuminators most directly,<sup>116</sup> including the Master of Spencer 6, who illuminated copies printed by at least two Parisian publishers, Étienne Jehannot and Guillaume Eustace (cat. nos. 17 and 18).

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<sup>114</sup> Jenny 1973, 96.

<sup>115</sup> Bohatta 1924, 3, nos. 54-61.

<sup>116</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 255.

## 2.4 Professional guilds

Professions in cities were *jurés*, that is, in order to exercise a profession one had to belong to the appropriate professional guild governed by statutes. The statutes by which the monarch controlled guilds were usually formulated in a precise, traditional way and were common to most trades.<sup>117</sup> They controlled how individuals could access the profession through an apprenticeship, detailed the specifications of the *chef-d'œuvre* required to become master, and also ensured, amongst other matters, that members of professional groups used quality products. The regulations governing the *patissiers* of Bourges, for instance, specified that tarts, tartlets and cakes were made of good cream, cheese and eggs.<sup>118</sup> Several guilds in France were only regulated during the fifteenth century. In Tours barbers got their statutes in 1408, shoemakers in 1447, *boulangers* in 1464, weavers in 1481 and the tailors of Amboise in 1481.<sup>119</sup> In Bourges, the statutes of shoemakers were confirmed in 1486, but many other professions had to wait until the sixteenth century to be regularised, with hatters and tailors getting their statutes in 1547.<sup>120</sup>

Statutes also governed bookmaking. In 1342, the fifty-seven *libraires* of Paris were already grouped together in the *confrérie des clercs libraires*,<sup>121</sup> yet it is not clear whether it was merely a religious confraternity or a trade guild. In Flanders, in comparison, book artisans of Bruges had formed the Confraternity (Gilde) of Saint John the Evangelist by 1454, but it was not a trade guild, and there are no known guilds exclusively for book trades in Flanders in the fifteenth century.<sup>122</sup> However, in some towns illuminators were brought under the control of painters' guilds, as happened in Bruges as early as 1403.<sup>123</sup> In Flanders, and particularly in Bruges, the commerce of miniatures on loose single sheets necessitated that painters guarded their rights against illuminators. In other cities, illuminators appear to have had more liberty. The illuminators of Lille stated in 1510 that they had never been part of the painters' guild.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Runnalls 1970, 260-61.

<sup>118</sup> Toubeau de Maisonneuve 1881, 45.

<sup>119</sup> Martin Saint-Léon 1897, 271.

<sup>120</sup> Martin Saint-Léon 1897, 271-272

<sup>121</sup> Cayla 1853, 49.

<sup>122</sup> Reynolds 2003, 15.

<sup>123</sup> Reynolds 2003, 15.

<sup>124</sup> Reynolds 2003, 19; Charron 2000, 738.

In Paris, painters and sculptors had been regulated by a guild since 1391, but illuminators escaped the control of corporations.<sup>125</sup> In Lyon, Charles VIII confirmed the statutes for painters in December 1496, which included the illuminators of the city.<sup>126</sup> The Lyon statutes would have probably tightened up the working conditions for illuminators arriving from other cities, such as the Master of Spencer 6 (the miniature which he painted for the Guémadeuc Hours might have been prepared in Lyon). A comparable example is provided by the 1480 guild regulations of painters in Tournai, which addressed the problem of competition from in-coming artists and the importation of works made elsewhere.<sup>127</sup> In the Bruges and Lille painters' guilds, the natives of the town paid lower fees.<sup>128</sup> The relative liberty enjoyed by illuminators in comparison to their painter contemporaries, at least in Paris, and presumably also in Bourges and Tours, meant that illuminators like the Master of Spencer 6 were able to paint individual miniatures here and there, as they were sub-contracted for tasks by other illuminators. The Master of Spencer 6 appears to have been free to move for work between towns, from Bourges to Troyes, Lyon, Paris and Tours, which suggests that he was not required to pay guild membership fees in these separate locations. Illuminators were, however, constrained by the fact that they could not accept work other than illumination in books, whereas painters, who were obliged to belong to a guild, could in addition to painting on panel provide also models, illuminate manuscripts and paint stained glass.<sup>129</sup>

Guilds were constituted between crafts using similar materials, tools or skills. In some cities illuminators joined guilds with painters, in others with scribes. In Lyon, illuminators were attached to the painters' guild from 1496, as mentioned, while in Paris they were grouped with booksellers, parchment makers and scribes from 1467 and had the option of joining the brotherhood of Saint John the Evangelist - open to all book-related professions - before being gradually joined to the painters' corporation during the sixteenth century.<sup>130</sup> In Paris, this division between painters and illuminators could also be seen in their distribution within the city: while painters were established on the

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<sup>125</sup> Henwood 1981; Leproux 2001, 33.

<sup>126</sup> Pastoret 1840, 562-71.

<sup>127</sup> Reynolds 2003, 16.

<sup>128</sup> Reynolds 2003, 17.

<sup>129</sup> Leproux 2001, 35.

<sup>130</sup> Leproux 2001, 34.

right bank, illuminators were implanted in the île de la Cité and around the University on the left bank.<sup>131</sup>

In Bourges, painters formed a corporation with stained glass makers.<sup>132</sup> Painters and stained glass makers were also grouped together in guilds in Antwerp, Bruges, Brussels, Lille, Mons, and Tournai, for instance.<sup>133</sup> The work of Jean and Jacquelin de Montluçon shows how these professions were interconnected, and demonstrates the versatility of certain artists: these painters may not only have provided cartoons for the glaziers, but might also have been involved in the actual painting on the glass. In addition to the Montluçons, a number of local artists in Berry were involved both in painting and stained glass making, such as Guillaume Dayda (or Dalida), who appears to have first made stained glass windows, but later painted on the ceiling of the Hôtel-Dieu, illuminated a book for the Cathedral chapter and provided a design for a gate that was to be sculpted for the Hôtel-Dieu.<sup>134</sup>

Charles VIII issued statutes regulating the arts and professions in Bourges when he reorganised the municipal administration in 1492.<sup>135</sup> Statutes were issued again for Bourges painters and stained glass makers in 1548 and 1567, when it was brought to the attention of the city authorities by Jacques Piet and other Master painters and glaziers that the abuse of liberties in the trade made it necessary to establish an order for the Masters that would control the work of its members so it was well and dutifully made:

'...sur la requeste a nous presentée par Jacques Piet, Jehan Palteau, Touchard demeurat, Pierre Lefebvre et Antoine Rouzier tous Maistres Peintres et Vistriens en ceste ville de Bourges tendante a ce que pour obvier aux abuz qui se commettent en l'exercice dud Mestier Et establir l'ordre nécessaire pour contenir chacun Maistre et son debvoir et que les ouvrages dicelluy soient bien et deuement faicts à l'utilité et commodité publique.'<sup>136</sup>

The guild protected and recognised the work of its members. Only painters or glaziers who belonged to the guild were allowed to paint funerary coats of arms, for instance; non-members risked paying a fine.<sup>137</sup>

The members of the Bourges confraternity wished to establish a *Luminaire de la Confrairie* in the church of Sainte-Claire to venerate their patron saint, Saint Luke, painter

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<sup>131</sup> Leproux 2001, 15.

<sup>132</sup> Toubeau de Maisonneuve 1881, 45, 226.

<sup>133</sup> Reynolds 2003, 17.

<sup>134</sup> Goldman 2008, 4.

<sup>135</sup> Meslé 1988, 125.

<sup>136</sup> Toubeau de Maisonneuve 1881, 231.

<sup>137</sup> Toubeau de Maisonneuve 1881, 234.

of the Virgin Mary, that is, to organise the burning of altar candles in perpetuity.<sup>138</sup> Each member of the confraternity was obliged to take part in the masses organised in Sainte-Claire on the feast of Saint Luke and those celebrated for recently deceased members of the confraternity; any absentee without a legitimate excuse faced paying a fine.<sup>139</sup> Masses were also organised on every first Sunday of the month.<sup>140</sup> In financing a chapel where masses were offered for members, living and dead, the guilds 'fostered their members' spiritual welfare and expressed their corporate identity'.<sup>141</sup>

The 1618 statutes for Bourges glaziers give precise information on the form of the masterwork, *chef d'œuvre*, required for becoming a master: a rectangle of glass, 10 x 8 thumbs in size, in azur, with three fleurs-de-lis in yellow, and with a border in several colours; attention was paid to the detail of careful cutting, and it was specified that no black paint should show around the fleurs-de-lis.<sup>142</sup>

Despite the arts and crafts in France being organised into guilds, the difficulties in which some artists found themselves was beyond the control of professional and religious brotherhoods. The illuminator Jean Gillemer, for instance, was arrested as a suspected spy in service of the *Ligue de Bien Public* in 1471; he claimed that the cryptic scraps of writing he was carrying were not secret messages to Prince Charles but love talismans and charms against illnesses.<sup>143</sup> In 1483, a young Bourges artist, twenty-two years of age, had forcefully taken the sacred host from the hand of the priest celebrating mass in the chapel of the royal palace, for which crime he was punished to the extent of having his hand cut off and burned.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Toubreau de Maisonneuve 1881, 231-32.

<sup>139</sup> Toubreau de Maisonneuve 1881, 234.

<sup>140</sup> Toubreau de Maisonneuve 1881, 235.

<sup>141</sup> Reynolds 2003, 18.

<sup>142</sup> Toubreau de Maisonneuve 1881, 232.

<sup>143</sup> Freeman 1960, 117-118.

<sup>144</sup> Batereau 1882, 7 [item 21].

## 2.5 Art production and collecting

Art performed a public function in late medieval society that to some extent has been lost today. Images of persons who had showed disloyalty against the king were painted hung by their feet from the gallows and displayed on the main squares of the city.<sup>145</sup> City gates were decorated with paintings and sculptures to welcome those who entered within the city walls, whilst simultaneously protecting the city and displaying its power and importance. In Bourges, an equestrian statue once marked the gate of Croix du Pierre, while a large statue of the Virgin Mary with a small angel protected the gate of Saint Privé.<sup>146</sup>

Art played an important role in displaying municipal power. In Bourges, stained glass windows were made regularly upon the inauguration of a new mayor, or *échevin*, with new lancets created for the hôtel des Échevins (hôtel de ville) with the coats of arms and mottos of the new appointees.<sup>147</sup>

Works of art were increasingly produced for private individuals, particularly in support of devotional practices. In Bourges, princes of the blood, royal officers, ecclesiastics, the nobility and rich merchants all commissioned work from local artists. Jean de Bar, the chamberlain of Charles VII, and later of Louis XI, and bailiff of Touraine, engaged artists from Bourges to decorate his château de Baugy. These included five large statues of the Virgin and Saints Andrew, James, Mary Magdalene and Catherine by Michel Colombe commissioned in 1463, and paintings by Jean de Montluçon.<sup>148</sup> Jean de Bar's son, Denis, canon of Bourges, bishop of Tulle in 1472 and of Saint-Papoul in 1496, organised the building of the family chapel in Bourges Cathedral in 1468.<sup>149</sup>

Inventories reveal a great deal about art production and tastes of the patrons. The 1505 inventory of Guillaume de Cambrai, the archbishop of Bourges in 1492-1505, records that he owned a large painting of *Ecce homo*, and various textiles, including a

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<sup>145</sup> Ribault 1994, 295-296.

<sup>146</sup> Bourges, BM, ms. 273, according to an epigram of J suite Foureroy, as cited by Girardot, 1861, 2; for the statue of the Virgin, see Girardot 1861, 27.

<sup>147</sup> Girardot 1861, 2. Thus, Philippe Bouer, the first mayor of the city, would also once have had his arms displayed publicly in Bourges; today his legacy is more hidden, as his family arms are only found painted into the small devotional manuscript, the Bouer Hours, conserved in Leeds, hundreds of kilometres from Bourges.

<sup>148</sup> Coyecque 1930-1931, 88. See also Ribault 2001, 25; Favi re 1996, 66.

<sup>149</sup> Baugy 1981, 67. In Goldman 2011, 6, Jean de Bar also known as Pion de Bar.

*bousseure de drap* embroidered and ornamented with hearts, a tapestry set including the *Annunciation*, the *Adoration of the Magi*, and a tapestry with three Moors holding the arms of Jacques Cœur, and an altar cloth with the *Crucifixion*.<sup>150</sup> The inventory of Michel Bucy, the archbishop of Bourges in 1505-1511, reveals him as a great bibliophile; for in addition to his portrait, he owned 68 books, both printed and in manuscript.<sup>151</sup>

The chapel of Saint John the Baptist, founded in Bourges Cathedral by the archdeacon Jean du Breuil (1406-1468) in 1467, was decorated around 1475 with an ensemble of works illustrating the life of Christ, the commission overseen by Jean's brother, the canon Martin du Breuil (1410-1480).<sup>152</sup> The programme of decoration included two monumental wall paintings representing the *Noli me tangere* and the *Crucifixion*, floral decoration on the rest of the walls and the vaulted ceiling, a stained glass window depicting the *Adoration of the Magi*, a now-lost statue of the Virgin (probably of the Virgin and Child), and an altarpiece, also lost, which would have hung above the altar, the only unpainted area of the wall, left in reserve.<sup>153</sup> The beautiful wall paintings of the *Noli me tangere* and the *Crucifixion* were discovered only recently, during the 1990s, beneath a layer of light grey paint (figs. 2.5.1-2).<sup>154</sup> Nicole Reynaud has convincingly argued that their author was the artist also responsible for the *Adoration of the Magi* stained glass (or at least its real-size cartoon). The generous draperies are comparable, as are the carefully animated facial features and the melancholic expressions, as observed, for instance, on the beautiful face of Bathazar (fig. 2.5.3).<sup>155</sup> The same artist would most probably also have painted the lost altarpiece; indeed, the decoration of an entire chapel was entrusted to an individual artist more often than surviving examples would lead one to believe.<sup>156</sup> The figure style of this artist indicates Netherlandish training, while the ample space in the compositions, particularly in the *Crucifixion*, suggests an Italian influence. Perhaps it was Henri de Vulcob, the painter documented in Bourges in the service of Charles of France in 1463-4 and then as an independent artist, who painted these murals at the end of his career, before he died in

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<sup>150</sup> Girardot 1861, 7.

<sup>151</sup> Girardot 1861, 7.

<sup>152</sup> Ribault and Aurat 1994; Ribault 1995, 130, 200-202.

<sup>153</sup> See Reynaud 1996, 287; Aurat and Baudoin 2003, 63. In some of the literature the subject of the stained glass is described as the *Nativity*, although the Magi are present with their offerings.

<sup>154</sup> Aurat and Baudoin, 2003, 63.

<sup>155</sup> Reynaud 1996, 289-91.

<sup>156</sup> Reynaud 1996, 291.

1479.<sup>157</sup> The *Adoration of the Magi* stained glass window appears to have been inspired by the unified composition of the revolutionary *Annunciation* stained glass in the Cœur chapel, made twenty-five years earlier,<sup>158</sup> the latter undoubtedly authored by Charles VII's official painter Jacob de Litemont, drawing on forms of Jan van Eyck.<sup>159</sup>

A number of goldsmiths were documented in Bourges. The goldsmith Pierre de Chappe was charged with the restoration of the reliquary of Saint Étienne for the Cathedral: the work on the reliquary took six years from 1476 to 1482 and the undertaking was financially aided by the archbishop Jean Cœur.<sup>160</sup> Nicolas Ragueau received a commission in 1504 for a reliquary of Saint Lucy for the Cathedral.<sup>161</sup> Henry Baudoin sold two enamelled gold rings set with diamonds to Louis XI in 1464.<sup>162</sup> Jean Ragueau sold a precious stone for 10 écus in 1511.<sup>163</sup> Réginald Légier prepared, for the royal entry to Bourges in 1506 of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany, a gold medallion for the king and a saltcellar in the form of a hut supported by two sheep (in reference to the city arms) for the queen.<sup>164</sup>

Did the textile industry in Bourges extend to the production of tapestries? The inventory of the goods of Jacques Cœur made in 1453-1456 by one procureur Dauvet, mentions three tapestry makers: Jean Lecuyer, as well as Jean and Guillaume Rabienné, the latter expressly specified as living in Bourges.<sup>165</sup> Amongst others, the tapestry maker Simonnet Ramard is documented living in Bourges around 1505.<sup>166</sup> The magnificent recent acquisition made by the Louvre, the canopy tapestry of Charles VII in wool and silk, representing two angels dressed in blue tunics decorated with fleurs-de-lis and holding a crown on a bright red ground under a large sun in gold (one of Charles's emblems), shows evident stylistic similarities to the work of Jacob de Litemont, the apparent author of the stained glass windows in the Cœur chapel in Bourges Cathedral and the painted vaulted ceiling in the chapel of the hôtel Jacques Cœur (figs. 2.5.4-5).<sup>167</sup> Could the tapestry have also been weaved in Bourges?

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<sup>157</sup> As suggested by Frédéric Elsig, see Elsig 2004, 40.

<sup>158</sup> Reynaud 1996, 288-89; also followed by Thiébaud 2001, 160.

<sup>159</sup> See particularly Lorentz 2012.

<sup>160</sup> Girardot 1861, 6; Bardelot 2009, 24.

<sup>161</sup> Verlet-Réaumont 1977, 287.

<sup>162</sup> Cassagnes-Broquet, 2007, 110.

<sup>163</sup> Girardot 1861, 5.

<sup>164</sup> Verlet-Réaumont 1977, 78.

<sup>165</sup> Goldman 2013, 25-26.

<sup>166</sup> Goldman 2008, 5.

<sup>167</sup> Antoine 2010.

In 1466, Pierre de Crosses, canon of the Sainte-Chapelle and later of the Cathedral, gave a set of six tapestry wall hangings representing the *Life of Saint Étienne* to the Cathedral.<sup>168</sup> In 1476, the archbishop Jean Cœur (1446-1483) offered the cathedral of Bourges two tapestries.<sup>169</sup> Guillaume Breuil offered a set of four tapestry wall hangings of the *Life of Saint Ursin* for the collegial church of Saint Ursin in Bourges, though they at least appear to have been produced in Tournai, in the first half of the sixteenth century.<sup>170</sup> Antoine Bohier, archbishop of Bourges in 1514-1519, offered the Cathedral eleven tapestries.<sup>171</sup> While in the beginning of the sixteenth century, a tapestry was realised for the marriage of the local Étienne Barbier, *grènetier du grenier à sel*, an officer of the salt store, of Selles-sur-Cher and later, of Vierzon, and Françoise Charrier; the place of production remains unknown.<sup>172</sup>

Local artists were also employed to make decorations for official royal entries to the city. Queen Anne in 1494, Charles VIII in 1495, and Louis XII in 1505 made notable royal entries to Bourges. Ephemeral art of this nature, generally painted on paper, no longer survives. In 1502, the Queen of Hungary was apparently even asked to delay her entrance to the city until a particular *poste* with her arms and those of Bourges were ready.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Bardelot 2009, 26. One of which, *The Arrival of the Relics of Saint Étienne in Chalcedon*, survives in the Musée du Berry.

<sup>169</sup> Bardelot 2009, 26.

<sup>170</sup> Favière, 1996, 81 (Favière claims the tapestry set was given by Breuil in 1500, yet this appears too early a date for their production). Three of the tapestry hangings are conserved in Bourges, Musée du Berry, Inv. 1898.15.1-3; see the database Joconde.

<sup>171</sup> Bardelot 2009, 26.

<sup>172</sup> Goldman 2008, 3.

<sup>173</sup> Girardot 1861, 30.

### 3 The Master of Spencer 6: Attributions and Patrons

#### 3.1 Documented illuminators in Bourges, 1470-1510

Professions were organised within districts in medieval towns. Around 1500, the artists' quarters in Bourges were in the parish of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier, one of the city's sixteen parishes, a short distance down the road from the Cathedral, in the same area where artists had already concentrated in the beginning of the century, at the time of Jean, Duke of Berry (maps 1 and 2). The duke's architect Guy de Dammartin, his sculptor André Beauneveu and his illuminator Pol Limbourg had lived here.<sup>174</sup>

At the end of the fifteenth century, some ten illuminators were active in Bourges according to archival documents (fig. 3.1.1).<sup>175</sup> Several documents from 1463 to 1493/4 mention Jean Colombe. Jean Colombe's son and principal heir, Philibert, took over the house of his father in 1493/4, in which he stayed until his death in 1504/5, while Jean's other son, François, is documented in 1497/98 occupying a house on rue des Écrivains, not far from Philibert, before leaving Bourges in the same year for Tours to work with his uncle, the sculptor Michel Colombe.<sup>176</sup> A letter from Jean Lemaire de Belges to Margaret of Austria records that François died in 1512.<sup>177</sup> The illuminator Jean Couart is documented from 1469 until his death, which occurred some time before 1498.<sup>178</sup> Laurent Croff is documented as *enlumineur* in Bourges from 1488 until 1495.<sup>179</sup> The illuminator Jean Cuyin is documented between 1485 and 1495.<sup>180</sup> The illuminator Jean Lemaire was active from 1479 until his death some time before 1509/10; from 1485, Lemaire occupied the former house of Philippe Colombe's widow.<sup>181</sup> The painter and illuminator Jean Raoul, from the Bourbonnais town of Montluçon (the name of which he took as his surname after installing himself in Bourges), was born around 1417 and was active in Bourges between 1461 and 1493/4, the year of his death; his son, Jacquelin

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<sup>174</sup> Favière 1996, 71.

<sup>175</sup> Goldman 2002.

<sup>176</sup> Ribault 2001, 20-21.

<sup>177</sup> Bancel 1970, 219-222.

<sup>178</sup> Goldman 2002, 7.

<sup>179</sup> AD, 7 G 190-192; Goldman 2002, 7. His name might be Crofft or Croff. The first record of Croff, in 1488, refers to one *Jean* Croff, probably due to a scribal error.

<sup>180</sup> AD, 7 G 189-190; Goldman 2002, 7.

<sup>181</sup> This is not Jean Lemaire de Belges, but another illuminator of that name; Goldman 2002, 13; Ribault 2001, 16.

de Montluçon, also a painter, was born in 1463 and died in 1505.<sup>182</sup> Finally, the illuminator Laurent Boiron is documented in the city between 1479 and 1511.<sup>183</sup>

The house Jean Colombe had built between 1467 and 1471 could be found in front of the cemetery and public square of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier, on rue des Écrivains, which ran from the Porte Jaune to the parish of Notre-Dame-du-Fourchaud (today rue Porte-Jaune; map 2, no. 38; fig. 3.1.2, house marked in green).<sup>184</sup> This part of rue des Écrivains was called rue du Collet d'Or. On either side of Jean and his wife Colette lived the carpenter Pierre Marideau and his wife, Jeanne, and the master mason of the Cathedral, Macé Chevreau, and his wife (map 2, nos. 37 and 39).<sup>185</sup> Next to Pierre Marideau, in the corner of the road, lived the *menuisier*, Pierre de la Couste (map 2, no. 40).<sup>186</sup> Jean de Montluçon lived four houses farther down the road from Colombe, on the opposite side (map 2, no. 30; fig. 3.1.2, blue).<sup>187</sup> Following the fire of 1467, Jean de Montluçon acquired with two other parties - his brother-in-law, Martin Debrielle, who was a notary, and Hannequin Roddebert, *verrier* - the land in the corner of rue Collet d'Or and the cemetery of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier, on which they built four houses (map 2, nos. 28-31).<sup>188</sup> It is not insignificant that in 1487 the stained glass maker Hannequin Roddebert could be found living next door to him, since it may have been Hannequin who trained Jacquelin de Montluçon in stained glass painting, as discussed below (map 2, no. 29). Twenty-five years later, in 1502, Jacquelin de Montluçon was living near the convent of the Jacobins,<sup>189</sup> where the university and its schools between rue Moyenne and the church of the Jacobins (map 4, the area of the university around the church of the Jacobins marked in red) were also installed.<sup>190</sup> The illuminators Jean Cuyn and Laurent Croff took it in turns to occupy a house on rue des Écrivains, Jean living and working there from 1485/6 to 1488/89 and again in 1490/1, with Laurent occupying it in between and after 1491/2.<sup>191</sup> Jean Couart lived near the Cathedral next door to his

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<sup>182</sup> Ribault 1994, 287, 294.

<sup>183</sup> AM, Bourges, CC4; AD, 7 G 23, 8 G 956, 7 G 197; Goldman 2002, 5.

<sup>184</sup> Ribault, 1994, 292. Map after Goldman 1987, 44.

<sup>185</sup> AD, 7 G 185, f. 7v; Ribault 2001, 17-18.

<sup>186</sup> AD, 7 G 185, f. 7v.

<sup>187</sup> Ribault 1994, 292.

<sup>188</sup> Ribault 1994, 291-292. The house came to be occupied by the Pinet family.

<sup>189</sup> Ribault 1994, 294; AM Bourges CC 273, the document refers to works on the pavement in front of his house.

<sup>190</sup> For the university, Buhot de Kersers 1977, 283.

<sup>191</sup> AD, 7 G 189-190; Goldman 2002, 7.

brother-in-law, Guillaume Labbe, who was *verrier*.<sup>192</sup> Jean, Duke of Berry, had installed, in 1411, Pol Limbourg in the large hôtel farther down the same rue des Écrivains, on the part that was called rue de la Fichault, the address at which the *Très riches heures* would have been illuminated (map 2, no. 24, which corresponds to the modern 5 rue Porte-Jaune);<sup>193</sup> while Guillaume de Varye, one of the closest friends and collaborators of Jacques Cœur, had lived at the end of the road (beyond no. 55 in map 2).<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> Schaefer 1980, 59.

<sup>193</sup> Ribault 1968, 40.

<sup>194</sup> Ribault 1992, 62.

### 3.2 Dating the Spencer manuscripts and printed books

Within the group of attributions, three dated manuscripts provide the basis for establishing an approximate period of activity for the Master of Spencer 6. The earliest, a book of hours in the use of Troyes, is dated 1488 in the incipit to Matins: 'Incipiunt hore beate marie virginis secundum usum tircensis [sic], ad matutinem, M. iii. [sic] C. lxxxviii'.<sup>195</sup> The latest dated manuscript is a Psalter in the use of Tours, in which each page of the calendar is dated '1512', the year in which the manuscript was undoubtedly first taken into use, thus suggesting that it was produced the year before, during 1511. It is quite possible that this was one of the last manuscripts (if not the last), produced by the Master of Spencer 6, since no other known manuscript illuminated in this style appears to be datable to the second decade of the sixteenth century. One other dated manuscript is a book of hours prepared, according to an inscription on its leaves, for Guillaume de Seigne and his wife Claudine Fortier, on the occasion of their marriage that took place on Monday 28th August 1508. The manuscript may have been painted in the early part of the year 1508.

Neither of the two printed books with images in the Spencer style is dated. The printing of the *Horloge de dévotion* appears, however, to date from no later than 1496, since one copy from the same edition is found in the accounts of Louise of Savoy in 1496.<sup>196</sup> A *terminus ante quem* of 1500 is provided for the illumination and personalisation of the Spencer copy by the death of the patron, Madeleine d'Amboise. The other printed book, the Huntington Hours, derives from an edition printed in Paris by Thielman Kerver for Guillaume Eustace around 1500, as datable in comparison with other editions issued by Eustace.<sup>197</sup>

Collaboration with identifiable illuminators facilitates dating. The death of Jean Poyer in 1503/1504 gives a *terminus ante quem* for his large miniatures in the Lallemand Missal, while the homogeneity of style and production suggests that the small miniatures in the Spencer style were illuminated around the same time. The move to Tours in 1498 by François Colombe provides a *terminus ante quem* for at least his miniatures in the Paris

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<sup>195</sup> The correct Latin form of Troyes is tricensis, and the date should have been in the form: M. iv. C. lxxxviii (1000 + 4 x 100 + 88); Sotheby's 1 Dec 1987, lot 67, 144.

<sup>196</sup> Winn, 1997, 202.

<sup>197</sup> The date of this *Horae* edition seems to be c. 1500, as recorded in GW 13286, Lacombe 93, Bohatta 415, Van Praet I 254, rather than c. 1497 as noted in Plummer 1982, 74, and followed in Avril and Reynaud 1993, 344, Wieck in Alexander, Marrow and Freeman Sandler 2005, 279.

*Troye*, one of which he signed; it seems likely, based on the style, that the Master of Spencer 6 did not work on his miniatures much later than that date.

Numerous borrowings from the *Très riches heures* in the Spencer group of manuscripts provide a *terminus post quem* of 1485 for all the attributions, the year in which Jean Colombe and his assistants began to complete the manuscript for its new owner, Charles I, Duke of Savoy, as indicated by the first payment made to Colombe.<sup>198</sup> Locally shared and copied drawings deriving from this illumination campaign can be imagined behind the compositions and motifs that bind together a relatively tight stylistic group of manuscripts around the Hours of 1488; thus they are datable to a period closely following the completion of the *Très riches heures* (begun in 1485).

The remaining manuscripts attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 are tentatively dated on the basis of stylistic and contextual evidence, as well as costume, as discussed below and in the catalogue. The independent career of the Master of Spencer 6, following his training and apprentice period, can thus be provisionally placed between the earliest and the latest dated manuscripts, between 1487 and 1511.

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<sup>198</sup> Document published in Dufour and Rabut 1870, 110.

### 3.3 Localising the Spencer books and reconstructing the movements of the Master of Spencer 6

Localisable and datable works are the base for reconstructing the movements of an illuminator. The intended destination of liturgical books can be determined by their texts. Calendar, Litany and Suffrages tend to emphasise local saints, while the main texts are also customised according to the liturgy of a diocese. These texts can be studied in order to localise manuscripts, for instance in books of hours, by comparing Antiphons and Capitula of the canonical hours of Prime and None, the choice of responsaries and versicles in the Office of the Dead, as well as wordings of certain prayers (see Appendix to Catalogue). Nevertheless, profane manuscripts cannot be localised in this way, nor can the several liturgical manuscripts attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 that are in the general use of Rome, such as the eponymous Spencer Hours. However, in order to reveal their original destination, other evidence in the manuscripts can provide clues, such as patrons, collaborators, and reproductions of local art or buildings.

Also beyond the text, the style of painting is considered at the outset, in the interest of localising manuscripts to a particular geographical region. Jean Colombe, Jean de Montluçon, their sons, assistants and workshops, and a number of anonymous illuminators, including the Master of Spencer 6, share certain elements in their painting that could be called a Bourges style, as identified at the end of the fifteenth century. Colours were generally warm and gay, with gold used profusely for highlighting and modelling. Draperies were treated with fine and often generous gold hatching. Double-compartment layouts were common, often combined with the dramatic close-up, a compositional technique also popular in Tours. When figures are painted in close-up, they tend to have wistful, emotional expressions. Scenes were set within landscapes based on strong models or against vast architectural structures with faux-relief sculpture painted in camaïeu, the latter undoubtedly inspired by local buildings such as the hôtel Jacques Cœur (constructed in 1443-51) and the hôtel des Echevins (constructed in 1489-90), both decorated with figures appearing in fake windows. Interiors were regularly painted with grey walls with pilasters and scallop shell recesses. Landscapes were painted with convincing atmospheric perspective, with diluted blues suggesting distant horizons. Landforms include small isolated hills shaped like horns, with tufts of grass topping the rock formations. In topographical portraiture of Bourges, the edifices

and châteaux of the Loire Valley were frequently included. Architectural borders favoured gothic ogee columns up to about 1480, after which date Renaissance arches and architraves gradually took over. Italianate motifs of putti, flower garlands, and antique vases were introduced into the ornamentation. Figures were placed first in gothic niches, then on plinths and on top of columns, either for decoration or to suggest a deeper reading for the image. Incipits for texts were often displayed on trompe-l'œil cartouches laid on top of scenes, or written on the frieze of the entablature or the plinth of the border decoration. Compositions for miniatures favoured conservative theological ideas. The general Bourges style appears to have born from a mixture of currents, on one hand, feeding from the movement on the Paris-Lyon axis, and on the other hand, inherent in the visual culture of Jean Fouquet and the newly rediscovered French identity within pictorial arts, particularly flourishing in the Loire Valley. Illuminators in Bourges interpreted the tradition of Fouquet in a somewhat 'angular and expressive' language,<sup>199</sup> while also showing an affinity with the production of Paris and Lyon.

Local painting style, or preference for certain compositions and motifs, often stemmed from a memorable locally-made manuscript. In Bourges, manuscript painting at the end of the fifteenth century reflects the illuminators' awareness of the Limbourg compositions in the *Très riches heures*.<sup>200</sup> Seemingly partial drawings became available when Jean Colombe and his workshop were completing the manuscript in the years following the first payment made to him in August 1485.<sup>201</sup> Although Colombe was present at the court of Savoy when the second payment was made to him on 3 June 1486, and possibly during some months that followed, he appears to have been able to work on the *Très riches heures* in Bourges, since he is continually mentioned in the accounts of the chapter of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier from 1463 to 1493, except for the second part of the 1487 and the first part of 1488 (when most probably he was in Savoy).<sup>202</sup> Borrowings particularly from the Limbourg part of the manuscript demonstrate that all quires, including the ones already painted, were available to Colombe and his team of illuminators.

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<sup>199</sup> Elsig 2011, 173.

<sup>200</sup> Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 65.

<sup>201</sup> Document relating to the payment published in Dufour and Rabut 1870, 110.

<sup>202</sup> Ribault 1994, 299; Jacob 2012, 33.

The miniature of the *Betrayal of Christ* in the Bouer Hours, for instance, incorporates a detail revealing precise knowledge of the *Ego sum* composition by the Limbourg brothers (figs. 3.3.1-4).<sup>203</sup> The direct quotation shows Malchus's arm and the lantern lying on the ground in exactly the same position in the left foreground corner of the Bouer *Betrayal* miniature as is found in the *Ego sum* scene in the *Très riches heures*. Since no other element of the miniature was copied, the *Betrayal* was probably based on a partial drawing from the *Ego sum* or an intermediate miniature.

The unusual full-page calendar created by the Limbourg brothers was particularly influential. The breviary made in the Montluçon workshop for the Scottish Monypenny family included a calendar with no fewer than five separate miniature designs on each page.<sup>204</sup> The calendar images in the Boisrouvray Hours, attributable to Jacquelin de Montluçon, fill the entire pages. Our illuminator's *opus magnum*, the Spencer Hours, includes charming scenes for each month of the year, on full page.

The Limbourg brothers impressed the Duke Jean with their seasonal landscapes in the calendar of the *Très riches heures*, depicting appropriate weather and even snow. The February scene appears to have been particularly influential amongst Bourges illuminators and patrons (fig. 3.3.5). A decade before, before 1407, a cycle of months had been painted on the walls of the Buonconsiglio castle in Trento, including an exquisite January, with noblemen and women having a joyful snowball fight in the foreground (fig. 3.3.6). In the 1420s, the Bedford Master depicted the *Nativity* in a snow-filled landscape in the book of hours prepared for John of Lancaster, the Duke of Bedford and Regent of France based in Paris and Normandy.<sup>205</sup> While the snowy mountains of the *Nativity* landscape may betray the painter's Alsacien origin (if he is to be identified with the documented illuminator Haincelin de Hagenau), at any rate it would have made sense for an artist and patron in Northern Europe to represent Christ's birth in the winter. Similarly, Jacquelin de Montluçon represented *Nativity* in a winter landscape in the so-called Hours of Louis d'Orléans in Saint Petersburg,<sup>206</sup> while Jean Colombe showed the *Adoration of the Magi* in snow in the so-called Cœur Hours in Munich.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> I am grateful to Jean-Yves Ribault for our discussion about this detail; Airaksinen 2010, 9.

<sup>204</sup> De Hamel 1989, 131; Beck 1929, 272.

<sup>205</sup> London, BL, Add. Ms. 18850.

<sup>206</sup> Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Lat. Q.v.I.126.

<sup>207</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 10103.

The finest snow scene attributable to the Master of Spencer 6 is found illustrating the month of February in the Bouer Hours, showing two peasants shovelling snow on the foreground of a wintry landscape (fig. 3.3.7). In the Hours of 1488, a similar snowy landscape survives for January, here presenting Aquarius in the form of a nude boy, pouring water onto the ground on the foreground (fig. 3.3.8). As in the Bouer scene, a gravel path leads to a house with snow-topped roofs, a wattle fence and a wooden cart in the yard. In this manuscript, Capricorn, the sea-goat, was also represented in a wintry landscape, appropriate for this sign of the zodiac in December. The manuscript lacks its leaf for February, the only missing leaf from the calendar, and thus undoubtedly another magnificent winter landscape whose beauty encouraged some former owner to excise it from the book. That special attention was granted particularly to this scene is evident also in the Bouer Hours: the *February* is notably one of the most affective scenes in the manuscript, and certainly the most finely painted calendar page.

Two manuscripts, painted locally in 1480 and around 1500 respectively, the *Livre des propriétés des choses* of Barthélemy l'Anglais and a book of hours in the liturgical usage of Bourges or Tours, include hunters proceeding with their dogs in winter landscapes (figs. 3.3.9-10).<sup>208</sup> While these splendid scenes share the local fascination in the representation of seasonal landscapes, they do not borrow any particular motifs directly from the *Très riches heures*. The Franciscan Missal held today in Lyon that was illuminated in Bourges in the Montluçon and Colombe workshops, includes a February scene that shares, however, some of the spirit of the Limbourg *February* (fig. 3.3.11).<sup>209</sup> As in the Bouer Hours, peasants, dressed in tunics, stockings and hats, shovel snow, and a gravel path leads the eye through the snow to timber-framed houses with long chimneys and fenced-off yards occupied by wooden carts and bare trees. While these scenes show no direct visual quotation from the *February* in the *Très riches heures*, they recreate an atmosphere similar to that inspired by the Duke of Berry's manuscript. The illuminators perhaps worked from partial drawings or inspired miniatures that ultimately derived from the Limbourg designs.

A more direct borrowing can be found, for instance, of the hunting scene painted by the Limbourg brothers for the month of December in the *Très riches heures*, closely reproduced in the Lyon Franciscan Missal (figs. 3.2.12-13). While the boar is

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<sup>208</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 9140; Tours, BM, ms. 2283.

<sup>209</sup> Lyon, BM, ms. 514. Cotton, 1965, 265-320, no. 63; Favière and Porcher 1951, no. 27; Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1955, no. 328. Avril and Reynaud, 1993, 339.

facing in the opposite direction, the hunting dogs seizing it with their teeth are arranged in a very similar manner. Exactly the same detail of the hunting dogs seizing the boar, as depicted in the *Très riches heures*, is found in Giovanni de Grassi's book of drawings from around 1380-1400 (fig. 3.3.14).<sup>210</sup> While it is possible that the Limbourg brothers, or rather the eldest, Pol Limbourg, saw the book in the court of Gian Galeazzo Visconti in Milan, it is perhaps more likely that he copied the compositions from a model book. Rather than also travelling to the Buonconsiglio Castle in Trento to see the frescos that predate the famous calendar scenes in the *Très riches heures*, the Limbourg brothers may have seen drawings reproducing them, perhaps via their patron. Compositional borrowings found on both sides of the Alps, suggest that books of drawings circulated in Europe, and certainly between Paris and northern Italy.

The Master of Spencer 6 also found inspiration in the Limbourg composition of the *Adoration of the Magi* in the *Très riches heures*, which he reinterpreted in the Lallemand Missal (figs. 3.3.15-16). In both, the source image and the Lallemand *Adoration*, the oldest magus, Gaspar, is resting his left hand on the ground, while with his right hand he is reaching to kiss the foot of the Christ Child. A cloth, from which his gift of gold has been unravelled, winds like a scarf behind his back, around his arm, and under his hand, in the exact manner of the *Très riches heures*. A younger magus, Melchior, is shown in profile, kneeling as he holds out his offering, the cloth again winding around his shoulder. His spaulders, the armoured plates covering his shoulders and upper arms, are also repeated from the source image. The Virgin echoes the Limbourg composition with striking exactitude, from the position of her arms holding the Child, to the fall of the draperies shaping the form of her knees, and the turns of her veil around her face. The Master of Spencer 6 was evidently pleased with the composition as he recycled it, almost unchanged, in the Hours of Guillaume de Seigne (fig. 3.3.17). In fact, the Bedford Master had already borrowed the Limbourg composition in the book of hours made for John of Lancaster, the Duke of Bedford, and a number of other books of hours, in the 1420s.<sup>211</sup> While the Bedford Master had seen the *Très riches heures* when he completed

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<sup>210</sup> Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica, inv. A. Mai, cassaf.1.21. For the Limbourgs and Italian art, see for instance Schmidt 2005.

<sup>211</sup> London, BL, Add. ms. 18850; Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, LA 237; Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. 1855.

certain miniatures in the manuscript,<sup>212</sup> the Master of Spencer 6 may have worked from drawings.

In addition to the *Très riches heures*, other famous local manuscripts exerted their influence on manuscript illumination in Bourges in the later fifteenth century. The *Betrayal of Christ* miniature attributable to Jean Fouquet in the Hours of Charles of France appears to have become known amongst Bourges illuminators, undoubtedly through the Bourges-based illuminator who painted the rest of the miniatures, the Master of Charles of France.<sup>213</sup> The colouring, atmosphere and composition of the *Betrayal of Christ* are strikingly close to the treatment of the same subject attributable to Jacquelin de Montluçon in the Bouer Hours (figs. 4.7.140-141).

Attempts have been made to identify the anonymous Master of Charles of France with one Jean de Laval, mentioned in the Duke Charles's accounts as the *enlumineur* and *paintre* of *Monseigneur le duc*, to whom payments were made in 1463, 1467 and 1468.<sup>214</sup> Other illuminators associated with Charles of France were the illuminator Jean Gillemer, who in 1471 sold a book of hours to Charles's mistress, and received orders from Charles for a breviary and from his sister, Madeleine, for a book of hours, as well as Henri de Vulcob, the painter-illuminator whose brother, Conrad, was the official painter of Charles VII, Charles's father, and who himself had worked for Charles's mother, Marie d'Anjou, before being mentioned in the Duke's accounts.<sup>215</sup> The identification of the artist with the latter is supported by his origins in the North, since, as has been suggested by François Avril, his earliest known work, a book of hours in the use of Poitiers, might indicate that he mixed in the milieu of René d'Anjou's painters, and notably Barthélémy d'Eyck, another immigrant artist of northern origin.<sup>216</sup>

Besides finding inspiration in drawings and models, illuminators represented local works of art and buildings in their manuscripts, which can provide evidence for localisation. The *Virgin and Child* in the Bouer Hours demonstrates close compositional affiliation with the statue of Notre-Dame-la-Blanche made for the Sainte-Chapelle of Bourges; both show the Christ Child placed centrally on his Mother's lap (figs. 3.3.18-

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<sup>212</sup> Stirnemann and Rabel 2005.

<sup>213</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 473. While the arms of the Prince as Duke of Berry on the miniature indicate it was painted sometime between 1461 and 1465, the rest of the miniatures were painted in 1465 as both the date and the arms of the Prince as Duke of Normandy show on the miniature today in New York (Cloisters, 58.71b); see Freeman 1960.

<sup>214</sup> Freeman 1960, 117.

<sup>215</sup> Freeman 1960, 117-118.

<sup>216</sup> Avril 2003, 308. Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 3191.

19).<sup>217</sup> The nude figures of Adam and Eve flanking the *Annunciation to the Virgin* in the Bouer Hours are similar to the sculpted figures of Adam and Eve depicted in the Hours of Louis de Laval illuminated in the Colombe workshop,<sup>218</sup> perhaps originally deriving from the stained glass window attributable to Jacob de Litemont in the chapel of Jacques Cœur in Bourges Cathedral (figs. 3.3.20-28).<sup>219</sup> Litemont's figures may have also inspired the particular tendency amongst Bourges illuminators to represent the zodiacal sign of Gemini not as twins but as a nude couple, alluding to Adam and Eve, partly concealing themselves behind a shield that was used for displaying the arms of the patron (figs. 3.3.29-32).

In the Langres Hours, to the Master of Spencer 6 can be attributed a group of mourners that appear loosely based on the mourners sculpted in alabaster by Étienne Bobillet and Paul Mosselman for the tomb of Jean, Duke of Berry, in 1450-1455 (figs. 3.3.33-34).<sup>220</sup> The illuminated mourners form part of a funeral procession in the predella below the miniature of *Job on the dunghill* beginning the Office of the Dead, and the manner in which their hoods entirely cover their faces is reminiscent of the sculpted figures made three decades earlier; by then derivative models undoubtedly circulated amongst local artists. A miniature of the Virgin of Pity, or *Pietà*, attributable to our illuminator in the Langres Hours, can also be associated with local sculpture. Mary is holding the dead body of her son on her knees, with the bright blue pigment of the voluminous draperies of the Virgin highlighting the pale body of Christ. The iconography was undoubtedly familiar to the artist from illumination, but *Pietà* was also a particularly popular subject in sculpture made in Berry in the fifteenth century. A statue of *Pietà* could be seen on one of the two altars under the rood screen in the Sainte-Chapelle of Bourges, as shown in a miniature attributed to Jean Colombe in a copy of *Passages d'Outremer*.<sup>221</sup> The statue of *Pietà* in the parish church of Saint-Georges in Saint-Jeanvrin, sixty kilometres south of Bourges, shows the Virgin in prayer with her

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<sup>217</sup> Today found in the Cathedral where it was moved in the eighteenth century when the Sainte-Chapelle was destroyed. I am grateful to Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot for drawing my attention to this comparison.

<sup>218</sup> Paris, BnF, lat. 920.

<sup>219</sup> I am grateful to Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot for pointing out this similarity. It should be added that although adopting the iconography, the illuminators failed to incorporate Litemont's remarkable trompe-l'œil effect in representing the figures as seen from below, *di sotto in sù*, observed, for instance, in the manner in which the toes of Adam and Eve are poking over the edge of the pendant in the stained glass (figs. 3.3.26-28).

<sup>220</sup> Bourges, Musée du Berry. For the completion of the tomb organised by Charles VII, see Ribault 2001, 24.

<sup>221</sup> *Passages d'Outremer faits par les Français contre les Turcs depuis Charlemagne*, Paris, BnF, fr. 5594; see also Chancel-Bardelot 2000, 46.

hands clasped together and eyes cast down on the chest of her dead son, as in the Langres miniature.<sup>222</sup> The open wound of the spear on his side and the position of his left arm lying on his hip are also very comparable. In the Langres miniature, the top of the Virgin's head, as those of the three Marys, is strangely flat as is so often the case for this illuminator's veiled figures.<sup>223</sup>

The subject matter depicted in miniatures may aid the localisation of manuscripts. In his books of hours at Vespers, the Master of Spencer 6 preferred to present the *Massacre of the Innocents* rather than the more common French choice, the *Flight to Egypt*.<sup>224</sup> The preference may reflect a local work of art that no longer survives. Or, the illuminator may have made the choice for artistic reasons. The *Massacre* enabled him to represent a dramatic event full of action that was not present in the other calm scenes of the Nativity cycle. Certainly, however, a preference for certain subjects could be regional; in manuscripts from southern Flanders, for instance, the subject of the *Massacre of the Innocents* was particularly in use in Hainaut and Tournaisis.<sup>225</sup>

Topographical portraiture of local architecture supports the localisation of manuscripts. Accurate portraits of architecture and recognisable views of cities had become popular in France in the 1450s and 1460s through the art of Jean Fouquet, as part of a project to rebuild the French national identity as the country recovered from the English occupation.<sup>226</sup> An excellent recent study has explored the representation of the castle of Mehun-sur-Yèvre in Bourges manuscripts, first by the Limbourg brothers for Jean, Duke of Berry, at the beginning the fifteenth century and then at the end of the century by Jean Colombe and his entourage.<sup>227</sup> Examples from the œuvre of the Master of Spencer 6 can be added to this group. The double-spread *Annunciation* in the Spencer Hours shows the castle from the north (figs. 3.3.36-37), a comparable angle to the celebrated aerial view of it in the *Temptation of Christ* miniature in the *Très riches heures* (fig. 3.3.35). The viewpoint in the Spencer Hours is lower and somewhat further to the east, in such a manner that the lateral side between the east tower and the great tower, and the roof of the great hall behind (between the east and the observatory towers) are

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<sup>222</sup> Chancel-Bardelot 2000, 57.

<sup>223</sup> Exactly the same peculiar feature can be found in another Saint-Jeanvrin *Pietà* (Chancel-Bardelot 2000, 57).

<sup>224</sup> As has already been remarked; Avril 2007, 186.

<sup>225</sup> Avril 1999, 9.

<sup>226</sup> See particularly Inglis 2011, 141-203; see also Lorentz 2003, 42-43.

<sup>227</sup> Girault 2011.

not visible in this miniature. Instead of the four circular towers that made up the castle, there appear to be five towers just visible, suggesting some confusion and the use of secondary sources by our illuminator. The great tower, the highest donjon that was also called the fiefs tower, is the closest to the viewer as in the *Très riches heures*, indicating that the castle is seen from the north (or slightly northeast), and not southeast as has been suggested elsewhere.<sup>228</sup> The chapel at the entrance to the castle, as shown in the *Très riches heures*, is not represented in the Spencer Hours. Here, a large hedge covers the view of the eastern side of the castle; thus the bridge and the chapel are not visible.

In the Spencer miniature, figures are represented promenading and seated on the banks of the pond surrounding the castle. A garden and a terrace separate the holy scene of the Annunciation in the foreground and the landscape with the castle in the background. (The three birds placed on the terrace will be discussed further in relation to patrons.) The enclosed garden, formally divided into cultivated portions and paths in the form of squares in fifteenth-century fashion, makes a reference to the *jardin de Bon repos*, as the garden was called at the time of Jean, Duke of Berry, and to *hortus conclusus*, symbolising the Virgin Mary.

The Master of Spencer 6 shows views of the Mehun-sur-Yèvre castle from the southeast on the background of the *Falconry* and *Courting* scenes in the calendar (figs. 3.3.38-39; in fig. 3.3.40, the red arrow shows the southeast viewpoint in these images, while the blue arrow indicates the northeast viewpoint taken for the images in the *Très riches heures* and the *Annunciation* in the Spencer Hours). In the *Courting* scene, the castle can be easily recognised by the bridge of three stone arches leading to the entrance. Meanwhile, the view of the castle in the background of *Falconry* is so close to that painted behind the *Annunciation to the Virgin* in the Hours of Charles of France that it seems likely that the Spencer Master had either seen the manuscript, or perhaps more likely, a partial drawing of the scene (fig. 3.3.41).<sup>229</sup>

The castle of Mehun-sur-Yèvre was transferred into royal hands in 1332, when Robert III d'Artois, the last lord of Mehun, was banished from the kingdom and his goods were confiscated for the crown of France.<sup>230</sup> Following the battle of Poitiers in 1356, the duchy of Berry was given as an appanage to Jean of France, who began important works in the castle of Mehun in 1367, and for whom the castle appears to

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<sup>228</sup> Girault 2011, 146.

<sup>229</sup> New York, Cloister Museum, Ms 58.71a.

<sup>230</sup> Bon 2005, 58.

have become both a symbol of political power and an artistic frame within which he hosted receptions, parties, and kept his extensive collections of works of art, jewels and curiosities.<sup>231</sup> Jean Froissart described the castle as 'l'une des plus belles maisons du monde'.<sup>232</sup> In the *Très riches heures*, the Limbourg brothers charmed their patron by allowing his château to dominate the image of the *Temptation of Christ*, thus representing 'all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them' with which the devil tempted Christ from the high mountain above (Matthew 4: 8; fig. 3.3.35). The castle of Mehun-sur-Yèvre appears to have continued to be identified with temptation. Jean Colombe, the Montluçons and their contemporaries in Bourges time and again made its grounds the setting for *Bathsheba Bathing*, now relating the castle to David's temptation, as found, for instance, in the book of hours painted by an anonymous Bourges illuminator working in the style of the Montluçon workshop (fig. 3.3.42).<sup>233</sup> Thus, the association of the castle with temptation seems to have prevailed in local visual memory, from the Limbourgs until the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, long after the castle was abandoned as a royal residence.<sup>234</sup>

The picture is rendered even more fascinating in the light of a *Bathsheba Bathing* attributed to the Montluçon workshop in a book of hours conserved today in Einsiedeln, in which Bathsheba is viewed in close-up in front of a palace that might refer to the ducal palace of Bourges constructed for Jean, Duke of Berry (figs. 3.3.43-45).<sup>235</sup> The palace was a building some two-hundred metres long, with a *logis* on its south side, a *galerie du Cerf* on the north side (perpendicular to the palace), giving access to the library on the east side, and the Sainte-Chapelle on the west.<sup>236</sup> The representation in the Einsiedeln Hours is not exact and the identification remains tentative. At any rate, the opening miniature to the Penitential Psalms offered multi-layered symbolic readings, inviting the viewer to contemplate temptation and penitence. The fountain on the foreground next to Bathsheba, echoing the fountain of Paradise, reminded the pious of

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<sup>231</sup> Bon 2005, 59.

<sup>232</sup> As cited in Longnon and Cazelles 1969, 217 and Georgi 2007, 58.

<sup>233</sup> Philadelphia, The Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis E 86, f. 96. Jean Colombe painted the subject of *Bathsheba Bathing* in front of the château de Mehun-sur-Yèvre for instance in the Hours of Guyot Le Peley (which survives today as an excised leaf in a private collection in New York, but originates between folios 100 and 101 of the manuscript that is Troyes, BM, ms. 3901) and the book of hours that is Florence, Bibliothèque Laurentienne, ms. Pal. Med. 147, f. 109; see Georgi 2007 and Bon 2011.

<sup>234</sup> After Charles VII died in Mehun in 1461, the castle appears to have been abandoned.

<sup>235</sup> Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 641. The manuscript was painted in collaboration with the late Colombe workshop. Milman 2003, 139-175.

<sup>236</sup> Autrand 2000, 365.

the original sin, linking Bathsheba with the temptation of Eve.<sup>237</sup> Next to the fountain, Bathsheba, represented as a temptress, invited the gaze of King David and the viewer, both prompting and warning against corporeal temptation. Finally, might the magnificent palace depicted on the background provide a locally recognised example of material temptation, given its ostentatious luxury? If the building is to be accepted as the palace of Jean of Berry, this latter reading would suggest that not only the castle of Mehun-sur-Yèvre, but also the entire legacy and person of the Duke Jean, as represented through his buildings, lived on in the imaginations of local people and continued to be associated with temptation.

Without its connotation of temptation, the castle of Mehun-sur-Yèvre was also represented on the leaves of a great number of locally-produced manuscripts. In the early 1460s, the Master of Charles of France painted a magnificent view of the Mehun château in a copy of the *Romuleon*, the humanist Benvenuto da Imola's compilation of Roman history, for Charles of France, Duke of Berry, who was now in charge of the duchy possessing the castle (fig. 3.3.47).<sup>238</sup> In this miniature, opening the second book of the work, horsemen are seen entering the castle, which is depicted from the front, followed by troops of soldiers. Some twenty years later, around 1485, Jean Colombe painted an extravagant view of the castle in another copy of the *Romuleon*, this one translated into French by Sébastien Mamerot and prepared for Louis Malet de Graville, Admiral of France (fig. 3.3.46).<sup>239</sup> Jean Colombe depicted the Mehun castle as the palace of Nero, described in the text as 'un palais très grand et merveilleux'.<sup>240</sup> The Colombe workshop also adopted other castles from the *Très riches heures* for the purposes of their illustration, as has been shown by Marie Jacob, copying, for instance, the castle of Saumur to represent the castle of Priam in the Paris *Troie*.<sup>241</sup> In another contemporary and locally-made manuscript, the Monypenny Breviary, Jacquelin de Montluçon depicted the entrance to the castle of Mehun-sur-Yèvre, with its extraordinary Sainte-Chapelle on two levels, in the background of the miniature *Christ performing a miracle* (fig.

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<sup>237</sup> Thomas Kren discussed the images of Bathsheba and Eve in the Hours of Louis d'Orléans, see Kren 2005, 49-50; see also Georgi 2007, 60.

<sup>238</sup> Cognoy, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 143.

<sup>239</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 364, f. 335.

<sup>240</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 473 and Paris, BnF, fr. 364, f. 335; as remarked by Marie Jacob at the conference 'Enjeux de la recherche sur l'enluminure médiévale. Les Manuscrits à peintures en France: vingt ans après' on 30 November 2013.

<sup>241</sup> Jacob 2012, 58.

3.3.48).<sup>242</sup> The illuminator replaced a city gate with the entrance to this recognisable castle in the manuscript made for an influential local Scottish family. Another frontal view of the castle could be found in the *Romuleon* attributed to the Colombe workshop.<sup>243</sup> Although accurate in many architectural details, the representations of the Mehun castle attributed to Colombe and Montluçon present, however, several artistic liberties and remain somewhat imaginative in comparison to the more rigorous exactitude of the monument by the Limbourgs in the *Très riches heures* or by the Master of Charles of France in his copy of the *Romuleon*.

Topographical portraiture in manuscripts made for local patrons often held personal connotations. The hôtel Jacques Cœur was painted in a book of hours destined for one of Jacques Cœur's descendants (fig. 3.3.49).<sup>244</sup> The Sainte-Chapelle and the cathedral of Bourges were also included on the pages of his manuscript.<sup>245</sup> Bourges illuminators appear to have painted edifices of their native town also for patrons from other cities, as demonstrates for instance, the representation of the Sainte-Chapelle of Bourges behind *Job on the dunghill with his companions* in the Hours prepared by the Colombe workshop for the Troyes family of Molé.<sup>246</sup>

The landscape vistas the Master of Spencer 6 painted in his miniatures often depict castles or cityscapes. Not all them are topographical portraiture, but some were invented for visual pleasure. The town in the snowy landscape of the January *Aquarius* scene in the Hours of 1488 may be Bourges (fig. 3.3.50). The large donjon on the far right could be the Grosse Tour, the royal fortress of Bourges, constructed under the

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<sup>242</sup> Private collection. I am grateful to James Marrow for sharing his images of this manuscript with me. See Girault 2011, 144.

<sup>243</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 364, f. 60; as was recognised by Paul Chenu, see Chenu 1931; see also Jacob 2012, 174, 275.

<sup>244</sup> Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 10103. The first owner of the Cœur Hours was a member of the Cœur family, although not the archbishop Jean Cœur, Jacques Cœur's son, whose other books of hours have survived, since he died in 1482 and the illumination contains references to the *Très riches heures* and thus the manuscript seems to date after 1486, but perhaps another son, Henri Cœur, canon of the Sainte-Chapelle in Bourges, or Jacques Cœur's grandson, also called Jacques Cœur. The added leaves, including the patron portrait on f. 15v, were perhaps painted around 1500 for Jacques de Bailliencourt (1467-1519) of Arras, as identified by the coat of arms painted on top of those of Cœur and the altered mottos, while the manuscript appears to have been completed for a third patron, possibly represented on ff. 72, 172; see Schaefer 1971, 148-155. The hôtel Jacques Cœur was also represented in the Hours of Louis de Laval, Paris, BnF, lat. 920, f. 315, see Chenu 1931. For this manuscript, see also Jacob 2012, who attributes the miniatures to Jean Colombe's sons and an anonymous contemporary illuminator.

<sup>245</sup> As has been observed by Thibault 1989, 18.

<sup>246</sup> Rodez, Société des Lettres, Sciences et Arts de l'Aveyron, ms. 1; see Avril 2007, 184-185, no. 42.

reign of Philippe-Auguste (1180-1223).<sup>247</sup> The Great Tower of Bourges was represented on the background of the miniature *Susanna Bathing* in the hours of Louis d'Orléans, attributed to local illuminators in the Montluçon workshop (fig. 3.3.51).<sup>248</sup> In this manuscript the inclusion was undoubtedly personal, for at the time of making the manuscript, Louis was imprisoned in the tower by the order of his cousin, Charles VIII. However, the scene in the Hours of 1488 might be only partially inspired by Bourges, since the Great Tower of Bourges, commanding the southern defensive wall of the city, was not by a river (as in the miniature), but it controlled the principal entrance to the city, the only point of entry which was not accessible by bridge, as can be observed in an engraving by Jean Jacques Perressin from 1569 (fig. 3.3.52).<sup>249</sup>

A number of cityscapes and castles in the backgrounds of images are purely fictitious, others have such specific forms that they probably represent actual locations that are yet to be recognised (figs. 3.3.53-58). In *Les Sept articles de la foi*, for instance, the landscape behind *Ascension of Christ* incorporates a castle on an islet that is surrounded by a square artificial lake (fig. 3.3.53). In the same manuscript, a cityscape dominated by a cathedral to the right of an apparent palace can be admired, behind the scene of *Baptism of Christ* (fig. 3.3.54). A river seems to encircle a fortified city. The scene is not so different from the panorama of Bourges given by Hoefnagel in 1562, except that the Grosse Tour dominates the south side of Bourges and the Cathedral has only one great bell tower, since the north tower had collapsed. Perhaps the city suggested by the Master of Spencer 6 is loosely based on Bourges.

The city square on the background of the *Annunciation to the Virgin* in the Hours of 1488 resembles an engraving giving a view of the Saint-Sépulchre in Jerusalem, which was printed in 1486 (a year before the making of the Hours of 1488) in Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram sanctam*, essentially an illustrated travel guide to the Holy Land (figs. 3.3.59-60). While the buildings are different - a French Sainte-Chapelle, for instance, replaces the tomb of Christ - the configuration of the buildings on the square is very comparable. The comparison is particularly fascinating in light of the observation that Breydenbach's work found immediate success in France, particularly

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<sup>247</sup> A good comparison can be made for instance with an anonymous seventeenth-century drawing of the tower held in the Musée Thomas Dobrée in Nantes.

<sup>248</sup> The so-called Hours of Louis d'Orléans, Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Lat. Q.v.I.126.

<sup>249</sup> Access to the city from the south-east was over the Auron river, from the east and north-east over Yèvre, and from the north-west over La Voiselle (Troadec 1999, 29).

amongst the printing presses in Lyon.<sup>250</sup> It seems likely that Bourges illuminators were able to access drawings which ultimately derived from Breydenbach's design.

It is complicated to localise manuscripts in the Spencer group by virtue of their scribes. Almost all the manuscripts in the group were written in different forms of *lettre bâtarde*, some containing more secretary features than others (fig. 3.3.61). Six manuscripts differ from this choice: the early works that are the Langres, Venice, Moscow and Bollioud Hours were written in textualis script and the late works, the *D'estre* and de La Rue Hours were written in humanistic book script. The choices of the scripts represented within the Spencer group thus reflect the overall changes in tastes from textualis to bastarda and then to humanistic scripts. The change is not by any means clear-cut; the early work that is the Hours of 1488, for instance, is written in bastarda, *lettre bâtarde*. The Spencer manuscripts written in *lettre bâtarde* were either written upright, as in most of the books of hours in the group, or more akin to a secretary hand (*secretary cursiva formata*) with a slight sloping aspect and with a clubbed secretary 's' and a looped 'd' with an angular bow,<sup>251</sup> as in the profane manuscripts of the group, such as the copies of the *Anabase* and Monstrelet's *Chroniques*, or in texts written in vernacular, such as the added prayer *Mon benoist Dieu* or *Les Heures de la croix*. The textualis scripts used in the Spencer manuscripts also differ. The Langres and the Bollioud Hours, for instance, were both written in textus quadratus, but of a different type. The Langres Hours was written in textus quadratus of the type IV,<sup>252</sup> with a box-'a', except after 'c', 'r', 't' (as in 'speram', 'salutare', 'dicat', 'fabricaverunt', 'iniquitatem' and 'convertantur'; however a box-'a' after 'g' in 'prolongaverunt', fig. 3.3.62), whereas the textus quadratus in the Bollioud Hours appears less formal and includes older written evidence that persisted until the end of the Middle Ages (fig. 3.3.63).<sup>253</sup> The Master of Spencer 6 was probably working with different scribes on these hours made for patrons in Langres on one hand and in Forez on the other. While it is not impossible that the scribes were the same, the different types of textualis, variations in punctuation, and different types of 's' at the end of the words suggest that the manuscripts were not written by the same scribe. Nevertheless it remains challenging to identify the hands of individual scribes, for they may have written differently at different times.

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<sup>250</sup> See Jacob 2012, 180.

<sup>251</sup> For the forms of the scripts, see Brown 1990, 108-111.

<sup>252</sup> Oeser 1971, 37-39; Oeser 1994, 396.

<sup>253</sup> See also Derolez 2003. I am grateful to Dominique Stutzmann for his advice on these scripts.

Localising manuscripts in the Spencer group by means of initial decoration style is equally problematic. Was the patron able to choose the style for the decorated initials in the same way it is assumed that he could choose the script? The type of the initials does not automatically follow the choice of script. Textualis script in the Spencer group was teamed with initials decorated with white penwork ornamentation in geometric shapes in the Langres, Venice and Moscow Hours, whereas in the Bollioud Hours, textualis script was coupled with initials decorated with penwork forming foliage shapes of leaves curving around the letter shape, the type of decorated initial that was most popular in the rest of the manuscripts (fig. 3.3.61). Conversely, in the Getty leaves and the *Shepherds* fragment (originating from the same manuscript) the first type of initial, with geometric penwork, was not paired with textualis but with *lettre bâtarde* script. One is tempted to interpret the choice of the textualis script in the Bollioud Hours as archaic. Perhaps the patron, Bérenger Bollioud, desired a clear script due to poor eyesight, or for its prestige. While the choice, whether made by the patron, scribe or illuminator, of the foliate initial decoration, was more forward-looking.

Did the scribe or the illuminator paint the initials? Visual evidence in the Spencer manuscripts appears to suggest that this depended on the commission. A number of initials are infilled with flowers, fruits and animals that share characteristics with similar motifs in the border decorations throughout the Spencer group. However, in some manuscripts the motifs infilling initials are dissimilar from the Spencer style, such as the rabbit decorating the initial in one of the Louvre fragments (fig. 3.3.61). Therefore, the Master of Spencer 6 appears to have painted the large decorated initials in some, but not all, of the Spencer manuscripts. Finally, it appears difficult to establish any pattern of preference for a particular type of decorative initial within a geographic location based on the evidence provided solely by the Spencer manuscripts.

Recognising aspects of a local dialect in the parts written in the vernacular may provide further evidence for the localisation of manuscripts. The calendar in French in the Arsenal Hours in the liturgical use of Troyes, for instance, reveals certain particularities of dialect in eastern France. A tendency to develop an "l parasite" can be observed in names of saints such as 'Thebault', 'Aulbert' and 'Aulbin', while also the vowels reflect the regional dialect: 'i' replacing 'a' and 'e' as in 'Sitir' for Saint Satir, 'Viel' for Saint Vael, and 'Disier' for Saint Desir; 'y' replacing 'e' and 'eu' in 'Lyon' for Saint

Leon and 'Yfeme' for Saint Eufeme, and 'e' replacing 'ai' in 'Mene' for Saint Main.<sup>254</sup> Either the scribe of the Arsenal Hours, or the author of the exemplar that was used, was from the region for which the manuscript was destined.

The movements of our illuminator can be placed in time, and geographically on a map, following the information available in the books and fragments. While the liturgical use of a text will only reveal its intended location of use, several manuscripts painted for a particular use suggest that the illuminator might have been residing, at least temporarily, in that city or diocese. Stylistic evidence suggests that the Master of Spencer 6 was based in Bourges during the early part of his career, where he most probably collaborated as an assistant in the Colombe workshop. After the great fire of Madeleine in 1487, he apparently moved to work for patrons in Champagne as indicated by the liturgical use of three books of hours: the Hours dated to 1488, the Langres Hours, and the Venice Hours, datable to this period. The book of hours known today only by the Getty leaves and the *Shepherds* fragment may also have been destined for this region.

In addition to working for a number of patrons in Bourges, two books of hours suggest that he was also in Lyon or its vicinity by 1500, perhaps following the court based there during the Italian wars. One of these is the hours the Master of Spencer 6 illuminated for Bérenger Bollioud, *procureur* living in Bourg-Argental, a village at the far south-east boundaries of the county of Forez, some seventy kilometres south-west of Lyon.<sup>255</sup> The other evidence for his direction of eastward travel is the single miniature he appears to have illuminated for the Guémadeuc Hours, possibly prepared in Lyon.

In the last years of the fifteenth century, the Master of Spencer 6 seems to have become involved in the Parisian book trade. He painted images in a copy of Jean Quentin's devotional work, *Horloge de dévotion*, printed by Étienne Jehannot, and personalised with manuscript additions for Madeleine d'Amboise in 1496, and illuminated the Huntington Hours, a copy from the edition printed in Paris around 1500 by Thielman Kerver for Guillaume Eustace. The Arsenal Hours, made during this period (around 1500), for a patron from the diocese of Troyes, demonstrates that he kept in contact with the Champagne region.

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<sup>254</sup> For comparative dialect forms, see Rézeau, 1983, 120.

<sup>255</sup> The liturgical use chosen for this book of hours was, however, that of Bourges.

Working in Paris, the Master of Spencer 6 may have already been in contact with the Master of Philippa of Guelders;<sup>256</sup> both illuminators would, a few years later, illuminate copies of the *Anabase* for Claude de Seyssel, and both illuminators painted books that had been printed by Thielman Kerver for Guillaume Eustace.<sup>257</sup> Some architectural borders, and certain faces and hairstyles, indicate that the Master of Philippa of Guelders may have trained in Bourges before coming to Paris.<sup>258</sup>

It is not surprising that the Master of Spencer 6 went to work in Paris. Under the reign of Louis XII (1498-1515), the court increasingly spent time in the capital,<sup>259</sup> and thus our illuminator would have found a larger clientele there than in Bourges. While the court had been established in the towns of the Loire Valley for most of the fifteenth century, the Parisian production of manuscripts had continued strongly throughout and provided considerable competition with the provincial artists for royal orders.<sup>260</sup> In fact, working in the capital appears to have been a somewhat obligatory step for the most ambitious artists, who could be certain to find the most demanding patrons - and the most lucrative commissions - there.<sup>261</sup> Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, illuminators from Flanders, Italy and the whole of France were active in Paris.<sup>262</sup>

The Master of Spencer 6 may have returned to Bourges after this, but as his manuscripts from this period were made in the general use of Rome, and for patrons who remain unidentified, it has not been possible to definitively establish his whereabouts. Around 1506, he illuminated copies of the *Anabase* for the King of England and the Duke of Savoy. The work was probably carried out in Paris, as the miniatures were closely based on those of the personal copy of Louis XII, and since our illuminator may have been sub-contracted for the work by the Paris-based illuminator, the Master of Philippa of Guelders.

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<sup>256</sup> The illuminator named after a copy of *Vie du Christ* he painted for Philippa of Guelders, the duchess of Lorraine and second wife of the duke René II (Lyon, BM, ms. 5125); Avril and Reynaud 1993, 278-281.

<sup>257</sup> Like the Master of Spencer 6, the Master of Philippa of Guelders illuminated at least one book of hours in Paris use, printed by Thielman Kerver for Guillaume Eustace in 1500, although this copy seems to be from a different edition than the Huntington copy attributed to our artist (Christie's, London, 11-13 July 2000, lot 194, and Christie's, London, 20 November 2002, lot 89).

<sup>258</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 278, 343.

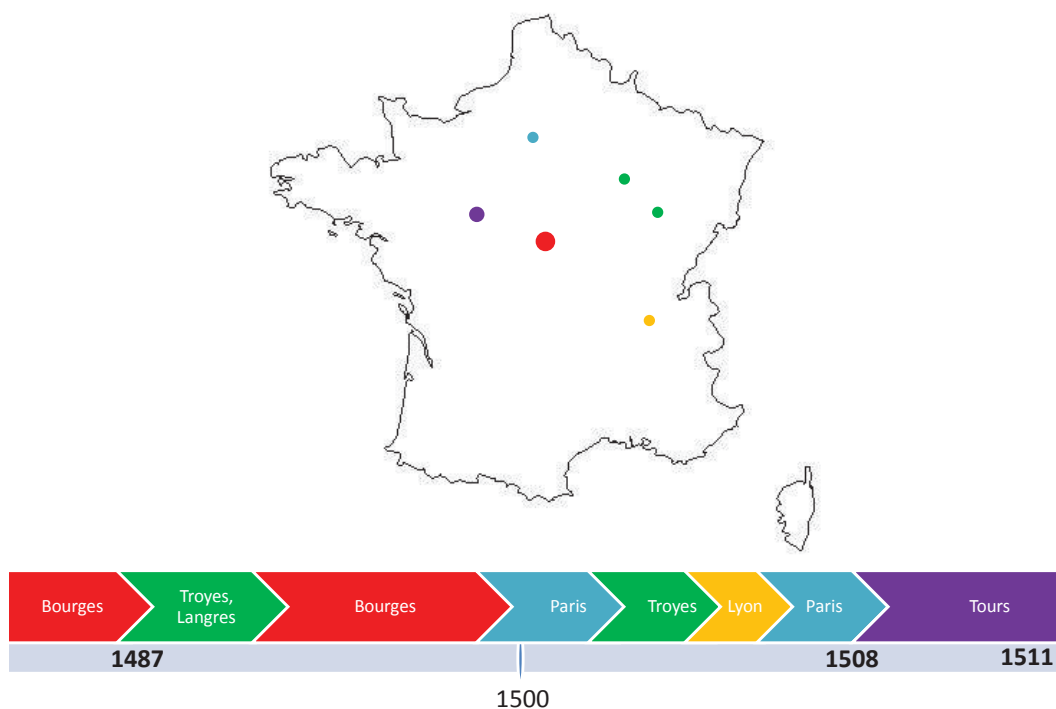
<sup>259</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 255.

<sup>260</sup> Hamon 2008, 13.

<sup>261</sup> Hamon 2008, 25.

<sup>262</sup> Recht 1998, 7.

Toward the end of his career, the Master of Spencer 6 worked for patrons in Tours and its vicinity. It is not surprising that he sought new patrons in Tours, since in the first decades of the sixteenth century the city remained a place where members of the court provided themselves with luxury items.<sup>263</sup> The best illuminators in the country could be found working for the royal family and the court in Tours: Jean Bourdichon, Jean Poyer and the Master of Claude of France. The movements of the Master of Spencer 6 can thus be reconstructed in the following manner:



The manuscripts, printed books and fragments attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 are arranged according to the following tentative chronology, with full descriptions of them provided in the Catalogue. The liturgical use (or when not available, other evidence for the place of production or destination, given in square brackets below) is used as the basis for localising the movements of the illuminator and his works.

<sup>263</sup> Charron 2012, 239.

<u>Work and catalogue number</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of images</u>	<u>Liturgical use</u> [place of production or destination]
1. The Hours of 1488	1487	12 large, 92 small	Troyes
2. The Langres Hours	c.1487-1491	13 large, 33 small	Langres
3. The Venice Hours	c.1487-1495	11 large	Troyes
4. The Getty leaves	c.1487-1495	5 large	-
5. The <i>Shepherds</i> fragment	c.1487-1495	1 large	-
6. The Moscow Hours	c.1490-1500	12 large	Bourges
7. The Paris <i>Troye</i>	c.1493-1498	1 large, 5 small	- [Bourges]
8. The Colombe <i>Fleur des histoires</i>	c.1493-1500	2 large, 31 small	- [Bourges]
9. The Chantilly Monstrelet	c.1493-1500	1 large	-
10. The Rose Hours	c.1490-1500	13 large, 2 small	Rome
11. The Lallemand Boccaccio	c.1490-1500	26 small	- [Bourges]
12. The Lallemand <i>Danse aux aveugles</i>	c.1490-1500	[undisclosed]	- [Bourges]
13. The Bouer Hours	c.1490-1500	15 large, 32 small	Bourges
14. The Bodleian <i>Visitation</i>	c.1490-1500	1 large	Bourges
15. The Hours of Bérenger Bollioud	c.1490-1500	6 large, 4 small	Bourges
16. The Boisrouvray Hours	c.1495-1500	11 large, 16 small	Rome [Bourges]
17. The <i>Horloge</i> of Madeleine d'Amboise	c.1496	2 large, 1 small	[Paris]
18. The Huntington Hours	c.1500	14 large	Paris
19. The Copenhagen Hours	c.1500	7 large, 4 small	Bourges
20. The <i>Pentecost</i> fragment	c.1500	1 large	-
21. The <i>Massacre of the Innocents</i> fragment	c.1500	1 large	-
22. The <i>Christ in Majesty</i> miniature	c.1500	1 small	Bourges
23. <i>Les Heures traduit en vers</i>	c.1500	15 large, 1 small	-
24. <i>Les Heures de la croix</i>	c.1500	11 large	-
25. The Arsenal Hours	c.1500	13 large, 39 small	Troyes
26. <i>Épître à Dame Furie</i>	c.1500	1 large	- [Bourges]
27. The Lallemand Missal	c.1500-1504	18 small	Tours
28. The Guémadeuc <i>Mass</i>	c.1500-1505	1 large	Rome [Lyon?]
29. The Louvre fragments	c.1500-1505	4 large	[Tours?]
30. The Drouot leaves	c.1500-1505	5 large	-
31. The Spencer Hours	c.1500-1505	35 large, 40 small	Rome [Bourges]
32. The <i>Anabasis</i> of Henry VII	c.1506-1508	11 large	- [Paris]
33. The <i>Anabasis</i> of Charles II	c.1506-1508	11 large	- [Paris]
34. The Hours of Guillaume de Seigne	1508	15 large, 7 small	Rome [Tours]
35. <i>Les Sept articles de la foi</i>	c.1505-1510	8 large	-
36. The Hours of Jean de La Rue	c.1505-1510	6 large, 1 small	Tours
37. The Geneva Hours	c.1508-1510	34 large	Rome
38. The <i>D'estre</i> Hours	c.1508-1510	11 large	Rome
39. The Tours Psalter	1511	12 small	Tours

The books and fragments listed above represent only a partial corpus of work painted by this illuminator. Some items have undoubtedly not survived, while others remain unrecognised or in private collections. Dividing the number of miniatures that are known to us by the number of years estimated for their production, gives the figures of 314 large and 370 small miniatures in 24 years; thus, approximately 13 large and 15 small miniatures per year. In late fifteenth-century Flanders, a normal payment for a miniature

was three *livres de Flandres*, and an illuminator was therefore required to paint some sixty miniatures a year to survive.<sup>264</sup> These figures support the possibility of attributing all the manuscripts in the list to a single illuminator, while allowing for further manuscripts that are either unknown or no longer extant.

The Master of Spencer 6 appears to have been obliged to move frequently during his career in order to maintain a clientele. He worked within a 300 kilometres' radius of Bourges: in Paris, Troyes, Langres, Lyon, and Tours. His mobile business might be compared to that of the Bourges merchant Michau Dauron (1420-1498). Dauron's textile 'boutique' was a one-man enterprise although he engaged with a line of collaborators, while he moved constantly, following the court and making purchases in Rouen, Tours, Paris, and at the Lyon fairs.<sup>265</sup>

It is not surprising that the Master of Spencer 6 travelled so extensively. His local counterpart, the productive workshop manager, Jean Colombe, found work beyond Bourges – at least in Troyes, Lyon and Savoy. Another Bourges artist, Jean Leonard, was summoned by King René to work on the fountains of his palace in Aix.<sup>266</sup> The illuminator Georges Trubert worked in the service of King René as his *valet de chambre* from 1467 in the Loire Valley, then from 1471 in Provence, where he stayed working independently after the death of René d'Anjou in 1480, finally installing himself as the official illuminator in the service of King René's grandson, René II, in Nancy in Lorraine in 1491, from where he made missions to Paris in 1496 and 1499.<sup>267</sup> The stained glass maker, Nicholas Droguet, has been documented as active in Bourges in 1501, in Lyon in 1506, and in Lorraine in 1508-1510.<sup>268</sup> Henri Ploumion, the apprentice painter in Tournai in 1466, worked in Paris as an illuminator in the 1480s and, in 1495, was summoned to decorate the walls of the château d'Amboise.<sup>269</sup>

From the beginning of the century, illuminators moved from one region to another for work. The Rohan Master, for instance, seems to have finished his career in western France in 1430-40, between Anjou and Brittany, after having started in Troyes and spending some time in Paris attached to the Boucicaut workshop around 1420,<sup>270</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> Alexander 1992, 32.

<sup>265</sup> Chevalier 1996<sup>a</sup>, 95.

<sup>266</sup> Goldman 2013, 26.

<sup>267</sup> Hamon 2008, 306; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 377-378.

<sup>268</sup> Goldman 2013, 26.

<sup>269</sup> Hamon 2010, 120.

<sup>270</sup> Avril 2004, 366; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 25-26.

while the Master of Marguerite d'Orléans appears to have been trained in Paris, from where he moved to work in Berry, and finally to Rennes and Poitiers.<sup>271</sup> Despite the various dangers that could be encountered while travelling, medieval artists were obliged to move about for their work. The illuminator Jean Gillemer, for instance, had been travelling from the court of Prince Charles to join the court of the Count of Maine when the officers of Louis XI arrested him as a suspected spy involved in the *Ligue de Bien Public* against the king.<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> König 1991, 95-104; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 28-29; Avril 2004, 367.

<sup>272</sup> Freeman 1960, 117.

### 3.4 Patrons of the Master of Spencer 6

A number of important patrons of the Master of Spencer 6 lived on rue de la Narrette in Bourges, still adorned to this day by its beautiful late fifteenth-century *hôtels particuliers*, and since renamed rue de l'Hôtel-Lallemant after the most famous of them, which was built for Jean Lallemant and his family.<sup>273</sup> The commissions of art and building by the Lallemant family reflect the tastes of the most powerful men in France at the turn of the sixteenth century. Their interests were refined and intellectual: humanist texts, Italian culture and works of art of the highest quality.

The Lallemant family, installed in Bourges since the thirteenth century, commissioned at least three manuscripts from the Master of Spencer 6. Guillaume Lallemant, canon and archdeacon at Tours, commissioned a Missal held today in New York. His brother, Étienne, ordered a copy of Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* (today in Dresden). While another brother, Jean Lallemant the Elder, appears to have commissioned a richly illuminated copy of *La Danse aux aveugles*, which by its style of painting seems datable after Étienne's Boccaccio, but before Guillaume's Missal. The eldest son, Jean the Elder (d. 1533), inherited the office of *réceveur general* of Normandy from his father Jean Lallemant II,<sup>274</sup> and held the title in the years 1494-1517, also becoming mayor of Bourges in 1500-1501; his younger brother, Jean the Younger (d. 1548), *receveur général* of Languedoc, became mayor of Bourges in his turn in 1510.<sup>275</sup> Jean the Elder was one of the six founding members of the Order of the Round Table established in Bourges in November 1487, while Jean the Younger became a member in 1492.<sup>276</sup>

Illuminated manuscripts, stained glass and decoration of the buildings commissioned by the Lallemant family provide an insight into the intellectual and religious mindset of Bourges society at the end of the fifteenth century. The mysterious letters R and, seemingly the Greek letter epsilon, ε, which decorate many of the Lallemant manuscripts, can also be found ornamenting the coffering, the decorated

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<sup>273</sup> The history of the road has not been written until recently, see Goldman 2011.

<sup>274</sup> The second Jean Lallemant in the family after his grandfather, Jean.

<sup>275</sup> Beyond our period of study, under François I, Jean Lallemant le Jeune was made the king's controller of finances in 1545; Pautonnier 2008, 16.

<sup>276</sup> Jarry 1972; Chenu 1951-2<sup>a</sup>, 52-53. For manuscripts commissioned by Jean Lallemant the Younger, see Orth 1980 and Schindler 2009.

sunken panels, of the chapel ceiling in the hôtel Lallement in Bourges.<sup>277</sup> Members of the Order of the Round Table wore a collar in the form of a rosary with black and golden beads strung on a green silk thread in a complicated and unequal order,<sup>278</sup> reflecting the very particular structure and rigour that the Order imposed on its members for saying their prayers. The collar can also be found represented in Lallement manuscripts, as well as in two of the panels of the Lallement chapel ceiling.<sup>279</sup> The family also had their mottoes, *Là où je dois, Quant sera-ce* and *Ce sera quant*, included in their manuscripts and in the hôtel Lallement (*Quant sera-ce* decorates one of the windows).<sup>280</sup> Similarly, their various emblems can be found both in a number of their manuscripts and on the ceiling of the family chapel.<sup>281</sup>

However, none of these individualising features were added to the manuscripts attributed, either in collaboration or entirely, to the Master of Spencer 6. An ownership inscription identifies the manuscript made for Étienne, whereas coats of arms (and their specific distinguishing charges) identify the manuscripts made for Guillaume and Jean the Elder. Apparently, the arms of Jean the Elder were personalised by the roses of the family arms being *perçées d'or*,<sup>282</sup> namely pierced with little dots in gold (*gules a chevron or between three roses argent centered or*).<sup>283</sup> However, the roses on the arms painted in the Lallement Missal have golden centres too, suggesting that his brother, Guillaume, also used this detail in his arms. Nevertheless, a number of elements in the Lallement Missal confirm that it was Guillaume, not Jean the Elder, who commissioned the Missal (see below and the Catalogue). In *La Danse aux aveugles*, the coats of arms are also painted with roses that have golden centres (although the dots are hardly visible in some instances). The shields on which the arms were painted are of a particular shape, seemingly in line with that used by members of the Order of the Round Table. While both Jean the Elder and Jean the Younger were members of the Order, the arms in *La Danse aux aveugles* are identified further by a label, a heraldic mark used to identify the

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<sup>277</sup> As first observed by Paul Chenu, see Chenu 1951-2<sup>a</sup>, 52.

<sup>278</sup> Jarry 1972, 22.

<sup>279</sup> Chenu 1951-2<sup>a</sup>, 52-53.

<sup>280</sup> Chenu 1951-2<sup>a</sup> 53, 55.

<sup>281</sup> Following the fire of Madeleine, Jean Lallement the Younger took the opportunity to reconstruct and extend the destroyed church of Saint-Bonnet, where he founded a new family chapel; Pautonnier 2008, 15.

<sup>282</sup> Chenu 1951-2<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>283</sup> As found in the manuscripts, such as London, BL Add. 39641 and Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery ms. 459 were made for Jean the Elder.

eldest son. The three points on the label represented the heir during the lifetime of his father. Therefore, *La Danse aux aveugles* was undoubtedly painted for Jean the Elder.

The landmark commission marking a stylistic turning point in the Spencer group of manuscripts is the Missal of Guillaume Lallemand. Around 1500, the illuminator was engaged to paint sixteen small miniatures for the manuscript, in which the celebrated Tours artist Jean Poyer had already provided the large miniatures.<sup>284</sup> Guillaume Lallemand appears to have chosen Jean Poyer to paint the large miniatures and the Master of Spencer 6 to paint the small miniatures in his Missal. Poyer had by then illuminated various important manuscripts, most notably for King Charles VIII and Queen, Anne of Brittany, as well as having painted significant panels in monumental scale, such as the Loches altarpiece, and had possibly been to Italy more than once.<sup>285</sup> It has been argued that Guillaume Lallemand sought out the Bourges illuminator to complete the book when he grew tired of waiting for it to be finished.<sup>286</sup> Another possibility is that the manuscript was finished in Bourges, following Poyer's death in 1503/1504. Jean Lemaire de Belges' *La plainte du désiré* of 1503/4 praised Poyer among famous deceased artists, thus giving a *terminus ante quem* for the large miniatures in this manuscript. However, given a number of contemporary examples of manuscripts with images by illuminators from different stylistic centres, it seems perfectly likely that the patron planned the division of work from the start, thus combining artists from the two towns where he held offices. In comparison, examples of manuscripts with miniatures made by artists from both capitals, Tours and Paris, demonstrate that patrons wished to own work from different esteemed centres of production.<sup>287</sup>

The Bouer family, whose coat of arms is found in the Bouer Hours in Leeds, was one of the oldest and most notable families of Bourges, ennobled for their services to the state.<sup>288</sup> The family held a privileged position in the local politics and enjoyed the favour of Louis XI.<sup>289</sup> 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

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<sup>284</sup> Plummer 1982, 86-7, no. 112.

<sup>285</sup> Elsig 2004, 62.

<sup>286</sup> Wieck 2000, 32.

<sup>287</sup> Charron 2012, 239-240; see also Edinburgh University Library, ms. 309, for a Tours book of hours with an additional miniature by a Parisian illuminator added at the end.

<sup>288</sup> Airaksinen 2010.

<sup>289</sup> Rivaud 2000, 10.

1319.<sup>290</sup> A likely patron of the manuscript in question is another Philippe Bouer (d. 1504),<sup>291</sup> who in 1474 was made a crown prosecutor and the first mayor of Bourges. The Bouer family began their social climb in the trade of spices (saffron, anis, cinnamon and ginger), as well as in money changing, the two activities of commercial exchange and monetary market being closely connected.<sup>292</sup> As *monnayers*, members of the Bouer family received exemptions from taxes; similar privileges were enjoyed by the nobility in other cities, such as the family of Tartier, merchant *drapiers* and *monnayers* in Troyes.<sup>293</sup>

Several members of the Bouer family lived on rue de la Narrette.<sup>294</sup> In 1487, Philippe Bouer occupied the hôtel located on the corner of rue de la Narrette and rue Coursarlon, which had belonged to the Bouer family since before 1450 (map 2, no. 10; fig. 3.4.1).<sup>295</sup> The large hôtel next door also belonged to the Bouer family, and by 1487 was occupied by Étienne Bouer's widow (map 2, no. 9). Another brother, Jean Bouer (also called Brisson Bouer, d. 1481), had lived farther up the road, on the corner of rue des Oyes and rue de la Narrette (map 2, no. 15).<sup>296</sup> A member of the Bouer family was married to Savary du Puy, *échevin* in 1479, occupying a house on this road (map 2: no. 2).<sup>297</sup> Another Bouer daughter married Raoulet de Castello, whose hôtel was found next to the house of Denis de Bar (map 2: no. 4). Raoulet was a significant figure, provost marshal of Bourges, cupbearer<sup>298</sup> of King Louis XI and one of his closest allies.<sup>299</sup> Neighbours of the various members of the Bouer family included Jean Lallemand (map 2, no. 8) and the archbishop, Guillaume de Cambrai (map 2, nos. 12-13). The small area near the church of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier was thus inhabited largely by noble families on rue de la Narrette, many of whom issued from mercantile families that had become wealthy and received titles since the previous century. Artisans who remained on a lower social level, at best forming part of la petite bourgeoisie, populated the parallel rue des Écrivains.

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<sup>290</sup> Collas 2010, 198; Thaumassière, 1689, IV, 504-507; Goldman 1998a, 138-39; Mater 1909, 2-8, 30-32, 106-10, 116; Petitjean de Maransange 1926, I, 103.

<sup>291</sup> AD, 2 F 249, no. 28 (p. 2).

<sup>292</sup> Collas 2010, 17.

<sup>293</sup> Bibolet 2001.

<sup>294</sup> The family sepulture appears to have been in the church of Notre-Dame du Fourchaud, which at the time was under the patronage of the parish of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier, but has since been completely destroyed (map 2: no. 54).

<sup>295</sup> In 1484-5, members of the Bouer family could also be found on rue Bourbonnoux, and in 1494-5, the heirs of Jacques Bouer lived on the Grand rue; see Ribault 1973, 73-76.

<sup>296</sup> Goldman 2011, 11.

<sup>297</sup> Goldman 2011, 5-6.

<sup>298</sup> An officer of high rank in the court who served drinks to the king at the royal table.

<sup>299</sup> Goldman 2011, 7.

Patrons of the Master of Spencer 6 include various individuals from outside Bourges. In the 1490s, in collaboration with Jacquelin de Montluçon, our illuminator painted a book of hours for a member of the Bollioud family, identified by the coat of arms included on several of the miniatures. Instead of Pierre Bollioud, as has previously been remarked,<sup>300</sup> the patron was most probably Bérenger Bollioud, the son of Pierre.<sup>301</sup> Pierre de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu and count of Forez, gave Bérenger the office of *procureur* and the lordship of Bourg-Argental (in Forez, some seventy kilometres south-west of Lyon) in 1488.<sup>302</sup> The date of the office makes Bérenger Bollioud the more likely patron. He held the office under Pierre de Bourbon, and then his widow, Anne of France, the sister of Charles VIII, until his death in 1522.<sup>303</sup> A captivating detail of history survives in a letter from Anne of France to Bérenger, ordering him to have the golden beam of the great hall repaired in the château d'Argental.<sup>304</sup>

The Paris copy of the *Histoire de la destruction de Troye la grant* is a particularly compelling example of patronage, since it is a profane text. While men and women of diverse ages generally possessed at least one book of hours, and the practice extended to many individuals who were not members of the nobility, interest in secular vernacular histories and tracts was apparently much more exclusive. Extant manuscripts and records of payment reveal that the owners of profane manuscripts were almost exclusively noblemen who began their collections of these texts in their forties and fifties. The Paris *Troye* includes the coat of arms of the de Poitiers family on the opening double-page miniature. The collar of the Order of Saint Michael painted around the family arms indicates that the patron was either Guillaume, Aymar (his brother) or Jean (Aymar's son) de Poitiers, who each became members of the Order by 1498, 1506 and 1515 respectively.<sup>305</sup> Guillaume at first seems the likely patron of the manuscript, since the manuscript was most probably painted before 1500. However, the arms could have been painted on the miniature at any time and they provide no definite clues for dating the manuscript, and in fact Aymar, who is known to have commissioned other important manuscripts, is the more likely owner of the manuscript. It is quite possible that he was not the patron, but only a subsequent owner of the manuscript, perhaps

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<sup>300</sup> Heures manuscrites identifiées: <https://sites.google.com/site/heuresbookofhours/>

<sup>301</sup> Tour-Varan 1854, 48.

<sup>302</sup> Tour-Varan 1854, 48.

<sup>303</sup> Tour-Varan 1854, 48; also Liger 1990, 26.

<sup>304</sup> Tour-Varan 1854, 48.

<sup>305</sup> Thomas 1973, 13.

purchasing it unfinished from a *libraire*, after its production for the original patron had been halted. Aymar de Poitiers (d. 1510/11) inherited the knighthood of Saint-Vallier from his father in 1455, and became one of the closest men to Louis XI, marrying his daughter, Marie of France; under Charles VIII, he became chamberlain and *grand sénéchal* of Provence.<sup>306</sup>

One fascinating patron of the Master of Spencer 6 was Madeleine d'Amboise, the abbess of Notre-Dame de Charenton and of Saint-Menoux in the diocese of Bourges, and the sister of Georges d'Amboise, the cardinal, the principal minister of Louis XII and one of the most important patrons of art at the time.<sup>307</sup> Madeleine herself was an important patron. She financed the largest programme of construction in the history of the abbey of Saint-Menoux, in her charge at the end of the fifteenth century, organising the building of cloisters, stalls, arcades, a great exterior park flanked by turrets, and a walled yard.<sup>308</sup> All of it was destroyed during the Revolution. By contrast, the miniatures the Master of Spencer 6 painted for Madeleine survive: two portraits of the abbess and the *Last Supper*, personalising her copy of *Horloge de dévotion*, today in San Marino.

One of the most influential of our illuminator's patrons was Claude de Seyssel, an officer and diplomat from Savoy in the service of Louis XII. In his prefaces to the copies of *Anabase ou le voyage du jeune Cyrus* made for Louis XII of France, Henry VII of England and Charles II of Savoy, Seyssel recalled how he had discovered Xenophon's original Greek text *Anabasis* in Louis's library at Blois (the volume had been acquired by Charles VIII during his military campaign of 1494 in Naples).<sup>309</sup> Seyssel added that he had for a long time wished to find the work, since several books of history make mention of it. A translation of the work was planned for Louis XII, who had not acquired the ability to read Greek.<sup>310</sup> Janus Lascaris, a scholar and diplomat who had been the king's ambassador to Venice in 1503,<sup>311</sup> translated the work from Greek to Latin, from which Seyssel translated it to French. The two diplomats of Louis XII worked on the copy at the royal library at Blois throughout 1504-1505, and on a number

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<sup>306</sup> Jacob 2012, 90-92.

<sup>307</sup> For Madeleine d'Amboise, see Archives départementales du Cher: série 40 H. For art and buildings commissioned by Madeleine's brothers, see Crépin-Leblond et al. 2007.

<sup>308</sup> Bruel, 2006, 127-130.

<sup>309</sup> London, BL, Royal 19 C VI, f. 19.

<sup>310</sup> Thibault 1989, 28.

<sup>311</sup> He had previously been the royal librarian, employed by Charles VIII at Amboise; Thibault 1989, 24.

of collaborations that followed.<sup>312</sup> The illuminator known today as the Master of Philippa of Guelders painted the presentation copy Seyssel offered to Louis XII.<sup>313</sup>

In 1506 Seyssel was in England on a diplomatic visit.<sup>314</sup> The second preface of the copy offered to Henry VII of England explains that Seyssel had been very impressed by the learning and interest of the English king in 'histoires et aultres chouses appartenant à ung noble et saige princpce' [*sic*] and described the royal library as 'tres belle et tres bien acoustree'.<sup>315</sup> On his return to France, he organised the making of a presentation copy for Henry, closely following the earlier copy made for Louis, to be offered as a courtly gift, a thank-you for the hospitality Seyssel received. The Master of Spencer 6 was commissioned to carry out the illumination.<sup>316</sup> Seyssel also offered another copy to his own lord, Duke Charles II of Savoy. The Master of Spencer 6 illuminated this copy as well.

Seyssel appears not to have sought the publication of this work, but like his translations of other historical texts, it was to be restricted to the audience of the *souverains* and their courts; its rarity and exclusivity rendered the work more valuable.<sup>317</sup> Seyssel understood history as a source of political knowledge,<sup>318</sup> and very likely viewed *Anabasis*, on the wars of the Hellenistic era, as a crucial source of information to take into consideration in planning strategies and formations for the French campaigns in Italy.

The Master of Spencer 6 prepared a book of hours for Guillaume de Seigne (d. 1526), Lord of Boispatieu and *trésorier général de l'artillerie du roi*, and his wife, Claudine Fortier, for the occasion of their marriage to be held in their parish church of Bléré, near Tours, on Monday 28th August 1508.<sup>319</sup> The manuscript may have been commissioned by Guillaume himself, or by someone else, to be offered as a wedding

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<sup>312</sup> Boone 2007, 38. In the preface to Louis's copy, Seyssel apologised for any mistakes in the vocabulary, explaining that he was not yet well familiarised in the French language because he was a Savoyard; Thibault 1989, 27, Dionisotti 1995, 87. In the copy offered to Henry VII, Seyssel offered a similar apology: 'Esperant aussi que ledit present vous seroit agreable non point pour le lengaige, qui est rude, mais pour la matiere en soy...'; London, BL, Royal 19 C VI, f. 19.

<sup>313</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 702.

<sup>314</sup> Dionisotti 1995, 77; (Thibault 1987, 27 and Avril and Reynaud 1993, 345, give the erroneous date 1508).

<sup>315</sup> London, BL, Royal 19 C VI, f. 19.

<sup>316</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 345.

<sup>317</sup> Boone 2000, 564, 566.

<sup>318</sup> Boone 2000, 565.

<sup>319</sup> The circumstances of the commission are explained in the manuscript: London, BL, Harley 2969, f. 156. Guillaume de Seigne was attested treasurer of the artillery in 1518, the position he held until he resigned in April 1526, after which he was replaced by his brother-in-law, Florimond Fortier; see Marichal 1887-1908, 5: 375, 760; Paris, BnF, fr. 2008, f. 35; Deuffic 2010.

present. The origins of the de Seigne family are uncertain. Guillaume may be the son of one Baldesac de Seigne, possibly an Italian, who was one of a number of workmen summoned from Lyon in 1470 to produce silk in Tours.<sup>320</sup> It seems likely that through prospering in the manufacture of silk, Baldesac purchased a position for his son in the administration of the artillery; he in turn would have progressed to the position of treasurer by virtue of his aptitude and intelligence.<sup>321</sup> Guillaume appears to have established himself in the small town of Bléré, some twenty-five kilometres east of Tours, following his marriage to Claudine Fortier, from a rich and distinguished local family.<sup>322</sup>

The taste for the Italian is apparent not only in the Spencer Master's images in Guillaume de Seigne's book of hours, but also in his mortuary chapel that still survives in Bléré, finished seemingly by his son, Jean de Seigne, around 1526, but very probably planned by the father, Guillaume.<sup>323</sup> Guillaume had been to Italy on a number of occasions, one of which was to accompany François I on the military campaign of Marignano in 1515 that resulted in French victory.<sup>324</sup>

The Master of Spencer 6 painted a remarkably beautiful book of hours for Jean de La Rue, notary and secretary of the King Louis XII, and secretary and *argentier* of François, the count of Angoulême, the future François I.<sup>325</sup> His son, Marc, who is represented with his mother Perrine Le Fuzelier and his younger brother in the *Mass of Saint Gregory*, succeeded his father in the office of secretary and *argentier*, and in 1535 became mayor of Tours (fig. 3.4.2).<sup>326</sup> Jean de La Rue, who died in 1508, is not represented in the *Mass of Saint Gregory*, which would suggest that the manuscript was not completed until after 1508,<sup>327</sup> a hypothesis that matches the stylistic development of the illuminator, placing this manuscript after the Hours of Guillaume de Seigne, at the very end of the illuminator's career, around 1508-1510.

In addition to these identified patrons, the Spencer group contains a number of manuscripts made for patrons who remain anonymous. It has not been possible to

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<sup>320</sup> Grandmaison 1901, 88; Deuffic 2010.

<sup>321</sup> Grandmaison 1901, 88; Deuffic 2010.

<sup>322</sup> Grandmaison 1901, 89; Deuffic 2010.

<sup>323</sup> Grandmaison 1901, 89; Deuffic 2010.

<sup>324</sup> Grandmaison 1901, 89.

<sup>325</sup> Paris, Private collection. The identity of the patron, whose coat of arms is painted in the manuscript, has been known since the manuscript was sold at Drouot in Paris on 23-24 May 1935 (no. 14).

<sup>326</sup> Avril 2012, 346.

<sup>327</sup> As has already been suggested by François Avril, who also remarked that the face and dress of Perrine Le Fuzelier was altered around 1550 for a new owner; see Avril 2012, 346.

identify any of our illuminator's patrons in the diocese of Troyes. The most prolific illuminator in Troyes at the end of the fifteenth century appears to have been the Master of Pierre Michault of Guyot II Le Peley, of the generation of Jean Colombe, responsible alone or in collaboration for more than thirty manuscripts,<sup>328</sup> including the eponymous copy of Pierre Michault's *Doctrinal rural* painted for Guyot II Le Peley,<sup>329</sup> and a copy of Guillaume de Nangis's *Chronique*, made for a member of the Molé family.<sup>330</sup> Although Troyes had its own community of artists, with twelve painters documented in the fifteenth century,<sup>331</sup> patrons also commissioned illuminated manuscripts beyond their own city. Around 1500, they looked particularly to Paris for illuminated manuscripts. The Molé family commissioned an illuminated copy of the *Grandes Chroniques* printed by Antoine Vérard in 1493; a book of hours for Claude Molé can be attributed to the Master of Petrarque's Triumphs, and a copy of the *Histoire des neuf preux* was also illuminated in the capital for the same Troyes family.<sup>332</sup> The Molé family commissioned further manuscripts from Lyon: a book of hours for Claude Molé and a copy of the *Passion du Christ* for Guillaume II Molé and his wife Simone Le Boucherat from the Master of Guillaume Lambert, and the so-called Rodez Hours from the Master of Guillaume Lambert and Jean Colombe.<sup>333</sup>

The Master of Spencer 6 was perhaps introduced to the rich *bourgeoisie* and nobility of Troyes by his collaborator in Bourges, Jean Colombe, who illuminated manuscripts for the important Le Peley and Molé families of the city. If the Master of Spencer 6 worked as an assistant on the Hours of Louis de Laval, it might explain how he came to work for patrons in Troyes. Louis de Laval, governor of Champagne, had managed to secure the illuminator of the queen, Jean Colombe, through his connections with the court. This patron of great importance appears to have inspired other inhabitants of Troyes, such as the rich merchant families of Le Peley and Molé, to follow his example and commission profusely illuminated books of hours from Bourges masters. The striking profusion of images in the Hours of 1488, made for an unknown

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<sup>328</sup> Delcourt 2006, 223-225.

<sup>329</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 1654. The illuminator painted another copy of the *Doctrinal rural* for Guyot's half-brother, Guillaume II Molé: Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, fr.F.v.XIV, 10.

<sup>330</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 2598.

<sup>331</sup> Rondot, 1882, 34-41; Delcourt, 2006, 222, note 2.

<sup>332</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, OEXV468; New York, PML, M 356; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 3005. See Delcourt, 2006, 225.

<sup>333</sup> New York, collection Rosenberg, ms. 5; Los Angeles, Getty, ms. 25; Rodez, Société des lettres, sciences et arts de l'Aveyron, ms. 1; see Delcourt, 2006, 225.

patron in the diocese of Troyes, places this manuscript in the spirit of the earlier de Laval and Le Peley commissions, all characterised by continuing marginal decoration throughout the volumes. It seems likely that the patron of the Master of Spencer 6 was inspired by the ambition of these local manuscripts and commissioned something similar, yet affordable for his budget, and engaged the assistant, not the *grand maître*, for his manuscript.

Langres had been an important episcopal city in the High Middle Ages whose seigniorial power had extended widely to its neighbouring lands.<sup>334</sup> It is possible that the Langres Hours was made for a patron connected to this powerful bishopric.

The patron of the eponymous Spencer Hours is also unknown. The inclusion of several scenes of falconry and recognisable castles might refer to a member of the local nobility, or may be a more general sign of attachment to the region. The rich iconography undoubtedly provides more clues to the patron than has so far been discovered. The placement of the château de Mehun-sur-Yèvre<sup>335</sup> in the background of the unusual double-spread *Annunciation to the Virgin* may be an intentional reference to Jean, Duke of Berry, whose favourite residence it had been, rather than merely linking the patron to the region (fig. 3.3.37). The illuminator included two more views of the castle on the backgrounds of the *Falconry* and *Courting* scenes in the calendar, the former perhaps deriving directly or indirectly from the Hours made for Prince Charles of France, who had spent his childhood in the castle (figs. 3.3.38-39, 3.3.41). In the *Annunciation* miniature in the Spencer Hours, the castle is viewed through an opening onto a landscape vista seen between the Virgin Mary and the angel Gabriel.<sup>336</sup> On the middle ground, between the holy scene and the castle, the artist added a curious detail of three grey herons (fig. 3.4.3). Is this a reference to the charge of three silver egrets on the coat of arms of Simon Aligret (d. 1415), the personal physician of the Duke of Berry, and could the manuscript thus have been made for one of his descendants? The Duke of Berry had favoured Simon Aligret with numerous presents, including 600 écus to build a house in Paris.<sup>337</sup> Simon is portrayed in the stained glass window of the Aligret

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<sup>334</sup> See map in Descatoire and Gil 2013, 15.

<sup>335</sup> As initially identified by François Avril and cited in Plummer 1982, 74.

<sup>336</sup> The composition is undoubtedly inspired by a model from the Colombe workshop, such as the *Annunciation* in the Hours of Louis de Laval; Jean Colombe himself had derived the composition from Jean Fouquet through the collaboration on the Raguier-Robertet Hours; see Avril 2003, 252-258 and Jacob 2012, 38-39.

<sup>337</sup> Balteau, Barroux and Prévost, 1932-, II (1936), columns 38-39 [no page numbers].

chapel in Bourges Cathedral with his nephews Simon and Denis Faverot (the latter who took the name Aligret; d. 1476); his coat of arms are painted below the figures in the stained glass and are also found on the sculpted shield held by an angel on one of the imposts of the vaulted ceiling (figs. 3.4.4-5).<sup>338</sup>

The three birds depicted in the *Annunciation* miniature have long necks and prominent beaks, and are carefully arranged with one at the front and two to the rear, as in the coat of arms (apart from the bird to the rear left-hand side, which faces in the opposite direction). One wonders if the original patron of the Spencer Hours was the son of Denis, Denis II Aligret, canon of Notre-Dame de Paris in 1490.<sup>339</sup> Whether or not he was buried in the Notre-Dame, no epitaph survives for him.<sup>340</sup> His dates fit the possibility of the commission, his ecclesiastical position in Paris might explain the choice of the universal use of Rome for the manuscript, and the citation of Saint Ursinus, the first bishop of Bourges, in the Litany of Saints would reflect the patron's origin in Bourges. The manuscript can also be linked to Bourges by its text, since the prayer *Obsecro te* is in the same word forms as that found in a Bourges book of hours in London that includes the *Christ in Majesty* miniature attributed to the Master of Spencer 6.<sup>341</sup>

A link between *aigrette* and Aligret would be consonant with contemporaneous modes of thinking at the turn of the sixteenth century. Members of the educated royal circle made considerable use of personal emblems and allusions based on hidden meanings and visual puns, exemplified by some of the manuscripts made for the Duke of Berry himself, which are decorated with swans and bears, creating a pun with *ours* and *cygne / urs + sin/* to refer to Saint Ursin of Bourges (Ursinus). The placement, and even the number, of the emblems are comparable: in the *Très riches heures*, the foreground in front of the edifice of the castle of Mehun-sur-Yèvre is decorated with three swans. Are not the egrets, as the swans, both animals enriching the landscape and emblems referring to the patron? But, why, one wonders, were the arms of Aligret not painted in

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<sup>338</sup> See also Kurmann-Schwarz, 1988, 49, pl. VII.

<sup>339</sup> Collas, 2010, 188. It was very common for the Notre-Dame de Paris to recruit canons from outside of the city. In fact, only a fifth of its canons came from the capital itself at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. In addition to Denis II Aligret, other descendents of court officers were recruited as canons of the Notre-Dame de Paris. One of these was Jean de Bar (related to Jean de Bar of château de Baugy), the great-grandson of the Duke of Berry's *valet de chambre* and *apothecaire*, canon between 1459 and 1462; Deronne 1971, 5, 8.

<sup>340</sup> As checked in Verlet 1995.

<sup>341</sup> London, BL, Harley 2919; Plummer 1982, 74.

the manuscript? Perhaps the commission was interrupted for some reason, as is suggested by the fact that the major feasts were never entered into the calendar. Such a hypothesis might explain why the only reference to the original patron of our illuminator's most accomplished manuscript would be found in the subtle depiction of three silver egrets on one of the most prominent illustrated leaves of the book.

An artist's repertoire of motifs may also give clues as to the type of patrons he had. The Master of Spencer 6 often painted maritime scenes with fine depictions of galleys. A possible explanation for the numerous boats is that he worked for rich merchants who owned ships. Depicting their prized possessions on the pages of a manuscript was a form of personalisation, but also a way of physically linking the professional concerns to the prayers. Maritime elements were visible in the cities where the Master of Spencer 6 worked; Bourges, Troyes, Tours, Paris and Lyon had their fair share of merchants who owned ships on the Loire, its tributaries and the Mediterranean.

Amongst our illuminator's patrons was one 'Philippe', whose given name was included in a prayer, and whose portrait was painted in front of the unusual subject, *Rescuing souls from Purgatory*, in the Geneva Hours (fig. 3.4.6). His costume reflects the status and affluence of a rich merchant, rather than a member of the aristocracy. Prayers addressed to the Virgin in this manuscript are accompanied by Marian images in maritime landscape vistas. The image of the *Virgin and Child* opening the prayer *Obsecro te* is accompanied by a smaller scene in the predella below, showing two galleys at sea, one depicted with a broken mast in the foreground of the image (fig. 3.4.7). It was presumably against incidents such as these that the patron sought the Virgin's protection. The image clearly reflects the patron's concern: he prayed to the Virgin Mary for the safe return of his boats. At the end of the manuscript the prayer *Missus est Gabriel* was added, accompanied by a miniature painted by an anonymous illuminator (of lesser ability), which once again displays the personal interests of the patron (fig. 3.4.8). A small church or chapel is held by kneeling angels, surmounted by the Virgin and Child in a mandorla, over a stretch of sea on which a single galley in full sail is depicted. The visual language appears to refer to a donation in the form of chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary - perhaps made in gratitude for her protection during an earlier mission. The very small size of the book, some eleven centimetres tall, would have been highly portable, probably requested by the patron as such in order to allow him to take it along when travelling.

In the Spencer Hours, the illuminator painted no fewer than three full-page maritime scenes to replace more conventional liturgical subjects. The evangelist John is not depicted calmly writing his gospel on the island of Patmos as could be expected, but instead the moment of his banishment to the island was chosen (fig. 3.4.9). Furthermore, the gospel extract from Mark is not opened by the usual evangelist portrait, but instead shows three great galleys at sea, apparently narrating an event from Mark 4:35-40: *the Apostles in ships on the Sea of Galilee* (fig. 3.4.10).<sup>342</sup> Moreover, the hour of None is not illustrated with the traditional subject of the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* but with an unusual topic that is seemingly *Herod embarking by ship for Rome or Jerusalem* (fig. 3.4.11). This allowed the artist to paint yet another great galley. Did the patron, or a member of his family, own galleys?

In the Hours of Guillaume de Seigne, the Master of Spencer 6 also showed John being taken to the galley that would transport him to the island of Patmos. In the Arsenal and Geneva Hours, he painted beautiful maritime landscapes representing the rare scene of the *Return of the Magi by sea* in the predellas of the *Adoration of the Magi* miniatures; in the Geneva Hours, an ethereal maritime vista is the setting for the Archangel Michael chasing the devil, complete with a view of Mont-Saint-Michel (figs. 3.4.12-14). In the copy of *Fleur des histoires*, on the history of the Romans, and in the copies of *Anabase*, Xenophon's overseas expedition with the Greek army, our illuminator had plentiful opportunities to depict maritime scenes. In the latter, galleys are found, for instance, in *The Greek army by a seashore* and *The Greek army having a council by a seashore* (figs. 3.4.15-16).

It is also possible that, in some measure, painting maritime landscape vistas was an artistic choice. His convincing representation of galleys suggests that he had spent considerable time studying them. Maritime depictions had perhaps become a partial signature of his talent, to the extent that the galleys repeatedly emerge in his miniatures, whether appropriate to the subject or not. Another hypothesis is that the illuminator was inspired by the works begun in Bourges in 1490 to canalise the river Yèvre; the plan was to link Bourges to the Loire by the Yèvre and Cher rivers with a system of channels reaching all the way to Nantes by the sea.<sup>343</sup> Although the channel was never finished,

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<sup>342</sup> As recognised in Wieck 2005.

<sup>343</sup> Ribault 1992, 70.

the works went sufficiently far that a spectacle with galleys could be given to Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany in 1494.<sup>344</sup>

The local element of navigation undoubtedly inspired a number of scenes that can be found in manuscripts. The book of hours, painted around 1430 almost entirely by an anonymous illuminator for Marguerite, the sister of the poet Charles, Duke of Orléans, (after whom the artist has been named), includes a miniature of Mary Magdalene, the protector of navigators, above a bas-de-page scene, showing a busy river harbour with merchants loading sacks of goods onto ships.<sup>345</sup> The Master of Marguerite d'Orléans appears to have spent a period of time working in Bourges, immediately before illuminating this scene in the celebrated Hours of Marguerite d'Orléans.<sup>346</sup>

In addition to galleys, the mercantile society is visible in Bourges illumination through the numerous examples of orientalism depicted in costumes, seemingly linked to the tradition of Bourges merchants trading goods from the Orient. The Bouer family made their wealth trading in spices. Jacques Cœur's boats sailed not only to Italy, but also as far as the Orient.<sup>347</sup> His colleague, Guillaume de Varye, organised a trip to the Orient as late as 1464.<sup>348</sup> Moreover, between 1484 and 1487, Bourges held the celebrated biannual fairs that brought crowds of merchants from France and overseas into the city.

The books attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 represent various religious and secular interests in fashion within late fifteenth-century society. In addition to the twenty-four books of hours represented in the œuvre as it is known today,<sup>349</sup> there are a moral devotional work, *Horloge de dévotion*, an allegorical poem *La Danse aux aveugles*, a collection of biographies of famous women by Boccaccio, *De claris mulieribus*, and historical works in verse, such as the *Anabase* and the *Histoire de la destruction de Troyes la grant*. One particular type of commission that emerged was a "facsimile" of a famous work, something for which patrons appear to have turned to Bourges, to the entourage of the Spencer Master and the Montluçon workshop. The Master of Spencer 6 painted copies of the *Anabase* for Henry VII of England and for Charles I, Duke of Savoy, based on the compositions seemingly painted only a few years earlier by the Master of

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<sup>344</sup> Ribault 1992, 70.

<sup>345</sup> Paris, BnF, lat. 1156B, f. 174.

<sup>346</sup> König 1991, 97-98.

<sup>347</sup> Favière 1996, 63.

<sup>348</sup> Goldman 1987, 10.

<sup>349</sup> The fragments are counted as the complete volumes they once formed part of.

Philippa of Guelders. An illuminator working in the style deriving from the Montluçon workshop painted a remarkable copy of Flavius Josephus's *Antiquités judaïques* for a patron of undoubted importance,<sup>350</sup> based on a significantly earlier copy, attributed to the Master of the Munich Boccaccio, possibly a son of Jean Fouquet.<sup>351</sup> In both commissions, the compositions were to be kept the same, while the costume and colouring of the new miniatures were modernised.

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<sup>350</sup> Cologne, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 181.

<sup>351</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 247. The manuscript was begun by the Josephus Master and the Master of the Harvard Hannibal at the time of Jean, Duke of Berry.

## 4 The Master of Spencer 6 and His Associates: Style and Technique

### 4.1 Drawing and application of paint

The Master of Spencer 6 was particularly skilled in drawing. He drew in a bold and fluid manner, as demonstrated, for instance, by the thick meandering line made in black pigment, tapering at the end of the stroke to form the contour of Joseph's face in the *Nativity of the Bouer Hours* (fig. 4.1.1-2). One can imagine the energetic wiggle of the wrist that produced it. Drawing also made up a significant part of the manner in which he modelled a shape; the three-dimensionality on Joseph's face was introduced with composite hatching and cross-hatching applied for areas of shadow in narrow black lines. In the *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, the expressive eye of the shepherd in the foreground was painted in a few, apparently quick strokes of black, over a preparatory sketch made in a very summary manner using red pigment (fig. 4.1.3-4). The red preparatory line, as observed particularly under the black line of the eyebrow, tapers at the end, suggesting it was made with a paintbrush. Its darker shade distinguishes it from the warmer, peachy tones used for the modelling of the face.

Facing a space left blank for illustration on a clean, prepared parchment, an illuminator could begin his image by drawing the composition before applying any paint for colour layers. Usually the drawing was done in very thin lines with a silverpoint or a leadpoint.<sup>352</sup> The Tuscan painter Cennino Cennini gave the instruction that in illuminating:

'you must start by drawing the figures, foliage ornaments, letters, or whatever you want, with a little lead on parchment, that is, in books; then you must crisp up your drawing carefully with pen.'<sup>353</sup>

Therefore, the underdrawing in manuscript illumination was sometimes done in two stages: first in metal point, then in iron ink. Preparatory drawing could also be done directly in ink using a quill, as in the sketches visible in the unfinished copy of a hunting guide, *Le Livre du roy Modus et de la royne Racio*, attributed to the Master of Robert

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<sup>352</sup> Wallert 1991, 447-48.

<sup>353</sup> Cennini 1960, 100.

Gaguin.<sup>354</sup> Or, preparation could be directly painted in pigment using a paintbrush, as was done by the Master of Spencer 6.

Preliminary drawings, or underdrawings, could be prepared for painting, whether working on parchment, panel, canvas, or wall.<sup>355</sup> Unless the paint layers covering the underdrawing have become transparent with time, it is not possible to see this preparatory work. However, the technique of infrared reflectography enables the study of underdrawings. Infrared light reveals the layer underneath the paint layer, since at this light wavelength certain pigments appear transparent due to their high reflectance of the light. As it is not possible for the human eye to perceive this wavelength, the evidence is captured via photography. Ultramarine (lapis lazuli), indigo, all reds, yellows and whites, all organic pigments, and iron gall ink appear as transparent or faint shade in the images. Azurite, malachite, carbon black and umbers show as dark.

Underdrawings are generally observed in infrared images as faint lines. Very little underdrawing can be detected in any of the miniatures of the Bouer Hours. Both illuminators, Jacquelin de Montluçon and the Master of Spencer 6, who painted this manuscript, might have drawn their compositions in such a liquid medium that appears transparent under infrared light, and thus invisible in infrared images. Possibilities include any red pigment, iron ink, or organic pigments. Indeed, the Master of Spencer 6 drew in red pigment, as can be observed in the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* miniature, discussed above. In the Bouer Hours, both illuminators appear to have been confident enough to paint directly with pigment (or ink) onto the parchment without making any preparatory drawings. The choice could also have been made in order to save time. In general, it is more common to find underdrawing in preparation for painting on a larger scale, such as for panel paintings, or in manuscript illumination by artists who also

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<sup>354</sup> Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, ms. fr. 168; Gagnebin 1976, 142-144, no. 62, Avril and Reynaud 1993, 262.

<sup>355</sup> What are not considered in this study are the drawings, *pourtraicts* or *patrons*, prepared in planning a project - a painting, sculpture, building - that were used in support of drafting a contract between the patron and artist. For an excellent study on these, see Lorentz 2008. Nor is this enquiry concerned with autonomous drawings that were conceived in their own right. The underdrawings examined here represent initial stages of work that were to be finished with layers of paint. Drawing is also studied in this examination in any form that it is found in an illuminated image, understood broadly as the use of line to create meaningful shape.

worked as panel painters, such as in the miniatures attributed to the Rohan Master in the Hours of Isabella Stuart.<sup>356</sup>

It would also be impossible to see underdrawing if the final outlines entirely overlap the preliminary lines. A further difficulty is provided by the fact that certain pigments, such as azurite, appear dark and opaque in infrared images, hiding any possible underdrawing beneath the paint layers. The draperies of the Virgin's garments in the Bouer Hours are covered in layers of azurite, thus compromising the examination of an area where preparatory work might be expected. In the Bouer Hours, Jacquelin de Montluçon and the Master of Spencer 6 both used azurite for the Virgin's clothing (either entirely or partially); this pigment appears dark in the infrared images and could be hiding preparatory outlines or hatching. Only the hatching in gold on top of the paint layer is visible in the infrared image of the Virgin Annunciate attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 (fig. 4.1.5-6). By contrast, the dalmatic of the Archangel Gabriel, painted mainly in lead white, appears transparent in the infrared image, revealing, on one hand, how the illuminator proceeded in painting the angel, making alterations to the final appearance of the figure, adding to the fullness of his dalmatic with an extra fold behind his elbow and widening the sleeve of his left arm (fig. 4.1.7-8). On the other hand, the infrared image facilitates a study of the intricate network of modelling applied. Thick lines of lead white were added for the highlights, areas of very light blue for the middle value and fine hatching, and thick lines probably in iron gall ink for the shadows (based on their brownish colour and relatively light appearance in the infrared image). However, as the lines in the infrared image appear to match the modelling applied on top of the base paint layer, it is difficult to determine whether a corresponding underdrawing was prepared. At any rate, the complex and convincing modelling demonstrates the considerable skill of the Master of Spencer 6.

Our illuminator's manner of modelling draperies can also be examined, for instance, in the way they were painted on the cloak worn by the figure (Peter?) kneeling in the foreground of *Pentecost* in the Bouer Hours (figs. 4.1.9-10). The shell gold of the cloak appears pale in the infrared image, allowing for the hatching to be visible, which, although a tone of red, appears clearly as dark lines at this wavelength. The highlighting

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<sup>356</sup> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 62. For a technical study of this manuscript, see Panayotova *forthcoming*. Millard Meiss argued that the Rohan Master was foremost a painter working on monumental formats; see Meiss 1974, 273-77.

in gold, appearing white in the infrared image, was added to the highest edges of the folds where light arriving from the left would hit.

In the miniature of the *Nativity of Christ* in the Bouer Hours, the Master of Spencer 6 painted the garment worn by Joseph with organic pink pigment, appearing transparent in infrared light and thus revealing any underlying layers made in a non-transparent medium (fig. 4.1.11-12). (One can observe, for instance, the square background of a decorative initial from overleaf.) Some drawing is visible in the folds of the fabric. Lines that do not correspond with those in the final miniature can be seen, particularly on the sleeves.

Unfinished manuscripts allow the study of underdrawings without technical imaging. In the Hours of Charles of France, which remains partially unpainted, preparatory drawings were made for all the important miniatures and borders, demonstrating that the Master of Charles of France drew all miniatures in the manuscript before applying colour.<sup>357</sup> Similarly, in the Paris *Troye*, which remains unfinished, all full-page miniatures appear to have been drawn in detail with lead, while some of the small miniatures were drawn in a sketchier manner. It was probably Philibert Colombe who prepared these large drawings, as based on the style of his presumed signed miniature in this manuscript. The most striking of the preparatory drawings is the full-page image narrating the ploy of the Trojan horse (fig. 4.1.13-14). The upper half of the page is painted with the gate, walls and houses of the city of Troy in greys, browns, blues and greens. But they remain bare, as details were never added. Watchtowers, walls and gates were to be decorated in relief sculpture, with turrets and windows, as found on the finished pages. These elaborations would have been added in freehand, as no preliminary drawing is visible through the layer of paint. The lower half of the page remains unpainted and reveals sketches of figures within the crowd. Some of the figures, Trojans coming to observe the giant horse, were modelled in confident lines, displaying an awareness of anatomy and movement whilst also showing considerable attention to costume. Most salient is, however, the finely drawn horse whose detailed legs and behind expose great skill. The realism of the bone and muscle

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<sup>357</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, no. 81; van Buren 2006, 87. The manuscript appears to have been made to mark the victory of Charles of France at the head of the *Ligue de Bien Public*, following which his brother, Louis XI, granted him the Duchy of Normandy in 1465; the manuscript may also celebrate another, more personal event, as has been suggested by Margaret Freeman, based on the initials A and E (composed of two interlocked Cs) decorating the borders of the manuscript: the birth of a daughter, Anne, in 1465, to his mistress, Colette de Chambes; see Freeman 1960, 111-115.

structure is seemingly acquired by observation from nature. Philibert Colombe appears to have been concerned with drawing a convincing living animal able to fool the viewer, as the bronze horse of the legend was capable of fooling the Trojans, in hiding a Greek army within its structures.

Whether or not an underdrawing was prepared for a miniature, the technique of painting progressed from painting a base layer, and possibly a second layer, to modelling and, occasionally, a final re-drawing of outlines, drapery folds and facial features.<sup>358</sup> Thus, the general order of applying colour in illuminating a miniature began by painting the background. Painters and illuminators generally worked from the top down, as shown by the unfinished scene of the Trojan horse in the *Paris Troye*.<sup>359</sup> The base layers were applied in wide brush-strokes, for example the blues and greens of a landscape. Areas of unpainted parchment were left in reserve for figures or other elements of the composition that were planned from the outset, as observed, for instance, in the unfinished miniature of King Priam of Troy in the *Paris Troye*, showing Priam pulling aside his *bâtard*, Amphinachus (to share with him his suspicions over Aeneas and Anthenor whom he fears may betray him) (fig. 4.1.15). A specific tendency of the Master of Spencer 6 was not to leave reserve areas for the feet of his figures. This characteristic quirk is consistent with his reluctance to paint feet, which he habitually hid within drapery or grass.

In the background of this miniature, the Master of Spencer 6 painted the floor-tiles in alternate colours, leading the eye to a vanishing point on the mid-left, in the direction of the retreating Aeneas and Anthenor, while he used different shades of grey to add depth and perspective to the architectural structures of Priam's palace surrounding the protagonists. He appears to have painted the faces and hands of Priam and Amphinachus after he had painted the background, and left the clothes and feet until last. It was quite common for an illuminator to lay the colour he had mixed in a series of miniatures (which at this stage were on unbound sheets).<sup>360</sup> Therefore, the Master of Spencer 6 may have painted areas that required colourant in a skin tone in a number of miniatures sequentially, before he proceeded to other areas. The bodies of the figures themselves, clad in robes, remain unpainted, but were drawn in a very sketchy manner. A few aspects suggest that it was not the Master of Spencer 6 who

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<sup>358</sup> van Buren 2006, 87

<sup>359</sup> See also Alexander 1992, 47.

<sup>360</sup> Alexander 1992, 41.

prepared the drawing. Firstly, the drawing is in a dry medium, which was not customary for our illuminator. Secondly, the drawing on the recto of the same leaf, which remains entirely unpainted and can thus be studied in detail, is not in the style of the Master of Spencer 6 (fig. 4.1.16). Since in collaborative projects the work was generally divided between illuminators in quires, or at least in bifolia, it is more likely that the same artist produced the drawings on both sides of the leaf. The hypothesis would thus also suggest that the Master of Spencer 6 was due to paint the miniature on the recto in colours, but for one reason or another never progressed thus far.

The same order of painting a miniature was also used by other illuminators involved in the Paris *Troye*, as can be observed in the last miniature of the manuscript, *Soldiers approach the city of Troye*, attributable to either Philibert or François Colombe. Likewise in this miniature, the landscape, the horses, and the faces of the victorious Greeks returning to their country, are fully painted, while the clothing remains unpainted. There is no reason to believe that someone specialising in clothing was to be called in to complete the work, since the finished miniatures show no particular flair for draperies or contemporary fashion. The unfinished state simply reflects the order of work. Nor is it likely that it was the Master of Spencer 6 who painted the background of this miniature, while Philibert Colombe painted the 'polished but lively faces of the soldiers and silken flesh of the horses', as has been suggested.<sup>361</sup> The work was not divided in this way. The miniature of Priam and Amphinachus, as analysed above, shows that the Master of Spencer 6 painted both the landscape (leaving little space in reserve for feet, as he tended to do in his other manuscripts) and the faces (modelled according to figure types in his repertoire). There is no reason why the Colombes would have arrived to paint only the figures in some miniatures, if they did not do so in all of them. Therefore, the visual evidence appears not to support the supposition put forward in the past that the Master of Spencer 6 painted the background, while Philibert Colombe, 'the better artist', returned to paint the figures and the foreground.<sup>362</sup> The work appears to have been divided between the illuminators in separate bifolia after the miniatures were drawn in varying levels of detail, and each illuminator was responsible for painting the entirety of their own miniatures in colour.

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<sup>361</sup> Fol 54; van Buren 2006, 90.

<sup>362</sup> van Buren 2006, 90.

As shown by the Paris *Troye*, the illuminator who drew the miniatures was not always the same artist who applied the colours to them. Another example is given by the copy of the *Chants royaux du Puy Notre Dame d'Amiens* given to Louise of Savoy in 1517-18: the City of Amiens paid forty-five livres to Jacques Platel for the designs of the miniatures 'de blanc et de noir', and eighty livres to Jean Pichore and his 'enfants et serviteurs' for the application of colour.<sup>363</sup>

The Master of Spencer 6 appears to have drawn very few outlines before painting an image in colour. In other words, he seems to have progressed into applying areas of colour for the background, figures and objects without much preparation beforehand. If he had not applied any contours at all, the artistic vision would support the scientific position, and the view taken by the Impressionists that there are no lines in nature, but one only sees colours, thus rendering the concept of outline arbitrary.<sup>364</sup> However, the Master of Spencer 6 drew lines, but he did so on top of the paint layers. Namely, he drew, not in preparation, but to finalise his images. His drawing technique can be studied in the delicate and flexible touch of his paintbrush in modelling. Strokes appear to have been made quickly, confidently and with a relatively large brush.

In painting a figure, as is the case for Joseph of the *Nativity* in the Bouer Hours, the Master of Spencer 6 first laid down the basic form of the body in colours representing the clothing and skin tones, followed by shadows added in darker shades (fig. 4.1.11). He habitually modelled his figures simply by drawing their features on top of the final paint layers in carbon black (ink or paint). The outlines were not always consistent with the painted areas, but the final beauty of his images depended on the drawn lines. Often it is his final modelling by the use of expressive lines that convey meaning effortlessly, as seen on the face of the shepherd full of emotion in the Bouer Hours (fig. 4.1.3-4). Returning to the figure of Joseph, the final outlining of his hands and the shape of the Christ Child in carbon black is particularly evident in the dark lines of the infrared image (fig. 4.1.12). The smudge our illuminator made of Joseph's little finger suggests once more that he drew directly onto the page, on top of shapes in colour, without direction from preparatory lines (or very few). Finally, the Master of Spencer 6 added generous amounts of shell gold for highlighting, applying it in fine strokes with a small brush, as for the fine circle around Joseph's sleeve. Shell gold was

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<sup>363</sup> Alexander 1992, 38; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 282-284, no. 156; Zöhl 2010, 127.

<sup>364</sup> Schapiro 1994, 28-29.

ground up into powder from gold leaf, which itself was made by beating gold coins into weightless thin sheets.<sup>365</sup> This technique of using shell gold highlighting was made popular in the second half of the fifteenth century by Jean Fouquet and his followers in France.<sup>366</sup>

Similarly, in the calendar, the Master of Spencer 6 painted the zodiacal figure of Sagittarius directly onto the parchment using wide and seemingly quick brush-strokes to apply the main colours (fig. 4.1.17). The final appearance of the centaur was then modelled on top of the paint layer using outlines, hatching and shading in carbon black. At this stage the illuminator corrected the position of the elbow, bringing it higher up in order to make a more convincing angle of aiming and stretching the bow and arrow.

Comparing horses attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 in the copy of the *Chroniques* of Monstrelet, and in the Spencer Hours, with those attributed to Jean Pichore (or his workshop) in another copy of Monstrelet's *Chroniques*,<sup>367</sup> reveals the distinct technical approaches taken by the different illuminators to modelling (figs. 4.1.18-20). Pichore (or his assistant) mainly used white for highlighting (for both white and grey horses), and reserved gold for decoration, whereas the Master of Spencer 6 used gold profusely for decorative details, as well as for highlighting and surface textures. The white horse of Charles VI is modelled in shades of white and grey, while only the metallic details of its harness are painted in gold, but the black horse behind is modelled strikingly in black and gold. In the Spencer Hours, gold is built into the hair of the horse, its harness, the clothing and sabre of the Turk leader riding it, and indeed every figurative detail of the image. Apart from the tiny ears and teddy-bear eyes of the Spencer horses, their smooth modelling renders a more convincing equine anatomy than the graphic finish and the caricaturist expressions of Pichore's horses.

In addition to three-dimensional modelling, final paint layers were used to perfect the representation of surface textures that added to the overall verisimilitude of the image. One important area of textural description was the depiction of costume. Particularly in the late style of the Master of Spencer 6, costume played an important descriptive and narrative role. While in the early manuscripts the depiction of costume rarely departs from standard biblical robes, in the Spencer Hours a change can be

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<sup>365</sup> Porter and Townsend 1995, 4.

<sup>366</sup> In Flanders, gold highlighting of draperies became particularly popular from the 1470s onwards; see van Buren 2006, 87.

<sup>367</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 2678.

detected, which becomes particularly marked in the late phase of our illuminator's career. Expensive textiles of the nobility are differentiated from the modest fabrics clothing the peasants in the calendar scenes in the Spencer Hours. King David's ermine fur collar and the lining of his wide-brimmed hat in the Hours of Jean de La Rue are so faithfully depicted one can almost feel their soft touch (fig. 4.2.84). While the realistic rendering of the costume is new in the later manuscripts, costume was occasionally used to communicate meaning in the early manuscripts. In the Hours of 1488, costume was used to convey narrative details, such as that Saint Sebastian's execution took place in Rome, and that the soldier depicted at Christ's flagellation was Roman. The striped hose, worn by these figures were high fashion in Italy at the end of the fifteenth century. Antonio Solario similarly used striped red and white hose to identify a Roman soldier in the small panel of the *Crucifixion* he painted in 1503, possibly for the city of Venice.<sup>368</sup> In the Spencer Hours, the Master of Spencer 6 clad the nobility of the calendar scenes in similar striped hose, thus showing that this Italian fashion had by now spread to the French way of dressing (fig. 4.1.21).

In the *D'estre Annunciation*, our illuminator mastered a soft touch of the paintbrush by introducing movement and light into the scene with invisible strokes; the the Archangel Gabriel was depicted almost flying as he approached, his hair floating in the air (fig. 4.1.22). The sumptuous costume of Gabriel, puffed up like a full sail in his movement, and his mannerist rather than significative gesture, place these pictorial developments in our illuminator's later career. Gabriel holds a sceptre shaped as a lily, painted with a fine brush-stroke in liquid gold. A thin, sheer veil covers Mary's hair. Technical interest has shifted from the careful drawing of draperies to the depiction of volume, movement, and texture, while the pictorial emphasis has transferred from narrative (still governing the Spencer *Annunciation*, for instance) to elegance.

Finally, it is worth comparing the manner in which the Master of Spencer 6 and his contemporaries approached the painting of draperies. The Master of Robert Gaguin painted subtle and vertical draperies, with gold hatching applied in thin strokes all over the garment, rather than emphasising areas caught by light. Another Parisian contemporary, the Master of Anne of Brittany, had a careful, but rather cold academic manner of painting, testimony to the continuing taste for the decorative and poetic in

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<sup>368</sup> Held today in the Louvre. Béguin 1985, 17-22.

the capital.<sup>369</sup> The folds of the draperies painted by the Master of Philippa of Guelders are heavy and angular, modelled in a stark, somewhat unnatural manner, resembling images printed from woodcuts, undoubtedly due to his experience of working for the Parisian printer, Antoine Vérard. Similarly, the Parisian illuminator, Jean Pichore,<sup>370</sup> modelled draperies with notably dark lines, the aesthetic mode undoubtedly stemming from his involvement in the printed book trade.

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<sup>369</sup> For this illuminator, see Avril and Reynaud 1993, 265-270.

<sup>370</sup> Known through documented manuscripts, the first volume of *De civitate Dei* painted for Georges d'Amboise in 1501-1503 (Paris, BnF, lat. 2070) and a copy of *Chants royaux du Puy Notre Dame d'Amiens* painted for Louise of Savoy in 1517 (Paris, BnF, fr. 145); see Avril and Reynaud 1993, 282; Hamon 2008, 304; Zöhl 2004.

## 4.2 Repertoire of figures

The lack of documentary sources for medieval art necessitates a certain amount of subjectivity in the interpretation and attributions of works. The miniatures presumably painted by the Master of Spencer 6 - that is, painted in one particular style - vary in quality from mediocre and ordinary examples to magnificent and inventive ones. Studying the forms throughout the corpus, using stylistic and technical evidence, one would expect to reduce subjectivity. Stylistic diversity among different manuscripts reflects the relative prestige of different commissions, adjustments made according to the scale of individual projects, and the chronological artistic development of the illuminator during more than two decades of activity. Stylistic variations within manuscripts may have resulted from the differing hierarchical importance of miniatures, and the illuminator's hurry to complete his work. Concerning images of lesser importance, speed of execution was placed above artistic quality. Nevertheless, the involvement of assistants, perhaps family members, or collaborators, working in the same "house" style, cannot be absolutely ruled out.

One criterion for identifying manuscripts painted by a particular artist, or a group of closely working artists, is the consistency of figure types. While compositional patterns were shared, details of style and technique reveal individual hands. A particular colour scheme, or a manner of applying paint, may be stylistic choices, or examples of technical distinctiveness suggesting differences in training. Technique, as well as style, can be defined as 'the constant form - and sometimes the constant elements, qualities, and expression - in the art of an individual or a group.'<sup>371</sup> Thus, in order to characterise the technique and style of the artist that has been reconstructed under the name of convention, the Master of Spencer 6, it is necessary to describe and analyse the forms used in the works of this group. The most obvious forms to be studied - in images representing devotional and historical scenes - are the figure forms. A close examination of facial features and anatomical peculiarities enables homogeneous groupings to be made that include the Spencer Hours and almost forty further codices, proposed here as having been illuminated by the Master of Spencer 6 (see list on p. 58 and Catalogue for full details). Abstracting a repertoire of figures from the images and formally analysing

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<sup>371</sup> Schapiro 1953, 51.

its elements, qualities and expressions are necessary stages for building a firm basis for attribution.

Particular types for young and old female and male figures, children and infants are found throughout the Spencer group of manuscripts. The young female and male figure types were used most commonly for the Virgin Mary and Christ, but also for other figures, including profane protagonists such as Penthesilea, the Amazonian queen, and Amphimachus, the *bâtard* of Priam (figs. 4.2.1-4). The young female figure type used in the Spencer manuscripts has a high and distinctively bulbous forehead. Her golden blonde hair frames the sides of her face and shapes the back of her head like a tight cap reaching to the neck, before descending freely in long waves. The central parting of the hair is high on the top of her head and forms a distinctive ogee shape. Her eyes are small and her mouth is formed with a tiny black downward line. The young male figure type has shoulder-length, reddish-brown hair, and a characteristic thin and short fringe made up of individual brush-strokes, and often a forked beard. The figures represented in close-up, such as Christ in the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Bollioud Hours, are drawn with detailed features: eyebrows formed with individual strokes for each hair, heavy eyelids skilfully modelled, a dark black line emphasising the upper lid, reflections of light marking the clear blue irises and individually painted eyelashes (fig. 4.2.5).

Crucially, these main figure types for female and male figures are found throughout the manuscripts in the group. Other figure types were used for older females and males, infants and children, but also for young female and male subjects, including those that recur in a number of works, such as the Virgin Mary and Christ. In fact, the figure of the Virgin Mary shows the most variation (fig. 4.2.6). The variation is so substantial that it seems difficult at first to accept the possibility that one illuminator painted all the Virgins. Yet, while the Virgins, and particularly the Virgins of the *Annunciation*, differ, other figures in these manuscripts remain consistent with the regular figure types, thus enabling these manuscripts to be included in the Spencer group. But what should account for the new types of Virgins? Did a different hand paint them, or is the variation evidence of the illuminator's chronological development?

Analysing stylistic variation between miniatures within the entity of a manuscript may shed light on this problem. In the Bouer Hours, for instance, the figures of the Virgin Mary, which are all painted in a coherent Spencer style, vary somewhat in their quality of execution throughout the manuscript. The miniature of the *Annunciation to the*

*Virgin* displays considerably more skill (and level of care) than the rest of the images. The face of the Virgin Mary in the *Annunciation* is modelled in a painterly manner with shadows and highlighting, whereas the features of the Marys that follow in the subsequent miniatures in the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Holy Spirit and the Suffrages are painted in a more laconic linear fashion. A comparison of the faces of the Virgins demonstrates this downgrade (fig. 4.2.7-14). The final Virgin Mary of the *Obsecro te* prayer received no application of tonal transitions to her face at all, but her eyes, nose and mouth were simply drawn in black over a layer of white paint (fig. 4.2.14). Yet, essentially all the Virgin Marys are drawn in the same manner. Eyes are placed mid-way down the long oval faces resulting in high foreheads. Long golden blonde hair descends down the back in soft undulations (except in the *Flight to Egypt* where the hair is covered under a veil to hide Mary's identity from the persecutors). Each Mary holds her small, white hands with straight, symmetrical fingers tightly together. A square-collared blue dress is worn over a white sheer chemise, and a blue cloak covers the sloping, non-existent shoulders. Everything suggests that the same illuminator painted these Virgin Marys.

The *Annunciation to the Virgin* is typically the most finely realised miniature of a book of hours. This is the case in the Bouer Hours, and the other books of hours in the Spencer group of manuscripts. While it cannot be absolutely ruled out that an assistant, perhaps a family member, under close supervision, painted some of the less important images in certain Spencer manuscripts, it appears more likely that the downturn in quality is explained by the hurry in which the Master of Spencer 6 worked to complete the manuscripts. Miniatures following the *Annunciation* tend to gradually deteriorate in quality, accentuating the importance of the first image, and thus the diversity in artistic quality is also due to the hierarchical classification of the miniatures.

Furthermore, the *Annunciation* often shows the most stylistic innovation in comparison to other subjects. The superior artistic quality and deviation from the standard set of images could equally suggest that it was painted by an individual or alternatively, within a workshop. The independent illuminator would have taken most care and effort on the foremost miniature of the manuscript, while in a team it would have been the responsibility of the master to paint the *Annunciation*, the most important opening image. In the Bouer Hours, the *Annunciation* stands out, not because a different hand painted it, but apparently because the hierarchical prestige of the image led the

Master of Spencer 6 to dedicate more time in its execution, paying particular attention to the perspective of the composition and using a more worked method in painting the Virgin's face. The miniature is the first full-page image in the Spencer style in this manuscript, following five very fine full-page miniatures attributable to Jacquelin de Montluçon. It may have even been a test image to convince the *libraire*, or the sub-contractor (perhaps Montluçon), or the patron, that the Master of Spencer 6 was good enough to take on the task of illuminating the rest of the manuscript.<sup>372</sup> Technical unity, as observed in the quality of line, the application of colour, the use of liquid gold for drapery folds and highlighting, and the palette, strongly suggests that the Master of Spencer 6 was responsible for the *Annunciation*, as for the images that follow.

Besides the superior quality of *Annunciations* in relation to other subjects, small images were often handled differently from full-page pictures. In the calendar of the Arsenal Hours, for instance, the summary treatment of the figures, in comparison to the carefully painted figures in the main miniatures, begs the question whether an assistant, perhaps a family member, had been helping out (4.2.15-26). It is problematic to determine this matter with certainty since small images and images illustrating auxiliary texts would naturally receive less time, thus potentially explaining the diminished quality. The faces of the figures in the Arsenal Hours, as in other Spencer manuscripts, were however conceived in a systematic manner with very similar features, whether painted with abundant descriptive detail for large miniatures or in a terse manner for small miniatures. Other elements in large and small miniatures were also painted alike, such as trees, which were modelled with gradually lighter dabs of colour over darker tones (figs. 4.2.15, 4.2.17, 4.2.23-24). If a secondary hand was involved, he or she would undoubtedly have made a close-knit team with the master, perhaps a family partnership, husband and wife, or father and son, in order to explain the union of style and technique and the overall cohesion in page layouts, borders and decorative elements. The examples of the Colombe and Montluçon families show that artists from two successive generations often worked together, simultaneously.

The Spencer manuscripts, made during approximately twenty-five years, display a constant flow of stylistic development. A particularly notable change can be observed to have taken place around 1500, following his collaboration with Jean Poyer in the Lallemand Missal. One might be tempted to identify two generations of illuminators, a

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<sup>372</sup> I am grateful to Stella Panayotova for our discussion about this possibility.

team of father and son, with the son, a younger artist more susceptible to modern tastes, appearing centre-stage in the Lallemand commission. Despite the variation, however, strong elements of continuity can be detected when all the Spencer manuscripts are examined in their entirety. Instead of suggesting separate artistic identities, the stylistic shift appears to represent the exposure of an artist to new influences. From the visual evidence emerges most distinctly one artist, whose growth and development can be followed through manuscripts painted during some twenty-five years of independent activity.

The development of figure types within the Spencer group presents complex problems for attribution. Although the manuscripts in the style of the Master of Spencer 6 are fairly homogeneous, they reveal a gradual maturation when viewed chronologically. The manner of painting develops from a concern primarily with narrative compositions realised with fluid strokes to increasingly emotionally charged and monumental scenes created in an almost impressionistic manner. This chronological evolution appears to fall in line with the career and geographical route of the illuminator as reconstructed from his works, patrons and associates. The illuminator appears to have adapted his style and technique according to his working environment, his clientele and his collaborators. The different stages of his career comprise the first independently painted manuscripts for patrons in Troyes and Bourges around 1487-1490, followed by collaborations in Bourges with the Colombe and the Montluçon workshops during the approximate period of 1490-1500, including a connection with the Parisian book trade, after which, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, a collaboration with Jean Poyer of Tours and the commissions that follow, some of which are "run of the mill", while others, for more distinguished patrons, are carefully painted and innovative, including several mature works destined for Tours and its surroundings. Although the manuscripts suggest a continuous flow of development, dividing them here into three chronological subgroupings will aid the understanding of the stylistic evolution. The distribution is, however, artificial, utilised for the purposes of comparison; there are no acute differences between the groups, and nothing suggests that distinct illuminators were involved.

The manuscripts in Group I were seemingly painted in the years following the completion campaign of the *Très riches heures* by the Colombe workshop that began in

1485, or soon after.<sup>373</sup> The manuscripts in this group are datable on one hand by the numerous references to this celebrated manuscript, and on the other hand, by the stylistic similarity to the dated Hours of 1488 in the group. References to the calendar of the *Très riches heures* were particularly popular. In the occupations of the month of March in the Hours of 1488 and the Langres Hours, the peasant pruning a vine on the left using a billhook, a sickle with broad blade, finds a close comparison in the *Très riches heures* (figs. 4.2.27-28, 4.2.30-31). The peasant is leaning forward with his legs wide apart, facing the viewer in three-quarters, while he grips the vine with his left hand and cuts it with the billhook in his right hand. The posture seems to be directly inspired by a model deriving from the Limbourg design, as does the motif of the peasant on the right, identifying a long vine shoot requiring pruning (figs. 4.2.27, 4.2.29-31). In the manuscripts that follow slightly later, such as the Bouer and the Arsenal Hours (Group II), the illuminator had developed the composition further from the model, adding movement and a charming detail of a peasant pausing to drink (figs. 4.2.32-33).

The Master of Spencer 6 also copied the motif invented by the Limbourg brothers of two peasants tilling and sowing, the occupation of October, in the Hours of 1488 (figs. 4.2.34-35). The almost exact replication of the composition suggests that this manuscript was the earliest in the group, immediately following his exposure to the model. The composition was later altered for the Langres Hours, and again for the Bouer and the Arsenal Hours (figs. 4.2.36-38). The pictorial motif of riding in couples, closely derived from the subject of *Hawking* in the month of August painted by the Limbourg brothers in the *Très riches heures*, also links manuscripts from both Group I and II, as it was chosen for the occupation of the month of May in the Hours of 1488, the Langres Hours and the Bouer Hours, with only minor changes made to each reinterpretation of the subject (figs. 4.2.39-42).

In terms of figure types, the sharp ogee shaped parting of the Virgin Mary's hair on the top of her high forehead is particularly marked in Group I, as observed in the Hours of 1488, the Getty leaves, the Langres Hours, the Moscow Hours, the Venice Hours and the Paris *Troye* (4.2.43-48). The Virgin's oval face is accentuated by the sharp, opposing V-curves, the parting of her hair and her delicate chin. The chin is further modelled with a line for a shadow falling on its tiny crease.

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<sup>373</sup> For details of the payment made to Jean Colombe for this work on 31 August 1485, see Dufour and Rabut 1870, 110 (cited in Ribault 1994, 298 and Gay 2002, 183).

This female type is expressed in a very similar manner in the manuscripts of Group II: the Bouer Hours, the Hours of Bérenger Bollioud, the Bodleian *Visitation*, the Rose Hours, the *Horloge* of Madeleine d'Amboise, the Lallemand Boccaccio, the Boisrouvray Hours, and the Copenhagen Hours, except that the shape of the parting gradually becomes rounder (figs. 4.2.49-57). The female type - whether representing the Virgin Mary, a female saint, or, for example, Ceres, the goddess of the harvest, as in the Lallemand Boccaccio - is shown lowering her head, her small eyes looking down towards the ground, seemingly conveying modesty and humbleness. Facial features are effortlessly drawn with a few strokes of black ink. The female figures have orange blonde hair that appears to bulge at the back of the head, resembling a 1960s beehive. The mouth is a small horizontal line in black, with a hint of pale pink added for lips. The large forehead dominates the face.

Group II consists of manuscripts made in a similar stylistic language during the last years of the century, 1495-1500, as datable particularly by virtue of the printed books in the group. The figure of Christ, for instance, in the printed *Horloge* of Madeleine d'Amboise of c. 1496 and in the printed Huntington Hours of c. 1500, has a long, oval face with a high, rounded forehead, a forked reddish beard and shoulder-length hair that thickens at the neck (fig. 4.2.58-59). It is consistent with the type that continues throughout the Spencer manuscripts, but is at this stage of the career still more formulaic and symmetrical than the figure of Christ painted with improved modelling and emotional expressiveness after 1500, as observed in the Spencer Hours (figs. 4.2.60-61).

The same Spencer figure types can be found in books painted for the high and the low ends of the market, and the degree of finish and artistic input is not an indication of date. The magnificent book of hours attributed to the Master of Spencer 6, known today only by two full-page miniatures representing *Pentecost* and the *Massacre of the Innocents*, appears to have been made soon after the Huntington Hours. In the printed Huntington Hours, as observed in the miniature of *Pentecost*, for instance, our illuminator invested a very modest amount of skill, painting his figures in full scale with only moderate modelling and detail within simple compositions and borders (fig. 4.2.63). The *Pentecost* fragment, by contrast, deriving from the manuscript book of hours undoubtedly destined for a more eminent patron, is painted with great care (fig. 4.2.62). The figures are presented in three-quarter length in dramatic close-up, and their faces

are rendered with highly worked brush-strokes and their garment draperies suggest convincing depth. The scene takes place within an architectural setting full of decorative detail, within a border that creates a successful trompe-l'œil window effect. Yet, despite the artistic superiority, the particularly close figure style demonstrates that the manuscript is contemporary with the more modest Huntington Hours. The carefully rendered close-up face of Saint John, approaching the Virgin in the *Pentecost* fragment, finds a close comparison in the figure of Christ in the Bollioud Hours of Group II (fig. 4.2.3). The Virgin and Saints Peter and Paul can be paired with the more reserved expressions of the same figures in the Huntington *Pentecost*, while the Apostle on the background, represented in profile, was painted in an analogous manner in both books (figs. 4.2.64-65).

Our illuminator's skill in treating round and shiny surfaces of armour, such as helmets and spaulders, developed in these early years, as is evident from the depiction of the squire of Pyrrhus in the Paris *Troye*, shown in the foreground of the image, facing away from the viewer (fig. 4.2.66). The three-dimensionality of the curving metal surface of his helmet is suggested with the reflections of light, mastered with great care. In the Arsenal Hours, the reflections of light are more subtly built into the colour, while the artist sharpened his focus on describing details of the armour and its round forms (figs. 4.2.67).

A major stylistic change is evident shortly after 1500, when the Master of Spencer 6 contributed sixteen small miniatures to the Missal of Guillaume Lallemand, for which the celebrated Tours artist, Jean Poyer, had already provided the large miniatures.<sup>374</sup> The reason for the change is revealed by the circumstances of the Lallemand Missal: the Master of Spencer 6 appears to have been obliged to adapt his miniatures to harmonise with those by Poyer, and this stylistic accommodation is also evident in the manuscripts that follow. The early rounded and somewhat stout figures had gradually become taller, and following the Lallemand Missal they continue to grow in height (figs. 4.2.68-70).<sup>375</sup> By now, in Group III of the chronological representation of the stylistic development, the figures have assumed looming and elegant poses, and are often portrayed in mid-step to suggest movement, as in Poyer's miniatures. Consider,

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<sup>374</sup> For this manuscript, see particularly Wieck 2000, 31-33.

<sup>375</sup> Considering the development of artists in general, it is compelling to note that the figures attributed to the end of the Master of Jacques de Besançon's career around 1490 also grow in height and take more intensified mannerist poses and bent stances; see Avril and Reynaud 1993, 261.

for instance, the figure of the Archangel Gabriel approaching the Virgin Mary at the moment of the Annunciation in the Lallemand Missal and in the Hours of Guillaume de Seigne that follows a few years later in 1508 (figs. 4.2.71-72). While the Virgin is standing tall and nearly still, the angel is depicted in motion, taking a wide step or kneeling, as in several versions of the subject attributed to Poyer, found, for instance, in the so-called Hours of Henry VIII (fig. 4.2.73).<sup>376</sup> Other Renaissance elements in his later style that suggest inspiration from Italianate models, at least partly via Jean Poyer, include the adaptation of pastel hues in his palette and the increasing use of Renaissance facades in border decoration.

A comparable contemporary example of stylistic accommodation is provided by the Hours of Frédéric III of Aragon commissioned around 1501-1502 when the king of Naples was in exile in the region of Tours. The borders in this manuscript were painted in collaboration by Frédéric's illuminator, Giovanni Todeschino, and the local Tours illuminator, the Master of Claude of France.<sup>377</sup> The French illuminator was obliged to imitate the more fashionable style of the Italian master. Jean Poyer, in comparison, was the more fashionable illuminator in his collaboration with the Master of Spencer 6; Poyer was one of the French artists credited for having introduced proto-mannerism into France through his links with Italy.<sup>378</sup>

Jean Pichore, the illuminator documented as being active 1502-1521, likewise borrowed and remade Jean Poyer's images in his manuscripts and printed books for a Parisian clientele.<sup>379</sup> Similarly to the Master of Spencer 6, Pichore adopted Poyer's manner of depicting figures in mid-step to suggest dramatic movement. The Master of *Chronique scandaleuse*, a Parisian illuminator active around 1493-1510,<sup>380</sup> adopted the figure style of thin faces with rosy cheeks and a palette incorporating pastel pinks, mauves and purples in the spirit of Jean Poyer (as observed, for instance in his copy of the *Institutiones divinae* made around 1500 for Georges d'Amboise).<sup>381</sup> Naturally, artists sought to paint in a fashionable style in order to please their customers, and they were

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<sup>376</sup> New York, PML, ms. H.8. The original patron of this manuscript is unknown, but the book has been associated since the eighteenth century with Henry VIII, in error, due to the binding clasps containing the arms, monogram and motto of the English king, although he appears never to have owned it.

<sup>377</sup> Herman 2012, 264.

<sup>378</sup> Hofmann, 2012a, 245. Poyer may have stayed in Milan during the campaign of Louis XII in 1499; see Elsig 2011, 175.

<sup>379</sup> Jacob 2012, 271.

<sup>380</sup> For this illuminator, see Avril and Reynaud 1993, 274-277.

<sup>381</sup> Paris, BnF, lat. 1671.

motivated by commercial gain. Correspondingly, as a contemporary printer would carefully estimate the number of copies that he is certain to sell before deciding the size of a print run, an illuminator would calculate a successful sale by closely responding to the visual sensibilities of his patrons and buyers. The illuminator's survival depended on the sale of his products. Observing the success of Jean Poyer would undoubtedly have motivated our illuminator to imitate his style, technique and iconographical vocabulary as closely as possible in the manuscripts that followed the Lallemand Missal.

Despite this adaptation towards tastes seemingly deriving from Italy, the Master of Spencer 6 did not depart far from his innate style. The hand of the illuminator who painted the Hours of 1488 and the manuscripts in the same style that followed, is also recognisable in these later manuscripts that include, notably, the eponymous Spencer Hours. The shape of the head gradually became better proportioned, as the back of the Virgin's head, painted with an exaggerated bulge in the early manuscripts (figs. 4.2.22, 4.2.68), was already modified in the Arsenal Hours (fig. 4.2.74), and finally assumed a natural curve, as observed in the Lallemand Missal, the book of hours represented by the Louvre fragments, the Spencer Hours and the Hours of Jean de La Rue (figs. 4.2.75-78). While the figure types essentially remained the same, they were now imagined with more elongated silhouettes and, in important commissions, received more accomplished modelling.

The figures attributed to the Master of Spencer are relatively easy to recognise in comparison to the style of other, contemporary illuminators. In Paris, the Master of Robert Gaguin painted paler and flatter faces with angular features, and large eyes with shadows above the eyelids making them appear placed deep in their sockets (fig. 4.2.79).<sup>382</sup> The modelling of the features of the Spencer figures is softer, their facial tones warmer and more pinkish (fig. 4.2.80). The Master of Cardinal Bourbon,<sup>383</sup> on the other hand, painted expressive faces; the physiognomy of some, such as the bearded figure with a serious expression representing Pierre d'Abusson giving orders for the defense of Rhodes,<sup>384</sup> is noticeably close to one of the Master of Spencer 6's male figure types (figs. 4.2.81-82). The Master of Philippa of Guelders, active in Paris in the first

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<sup>382</sup> As can be observed, for instance, in Dijon, BM, ms. 493.

<sup>383</sup> For this illuminator, see Avril and Reynaud 1993, 270-274.

<sup>384</sup> As observed in the copy of *Gestorum Rbodie obsidionis commentarii*, on the siege of Rhodes, by Guillaume Caoursin, Paris, BnF, lat. 6067.

decade of the sixteenth century,<sup>385</sup> painted figures modelled with strong shadows for sunken cheeks and eyelids, parted lips, ears painted strangely low, pale complexions, and more or less melancholic expressions, as observed, for instance, in the copy of *La Danse macabre* (fig. 4.2.83).<sup>386</sup>

The Hours of Jean de La Rue, made for this notary and secretary to Louis XII living in Tours, provides insightful evidence of our illuminator's artistic development at the end of his career, which appears to have been inspired particularly by the entourage of Jean Poyer. The miniature of *Ecce homo* that opens the Hours of the Cross in this manuscript was a new subject for the Master of Spencer 6, perhaps inspired by Poyer's compositions, such as the one that survives in Paris (figs. 4.2.85-86).<sup>387</sup> As in Poyer's miniature, our illuminator brings the flagellated body of Christ to the forefront of the image - particularly effective for he represents it, unusually, covered with a large amount of blood. The figures in this manuscript possess new dynamism, also evident in the miniature of *King David playing harp* which introduces the Penitential Psalms (fig. 4.2.84). The king is portrayed playing his harp on a balcony that opens onto a street scene with handsome townhouses and a cathedral façade decorated with sculpture. His direct gaze at the viewer and his beautifully painted fingers delicately touching the strings of the harp invest the depiction with a momentary quality. The image is striking in its straightforwardness. The sense of serenity it evokes is exceptional, every detail displaying the technical skills of this little-known illuminator at the height of his career.

The figures in the late work that is the Geneva Hours were painted with sharp descriptive focus and in a particularly expressive manner, despite the small size of the manuscript (116 x 70 mm). During the course of our illuminator's career, the figure of the Virgin Annunciate received the most attention and, occasionally, as seen in this manuscript, innovation. Here, the Master of Spencer 6 represented the moment of God's incarnation in an entirely new fashion for French illumination, presenting a close-up portrait of the Virgin Mary in profile (fig. 4.2.87). Viewed in dramatic half-length close-up, the Virgin is painted in the manner of an Italianate profile portrait recalling medals engraved by Francesco Laurana and Jean Lepère, as well as portraits on panels,

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<sup>385</sup> As localised in Paris by his datable manuscripts and frequent services for the printer Antoine Vérard; see Plummer 1982, 69-71, 98-99 and Avril and Reynaud 1993, 278-281.

<sup>386</sup> Lyon, BM, ms. 5125.

<sup>387</sup> Paris, Musée Marmottan Monet, The Wildenstein Collection, M6131.

such as Filippo Lippi's *Portrait of a Woman with a Man at a Casement* (fig. 4.2.88).<sup>388</sup> Mary has a similar high, shaved forehead to the Florentine bride, her backward combed hair is likewise highlighted with individual strokes of gold, she shares the elegant arch of the eyebrow, the forward gaze between heavy eye lids is alike and, as in the Italian scene, a garden is visible past the profile of her face. Yet, our illuminator's Mary appears somewhat more French: her slightly rounder face, her snub nose and dimpled chin are charming, but do not conform to the straight lines and perfect proportions suitable for a representation of an Italian aristocrat. The image attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 shows a fusion of local and Italian influences. The decision to depict the Virgin in close-up profile is rare, if not unprecedented, at this date in French manuscript illumination.

During his later career, the Master of Spencer 6 developed considerable finesse in figural representation, as is demonstrated, for instance, by the figure of the evangelist Matthew in the Geneva Hours (fig. 4.2.89). The ridge of the nose, its round tip and the curve of the nostril, the protruding lower lip, the high cheekbones, the wrinkly outer corner of the eye and the rising brow ridge are not represented with line, but with smooth tonal transitions from highlights to shadows and rosy flesh, painted in a complex network of fine, overlapped strokes that merge into a smooth skin tone. Light appears to fall naturally on the highest points of the face, on the bridge of the nose, the cheekbone and the temples. In order to create the variegated effect of light falling on the wavy hair, the illuminator layered multiple brush-strokes in shades of blue and bright lead white. The degree of finish is all the more remarkable given the small size of the image.

The patron may have requested the illuminator to paint the book of hours in such a small size on purpose, as discussed above, to travel with. He appears also to have requested a portrait of himself, which the Master of Spencer 6 painted with considerable care (fig. 4.2.90). Although the shoulder-length hair with a thin fringe emerges directly from the illuminator's regular repertoire, the facial features appear individualistic. The patron was depicted with traits that probably made his portrait recognisable: an evidently young man with small eyes deep in their sockets and surrounded by dark circles, a relatively short, sloping and pointy nose, and a small, slightly protruding chin.

It is worth examining another figure from the Geneva Hours, Luke the Evangelist (fig. 4.2.91). Luke's grey hair falls backwards in wavy sections, a method of

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<sup>388</sup> New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

painting hair seemingly adopted from the repertoire of Jacquelin de Montluçon, and already utilised for the figure of Christ in the Bollioud Hours (fig. 4.2.3; compare, for instance, with fig. 4.7.132). Luke's lips are unusually curvy and plump for the style of the Master of Spencer 6; perhaps they were also inspired by Montluçon's figure style. Curiously, this figure type was newly invented for the representation of Luke; it is the first time it appears in the Spencer manuscripts. Given that a new figure was used to represent Luke, the patron saint of painters, one is tempted to speculate on whether the Master of Spencer 6 provided an autoportrait. The argument is, however, highly unsubstantiated, particularly in the light of the fact that the evangelist is on this occasion represented as a scribe and not a painter.

Having considered the development of our illuminator's figure style with the aid of three sub-groupings, the causes of the changes remain to be analysed. On one hand, the chronological evolution can be explained by changes in taste. Toward the end of the fifteenth century, patrons began to value style over the materials and craftsmanship invested in a work.<sup>389</sup> To attract patrons, painters were in search of popular styles of the day, and would continue developing their personal style in order to remain relevant to the particular tastes of their growing clientele. The Master of Spencer 6 seems to have imitated the style of his popular contemporaries, the Colombes, the Montluçons, and later, Jean Poyer and his entourage. A number of clients at the time appear to have been less concerned with innovation than in possessing an illuminated book in the style that was currently in fashion. The Master of Spencer 6 seemingly adapted his style to suit new tastes according to different geographical locations and as they changed in time. This adaptability may be one of the secrets to his success.

On the other hand, the main changes in style appear to have occurred when our illuminator worked in different geographical locations. The cohesion that emerges through careful stylistic analysis of the entire corpus suggests that it was the illuminator, or the manuscripts in his hand, that moved to different geographical locations, rather than different local artists representing separate expressions of the same overall source style. Yet, was it the illuminator or the place that determined the style? A purely topographico-stylistic reading<sup>390</sup> - that it is the qualities of the environment that impose and explain a particular local style - faces numerous problems; however, the artist

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<sup>389</sup> Hall 1994, 92.

<sup>390</sup> To use a term advanced in recent discourse by Chancel-Bardelot et al. 2012, 44.

appears to operate within a stream of influences that are determined by his physical environment. The people, objects, works of art and architecture surrounding the Master of Spencer 6, as well as his patrons and collaborators, became sources of inspiration that are visible in his work. The geographical location in which a work of art was made could determine to a great extent the expression the work would take, yet its impact was not static, and it did not entirely obscure the individual voice of the artist. The Spencer oeuvre shows that while this illuminator altered the expression of his visual language through new regional vocabulary, his syntax remained the same. The identity of the author can be recognised throughout the corpus of work.

Therefore, despite changes to the style, characteristic elements can be recognised in the manuscripts painted throughout two and half decades of activity. This suggests authorship by one artist, or, possibly, a very close-knit partnership. One tell-tale sign of this hand is an idiosyncratic flourish of a cloud. It takes the form of a horizontal line that develops into a small loop of a puffy cloud and continues again in a horizontal line. Painted in silver (later oxidised into grey or black) or gold, this signature detail can be found in manuscripts throughout his career. The squiggle of a cloud features in images from the Hours of 1488, the Langres Hours, the Venice Hours, the Rose Hours, the Lallemand Boccaccio, the Hours of Bérenger Bollioud, the Bouer Hours, *Les Heures de la croix*, *Les Sept articles de la foi*, and the Spencer Hours (for example, figs. 3.3.8, 3.3.55, 3.3.57, 3.4.10, 4.1.4).

Although golden clouds were painted on blue skies by other illuminators, they were realised in a different way. The Master of Robert Gaguin, for instance, filled the shape of his clouds with thin, short strokes, rather than painting the decorative element with a single squiggle of a paintbrush, as the Master of Spencer 6 did (fig. 4.2.79).

In addition to style, the Spencer manuscripts form a cohesive group due to their iconography. Most of the books of hours, for instance, share the iconographical programme of the calendar cycle very closely. The occupations of the months and the zodiacal signs are based on the same strong models (loosely deriving from the *Très riches heures*), but are expressed in different variations in each Spencer manuscript, never repeating a composition exactly from one manuscript to another. One might argue that different illuminators working in the same style painted the manuscripts, and the different versions of the scenes represent individual interpretations of partial drawings available to them. However, given the homogeneity of the style and technique within

the corpus, it is likely that one illuminator was responsible for them, while the unequal degree of finish within the manuscripts is probably due to different time constraints and conditions of work, rather than necessarily implying involvement of a second hand. The fact that the compositions for the calendar scenes were changed for each new manuscript appears to reveal aspects of this illuminator's character. He seems to have enjoyed the creative opportunity to try out different compositional possibilities, and amused himself and his patrons by inventing new picture cycles such as those of zodiacal signs interacting with children or Ottoman Janissaries (fig. 4.2.92-98).<sup>391</sup> These elements throughout the corpus suggest that the manuscripts are the product of a single, curious and creative mind, eager to experiment with new compositional possibilities, often with humorous ambitions.

Manuscripts in the Spencer group also form a cohesive body of work by virtue of their spirit, characterised in part by their tendency toward humour. The humorous approach is visible particularly in the representation of figures. The monsters tormenting Job in the Arsenal Hours are remarkable in their caricatured and charming nature, due to their vibrant colouring and mischievous manner (fig. 4.2.99). In the *Christ rescuing Souls from the Purgatory* miniature found in *Les Sept articles de la foi*, devils are also given a humoristic appearance, as they flee in all directions in evident panic, or catch a damned soul with a fast grasp and eyes gleaming, leaving their unexpected prey with mouth wide open, suggesting a terrified scream.

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<sup>391</sup> The latter perhaps inspired by the contemporary political aspirations of Charles VIII to organise a crusade against the Ottoman Turks.

### 4.3 Palette and the use of colour

A rare, surviving contemporary record of a commission for manuscript illumination proves valuable information on pigments. According to the document, Évrard d'Espinques illuminated four volumes for Jean de Mas, councillor and chamberlain of Louis XI, between 1st August 1479 and 1 November 1480.<sup>392</sup> He was paid 39 livres 7 sols 6 deniers for the work, and 16 livres 5 sols for the colours, which were *or fin, or moulu, deux sortes d'azur, deux verts, rose, vermillon, massicot et noir*.<sup>393</sup> Two types of gold were provided: ground gold and, purer, more finely ground gold. Both would have most likely been used as shell gold for painting,<sup>394</sup> rather than applied on gesso as gold leaf; the latter being rare in manuscripts of this late date. The two greens could be any two between malachite, verdigris, green earth, an organic green (for instance sap green or other plant juices), or even a "ready-made" green mixture.<sup>395</sup> The *rose* may refer to an organic "red", whether plant-based, such as madder or brazilwood, or insect-based, such as kermes, or perhaps an earth colourant, *terra rosa*. Massicot was another name for lead tin yellow.<sup>396</sup> The mention of the two azurites used by Évrard d'Espinques fits the scientific analysis of the slightly later Bouer Hours. It appears that in this manuscript azurite, ground at varying coarseness, was used in order to achieve different shades of pure blue; no lapis lazuli seems to have been used at all.

Painters and illuminators working in France around 1500 would most probably have bought their pigments from an apothecary. According to the *Livre des mestiers*, published in London c. 1483 (and in Antwerp in the 1490s), 'things with which one makes painting' were associated with apothecaries.<sup>397</sup> In 1480, an apothecaire called Guillaume Cotterau was documented in Bourges,<sup>398</sup> and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the apothecaire Jean Moyen lived on rue de la Narrette.<sup>399</sup> The supplier of pigments could also have been a merchant or *épiciier*.<sup>400</sup> The miniatures

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<sup>392</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 167.

<sup>393</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 167.

<sup>394</sup> In the Hours of Marguerite d'Orléans, for instance, the effect of two different painted golds is particularly beautiful (König 1991).

<sup>395</sup> I am grateful to Paola Ricciardi for her helpful advice on pigments.

<sup>396</sup> Kühn 1968, 7.

<sup>397</sup> Kirby, Nash and Cannon, 2010, 3.

<sup>398</sup> Paris, Archives Nationale, Section Ancienne, X 1C 215 B no. 178; Guesneau, 1939, 279.

<sup>399</sup> Goldman 2011, 9.

<sup>400</sup> As demonstrated by the payments for painters' materials in the accounts for Burgundy, 1375-1416; see Nash 2010.

themselves reveal examples of how painters mixed and stored their colourants while painting, such as within oyster shells, as shown in the Bouer Hours and the Hours of Louis d'Orléans, or within a lectern custom-made for a painter with incorporated drawers, as in the Einsiedeln Hours (figs. 4.3.1-2, 4.7.95).

The basic palette of the Master of Spencer 6, as revealed by the technical analysis on the Bouer Hours and in comparison to other manuscripts in the group, consisted of two blues, azurite and indigo, yellow and brown ochre, organic dye-based pinks, lead white, lead tin yellow, carbon black and vermilion or red lead. The greens appear to be either pure pigment or mixtures, as indicated by the particles visible in microscopic analysis. Mixing pigments to create green appears to have been common in France throughout the Middle Ages, while in terms of pure pigments, malachite overtook verdigris in popularity in the fifteenth century.<sup>401</sup> A micrograph of the colourant used for painting the green cloth of the Virgin's prie-dieu in the *Annunciation* displays mainly green particles, and some yellow particles, slightly modifying the green hue (fig. 4.3.3). The small number of blue particles visible probably represents impurities in the green pigment. This would suggest that the green pigment used was malachite, since malachite contained impurities of azurite; in addition, the colour of the green particles suggests that the pigment is malachite.<sup>402</sup> The yellow pigment, mixed into the malachite in a small quantity, is most likely lead tin yellow. The yellow particles in the green colourant used for painting the heraldic green of the coat of arms in the calendar are less numerous and less defined (fig. 4.3.7). The few blue particles appear to indicate anew that the green used was malachite.

The coat of arms displays as very dark in the infrared image (fig. 4.3.9). This suggests that the shield was first covered in azurite, before the arms were painted on top of this background. There is no evidence to suggest that the arms were painted on top of other existing arms, or that they were added considerably later. Yet, the fact that they appear to have been painted on top of a blue background might suggest that the patron provided the details of his arms only after the manuscript was otherwise complete.

The dye-based indigo, identifiable by its blue-grey colour and its transparency in infrared images, is used frequently by our illuminator, for instance on the blue-grey walls and architectural forms that are habitual in the background of his interior scenes. The

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<sup>401</sup> Ricciardi, Pallipurath and Rose 2013, 3823.

<sup>402</sup> I am grateful to Paola Ricciardi for her expert advice in interpreting the microscopic information.

bright red the Master of Spencer 6 used, only for small details early on, but later more frequently, is either vermilion or red lead. He used shell gold for highlighting in all his miniatures, and carbon black for facial features and other details. Of the earth pigments, the Master of Spencer 6 used ochre in different tones throughout the Bouer Hours and over the course of his career. The quality of the French soil was particularly good for sourcing this pigment, dependent on the iron oxide content of the earth.<sup>403</sup> The Master of Spencer 6 made use of the brilliance, density and opacity of the lead white in emphasising elements of visual interest, such as snow in the Bouer *February*, or details important to the narrative, such as Charles VI's horse in the Chantilly Monstrelet (figs. 3.3.9, 4.1.18).

Although our illuminator preserved his general style of colouring throughout his career, he gradually enriched his early palette, based on the common earth pigments, by increasing the use of brighter mineral pigments and red dyes. Presumably, as he progressed in his career, he received more prestigious commissions, which allowed for more expensive pigments. The availability of pigments appears to be rather closely tied to specific commissions, presumably dependent on where he was working, and how large a budget he was provided with for the pigments. The colours in the early Langres Hours, for instance, are particularly bright, including striking greens, standing out from his otherwise relatively muted palette of the period. The rich, warm green of the robe of Balthazar and the bright yellowish green that beautifully highlights the wings of Gabriel in this manuscript might be the result of his experimentation with some of the circulating recipes, which contained instructions on mixing verdegris with either saffron or the juice of rue, parsley and sap green, to make the colour warmer and richer (figs. 4.3.11, 4.4.5).<sup>404</sup> The Magi are clad in robes made of luxuriously bright textiles, the rich colours of which perhaps inspired our illuminator to add the ornamentation and variety (Balthazar and Melchior wear tunics in the knee-length style of the 1450s) (fig. 4.3.11). The palette was noticeably more restricted in the Bouer Hours (fig. 4.3.12). For the Hours of Guillaume de Seigne and Claudine Fortier, the Master of Spencer 6 appears to have got hold of a particularly bright green, almost lime in tone, which he used in a variety of shades for the grass in the *Annunciation to Shepherds* (fig. 4.3.13).

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<sup>403</sup> Porter and Townsend 1995.

<sup>404</sup> Porter and Townsend 1995, 5.

Neither the Master of Spencer 6 nor Jacquelin de Montluçon appear to have used lapis lazuli in the Bouer Hours.<sup>405</sup> The robe of the Virgin is painted in rich blue colour throughout the manuscript, as in the *Annunciation to the Virgin* (fig. 4.1.5). In addition to the appearance, the well-known connection between the preciousness of the pigment and the symbolic importance of the Virgin's robe would also suggest the use of lapis. Yet, both infrared imaging and the complementary microscopic analysis reveal that the pigment is azurite, the most frequently used blue during the period. Under infrared, the colour is dark and opaque, identifying copper-based azurite, and magnification exposes impurities of malachite (green particles) and cuprite (red particles), whereas lapis lazuli (unless very refined) usually has impurities of calcite (colourless or white particles) and pyrite (metallic/yellow particles).<sup>406</sup> A study carried out on pigments of manuscript fragments from Bourges has suggested that azurite was the blue used most commonly: out of nine fifteenth-century leaves, only two include lapis, while all nine include azurite (and none of them include indigo).<sup>407</sup>

Were patrons aware of the pigments that were used? Would Philippe Bouer, for instance, have known whether the Virgin's robe in his book of hours was painted in azurite or lapis lazuli? Apparently there was much confusion between the two blues in the Middle Ages.<sup>408</sup> However, guild regulations laid down laws binding craftsmen to use materials as agreed with their patrons, but it is impossible to know whether the illuminator would have tricked his patron or buyer had he been sure to get away with it. As shown, the patron occasionally paid not only for the finished product but also the materials used, in which event he would have presumably known which pigments were used. It should also be borne in mind that although the use of the cheaper azurite in

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<sup>405</sup> It has not been possible to confirm with the methods available whether only azurite was used. None of the non-invasive methods commonly used for analysing the chemical structure of pigments was available. Although unlikely, it remains possible that lapis lazuli was added to the shadows of the draperies for an effect of depth or as a final thin coating of paint in order to create a rich sheen. In either event, the illuminator covered the whole paint area first with azurite.

<sup>406</sup> Private conversations with Paola Ricciardi.

<sup>407</sup> Guineau and Vezin 1996, 190.

<sup>408</sup> Thompson 1956, 131.

comparison to lapis is perhaps a marker of a more affordable manuscript, azurite was not a cheap pigment.<sup>409</sup>

A revealing technical analysis has recently been made of a manuscript local and contemporary to the career of the Master of Spencer 6, a book of hours apparently painted in central France around 1500 and found today in Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum ms. 92).<sup>410</sup> The colourants used for the areas of green in the main miniatures were obtained from different sources of malachite than those used in the borders. This was indicated by the analysis carried out using fibre optic reflectance spectroscopy (FORS). Spectra collected from the manuscript revealed different spectra for the greens used. The different sources of malachite might suggest that the miniatures and the borders were painted in two different workshops. It would seem unlikely that a master illuminator and an assistant in the same workshop would use their own supply of pigments. Alternatively, the borders could have been painted at a different time from the miniatures; this might allow for the possibility that the same artist painted the borders and the miniatures. Unfinished manuscripts suggest that the border was often painted before the miniature, as found in the Missal prepared for the Dauphin Louis de Guyenne.<sup>411</sup> In this Missal, only the borders are partially painted on the page that was to have a miniature of the Mass for the first Sunday in Advent; the illuminator had laid down shell gold and base layers for colours: a gouache of glair and a pigment, presumably lapis lazuli for the intense pure blues, madder for the lighter reds, vermilion for the intense reds, malachite for the brilliant greens, ochre for the light browns, and lamp black for the background of the angels.<sup>412</sup>

Illuminators might have specialised in painting particular parts of the page. Christine de Pizan had praised the illuminator Anastaise for her skill in painting borders and backgrounds of miniatures.<sup>413</sup> Willem Vrelant regularly painted the flesh areas of important persons in the miniatures by his assistants.<sup>414</sup> He appears to have even been

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<sup>409</sup> In the payments for painters' materials in the accounts for Burgundy in 1375-1416, azurite and lapis lazuli are invariably the most expensive pigments mentioned and they are often the only pigments whose prices were given (azurite could signify lapis lazuli, unless it was specified to be azurite from Germany; azurite from Acre referred to lapis lazuli); the price for lapis lazuli from the supplier Thévenin Lorfèvre in Dijon in 1386, for instance, was 8 francs (i.e. livres tournois) for an ounce, whereas with 8 francs one could get a pound of azurite; see Nash 2010, 127.

<sup>410</sup> Ricciardi, Pallipurath and Rose 2013, 3822.

<sup>411</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 406.

<sup>412</sup> van Buren 2006, 86.

<sup>413</sup> *La cité des dames*, bk. 1, ch. 41; Meiss 1967b, 3, note 3; van Buren 2006, 89

<sup>414</sup> van Buren 2006, 90.

brought in to paint only the face and hands of the Virgin in the *Annunciation* found in the Llangetock Hours, otherwise painted in an entirely different workshop to his own.<sup>415</sup> Jean Perréal painted a portrait of Pierre Sala in Sala's dedicatory book of poems for his future wife, Marguerite.<sup>416</sup> He was also expected to paint a second portrait of Sala as the man represented in one of the miniatures picking up a daisy, *marguerite*. The manuscript is otherwise attributable to the Parisian Master of the *Chroniques scandaleuse*, but the head was never painted, presumably as Perréal was unable to travel to Paris.<sup>417</sup> Acknowledging a particular skill occasionally led to illuminators being recruited to paint specific areas of miniatures.

The results of the technical examination of Fitzwilliam Museum ms. 92 raise new considerations for other, unanalysed manuscripts. It is not possible to see with the naked eye that the two greens, both deriving from malachite, are different in the border and the miniature of this manuscript. It could easily be presumed that one artist painted them at the same time. Similarly, pages within the Spencer manuscripts were perhaps not always painted at the same time, or even entirely by a single illuminator, despite the observations that the pigments appear to be very similar, if not identical. For the time being, it has not been possible to collect FORS spectra from the manuscripts in the Spencer group in order to identify the pigments more securely. The analysis here of the palette used by the Master of Spencer 6 and Jacquelin de Montluçon is based on information gathered through the technical analysis of the Bouer Hours. During this analysis in Cambridge, the pigments were examined under microscope, in order to identify morphological characteristics, and through imaging under infrared light, thus examining their reflectance value in a certain wavelength range. These methods enable the identification of certain pigments, such as different blues, or recognising the use of pigment mixtures instead of pure pigments. However, it has not been possible to identify all pigments with certainty. It has, in places, been possible to make informed suggestions, combining the analysis of data with knowledge of the practice at the time. For instance, since at the end of the fifteenth century malachite was used more often than verdigris, it is the more likely pigment to account for the large green areas in the manuscripts of the Master of Spencer 6 - that is, where the microscopic analysis reveals green particles (and not a green made of blue and yellow particles).

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<sup>415</sup> van Buren 2006, 90-91.

<sup>416</sup> van Buren 2006, 92.

<sup>417</sup> van Buren 2006, 92.

The pigments used by the Master of Spencer 6 and Jacquelin de Montluçon in the Bouer Hours appear very similar. This supports a hypothesis that the illuminators either worked in the same workshop on this commission or, as is quite likely, acquired their pigments from the same source.

One of the characteristics of individual style is the use of colour. In comparison to the Master of Spencer 6, the palette of the Parisian Master of Robert Gaguin, for instance, was noticeably more subdued, while the Master of Anne of Brittany's palette was particularly rich in blue and gold. The palette of the Master of Cardinal Bourbon was also rich, including a distinctly bright yellow. The Master of Philippa of Guelders appears to have preferred a greater variety of greens, and an abundance of crimson and liquid gold. In Lyon, the workshop of the scribe Guillaume Lambert had a colder and more intense palette.<sup>418</sup>

In the Lyon Franciscan Missal, the tones used in the *February* miniature, attributable to Jean de Montluçon, are clearly more subdued and muted than those in the *February* scene attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 in the Bouer Hours (figs. 3.3.11, 3.3.7). The almost impressionistic February scene in the Bouer Hours was painted in soft hues of white and blue, evoking effects of snow and crispy winter weather. Confident flicks in dark tones were added to create bare trees and farmyard carts, contributing to an illusion of artistic freedom and spontaneity.

Information gathered about an illuminator's palette might facilitate the dating of manuscripts within the entire œuvre. Throughout the manuscripts in the corpus, that is, over the career of the Master of Spencer 6, his basic palette consisted of blues, browns and reds, with shell gold used for frequent highlighting, and carbon black for final modelling and contours. The early manuscripts show none of the typical colour juxtaposition of bright and muted tones as is found in the later works, in the Spencer Hours and the copies of the *Anabase*, for instance. The earlier palette, until our illuminator's involvement in the Lallemand Missal around 1500, includes the same royal blue, red orange and warm brown, as can be observed later, but overall, tones tend to be noticeably more muted. The Master of Spencer 6 built his early palette around certain

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<sup>418</sup> The expressive style and page layouts of this workshop show evidence of inspiration from Bourges illumination, notably through the atelier's collaboration with Jean Colombe on the Hours of Guillaume Molé of Troyes (Besançon Rodez, Société des lettres, sciences et arts de l'Aveyron, no. 1) and another book of hours (Besançon, BM, ms. 148); for this workshop, see Avril and Reynaud 1993, 357-362. For the most recent and thorough examination of painting in Lyon around 1500, see Lévy 2013. For illumination in Lyon, see also Burin 2001.

more affordable earth and dye-based pigments, and only later was able to increase the use of mineral pigments that were more expensive and richer in tone.<sup>419</sup> He presumably gained access to new pigments, through new locations, new professional contacts and more prestigious patrons. He would also have accumulated experience and knowledge in handling pigments.

The palette of the Master of Spencer 6 seemingly developed following his contact with images painted by Jean Poyer. He started to use colour to convey meaning compositionally, selecting bright colours to emphasise the protagonists of the narrative, set against backgrounds in muted tones. Whereas in the earlier works, he had paid attention to the arrangement of the colours within the picture for a harmonious end, he now became more occupied by the narrative role of the colour arrangement. Most notable is his increased use of bright red in place of pale earthy pink hues. The pigment for the bright red is probably vermilion,<sup>420</sup> manufactured by heating and grinding mercury mixed with sulphur. In comparison, the pink he used was derived from an organic pigment, probably in this case prepared from brazilwood. Or, it could have been madder, derived from a field plant cultivated in France since the latter part of the thirteenth century.<sup>421</sup> He introduced generous amounts of pastels, particularly violets, mauves and pinks to his palette, echoing that of Jean Poyer (figs. 4.2.71-73). He now also modelled draperies using white against a darker shade, as observed in the Lallemand Missal, instead of applying liquid gold for the highlights as he had done previously; a technique he seemingly derived from Poyer (fig. 4.2.71).

The colouring in the *Massacre of the Innocents* in the Spencer Hours is very similar to the colour scheme of the same subject in the so-called Hours of Henry VIII attributed to Jean Poyer (figs. 4.3.14-15). The protagonists are emphasised by their bright blue, red and golden yellow clothing. Whereas the Master of Spencer 6 painted the group of soldiers in the background of his image with a monochrome brown tone of comparable brightness to the figures in the front, Jean Poyer used atmospheric perspective to great effect by painting the figures in the distance in diluted tones. Although the Master of Spencer 6 had used atmospheric perspective throughout his career, painting distant landscapes in diluted blues, only in his later works, such as the

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<sup>419</sup> Although this was not as clear-cut as it seems, since certain dye-based reds were particularly expensive.

<sup>420</sup> All nine manuscript fragments from fifteenth-century Bourges studied by Guineau and Vezin contained vermilion (as well as the thirteenth- and the fourteenth-century examples); only two of them could be confirmed to contain red lake; see Guineau and Vezin 1996, 190.

<sup>421</sup> Thompson 1956, 122.

Hours of Jean de La Rue, did he come to apply the same principle to the representation of figures in perspective. That is, in an image constructed in perspective, colour is expected to have different tonal values depending on the relative distance of the object to the viewer. In the miniature of *King David* in the Hours of Jean de La Rue, he used colour to this effect, painting David in the foreground of the image in bright colours, and representing men on the street in perspective, perceived far beyond David's balcony, in diluted colours (fig. 4.1.21).

While at the beginning of the Renaissance artists began to understand the role played by colour in three-dimensional representation, colour was not yet fully conceptualised as a perceptive phenomenon. In the Middle Ages, colour was considered to be a substance; it was not until the 1780s that philosophers started to define colour as a sensation.<sup>422</sup> Instead, colour represented a theological problem: was it material or light? Thirteenth-century Franciscans in Oxford, as well as Abbot Suger defined colour both as a material substance and a fraction of light.<sup>423</sup> Light was thought of as the only part of the sensible world that was both visible and immaterial, a manifestation from God.<sup>424</sup> Thus, colour, to some, was also connected to God. Artists related colour closely to the treatment of light. Towards the latter part of his career, the Master of Spencer 6 utilised increasingly sophisticated methods to suggest different types of light. The *Nativity of Christ* provides a case of comparison. In the early manuscripts, such as the Bouer Hours, individual golden rays were painted to express the light shining from the star of Bethlehem, as well as from the Christ Child. In *Les Sept articles de la foi*, a late work in the illuminator's career, the miraculous light emanating from the Christ Child was depicted with a combination of gold and light blue rays. In another late work, the Hours of Guillaume de Seigne and Claudine Fortier, the straws of the manger were coloured blue by the deific light, as in *Les Sept articles de la foi*, and here a magnificent orange and yellow circle and rays of gold surround the Christ Child.

The images attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 also show awareness of the symbolic meanings of colour; for instance, the cloth covering Mary's prie-dieu in the Bouer *Annunciation* is green, the colour green symbolising fertility and, particularly in the later Middle Ages, signifying a pregnant woman (fig. 4.3.4).<sup>425</sup> Similarly, in the *D'estre*

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<sup>422</sup> Pastoureau 2004, 151.

<sup>423</sup> Pastoureau 2004, 157, 410 note 2.

<sup>424</sup> Pastoureau 2004, 151-52.

<sup>425</sup> Pastoureau 2013, 76.

Hours, all large decorated initials beginning the incipits below the miniatures are white, bar one; the initial to the Matins, below the image of the *Annunciation to the Virgin*, is painted in green. It can also be noted that the Master of Spencer 6 understood colour as a political instrument and a means of displaying loyalty. In manuscripts he painted during the reign of Louis XII - that is, from 1498 until the rest of his career - he was particularly generous in the use of red and yellow, the livery colours of the king. This is evident, for instance, in the Spencer Hours and the copies of the *Anabase*.

#### 4.4 Construction of space and page layouts

In most manuscripts the text was written first, but before the scribe could begin his work, the pages were ruled.<sup>426</sup> Thus, the placement of illustration and decoration, and the entire layout of the pages, were decided before the illuminator was involved. The early manuscripts in the Spencer group, such as the Bouer Hours, display problems in layout planning. Insufficient space was left for some of the small miniatures in the Suffrages, leaving them to extend to the lower margin (fig. 4.4.1-2). More space should also have been left for text, since the scribe was obliged to allow some of his lines to extend into the margin (figs. 4.4.2-3). In addition, blank pages between text sections in the Bouer Hours suggest that this copy was more experimental than the Spencer Hours, for example, where space was calculated more carefully within the quires and on page layouts (fig. 4.4.4).

Once the text had been written, the illuminator was provided with the sheets requiring decoration and illustration, containing blank spaces or entirely blank pages. On pages with large miniatures, the Master of Spencer 6 used both single and double-compartmented arrangements, alternating the two possibilities throughout his career and even within single manuscripts. In the Moscow Hours, for example, he placed some miniatures - according to the tradition of French manuscript painting since the beginning of the fifteenth century - within arched compartments over a few lines of text and surrounded by full decorated borders, while he arranged other large miniatures within new Renaissance designs deriving from architectural models (figs. 4.4.7-8). In the new double-compartmented page layouts, he placed incipits of texts on trompe-l'œil cartouches that appear to lie on top of the miniatures; they were represented as if objects hovering in the space in front of the scene, at times supported by angels in the lower register of the image or attached to the border columns by narrow strings (fig. 4.4.5-6, 4.4.8-10). The motif derives from manuscripts painted by Jean Fouquet, and appears to have been introduced to Bourges artists by Jean Colombe.

The Master of Spencer 6 habitually used the compositional device of the dramatic close-up, depicting figures close to the picture plane in half- or three-quarter close-up. The device was developed in Flanders in the 1470s and 1480s, from where it

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<sup>426</sup> Alexander 1992, 40.

spread to France, probably through Simon Marmion.<sup>427</sup> In France, it was used particularly successfully in the Loire valley: in Tours by Jean Bourdichon and Jean Poyer, in Bourges by the Montluçons and the Master of Spencer 6. The Hours of Bérenger Bollioud appears to be the earliest-known manuscript in which the Master of Spencer 6 combined the double compartment layout with the dramatic close-up, the new layout condensing narrative scenes into devotional portraits (fig. 4.4.9). The double-compartmented layout combines the main image that is the devotional portrait in close-up, with a predella showing a related event or decorative figures in full-length. The structure is directly comparable to contemporary altarpieces painted on panels, where the main panel consisted of a scene with large static figures, and the predella below, when included, might have contained one or a number of small-scale narrative scenes depicting incidents from the life of the dedicatee. This is illustrated for instance by the miniature opening the Penitential Psalms in the Arsenal Hours, where the moment of Pentecost, with the Apostles gathered in a room, is depicted in the small predella, while the main image is reserved for half-length portraits of the Virgin Mary with Saints Peter and Paul (fig. 4.4.10).

The possibilities of page layouts appear to be in continuous development and experimentation from one manuscript to another in the Spencer group. In the calendar, for instance, the sign of the zodiac was included in a small rectangular compartment on the same page as the occupation of the month miniature, rather than overleaf, first seen in the Langres Hours (figs. 4.4.12, 4.4.16). It was added next to the bas-de-page image, but later in the Bouer Hours a better place was found in the margin (figs. 4.4.13, 4.4.17). In the Arsenal Hours, the illuminator returned to the solution he had used in the Hours of 1488, and painted bas-de-page images for the occupations on the recto and corresponding images for the signs of the zodiac on the verso (figs. 4.4.11, 4.4.14-15, 4.4.18). It is possible that agreements with patrons and size of payment influenced these decisions.

After the space for the miniatures had been established, the illuminator could proceed by drawing or directly painting his image. Sometimes the scribe, *libraire* or illuminator overseeing the whole production wrote the subject of the miniature in short hand into the margin, as found in the Paris *Troye*. Next to the miniature of the *Argument between Ulysses and Ajax*, attributed to the Master of Spencer 6, a faint note in the inner

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<sup>427</sup> Ringbom 1984, 193-210.

margin appears to read 'Aïax et Ulysses disputent pour le Palladium' (fig. 4.4.19). Such cue phrases speeded up the work, as the illuminator would not have been required to scan the text for the subject of the miniature. They might also have been necessary in rare cases where the images were designed before the text was written.

The importance of certain figures in the image could be conveyed by various elements: costume, light, posture, gestures, and placement within the pictorial space. In addition to the placement of the protagonists, the rest of the pictorial space had to be organised. One solution was to fill it with figures, thus resisting any construction of space, as seen in several images from the Colombe workshop.<sup>428</sup> In a miniature of *Female Saints*, the main saints, such as Anne and Mary Magdalene, are depicted in full view in the foreground, while figures behind are seen only by the tops of their heads, and finally, by the tops of their halos (fig. 4.4.20). As viewed slightly from above, the continuation of tops of heads over the crowd creates a sense of spatial recession. However, no space can be imagined between the figures that are cramped together in a decorative concentration.

At the beginning of his career, the Master of Spencer 6 visualised space in this manner. The space behind the protagonists in *David and Goliath* in the Bouer Hours is filled with a group of spectators in a typical "Colombesque" mass, entirely comparable to the same subject in the Hours of Louis de Laval (figs. 4.4.21-22). Our illuminator used the same method in the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Langres Hours and the Hours of 1488, where a large group of shepherds forms an anonymous gathering of onlookers behind the stable (figs. 4.4.23-24). This spatial technique contrasts with the more sophisticated, pictorial and monumental organisation of scenes by the contemporary Master of Cardinal Bourbon. His *Battle of Benevento* in the *Vie et miracles de monseigneur Saint Louis*, for instance, was composed imagining the scene in real space with figures represented next to each other in correct proportion and spatial relationship to one another (fig. 4.4.25).<sup>429</sup> The methodical and stiff interpretations by the Colombe workshop, and its followers in Bourges, show less skill in organising space. Colombe and his entourage followed the traditional approaches, already established at the beginning of the century by the Boucicaut and Marguerite d'Orléans Masters, in

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<sup>428</sup> Favière 1996, 72; Thiébaud 2001, 160.

<sup>429</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 2829.

depicting battles, as well as other scenes, in strict order, concentrating only on certain key figures.<sup>430</sup>

Nevertheless, in images of the *Annunciation to the Virgin*, the Master of Spencer 6 tended to make use of strict linear perspective, an understanding evident from the beginning of his career (figs. 4.4.26, 3.3.59). Although he generally adopted empirical perspective used by Northern artists in his miniatures, the subject of the *Annunciation* appears to be one exception to which a more geometric approach was taken, following the rules defined by Alberti. The perspective in the *Annunciation* of the Hours of 1488 is striking (fig. 3.3.59). Unusually in open air, the scene takes place on a calm city square. Although most early Christian writers insisted that Mary was at home when the angel Gabriel arrived to her, some French artists depicted the miracle of the Annunciation in a church rather than in a private chapel;<sup>431</sup> it is possible that they were following the apocryphal text, *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, which recounts that on that day Mary went to the house of the Lord.<sup>432</sup> In this early scene attributable to our illuminator, the figures are encircled by Gothic architecture. A chapel or Sainte-Chapelle across the square has a large rose window surrounded by smaller rose windows and a wimperg decorated with crockets. The tiles on the ground are organised according to linear perspective with a central vanishing point, and lead the eye to the centre of the image and back to the protagonists. The emphasis is on the triangle formed in space between the Virgin, the Angel and God (the Dove). The horizontal axis is made from Mary to Gabriel. Between them, the vase displays a single lily, the symbol of Mary's purity. Above the figures, making a line of descent by the announcement of golden rays, is the Dove of the Holy Spirit descending from God.

One spatial device involved activating the deep centre of an image whose foreground features a lateral encounter, as in the *Annunciation*. A classic example is given by the *Annunciation* of Domenico Veneziano from the predella of the *Saint Lucy* altarpiece, where the path in the middle of the picture plane creates depth and concludes in the *porta clausa* of Marian chastity (fig. 4.4.27).<sup>433</sup> The function of the device was not only spatial, but above all, to ensure the viewer's engagement with the content of the

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<sup>430</sup> See also König 1991, 97.

<sup>431</sup> For instance, the *Annunciation* in the Hours of Étienne Chevalier and the Aix Annunciation altarpiece.

<sup>432</sup> Freeman 1960, 107.

<sup>433</sup> Acres 1997, 27.

image.<sup>434</sup> In the *Annunciation* of the Hours of 1488, the centrally placed lily vase, the courtyard and the Sainte-Chapelle can be interpreted as playing this role in engaging the viewer (fig. 3.3.59).

The composition of the *Annunciation* in the *D'estre* Hours placed Mary seated on a high-backed chair, an idea the Master of Spencer 6 had already used in the *Annunciation* in the Copenhagen Hours (fig. 4.4.28-29). In the Copenhagen Hours, Gabriel arrives from the right and Mary raises her left hand in acceptance of his message. The composition is thus a reverse of that found in the *D'estre Annunciation*, and a reversal of the pictorial tradition in which Mary is depicted on the right and Gabriel arrives from the left. The reversal of the image might suggest the existence of a model intended for an engraving or woodcut for a print. In the Copenhagen Hours, the Master of Spencer 6 would have copied the composition as in the model, and by the time of the *D'estre* Hours, stylistically suggesting a later work, he had re-arranged the composition as a mirror image. The composition may derive from Italian drawings for prints circulating in France, since similar examples are found in paintings made in Italy, such as the *Annunciation* painted around 1470 by Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo, found today in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin (fig. 4.4.30).

In order to convey space in the background of his scenes, the Master of Spencer 6 used architecture. The method apparently derived from his experience in the Colombe workshop. He decorated interiors with classicising elements: grey or golden walls were ornamented in camaïeu with cornucopia, foliage, flowers, vases, putti, and niches decorated with scallop shell domes (figs. 3.3.37, 4.2.62). In the Geneva *Annunciation*, the Virgin Mary and the Archangel Gabriel are placed inside a perfectly proportioned Italianate portico, or loggia, with an oculus, *œil de bœuf*, through which the dove of the Holy Spirit descends (fig. 4.4.31). Italianate architecture had been imported to France by the time of painting the manuscript and could be admired, for instance, on the facades of various *hôtel particuliers*, such as the hôtel Lallemant in Bourges, and slightly later around 1510, the hôtel Gouin in Tours, which was constructed with a double loggia. In the miniature, the skilful use of perspective is evident. It is a mature work attributed to the end of our illuminator's career, displaying an ability to imitate new images and revise old, often from visual memory, in imaginative and ambitious ways in order to keep abreast of the current enthusiasms and tastes of his patrons.

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<sup>434</sup> Acres 1997, 28.

Outdoor scenes are typically situated within placid landscapes offering a realistic representation of nature. Their appeal and quality are partly due to a strong awareness of space. The Master of Spencer 6 used atmospheric perspective with skill to create an illusion of depth, particularly in his calendar scenes, both the small and modest calendar miniatures, as well as the full-page occupations of the months depicted in the Spencer Hours. Elements of the landscape in the far distance, as observed, for instance, in the *Pruning vines* in the Spencer Hours, are depicted in blue, as their colour is perceived shifting towards the blue colour of the sky (fig. 4.4.32). Likewise, the colours of the clothes worn by the figures in the middle distance, by the foot of the mountain, cannot be perceived, since they become less saturated when viewed from a distance, blending to the light brown of the background. The nearer to the viewer the objects are depicted, the more intense are their colours. The peasants in the foreground of the image present the greatest contrast to their background, depicted in bright red and blue costumes. The outlines of the objects, such as the vines, are sharper and darker in the foreground, the diminishing level of detail with distance adding to the illusion of depth.

Towards the latter part of his career, the Master of Spencer 6 developed new pictorial methods to suggest depth in his images. The *Massacre of the Innocents* in the Spencer Hours shows a number of compositional affinities with the same subject attributed to Jean Poyer around 1500, in the so-called Hours of Henry VIII (figs. 4.3.14-15). The Master of Spencer 6 introduced depth by a skilful arrangement of figures in space and with such details as the division of the ground into grass and gravel areas, thus depicting a path, which leads the eye further into the picture. This spatial organisation and details, such as the naturalistic placement of shadows cast on the ground by the main figures, appear to derive from Poyer.<sup>435</sup>

At the end of his career, the Master of Spencer 6 mastered an impressive aerial viewpoint. Saint Michael in the Geneva Hours is depicted in an unusual, if not unique, manner (fig. 4.4.33). It was the Limbourg brothers who had invented the idea for the aerial perspective for this subject in the *Très riches heures*, reused with increased close-up by Jean Colombe in the Hours of Louis de Laval (figs. 4.4.34-35). The Master of Spencer 6 surprised the viewer even further by magnifying the close-up and bringing the devil to the centre stage. Instead of placing the emphasis on the saint, the artist has

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<sup>435</sup> Also the stances of the kneeling and wailing women are alike, including the detail of the soldier grasping the woman's head, suggesting a shared model for these compositions.

reversed the image, displaying great inventiveness and wit. The image celebrates the illuminator's command of perspective by presenting the viewer with an unusual aerial viewpoint. An attractive seascape with a vista of Mont-Saint-Michel is shown in the background, while the bas-de-page provides a maritime view with galleys. The devil is allowed to take charge of the foreground. He is depicted in full flight, dressed in half-armour and equipped with both a crossbow and a long bow. Saint Michael, represented in the guise of a child-angel, is seen as a small figure behind the beast, chasing it across the foreground of the image. Although the artist has given centre stage to the anti-hero, he has not represented the devil as terrifying but, with humour, has turned him into a pitiful caricature.

## 4.5 Border decorations

Painting on a clearly defined smooth surface with boundaries developed in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, alongside the creation of pottery and architecture with jointed masonry; the prehistoric artist worked on unprepared cave walls with no set boundaries.<sup>436</sup> Medieval manuscript illumination echoes painting found in contemporary churches. In a chapel the corners of the walls, the floor and the vaulted ceiling restricted the vertical area for wall painting. Similarly, a page in a manuscript provides a restricted space, which could be further framed for a full-page miniature by introducing columns standing on a pedestal and supporting an arch, thus forming a shaped space comparable to architecture. The shape of the page in a codex (as opposed to the earlier scroll format) echoed also the shape of a panel painting.<sup>437</sup> The golden miniature border mimicked the gilt frame of the painting. Heavy decorative borders took inspiration from goldsmiths' work, in tabernacles and chasses. Architecture provided the formal frame in which devotional scenes could be presented, providing an accepted design, a portal opening onto a sacred space, whether painted on wooden panel or on parchment.

Border decorations contain their own elements, qualities and expression of style. In liturgical manuscripts, the Master of Spencer 6 generally framed his miniatures within architectural borders. He favoured columns with Corinthian capitals decorated with curving acanthus leaves. His columns support either architraves or arches, occasionally decorated with falling swags. At times the columns of the border repeat columns represented in the architecture of the miniature, in devotional manuscripts blurring the boundary between the image and the beholder, between the Holy event and that of the pious.

The Master of Spencer 6 often placed sculpted statues on top of the border columns. It was essentially a Renaissance motif inspired by antique statues, distinct from the earlier pictorial device derived from gothic architecture of placing figures within niches, as had been used by Jean Colombe and his workshop. Jean Colombe may have been inspired by the work of his sculptor brother and father, Michel and Philippe Colombe. The parallel of these border motifs with architecture is salient: in churches, sculpted figures are found decorating portals. The figures depicted in the borders,

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<sup>436</sup> Schapiro 1994, 1-3.

<sup>437</sup> Alexander 1992, 35.

whether on top of columns or within niches, were deployed as observers of the main scene within the miniature. Our illuminator's observers are either intrinsic to the narrative, such as the shepherds flanking the *Nativity* scene in the Bouer Hours (fig. 4.1.4), or they are connected to the protagonists through typology, such as the nude pre-Fall figures of Adam and Eve in the border of the *Annunciation to the Virgin* in the same manuscript (fig. 3.3.20-22). Adam and Eve add a typological reading for the *Annunciation*: the Virgin Mary is seen as the new Eve. Mankind, which had been damned by the original sin and the fall of man caused by Eve, was to be saved by the incarnation of Christ through Mary. Mary is the link between both Testaments. The representations of prophets in the margins of New Testament scenes also add typological readings, suggesting earlier prophecies of these events in the Old Testament. Prophets, shepherds, Adam and Eve are depicted as witnesses to the holy scenes. Their gaze creates an association with the real-life viewer, and he or she also becomes a witness.

Figures represented engaged in the action of looking have two functional charges: they draw internal attention and they 'relativize and objectify the role of the real observer, who detects the existence of other points of view'.<sup>438</sup> Similarly, figures depicted in the background of scenes have functions other than filling space. The congregation witnessing the *Annunciation to the Virgin* in the Copenhagen and *D'estre* Hours, for example, accentuates the attention on the Virgin Mary by bringing the gaze of the viewer back to the middle of the picture (figs. 4.4.28-29). These witnesses introduce new points of view from which the pious can contemplate the miraculous event and dogma of the Incarnation. The figures depicted in the borders have the same function. They direct the eye of the viewer, they emphasise the act of looking and they introduce new points of view. They also represent the intuitive interest of the artist in exploring different directions from which to imagine familiar scenes. In hoisting figures up on top of columns to observe the Virgin Mary and the Archangel Gabriel from above, the artist is communicating to the viewer the pleasure of looking. This idea was conveyed in Alberti's advice in *De Pictura*, first published in 1435:

'I like there to be someone in the 'historia' who tells the spectator what is going on, and either beckons them with his hand to look, or with ferocious expression and forbidding glance challenges them not to come near, as if he wished their

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<sup>438</sup> Acres 1997, 27.

business to be secret, or points to some danger or remarkable thing in the picture...<sup>439</sup>

The angels, soldiers, shepherds, Adam, Eve, and other figures on top of columns in the Spencer manuscripts appear to be performing this precise role, in reacting to the depicted events and communicating to the viewer different ways of looking.

Visual influence on French manuscript borders arriving from Italy as well as northern European art is evident in the later Middle Ages. The Master of Spencer 6, like his contemporaries, such as the Tours-based Master of Claude of France, switched between borders decorated with conservative floral designs and borders embellished with the Renaissance candelabra *all'antica*. They were responding to both old and new visual sensibilities of their clientele. The candelabra motif found immense success in France at the turn of the sixteenth century. French illuminators were reflecting the new ideas brought from Italy by Italian artists, such as Giovanni Todeschino and others.<sup>440</sup> In Paris, two Italian illuminators, Guido Mazzoni and Dominique de Cortone, worked during the reign of Louis XII.<sup>441</sup> The painter Andrea Solario worked for Georges d'Amboise at Gaillon in 1507-1509.<sup>442</sup> The sculptor Antoine Juste (1479-1519) passed through Bourges and Tours, contributing new decorative styles.<sup>443</sup> Bourges patrons collected works by leading Italian artists; Jacques Cœur, for instance, had an *Annunciation to the Virgin* by Filippo Lippi in the chapel of his house.<sup>444</sup> Furthermore, a number of French illuminators had been to Italy. As known through writings by Filarete and Francesco Florio, Jean Fouquet visited Italy in the 1440s.<sup>445</sup> The illuminator Georges Trubert had travelled to Italy in 1476.<sup>446</sup> Italianate ornamentation was also copied from works of art, manuscripts and printed books that had been brought from Italy during the war campaigns organised by Charles VIII and Louis XII in the 1490s. Patrons in Bourges were familiar with visual language from Italy, not least through Italian nationals present in the city. The textile industry in particular had brought Italian merchants to

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<sup>439</sup> Alberti 1991, 77-78. In the Middle Ages, a painted image or an illuminated image in a manuscript was referred to as *historia*, or *histoire* in France, whereas *image* (*yimage* or *ymaige*) referred to a sculpted statue.

<sup>440</sup> Herman 2012, 266.

<sup>441</sup> Hamon 2008, 23.

<sup>442</sup> Bresc-Bautier 2010, 98.

<sup>443</sup> Chancel-Bardelot 2011, 104.

<sup>444</sup> Munich, Pinacoteca; Schaefer 1971, 155.

<sup>445</sup> Sricchia Santoro 2003.

<sup>446</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 378; Hamon 2008, 306.

Bourges.<sup>447</sup> Jacques Cœur had invited the Milanese brothers, Gaspard and Balzarin de Très, *armuriers*, to found an arms industry in Bourges.<sup>448</sup> In addition, Italian humanists residing or visiting the French court under Louis XII included Paolo Emilio, Fausto Andrelini, Fra Giocondo, Mario Enquicola and Sannazaro.<sup>449</sup>

Therefore, it is not surprising that the manuscripts attributed to the Master of Spencer 6, particularly in the second half of his career, contain a great deal of decoration that appears to originate in Italy. In the Lallemand Missal, the Master of Spencer 6 painted borders with fine candelabra motifs in blue on gold grounds, and in gold on gold grounds (figs. 4.5.1-4). The ornamentation was composed in vertical orientation, from stacked antique vases with baluster handles in S-shapes of snakes and dolphins, decorated with foliage and cornucopia. In one, a small vegetal altar supports a vase in which the cup part is made of the head of a satyr, which in turn supports a small altar decorated with nymphs that presents the Lallemand coat of arms, surmounted by an incense burner, *cassolette*, decorated with salamanders and snakes (fig. 4.5.2). In another, a small Renaissance altar forms the base for a single classicising vase from which two stems sprout up, twisting around each other in front of a fine vertical column supporting at the summit an incense burner, *cassolette*, in which a single flame reminds the viewer of the original function of this antique object, *candelabrum*, a chandelier (fig. 4.5.4). Simpler variations of the border motif are the vertical vegetal elevations with cornucopia (figs. 4.5.5-6). The border decoration in this Missal made for Guillaume Lallemand echoes the candelabra ornamentation carved in relief on the columns of the hôtel Lallemand.

Pictorial and spatial illusionism mastered in Carolingian manuscript painting had been lost in the Romanesque style that followed, which in turn emphasised line and outline.<sup>450</sup> In the later Middle Ages illusionistic techniques redeveloped, especially in northern European, and particularly in Flemish painting, from which French illuminators appear to have adopted such visual methods as *trompe-l'œil*. The Master of Spencer 6 employed *trompe-l'œil* illusionistic frames particularly successfully during the second half of his career, for example, in portraying a book on a plinth in *Les Sept articles de la foi* (fig. 4.5.7). He pushed the three-dimensional effects further in an affecting image

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<sup>447</sup> Goldman 1987, 9.

<sup>448</sup> Favière 1996, 63.

<sup>449</sup> Dionisotti 1995, 76.

<sup>450</sup> Avril 2005, 26.

of the *Virgin and Child* in the Spencer Hours, in which Mary supports the infant Christ as he stands on a cushion placed on a plinth (fig. 4.5.8). Mary's robe extends over the edge of the plinth, seemingly projecting elements of the holy scene into the world of the viewer. The role of the border is ambivalent: it is at once an element of the picture space and of the viewer's space. This striking illusionistic device visually underscores Mary's role as intercessor between the sinner and the Saviour, which is the central theme of the *Obsecro te* prayer that this miniature introduces.

The border type that the Master of Spencer 6 used most commonly was the Renaissance architectural border. These borders create a trompe-l'œil illusion of a portico demarcating a boundary between the world of the viewer and that of the holy scene. The border of a miniature thus accentuates spatial recession, inviting the viewer to look *into* the space beyond. The border becomes a window transporting the viewer into a world in which events in the lives of the Virgin, Christ and saints can be imagined and contemplated. The world seen through the border may have appeared entirely familiar to the viewer, as in the Geneva Hours where the Master of Spencer 6 presented Saint Catherine close to the picture plane, seated by the border, or window, through which a country landscape, not dissimilar to the scenery of Berry, was seen (fig. 4.5.9).

In another instance of trompe l'œil, the page beginning the *Te igitur* prayer of the Canon of the Mass in the Lallemand Missal was decorated ingeniously with the various Arma Christi spread on the white margins, including the Cross placed between the two columns (fig. 4.5.10). A similar idea can be found in the *Vie du Christ* attributed to the Master of Philippa of Guelders (fig. 4.5.11), yet the page design in the Lallemand Missal attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 and Jean Poyer is more innovative in conveying depth.<sup>451</sup>

In the book of hours known today only by its *Pentecost* and *Massacre of the Innocents* leaves, our illuminator attempted the effect of trompe-l'œil combined with botanical exactitude, painting pansies strewn over a background in burgundy speckled with gold (fig. 4.2.62). Although our illuminator's effort remains difficult to study, since the surviving fragment lost more than half of its border when the manuscript was cropped, the overall design appears harmonious. However, the trompe-l'œil effect seems flat in comparison to the masters of the technique in the Ghent-Bruges school, or the botanical marvels in the Hours of Anne of Brittany by Jean Bourdichon. Nevertheless,

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<sup>451</sup> Lyon, BM, ms. 5125.

our illuminator's use of the motif was not merely decorative, since pansies, scattered in a border surrounding an image of *Pentecost*, add a symbolic dimension. In French *pensée*, a thought, the flower was also known in the Middle Ages by its Latin name, *herba trinitas*, thus referring to the Holy Trinity.<sup>452</sup> Associated with *Pentecost*, the visual reference of *herba trinitas* was perhaps intended to encourage the devout to contemplate each of the three persons of the Holy Trinity, and how Christ asked God the Father to send the Holy Spirit to his disciples on the day of Pentecost:

'And I will ask the Father, and he will give you another Counselor to be with you forever - the Spirit of truth. The world cannot accept him, because it neither sees him nor knows him. But you know him, for he lives with you and will be in you. I will not leave you as orphans; I will come to you.' (John 14:16-18)

French foliate decoration had its own imaginative character in comparison to its Italian counterpart in the early Renaissance. In sculpture produced in Italy, foliage was marked by its imitation of nature and the botanical representation of various regional species of plants, whereas French artists appear to have been more interested in movement, as seen, for instance, in the curling leaves that appear to infinitely twist on themselves at Amboise and Blois.<sup>453</sup> The interest in movement is also demonstrated in another variation of the decorated foliate border used by our illuminator. It is a characteristic French blend of Flemish trompe-l'œil flower border and the Italianate classicising motif of falling swags. Found in the Hours of Guillaume de Seigne, individual stems of flowers, depicted with increasing botanical precision, climb up the pillars or fall down from the sides of the arches, twisting in charming curls around the branch motifs of the borders, set against the white background of the parchment, which is left unpainted (fig. 4.5.12).

The Master of Spencer 6 painted decorated foliate borders of imaginative variation. The motifs were consonant with the established visual sensibilities of his French clientele, with curving acanthus leaves inhabited by monkeys, hybrids, snails, daisies, columbines, bluebells and strawberries, which were often set against a liquid gold background. New additions to these traditional motifs were the distinctive branches in gilt, which our illuminator apparently adopted from the Montluçon workshop, interpreting them in his turn also in colours, green and blue (figs. 4.5.13-16). Backgrounds of the floral borders were divided into coloured areas in logenzes or other

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<sup>452</sup> Freeman 1960, 115.

<sup>453</sup> Thomas 2003, 177.

geometrical shapes (figs. 4.5.17-18), or in large flowers, fleurs-de-lis, scallop shells, and pilgrims' staffs. Vegetal border decorations could take the shape of a vine trellis, decorated with winding flowers, such as the border surrounding the miniature of *Saint Luke* in the Hours of 1488; the trellis, a garden frame made of wood, supports columbines, strawberries, roses, daisies, pansies and thistles that twist and turn filling the space of the margin (fig. 4.5.19).

Borders were also decorated with heraldic insignia. The Master of Spencer 6 painted the royal arms of England, supported by the emblems, a red dragon and a white greyhound, in a large miniature on one of the preliminary pages of the *Anabase* prepared for Henry VII of England. The manuscript was further personalised for the king, as in the border of the page opening the main text in this manuscript, where he painted the royal arms of England encircled by the Garter, as well as a portcullis, the heraldic badge of the House of Beaufort, and red roses of Lancaster; also the initial beginning the text took the form of a dragon, one of Henry's emblems (figs. 4.5.20-22). By contrast, the fleurs-de-lis included in the marginal decoration of the Langres Hours are probably only generic ornamentation of French manuscript illumination,<sup>454</sup> since the patron for whom the manuscript was made had their (non-royal) coat of arms included in the calendar (*azure 3 bourdons or, in pale 2 and one a scallop shell argent*; unidentified). The border decoration combines the fleurs-de-lis with an ermine design, which might be a visual reference to the marriage of the king, Charles VIII, with Anne of Brittany that took place in 1491, thus fitting the possible date of the manuscript (figs. 4.5.23-25). Although the tincture is not correct, for the heraldic ermine spots were black on white background (representing the ermine fur with black tail-ends, as on the arms of the duchy of Brittany), the fact that they were included in white on the azure background in the border decoration, may be for reasons of design. Alternatively, the ermine design is merely another generic reference to the French kingdom, besides the fleurs-de-lis used in the borders. The latter are found also in the borders of the Hours of 1488 (fig. 4.5.26).

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<sup>454</sup> The border decoration is also unlikely to refer to the coat of arms of the city of Langres (*d'azur semé de fleurs de lis d'or, au sautoir de gueules brochant*; since the *sautoir*, Saint Andrew's cross, is not included in the decoration. The arms of the city of Langres were also the episcopal arms that the Duke of Langres was entitled to use, but this manuscript would not have been made for the Duke of Langres, since at the time of making of the manuscript the duke was either Jean III d'Amboise (1481-1497) or his nephew Jean V d'Amboise (1497-1512), and the Amboise arms are entirely different from those included in the Langres Hours.

Was the style of the border decoration chosen by the artist (or an overseeing *libraire*), or could the patron choose a specific style of a border from a pattern sheet, similar to those displaying different scripts offered by a scribe? Two copies survive of Guillaume Eustace's 1500 edition of a printed book of hours in the use of Rome.<sup>455</sup> Two different artists illuminated the two surviving copies in their distinct styles.<sup>456</sup> The Master of Spencer 6 painted one copy, the Huntington Hours, with somewhat simplified versions of his typical architectural borders in liquid gold with a base, and Corinthian columns supporting an architrave (fig. 4.5.27). Meanwhile, the other surviving copy has floral borders with narrow columns and arches in the style of the Master of Anne of Brittany, similar to the designs this illuminator provided for engravers of printed images (fig. 4.5.28).<sup>457</sup> The miniatures themselves are naturally in distinct styles, but even some of the subjects are different. The Parisian illuminator chose the *Betrayal of Christ* for the Passion sequence, whereas our illuminator opted for *Christ before Caiaphas*. For the Penitential Psalms, the Parisian artist painted *Bathsheba Bathing*, whereas the Master of Spencer 6 chose *Absalom hanging in a tree*, a subject he preferred at that time, as is also found in the Langres and the Arsenal Hours. Likewise, he chose the *Massacre of the Innocents*, instead of the *Flight to Egypt*, for the Vespers of the Hours of the Virgin. The Parisian illustrated the Suffrages to the Holy Trinity with a figure with three faces, whereas the Master of Spencer 6 painted *Christ blessing*. In choosing an overall style for his book, the patron thus went to a particular artist, or to a particular geographic centre. In Paris, the ornamentation of gilt architectural borders was generally lighter and more detailed than in Bourges: the columns were thinner and the arches or architraves were decorated with pendants and fine tracery resembling fine sculpted tracery, as if goldsmiths' work. Within such overall stylistic requirements, one could have commissioned the illumination from the workshop of the Master of Anne of Brittany, or those of the Master of Jacques de Besançon and the Master of Robert Gaguin, for instance. Nevertheless, once the artist was chosen, it remains uncertain how

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<sup>455</sup> San Marino, The Huntington Library, RB 88370 (i.e. the Huntington Hours in this thesis) and Paris, BnF, Rés. Vélins 1647.

<sup>456</sup> I am grateful to Nicolas Petit at the Réserve des livres rares, Bibliothèque nationale de France, and Stephen Tabor, Curator of Early Printed Books at the Huntington Library, for sending me images of these books.

<sup>457</sup> It is also worth remarking that unlike the more innovative approach of the Master of Anne of Brittany, who adapted his versatility to the needs of the printed book, the Master of Spencer 6, and his other Parisian contemporaries, such as the Master of Jacques de Besançon and the Master of Robert Gaguin, appear to have illuminated printed books in the same way they worked on manuscript books, bar first scraping out or ignoring any woodcut illustrations below.

much say the patron had on questions of design, for example, in choosing a particular type of border.

To a certain extent, the border style is related to the text of the manuscript. Architectural borders, visually associated with churches and altarpieces, were deemed appropriate for devotional manuscripts, but are not generally found surrounding profane texts. In profane manuscripts, the Master of Spencer 6 made use of simple gilt bar borders (fig. 4.5.29-30), whereas any type of border - architectural, foliate, gilt bar, or a mixture of these - was used in his devotional manuscripts (for the variation, see fig. 4.5.31). It appears that no definite pattern can be established for the choice of border elements that would suggest association with a particular geographical location (motifs were closely shared within the Bourges-Paris-Tours range), type of manuscript, or even chronological development (fig. 4.5.31).

Within his foliate borders, the Master of Spencer 6 included a large variety of motifs displaying lively imagination (fig. 4.5.32). It is worthwhile to study our illuminator's fantastical creatures in light of the observation that Parisian illumination around 1500 took inspiration from Bourges.<sup>458</sup> An example of this is provided by the border decorations in the copy of *Chronique universelle* made for a member of the Briçonnet family and the prayer book of Geoffroy de La Croix, both painted around 1493-1495 with miniatures in the style of the Master of Robert Gaguin.<sup>459</sup> Described as the best Parisian workmanship of the 1490s,<sup>460</sup> the borders in these manuscripts have birds, snails, flies, a whimsical large butterfly and hybrids in tones of brown, yellow and turquoise, - extremely close to such motifs found in manuscripts attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 (fig. 4.5.33).<sup>461</sup> In addition, the decorated initial made out of a tree trunk motif transforming into a dragon, on the presentation page of the *Chronique universelle*, makes a close comparison with a later dragon-initial in the copy of the *Anabase* prepared in the style of the Master of Spencer 6 for Henry VII (in which context the dragon can be understood emblematically; figs. 4.5.21, 4.5.33). Similarly, the same butterfly motif is found in the copy of *Vie du Christ* attributed to the Master of Philippa of Guelders (fig. 4.5.34).<sup>462</sup> In addition, the birds, flies, snails, hybrids and monkeys found in a Parisian book of hours made around 1500, where the miniatures have been

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<sup>458</sup> As made by Avril and Reynaud 1993, 255.

<sup>459</sup> Paris, BnF, lat. 4994 and Paris, S.M.A.F., ms. 92-1.

<sup>460</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 262.

<sup>461</sup> In this manuscript only the presentation page was decorated.

<sup>462</sup> Lyon, BM, ms. 5125.

attributed to the Master of *Chronique scandaleuse*, are very similar in form and spirit to those painted in manuscripts with the Spencer Master's miniatures (fig. 4.5.35).<sup>463</sup> This visual evidence and our illuminator's contemporary Parisian connections (the *Horloge* of Madeleine d'Amboise and the Huntington Hours) beg the question of whether the Master of Spencer 6 collaborated with these Parisian illuminators, painting borders (and perhaps the large initials) or, as is more likely, the examples represent shared models and the inspiration that illuminators in Bourges and Paris found in each others' work.

What were the models used by illuminators for their border decorations? The examination of shared border motifs between Bourges and Parisian illuminators, some of which were discussed above, suggests the wide and exact copying of the same models. Another comparison of flowers and leaves painted in decorative borders made in Bourges confirms that patterns were made and circulated.<sup>464</sup> Very similar flower and leaf ornamentation, as found in the border of the calendar pages in the Bouer Hours, for example, can be found in manuscripts made by other Bourges illuminators. One idiosyncratic pink flower in the Bouer Hours finds a close sister in another Bourges manuscript, albeit executed differently with pointier petals, darker tones and another approach to shadowing (figs. 4.5.36-37).<sup>465</sup> Another book of hours, from the Colombe workshop, includes a pink flower with two tentacles projecting from its centre, similar, although not identical, to another pink flower in the Bouer Hours (fig. 4.5.38-39).<sup>466</sup> The generic pattern appears the same, but in the Bouer Hours the tentacles are highlighted with thick application of lead white, and in the Colombe manuscript, with gold. The golden leaf and stem of the flower are outlined in olive green in both manuscripts. Curving acanthus leaves in these two manuscripts are modelled with a similar approach, with shadows added in a darker tone of blue and highlighting in lead white, the latter added once again more liberally in the Bouer Hours (fig. 4.5.40-41). The golden side of the leaf is outlined in red in both manuscripts. Further analysis would be needed to identify secondary hands responsible for border decorations in collaborative manuscripts produced in the Colombe workshop, but it may turn out that the Master of Spencer 6 was responsible for some of them. Whether or not he was responsible for the border decoration in this Cambridge manuscript, it suffices here to note that the

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<sup>463</sup> Sotheby's, London, 3 December 2013, lot 57.

<sup>464</sup> For model-books, see Scheller 1995.

<sup>465</sup> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean ms. 86.

<sup>466</sup> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 91.

similarities indicate how closely the technique and patterns of the Master of Spencer 6 relate to those of the Colombe workshop, supporting the suggestion that he trained and worked in this atelier.

In addition to copying border ornamentation from pattern books, French artists took inspiration in prints and manuscripts originating in Italy and Northern Europe. Furthermore, illuminators could find models for their manuscript borders by observing local architectural forms. In Bourges, for example, a seventeenth-century description of the *Chambre des Comptes*, located in the quartier Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier inhabited by the artists, provides information on the rich antique relics, *vestiges antiques*, that could be discovered there:

'une grande quantité de pièces de marbre ouvragées comme bases, sous-bases, colonnes, chapiteaux, frises, corniches, architraves et compartiments où on voyait gravées plusieurs lettres romaines, dorées en fond, et grande quantité de carreaux de jaspe et porphyre de diverses couleurs'.<sup>467</sup>

One can imagine the Master of Spencer 6 observing these architectural elements, found in his own neighbourhood, as inspiration for his borders that include exactly the elements described: porphyry columns with bases and capitals in gold, supporting architraves and arches, decorated cornices, and friezes engraved with incipits in Roman letters.

It is worth noting that margins were not always decorated, but were sometimes intentionally left blank. The patron's budget determined the amount of decoration included, as evident for instance in comparing pages of the Bouer and the Spencer Hours; while very similar in design, the latter were decorated with foliate panel borders in the outer margin of every page of the manuscript (figs. 4.5.42-43). Elsewhere, in our illuminator's copies of the *Heures traduites en vers* and the *Heures de la croix*, margins were left unpainted in order to allow room for annotation. The main text in French was glossed with complementary notes written in a smaller script in Latin in the margin (fig. 4.5.44).

Evidence from border decorations may shed light on the movements of the Master of Spencer 6. As discussed in the previous chapters, the development of his figure style, palette, compositions, and the fact that he worked mainly (or perhaps solely) for patrons in the area of Tours at the end of his career, raise the question of whether

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<sup>467</sup> Catherinot 1685 cited in Goldman 2011, 4.

he installed himself in the capital of Touraine either temporarily or for the rest of his career. While the lack of evidence renders it impossible to settle the matter in this study, it would be worth examining manuscripts produced in the workshop of Poyer in detail, in order to investigate whether the hand of our illuminator can be found in any secondary illumination, besides in the Lallemand Missal; this would provide a further indication that he stayed in the city. In fact, a book of hours in the liturgical use of Rome, painted apparently in Tours in the Poyer workshop, provides intriguing visual evidence.<sup>468</sup> The artist responsible for the miniatures, signed 'IOAN TUROS', thus Johannes of Turonnensis, Jean of Tours, on the garment of one of Job's friends; rather than signifying Jean Poyer, the hand has been justly identified by Mara Hofmann as one of the two major assistants in Poyer's atelier, one whom she has named the Painter of the 'Signed Hours'.<sup>469</sup> Every page of this manuscript was decorated with very characteristic and inventive borders, with tree trunks painted in blue, gold and brown, panels decorated with flowers and agitated birds on gilt grounds, classicising motifs in camaïeu, including putti, flower garlands and lion heads (fig. 4.5.45). Very similar motifs can be found in several manuscripts attributed to the Master of Spencer 6. While it would be difficult to prove that our illuminator worked on this manuscript (for border motifs could easily be copied), and it is at any rate unlikely, the close sharing of these motifs suggests some degree of contact between the Master of Spencer 6 and the entourage of Jean Poyer in Tours.

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<sup>468</sup> London, Sam Fogg, lot 13374. I am grateful to Sam Fogg and Arcadia Fletcher for facilitating the consultation of this manuscript in London in 2011.

<sup>469</sup> Hofmann 2004, 47-55.

#### 4.6 Early collaboration with the Colombe workshop

The hand of the Master of Spencer 6 can be recognised in two manuscripts made in the late Colombe workshop - a copy of the *Histoire de la destruction de Troye la grant* and a copy of Jean Mansel's *Fleur des histoires*, painted in the 1490s. By then, the Master of Spencer 6 was working as an independent illuminator; his miniatures in these manuscripts are found alongside those by Jean Colombe's sons, François and Philibert. In order to find evidence of his early work and training, one is tempted to examine the large collaborative manuscripts painted in the Colombe workshop in the 1480s, when Jean Colombe was managing the atelier. Although the earliest dated manuscripts in the oeuvre of the Master of Spencer 6, as it is known today, were made for patrons in Champagne, nothing in his visual language suggests that he was an illuminator from Troyes or its region. Everything in his artistic identity indicates that he was rooted in Bourges, in the entourage of the Colombe and Montluçon workshops.

The life of Jean Colombe is relatively well documented. In 1463, he first lived in a small house in the parish of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier, on rue des Écrivains with the scribe Clément Thibault, with whom he appears to have made a pontifical for Jean Cœur.<sup>470</sup> In the same house lived a certain Guillaume Gougon.<sup>471</sup> A few months later, still in 1463, he married one Colette, and installed himself and his wife in a house opposite to his mother's.<sup>472</sup> Following the fire of the summer of 1467, Colombe and two other parties (the carpenter Pierre Marideau and the master mason of the Cathedral, Macé Chevreau) rented a tract of land from the chapter of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier, to replace a large house called the 'maison d'Avignon' that had been destroyed in the fire, on which they built their new houses within four years (map 2, nos. 37-39).<sup>473</sup> Around 1470, Colombe collaborated on a number of manuscripts with the scribe André Rousseau, who was also a priest and *libraire* of the University of Bourges. Colombe is recorded residing in this house from 1471/2 until 1492/3, except for his absence in the year 1487/8, when he was probably in the court of Savoy, working for Charles I, Duke of Savoy (during which time his house was occupied by Rousseau).<sup>474</sup> In 1493/4, the

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<sup>470</sup> New York, PML, G. 49; Ribault 2001, 17; Schaefer 1973 and 1977; Plummer 1982, 52-53.

<sup>471</sup> AD, 7G 185, f. 9v, published in Gay 2002, 179.

<sup>472</sup> Ribault 2001, 17.

<sup>473</sup> AD, 7 G 185, f. 7v, published in Gay 2002, 179-180; see Ribault 1994, 292; Ribault 2001, 17-18; Schaefer 1970, 138; Goldman 1987, 44.

<sup>474</sup> AD, 7 G 189, f. 4v, published in Gay 2002, 184; Ribault 2001, 18.

house was in the name of his son and principal heir, Philibert Colombe, indicating that either Jean had died, or, as the archives do not signal him deceased until 1498, he may have retired to the small house with an orchard that he held as a prebend in the Clos de Saint-Ursin (map 1).<sup>475</sup> Jean Lallemand purchased the house from the chapter of Saint-Ursin in 1498, on which occasion Jean Colombe was specified as deceased.<sup>476</sup>

Jean Colombe appears to have enjoyed Queen Charlotte of Savoy's protection from 1469.<sup>477</sup> His sculptor brother, Michel, was similarly introduced to the court around this date, apparently through Jean de Bar (who had become *capitaine des châteaux de Tours*), to the effect that King Louis XI commissioned a design from him for his mortuary in Notre-Dame-de-Cléry.<sup>478</sup> In 1478/9, the queen wrote to the city officials in Bourges, asking them to exempt Colombe from charges that he was required to pay, for he was 'ung poure enlumine[ur] [...] [qui] me fait beauco[u]p de s[e]rvice[s]'.<sup>479</sup> The services for the queen included, at least, illuminating the *Douze périls d'enfer* and the first volume of the translation of *De Vita Christi*.<sup>480</sup> In addition to Colombe, the queen protected a number of other illuminators, employing in her service notably Jean de Launay, Jean Bourdichon, Guillaume Piquereau of Tours and Jean Villet.<sup>481</sup>

After 1485, Jean Colombe completed the *Très riches heures* with a team of assistants, for Queen Charlotte's nephew, Charles I of Savoy. The duke Charles's accounts document a payment of twenty-five *écus d'or* to Jean Colombe, made on 31 August 1485 'pro illuminatura et historiacione certarum orarum canonicarum illustrissimi domini nostri ducis', which cannot refer but to the *Très riches heures* begun by the Limbourg brothers for the Duke of Berry.<sup>482</sup> The following year, he named Colombe as his official illuminator and paid him a further twelve *écus d'or* for work that included completing the *Apocalypse* that had been begun by Jean Bapteur and Péronnet Lamy between 1428 and 1434.<sup>483</sup>

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<sup>475</sup> Ribault 2001, 18-19; Marie Jacob has suggested, following evidence from the Colombe manuscripts she has examined in detail, that Jean Colombe retired around 1490; see Jacob 2012, 34.

<sup>476</sup> Ribault 2001, 19.

<sup>477</sup> Thomas 1973, 12.

<sup>478</sup> Pradel 1953, 19; Ribault 2001, 25-26.

<sup>479</sup> Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 2916, f. 3, published in Gay 2002, 180; see also Schaefer 1977, 142-3; Plummer 1982, 53-54, no. 70.

<sup>480</sup> Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 449; Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 407.

<sup>481</sup> Cassagnes-Broquet 2007, 122; Launay may have illuminated the manuscript that is Paris, BnF, fr. 1186, including *La Danse aux aveugles*, since according to royal accounts he received payment for illuminating *le livre des aveugles*, Cassagnes-Broquet 2007, 126.

<sup>482</sup> Published already by Dufour and Rabut 1870, 110, cited in Ribault 1994, 298 and Gay 2002, 183.

<sup>483</sup> Madrid, Escorial, ms. E. vit. 5; Ribault 1994, 299.

The *Très riches heures* and the *Apocalypse* are the only documented works by Jean Colombe. The main miniatures in these two manuscripts were certainly painted by the head of the workshop and it is through them that his style is known. Jean Colombe would have thus painted the portraits of his patrons, the ducal couple, Charles I of Savoy and his wife, Blanche de Montferrat (whom Charles had only just married in 1485), who were placed within columnal niches flanking the miniature of the *Man of Sorrows* (fig. 4.6.1-4). Comparing this image with the Spencer manuscripts, it is easy to see how the style of the Master of Spencer 6 depended on that of Jean Colombe and how it differed from it. Colombe's Christ has a more delicate, almost feminine form. His beard has a double point, as do the beards in the Spencer repertoire, but it rises higher on the face. The face is thinner and hollower than those attributed to the Spencer Master. Eyes painted by Colombe are indicative of his style. Christ, the Man of Sorrows, has his eyes almost closed, exposing large eyelids of a distinct almond or overturned spoon shape. The profile portrait of the duke demonstrates a characteristic anatomical discrepancy, habitually repeated by Jean Colombe. The eye was placed awkwardly above the nose, rather than in its correct position in the eye socket above the cheekbone. Jean Colombe also highlighted the draperies of his figures differently from the Master of Spencer 6. Colombe applied liquid gold only to the highest edge of the fold, and varied the quantities he added to different parts of the garment, leaving some areas untreated, thus reflecting how light would actually fall on a fabric, rather than mechanically highlighting the entire garment, as was generally the practice of the Master of Spencer 6. The pink draperies of the ducal couple form, however, rather unattractive small crunches, in comparison to the larger, more flowing folds in Colombe's later miniatures, or those attributed to the Master of Spencer 6, such as those found in the Bouer *Annunciation*, for instance (fig. 4.6.5).

Comparing the Bouer Annunciate with Colombe's female types, as represented, for instance, by the figure of the duchess Blanche de Montferrat, the difference is at once evident. The eyes of the duchess are narrow slits with heavy upper lids. Her facial skin tone is highly worked and very white. Her frame is lighter and she has an aristocratic stance, as she leans her upper body backwards and pulls down her sloping shoulders (Colombe also often used this posture for his religious figures). The duchess is represented with the idealised female body of the late medieval society in Northern Europe: a narrow waist, broad hips and a slight bump at the stomach. The texture of the

blue velvet sleeves of her gown is rendered convincingly by Colombe's skillful brushwork. It is worth adding the Virgin Annunciate attributed to Jean Colombe in the Hours of Louis de Laval to this comparison (fig. 4.6.6). The brushwork is meticulous, as observed, for instance, on the gold highlighting of the draperies, applied in stipples rather than the linear manner of the Master of Spencer 6. Colombe's figures have delicate and slightly pointy faces that remain somewhat cold in appearance. The hands of his figures are more realistically shaped than those by the Master of Spencer 6.

There are also several similarities. Colombe's female figures also have long and flowing wavy blonde hair that frames the high forehead in a triangular shape. His male figures, such as those representing Christ, have shoulder-length wavy hair, swept away from the temples in sections highlighted in gold (figs. 4.6.7-9). Several compositions used by the Master of Spencer 6 appear to derive from miniatures by Colombe (some ultimately invented by Jean Fouquet), such as the *Coronation of the Virgin*, the *Death of Absalom*, and the unique scene of *Turkish armies besieging Antioch*, which the Master of Spencer 6 appears to have invented for the Spencer Hours, perhaps basing the idea for his composition on the miniature of *David leading his army*, attributable to Jean Colombe in the Hours of Louis de Laval (figs. 4.6.10-11). The Master of Spencer 6 may have familiarised himself with the figure style and compositions by Colombe, when working as one of the assistants in his atelier, before establishing himself as an independent illuminator.

Jean Colombe's son, Philibert, took over the house of his father on rue des Écrivains in 1493/4, living there until his death in 1504/5.<sup>484</sup> The seventeenth-century genealogist, Gougnon, described Philibert as the 'valet de chambre du duc de Savoie et son grand enlumineur',<sup>485</sup> although he undoubtedly mistook him for his father, Jean Colombe. Marie Jacob has discovered the inscription 'Ph Ph Ph Ph' along the pedestal of the statue of Jupiter in the miniature *Priam summons his sons* in the Paris *Troie*, and has convincingly suggested that it is a discreet signature of Philibert Colombe (fig. 4.6.12).<sup>486</sup> However, no fuller signature can be definitively associated with him, nor is he, in the archives or early scholarship (apart from the mention by Gougnon), ever referred to as

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<sup>484</sup> Ribault 2001, 20; AD, 7 G 193, f. 4v, 7 G 194, 5v; although Philibert was not referred to as deceased until 1507/8, he must have died after he had paid rent in 1504/5, since the year after, in 1506/7, the Colombe house had passed to one Jehan Sallat; AD, 7 G 195, f. 4v; Gay 2002, 186-187.

<sup>485</sup> Paris, BnF, Cabinet des manuscrits, dossiers bleus 311, dossier 7902, pièce 9, as cited by Ribault 2001, 20.

<sup>486</sup> Jacob 2012, 58.

an illuminator. Nonetheless, in the light of all evidence, it seems most likely that Philibert continued his father's business in 1493/4, when he took over the rent of the family house, although he undoubtedly had been involved in the Colombe workshop since at least 1485, or soon after.<sup>487</sup> Examination of the faces on the "signed" miniature reveal a style rather similar to his father, with half-open slit eyes, beards that rise high up on the face, thin, pointy noses, low foreheads and a peculiar manner of depicting faces in profile, displaying poor anatomical knowledge (figs. 4.6.13-14).

Jean Colombe's other son, François (d. 1512), rented a house on rue des Écrivains in Bourges in 1498, next to the *menuisier*, Clement Rigault.<sup>488</sup> In the same or following year, François moved to work with his uncle, Michel Colombe, in Tours, with whom he was still engaged in work in 1511, painting in colours the *patrons* for the tomb of the duke of Savoy, Philibert le Beau, in Brou.<sup>489</sup> The painting style of François Colombe is known by virtue of a signature, FRANCOIS COLOM[BE], on the pedestal of the altar of Aphrodite in the miniature of the *Meeting of Paris and Helen of Troy* in the *Paris Troye* (fig. 4.6.15). As with Philibert, François was also clearly influenced by the style of his father. His female figures in this signed miniature, for instance, echo the distinctive poses painted by his father: the women depicted with narrow and high waists lean their upper bodies backwards in unison.

In addition to Jean Colombe's sons, a number of assistants worked in the atelier, to which over sixty surviving manuscripts can be attributed. Claude Schaefer identified the hands of the Bourges illuminator Jean Couart and the anonymous illuminator called Tournay in the large Colombe workshop productions,<sup>490</sup> by virtue of their signed miniatures.<sup>491</sup> The latter signed 'PATIENCE TOURNAY' in the already-discussed *Romuleon*,<sup>492</sup> while the former signed COVLARTI in the Hours of Louis de Laval.<sup>493</sup> Jean Couart, as characterised by Schaefer, marked the pupils of the eyes of his figures with a small black dot, liked to bring objects close to the picture plane, painted landscapes on a light purple-blue base, treated his figures as if they were twisting marionettes, and was

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<sup>487</sup> As suggested by Schaefer 1973/74, 288.

<sup>488</sup> AD, 7 G 193, f. 5v, published in Gay 2002, 185.

<sup>489</sup> Ribault 2001, 21; Jacob 2012, 35.

<sup>490</sup> Claude Schaefer suggested that the anonymous illuminator might be the painter Loys de Tournay mentioned by Lemaire de Belges; see Schaefer 1970, 138-139.

<sup>491</sup> Couart is perhaps the son of another illuminator of the same name mentioned by Claude Schaefer as the painter of the queen Marie d'Anjou (here given the less fortunate orthography: Jean Conart); see Schaefer 1970, 138; see also Schaefer 1971, 154 and Schaefer 1980, 38.

<sup>492</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 364, f. 160.

<sup>493</sup> Paris, BnF, lat. 920, f. 30.

incapable of defining the hands of his figures with any finesse, allowing them to appear as if they were wood.<sup>494</sup> Marie Jacob, on the other hand, has named as the Master of *Romuleon* one of the anonymous Colombe assistants who appears to have specialised in battle scenes and painted faces that appear as if made-up with red lips and cheeks.<sup>495</sup>

In the Colombe workshop, figures are often depicted contorted into stretched movements. While the success of the workshop was undoubtedly due to this skill in narration and anecdotic and expressive details,<sup>496</sup> to the modern eye - albeit a subjective judgement - the gestures appear exaggerated and even caricaturist, rather than of high aesthetic quality. Nevertheless, they betray the late medieval taste for the theatrical.<sup>497</sup>

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<sup>494</sup> Schaefer 1980, 51.

<sup>495</sup> Jacob 2012, 33.

<sup>496</sup> As has been remarked by Thiébaud 2001, 160.

<sup>497</sup> Theatre formed part of the religious life in Bourges, with as many as seventeen mystery plays being staged in the city between 1413 and 1544 (Lalou, Rabel and Holz 1997, 140).

#### 4.7 Main collaborator: Jacquelin de Montluçon

In five manuscripts - the Lallemant Boccaccio, the Bouer Hours, the Bodleian Hours, the Hours of Bérenger Bollioud and the Boisrouvray Hours - the Master of Spencer 6 collaborated with an illuminator, identifiable by his style as Jacquelin de Montluçon. Jacquelin (1463-1505), and his father, Jean de Montluçon (c. 1417-1493/4), were active as painters and illuminators in Bourges, and their hands are known by virtue of signed works.<sup>498</sup> Jean signed 'TOHANNES DE MONTELUCIO ME PINXIT' (*Jean of Montluçon painted me*) on the chasuble of the high priest in the *Marriage of the Virgin* miniature in the so-called Chappes Hours, probably made for this family who originated in the painter's hometown of Montluçon (fig. 4.7.1-2).<sup>499</sup> The signatures 'I DE MOLUSSON', 'DE MOLUSSON', 'DE MOLISON' and 'MONTELUCIO', French (popular usage) and Latin forms of the name, are found in the altarpiece made for the Antonites of Chambéry, the Monypenny Breviary in a private collection and the Pessard stained glass window in Moulins (figs. 4.7.3-11). While these signatures have been published in previous scholarship, the works deserve to be studied again for their style and quality of painting, and are examined here in the light of other work that can be attributed to the Montluçon masters.

The Pessard stained glass window dedicated to the life of Mary Magdalene in Moulins Cathedral includes the signature 'Montelucio', inscribed on the collar of the figure to the right of Christ in the scene representing the *Feast in the house of Simon* (figs. 4.7.9-11).<sup>500</sup> The letters 'MONTEL' are still visible, while the end of the word is now disguised by the crude re-soldering. Stylistic comparison with the other signed works leaves the remaining letters beyond doubt.

An eighteenth-century description of the Moulins collegiate church (later the Cathedral) mentions that the patrons who financed the decoration of the Mary Magdalene chapel, including the stained glass, were officers of the dukes of Bourbon from the family of Pessard or Passard:

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<sup>498</sup> Although in 1260 Aguillon de Droues (or Drovos) had already signed a sculpted bas-relief of Bourges Cathedral (Goldman 1998b, 17), signed works of art or artisanal products were still rare in the fifteenth century.

<sup>499</sup> Paris, Arsenal, ms. 438. Moulinet 1985-1986 and Avril and Reynaud, 1993, 339-340. The arms painted in the manuscript have not been definitively identified with the family of Chappes.

<sup>500</sup> Or, the *Feast in the house of Martha and Mary*, depending on which Gospel the image was based; see Murray 2004, 536-537. For recent studies of this stained glass, see Bruel 2003 and Gatouillat and Hérold 2011, 84-85.

'La quatrième desdites chapelles appartenait à Messieurs Pessard (ou Passard), officiers des ducs de Bourbon, dont on trouve les portraits de plusieurs peints sur les vitres...'<sup>501</sup>

The portraits to which the description refers are no longer in their original place, but fragments containing the patrons' motto 'NE PLUS NE MOINS' (*No more no less*) and initials 'M' and 'N', tied together with a cord, survive (figs. 4.7.12-13). So far, however, it has not been possible to identify the patrons, the *Messieurs Pessard*, who were perhaps two brothers.

Although the cult of Mary Magdalene was popular throughout France, it saw a particular boom in the Bourbon court following a pilgrimage made by Jean II, Duke of Bourbon, in 1475 to Sainte-Baume in Provence.<sup>502</sup> According to the legend, it was in a cave at Sainte-Baume where Mary Magdalene escaped persecutors from her native Bethany. The popularity of Mary Magdalene in the Bourbonnais is demonstrated by the numerous statues made of the saint during the reigns of dukes Jean II and Pierre II, between 1475 and 1500, such as the celebrated Mary Magdalene of the church of Saint-Pierre in Montluçon.<sup>503</sup>

No documents appear to survive for the construction of the Pessard chapel. Marie-Elisabeth Bruel has dated the stained glass window to the 1490s by the costume of the figures, and by stating that the chapel became dedicated to Mary Magdalene around 1490, although she provides no evidence for these observations.<sup>504</sup> The clothing worn by the figures in this stained glass comprises mainly generic robes that do not allow dating. However, the new widening of the sleeves that occurred around 1490, for instance, is not illustrated, but sleeves are depicted as narrow at the wrist, suggesting a date before 1495, by which time the bombard sleeve had been revived, if not earlier.<sup>505</sup> Although headwear shows some older examples, such as the fur hat in the old bowler shape worn by one of the men in the *Mary Magdalene listening to Christ preaching*, another man, the first as seen from the right in the same scene, appears to be wearing a wide-brimmed hat that became fashionable around 1490 (fig. 4.7.14).<sup>506</sup> The young woman in front of the row of men wears a gold coif, comparable to the type that became

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<sup>501</sup> By Imbert de Balorre, as cited in Bruel 2003, 369.

<sup>502</sup> Bruel 2003, 373.

<sup>503</sup> Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot in Taburet-Delahaye, Bresc-Bautier and Crépin-Leblond 2010, 182-183, no. 74.

<sup>504</sup> Bruel 2003, 370-373.

<sup>505</sup> van Buren 2011, 248-269.

<sup>506</sup> van Buren 2011, 248.

fashionable in the early 1490s, but which was covered with a black cloth and frontlet in court (fig. 4.7.15).<sup>507</sup> In the same scene, Mary Magdalene wears an unusual headdress of blue cloth circled over her green *crispin*, a netted coif (fig. 4.7.16). In the *Mary Magdalene converting pagans in Provence*, the baptism of the Prince of Marseille is witnessed by a group of men, amongst whom a pilgrim can be recognised by the badge sewn to the brim of his hat (fig. 4.7.17). The hats worn by the men around him all have narrow brims, suggesting a date no later than the early 1490s, while the orange *carmignolle*, a bonnet with a three-quarter brim at the sides and back, worn by one of them, came into fashion around 1490,<sup>508</sup> further indicating a date in the early 1490s.

Bruel has convincingly suggested that the highly individualised figures around the table in the *Feast in the house of Simon* contain portraits of the patrons, and that the kneeling man in the stained glass window of the *Virgin in Glory*, on the other side of the nave, might in fact originate in the *Mary Magdalene* window, and represent one of the *monsieurs Pessard* (figs. 4.7.18-23).<sup>509</sup> The figure of the kneeling patron on the right in the *Virgin in Glory* window is clearly out of place, where it has replaced a female patron, Barbe Cadier, once introduced by Saint Barbara.<sup>510</sup> His physiognomy is comparable to the figures clad in dark blue robes in the *Feast in the house of Simon* scene of the *Mary Magdalene* window, in particular the figure in the foreground, to the left.<sup>511</sup> The similarity is evident in the characteristically long nose hanging low over a mouth with plump lips. The other brother is probably the man facing him in the foreground to the right, given the similar level of detail paid to his face (fig. 4.7.19, poorly re-soldered). The third figure is also highly characterised, perhaps representing another family member or a friend (fig. 4.7.23).

During the banquet depicted in this stained glass, Mary Magdalene anointed Christ's feet with costly ointment, which caused murmuring amongst the guests about the waste. Jesus replied by saying:

'Let her alone: against the day of my burying hath she kept this. For the poor always ye have; but me ye have not always.' (John 12: 7-8)

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<sup>507</sup> van Buren 2011, 252, 255.

<sup>508</sup> van Buren 2011, 248.

<sup>509</sup> Bruel 2003, 383.

<sup>510</sup> The replacement was done during the nineteenth century, as has been demonstrated by Philippe Lorentz in comparing engravings made from drawings of around 1800, showing the corner below Saint Barbara's waist empty, with a photograph from 1897, displaying the area filled out with the kneeling patron, as today; Lorentz 2011, 186-187.

<sup>511</sup> As has also been remarked by Bruel 2003, 375.

Representing the patrons at the feast, the artist allowed them to be present at the very moment when Christ defended the woman who would become their most dear saint.

The individualised features of the young man, whose collar the artist signed, relate this figure to the presumed portraits of the Pessards. The small tired eyes with heavy eyelids, the slender upward turn of the thin eyebrows at the nasion, the high cheekbones and the slight bulge at the root of the nose are similar. His youth, in comparison, is prominent in his thinner and unblemished face. The similarity of the features begs the question as to whether he is another member of the family. Yet, the signature suggests the possibility that an autoportrait of Jacquelin de Montluçon is presented here. At the time of painting the stained glass, he would have been about thirty years old.

Since the Pessard window may date from before 1493, the year of Jean's death, it initially seems that either Jean or Jacquelin de Montluçon could have painted it. The painter and illuminator Jean de Montluçon, a contemporary of Jean Colombe, remains little known. He was born Jean Raoul ('Radulphi', *the son of Raoul*) in 1417 in the Bourbonnais town of Montluçon.<sup>512</sup> He married Louise Debrielle, a young woman some twenty-three years his junior, with whom he had at least three sons: Étienne, who became a priest, Guillaume, a merchant dyer, and Jacquelin, who became a painter like his father. Having moved to Bourges, Jean became known by the name of his native town: 'Jean Roulx dit de Molisson'.<sup>513</sup> Like Jean Colombe, he profited from the fire of 1467, by having a house built for himself and his family on rue des Écrivains, in place of the older houses destroyed by the fire.<sup>514</sup> His comfortable financial situation (for an artisan) is demonstrated firstly by the fact that, while living in Bourges, he was still renting out three houses and a quarter of a vineyard in Montluçon in the 1480s, seemingly property he had inherited from his father, Raoul.<sup>515</sup> Secondly, in 1479, he was required to pay 75 sols of tax, an amount equal to that demanded from Jean Colombe and over twice as much as his *verrier* neighbour was required to pay,<sup>516</sup> estimating Montluçon's earnings as relatively high. His financial and social position was also undeniably promoted by his marriage into the Debrielle family, representing the *petite bourgeoisie* of Bourges; his brother-in-law was a notary. Finally, his relevance may also be

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<sup>512</sup> AD, 7 G 179. Ribault, 1994, 285-301; Avril and Reynaud, 1993, 338-42; Elsig, 2004, 58-9.

<sup>513</sup> Ribault, 1994, 287; AD 7 G 179.

<sup>514</sup> Ribault 1994, 291-292; AD 7 G 17.

<sup>515</sup> Ribault, 1994, 287; AD 7 G 179.

<sup>516</sup> Ribault 1994, 293; AM Bourges CC4, f. 8.

measured by the value given to the painting tools in his possession at his death, inherited by his son Jacquelin, which amounted to a considerable sum of about seventy livres.<sup>517</sup> Their high worth suggests that there were a number of unfinished works, costly pigments, and perhaps gold leaf, among the items that constituted the tools.

The documentary evidence for the work of Jean de Montluçon is very fragmentary; as a painter for the city of Bourges, documents only support the painting of decoration for ceremonies and funerals, and of polychroming statues, none of which survives:<sup>518</sup>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Payment</b>	<b>Work</b>
1461	8 livres 15 sols	Decorations for the funeral of Charles VII
1476	?	Decorations for the entrance of Louis XI
1485/86	6 livres	Four <i>tournelles</i> , four <i>escussons</i> , twelve <i>bouloyses</i>
1487	?	<i>Peintures à yttoires etang armes du Roy et de la ville</i>
1487	(6-10 livres)	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession
1488	(6-10 livres)	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession
1489	6 livres	Polychroming a large statue of the Virgin and angel
1489	(6-10 livres)	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession
1490	(6-10 livres)	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession
1491	(6-10 livres)	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession
1492	60 sols (=3 livres)	Four <i>tournelles</i> , four <i>escussons</i>
1492	(6-10 livres)	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession
1492	3 livres	Polychroming a <i>Pietà</i> with two angels
1493	(6-10 livres)	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession

In 1461, Jean de Montluçon worked on the decorations for Charles VII's funeral procession, under the direction of the king's official painter, Jacob de Litemont, painting twenty-five large and one-hundred-and-fifty small shields with the arms of France on paper.<sup>519</sup> Two years later, in 1463/4, Jean was one of the local artists involved in decorating the château de Baugy of Jean de Bar, including painting the chapel and polychroming five statues that had been sculpted by Michel Colombe.<sup>520</sup> Unfortunately the castle was demolished in the seventeenth century and none of the works appear to have survived.<sup>521</sup>

<sup>517</sup> Ribault 1994, 293; AD E 1716, f. 68v.

<sup>518</sup> Ribault, 1994, 294-296, Girardot, 1861, 27.

<sup>519</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 10.372, f. 34; Ribault, 1994, 294.

<sup>520</sup> Coycèque 1930-1931, 88. See also Ribault 1994, 294-295.

<sup>521</sup> Ribault 1994, 295, n. 24.

Now and again, Jean de Montluçon was called upon to urgently exercise his municipal duties as a painter. In 1476, when Louis XI gave notice of his unexpected visit to the city, Jean de Montluçon and five assistants spent two nights and one and a half days preparing decorations to welcome the king into the city.<sup>522</sup> At other times, commissions followed a habitual pattern. Each June, Jean was paid between 6 and 10 livres for decorations of the annual formal procession of the Corpus Christi feast.<sup>523</sup> In 1485/86, the *tournelles* and *escussons* that were required were painted with the arms of King Charles VIII and of the city of Bourges. They were placed on *grans tourches* called *estandarts*, which were carried around the 'body of Christ' during the Corpus Christi procession.<sup>524</sup> The *bouloyses* were decorated with fleurs-de-lis and were used for separating the crowd.<sup>525</sup>

In 1492, Jean painted *tournelles* and *escussons* with the arms of Charles VIII, Queen Anne of Brittany, and the Dauphin, Charles-Orland, for the formal procession to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin.<sup>526</sup> In addition to painting decorations, the city of Bourges called upon the artist to polychrome statues, which included the large statue of the *Virgin with a small angel* sculpted by Pierre Lemesle for the gate of Saint Privé, and the *Pietà surrounded by two angels* sculpted by Jean Richard for the gate of Auron (destroyed in the following century).<sup>527</sup>

The commissions received by Jean de Montluçon varied immensely. In 1477, the provost-marshall of Bourges paid him twenty sols (one livre) for painting the image of *chevalier* Jehan de Chalon, hung by his feet from the gallows and with his coat of arms turned around, on four large sheets of paper to be displayed as a warning against lese-majesty on the four main squares of the city.<sup>528</sup> Montluçon's skills in portraiture and verisimilitude, as observed in his signed miniature, were undoubtedly appreciated, as it was necessary that his fellow citizens recognised de Chalon.

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<sup>522</sup> AM Bourges CC 257, Ribault 1994, 295.

<sup>523</sup> Ribault 1994, 295.

<sup>524</sup> Girardot, 1861, 23.

<sup>525</sup> Girardot, 1861, 23-24.

<sup>526</sup> Girardot, 1861, 27.

<sup>527</sup> Girardot, 1861, 27; Chancel-Bardelot, 2000, 29. The difference in the size of the payment seems to directly reflect the size of the sculpture.

<sup>528</sup> Ribault 1994, 295-296.

Following Jean's death in 1493/4,<sup>529</sup> the city of Bourges engaged his son, Jacquelin, in the municipal duties of a painter. He in turn was replaced after his death in 1505 by one Jacques Meignein, called Jacques d'Auvergne.<sup>530</sup> Before June 1505, however, Jacquelin was commissioned to create various types of decoration for the city, including:<sup>531</sup>

<b>Date</b>	<b>Payment</b>	<b>Work</b>
1491/2	4 livres	<i>ung panneau de verre</i>
1494	(6-10 livres)	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession
1495	(6-10 livres)	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession
1498	21 livres	Royal coat of arms on an iron plaque for the Cross of Saint Pierre
1498	?	Four coats of arms of the city
1498	?	<i>ung patron for jetons à compter</i>
1499	(6-10 livres)	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession
1499/1500	20 sols (1 livre)	<i>ung patron de voiriere où est une nativité N. Seigneur que mr J. Fradet a faict meetre en la maison de ville</i>
1499/1500	20 sols (1 livre)	<i>ung patron de voyrière to represent Saint-Sépulcre et l'escriture de la voyrière</i>
1499/1500	4 livres 10 sous	<i>dourzaines de petits moutons faicts de batture d'or et d'argent sur toile perse</i>
1500/1	(6-10 livres)	<i>ystoires, armoysies and fleurons</i> for the procession of the Corpus Christi
1501	?	<i>patrons de voyrières</i>
1501	(6-10 livres)	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession
1502	?	<i>patrons de voyrières</i>
1502	(6-10 livres)	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession
1503	(6-10 livres)	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession
1504	(6-10 livres)	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession
1504	?	<i>patrons de voyrières</i>
1505	(6-10 livres)	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession
1505	?	Decorations for the funeral of Jeanne of France
1505	14 livres	Decorations for the Corpus Christi procession

In 1498, Jacquelin was paid the considerable sum of 21 livres for painting the Royal arms on an iron panel set in iron for the well of the Cross of Saint Peter.<sup>532</sup> In the same year, he painted coats of arms for a procession and, what is particularly fascinating, a

<sup>529</sup> He died between September 1493, when he received a payment for his work from the city of Bourges, and 7 June 1494, when he is described as deceased ('feu') in a document relating to his son, Étienne (AM Bourges CC545; AD E 10 165; Ribault 1994, 289).

<sup>530</sup> Girardot, 1861, 30.

<sup>531</sup> Girardot, 1861, 26-30; Ribault 1994, 294, 297-298; Robert 1880-1881, 305.

<sup>532</sup> Girardot, 1861, 29; Ribault 1994, 297.

model for a coin which was to be sent to Paris to be struck.<sup>533</sup> In 1499/1500, he was paid on two occasions to make designs for stained glass windows. One of them was on the subject of the *Nativity* for the hôtel de ville, paid for by Jean Fradet,<sup>534</sup> while another was for the *échevin* Pierre Filsdefemme and was to include his arms, some writing, and above all, a representation of Saint-Sépulcre, for Filsdefemme had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to see the tomb of Christ in 1490.<sup>535</sup> In the same year, he was requested to make dozens of little sheep (the emblem of Bourges, as displayed on the city coat of arms) by beating gold and silver on a Persian canvas.<sup>536</sup> In 1504, Jacquelin made designs for a number of stained glass windows in the hôtel de ville, to contain the arms and mottos of the newly elected *échevins* of the city, including Jean Lallemand.<sup>537</sup> On 17 March 1505, Jacquelin was paid for his work on the decorations for the funeral of Jeanne of France, Duchess of Berry.<sup>538</sup> Each year, following the death of his father and whilst present in Bourges, Jacquelin made images (*ystoires*), coats of arms (*armoyseries*) and ornaments (*fleurons*) for the formal procession of the Corpus Christi.<sup>539</sup> On 12 June in 1505, it was his widow Ursine and children who received the payment for this work,<sup>540</sup> thus Jacquelin died between 17 March and 12 June in 1505, apparently working until the end.

Crucially, a number of commissions that Jacquelin received from the city of Bourges were for stained glass. In 1491 or 1492, he made a panel of glass for the hôtel de ville, namely a part of a stained glass window, representing two angels holding the royal arms, surrounded by rich foliage.<sup>541</sup> Whereas Jacquelin was paid four livres for making this panel, the *verrier* Pierre Guillon was paid nine livres for three panels in total, relating to the same work, depicting the arms of the king and the queen held by angels.<sup>542</sup> It is not clear whether Guillon realised the transmission of Jacquelin's painting onto the glass, or whether Guillon only prepared the technical aspects of soldering the panels together in strips of lead. It appears that in this case Jacquelin was paid for painting the actual stained glass, rather than only preparing a *patron*. He therefore not

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<sup>533</sup> Ribault 1994, 297.

<sup>534</sup> Girardot, 1861, 29-30; Ribault 1994, 298.

<sup>535</sup> Ribault 1994, 297; AM Bourges, CC 270.

<sup>536</sup> Girardot, 1861, 29-30.

<sup>537</sup> Girardot, 1861, 30.

<sup>538</sup> Ribault 1994, 294.

<sup>539</sup> Girardot, 1861, 30.

<sup>540</sup> Paris, BnF, Cabinet des titres, pièces originales, dossier Molisson, published in Robert 1880-1881.

<sup>541</sup> Ribault 1994, 297; AM Bourges, CC 152; (cf. the year 1487 in Girardot, 1861, 26).

<sup>542</sup> Ribault 1994, 297; AM Bourges, CC 152.

only drew the model, but also applied the colour and painted the design on the glass. The payment for this work - four times higher than the payments made for the *patrons* in 1499/1500 - supports this argument. On other occasions when he was only paid for *patrons*, these were transposed onto the glass by a *verrier* (also called *glazier*), an artisan specialising in stained glass making, who could simply place the design below the glass to act as a model. Jacquelin appears to have worked particularly in collaboration with one Lambert Anthoine, *verrier*, with whom he produced stained glass windows for the new mayors and *échevins* in 1501, 1502 and 1504, including a representation of the *Miracle of Saint Anthony of Padua*, prepared for Gilles Pain in 1504.<sup>543</sup>

Perhaps the stained glass painter Hannequin Roddebert had trained Jacquelin in his profession. Roddebert may have been related to the Montluçon family, through Jacquelin's mother, Louise Debrielle.<sup>544</sup> Together with Jean de Montluçon and Louise's brother, Martin Debrielle, Robbebert had begun building houses next door to each other in 1468,<sup>545</sup> when Jacquelin would have been about five years old. Roddebert is still documented as living next door to Jean de Montluçon in 1479,<sup>546</sup> when Jacquelin would have been about sixteen, and in 1487,<sup>547</sup> when Jacquelin would have reached the age of twenty-five. The year in which Jacquelin married Ursine and left his family home is not known.

Jacquelin thus appears to have painted on glass, as well as on panel and parchment. This was not unusual, as from the end of the fourteenth century artists regularly created works in different media.<sup>548</sup> Furthermore, in Bourges, the organisation of stained glass makers and painters under the same guild, as discussed above, shows a close relation between these artisans, to the effect that they were most probably recognised as sharing different aspects of the same profession. There appears not to have been such a division between the two media as exists today. Whereas a painter always made the cartoon for a tapestry before it was weaved by craftsmen specialising in weaving, a stained glass painter could also be a painter of panels, altarpieces and illuminated books.<sup>549</sup> The pictorial technique and the tools required for painting on glass

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<sup>543</sup> Ribault 1994, 297-298.

<sup>544</sup> As has been suggested by Jean-Yves Ribault; see Ribault 1994, 292.

<sup>545</sup> Ribault 1994, 291-292.

<sup>546</sup> AM Bourges, CC4; Ribault 1994, 293.

<sup>547</sup> Goldman 1987, 44.

<sup>548</sup> Kurzmann-Schwarz 2005, 162.

<sup>549</sup> Kurzmann-Schwarz 2005, 162.

or on panel or parchment were similar.<sup>550</sup> Some painters of stained glass also undertook the polychromy of sculpture.<sup>551</sup>

The signature in the Pessard stained glass window indicates that Jacquelin not only provided the design for the glass, but also carried out the actual painting on the glass himself.<sup>552</sup> The rich modelling of the flesh tones suggests that their author was a painter by profession (figs. 4.7.24-29). One might consider, in comparison, the face of Balthazar in the *Adoration of the Magi* stained glass in Bourges Cathedral, modelled, likewise, with detailed tonal transitions of the flesh, most probably by Henri de Vulcop, a painter rather than a stained glass maker (fig. 2.5.3). Other contemporary *peintre verriers* included Antoine de Lonhy, a versatile artist active in Burgundy, Savoy, Toulouse and Barcelona, painting on panel, wall, parchment and stained glass.<sup>553</sup> The most accomplished painters active in fifteenth-century Provence, Nicolas Froment and Enguerrand Quarton, also painted stained glass.<sup>554</sup> The eldest son of Philibert Colombe, Philippe, was documented as a painter and stained glass maker (*verrier*).<sup>555</sup> Jean Prévost, the artist based in Lyon, was described in 1493 as 'peintre et verrier'.<sup>556</sup> Hans Witz, a German artist active in Savoy from 1440 to 1478, was described in a contract as 'pictor et verrerius'.<sup>557</sup> Documents relating to Antoine de Lonhy, and to Guillaume and Aubry Dombet, a father and son, indicate that certain painters were asked to prepare every stage in the making of the stained glass window, including soldering the pieces of glass together with lead and placing them in the window; yet whether they had these skills or sub-contracted the more technical aspects of the process to other artisans is not known.<sup>558</sup> The making of stained glass, in any case, required more room than painting; the workshop space needed an oven, and several tables for cutting and painting the glass

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<sup>550</sup> Lorentz 1999, 27.

<sup>551</sup> Chancel-Bardelot 2011, 104.

<sup>552</sup> Marie-Elisabeth Bruel has remarked that the stained glass has been recognised as the work of Jacquelin de Montluçon for a long time, yet she provides no reference to scholarship where this recognition is made (Bruel 2003). She assures that one need only to compare the style to that of the signed *Descent into Limbo* in Chambéry to be convinced of the same hand (in fact it is not this panel, but the *Raising of Lazarus* panel in Lyon that includes signatures); however, she does not develop her statement any further to illustrate what it is about these two works that makes one convinced.

<sup>553</sup> Avril 1989; Lorentz 1999, 28-31.

<sup>554</sup> Labande 1932; Guideni-Raybaud 1998; Lorentz 1999, 32-34.

<sup>555</sup> Ribault 2001, 22.

<sup>556</sup> Archives municipales de Lyon, CC 4, f. 90v; Châtelet 2001, 169.

<sup>557</sup> Lorentz 1999, 32.

<sup>558</sup> Lorentz 1999, 33-34, 37-38 n. 45. Philippe Lorentz has suggested, with the example of Nicolas Froment, that painters had real specialism in stained glass.

and soldering it with lead into panels.<sup>559</sup> It thus seems likely that a painter who did not regularly make stained glass, and whose atelier was not adequately equipped, would subcontract the mechanical parts of the work to another artisan, while, however, intervening in the process to paint the glass himself. Parallel examples of subcontracting can be found in other forms of art. Jean Chiffry, for instance, a painter active in Paris, occasionally sold funerary stones, for the engraving of which he subcontracted a specialised artisan in the faubourg of Saint-Marcel.<sup>560</sup>

The methodical diversity in the application of paint renders the attribution of works in different media to the same artist difficult. While the activity of painting remained the same, the method of applying paint changed according to the support. Nonetheless, while allowing for a certain aspectual range in output, the same artist can be recognised by virtue of certain characteristic forms of expression and the physiognomy of his figures. After all, the mark made with brush, whether onto glass, parchment or panel, depended on the quality of movement and control of the wrist, which remained constant for any one artist even over a lengthy period of time.

The figure style in the Pessard window can be identified with the collaborator's hand in the Spencer manuscripts. The facial features of Mary Magdalene in the *Mary Magdalene converting pagans in Provence* can be paired, for instance, with those of the Virgin Mary in the Bodleian Hours (figs. 4.7.30-31). The facial features of the Prince of Marseille in *Mary Magdalene converting pagans in Provence (the Baptism of the Prince of Marseille)* echo those of the angel of Matthew in the Bouer Hours (figs. 4.7.32-34). Each figure has a high forehead that rises in an ogee shape into a high central parting on top of the head. The lowered eyes with heavy upper and lower eyelids under delicate thin eyebrows and a beautifully modelled mouth are very similar. On both supports, glass and parchment, the painter pulled paint for strokes of hair away from the temples, probably with the flat side of a paintbrush handle. In the illumination, he also used a sharp point, perhaps the top of a narrow paintbrush handle, to squiggle a charming curl of hair under the angel's chin. In painting the face of the angel in the miniature, the artist used an almost pointillistic technique, applying colour in small stipples to create the tonal transitions of the flesh. In the stained glass, by contrast, he was only required to reserve paint for the areas of the shadows. Nonetheless, the modelling of the face in the stained

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<sup>559</sup> Leproux 2001, 15.

<sup>560</sup> Leproux 2001, 23-24.

glass window, through a distribution of dark and light areas, echoes the modelling in the miniature.

Furthermore, one can compare the treatment of draperies in the Pessard window and the Bouer Hours. The folds of the tunics worn by the angels in the stained glass and the illumination are realised in a similar manner around the hood, the narrow sleeves and the belt (figs. 4.7.35-36).

Only the figure of Christ of Resurrection survives from the *Noli me tangere*, chosen as the most important event from the life of Mary Magdalene for the main scene of the Pessard window (fig. 4.7.37). The scene once narrated the episode of the resurrected Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene, who in her disbelief wished to touch him, prompting Christ to reply 'Touch me not', (*Noli me tangere*), 'for I am not yet ascended to my Father' (John 20: 17). Originally, the figure of Christ would have occupied the second lancet from the left, with the now lost Mary Magdalene of the *Noli me tangere* scene occupying the third. Portraits of the Pessard brothers (or father and son?) would have taken up the final two lancets on each side of this central scene. Today the lancets are empty, apart from the architectural canopies that are now out of context but that would originally have sheltered these figures (fig. 4.7.11). What remains of the *Noli me tangere*, the figure of Christ, has been placed in a smaller available space above, where it is presented crooked to one side. In this scene, Christ stands on his marble tomb, in front of a mausoleum inside a rock broken open with an enormous hole, and looks down to his left where Mary Magdalene would have kneeled. A soldier sleeps next to him and notices nothing. A wattle fence is depicted behind Christ, evoking a garden and thus referring to the moment of Christ appearing to Magdalene, whom she mistook for a gardener:

'Jesus saith unto her, Woman, why weepest thou? Whom seekest thou? She, supposing him to be a gardener, saith unto him, Sir, if thou have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away.' (John 20: 15)

The magnificent Monypenny Breviary of 822 leaves, of which 73 were illuminated, appears to have been commissioned by the first Lord Monypenny and his wife Katherine Stewart for their younger son, William Monypenny, abbot in the diocese of Bourges.<sup>561</sup> The illumination is in the style of the Montluçon workshop, although four

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<sup>561</sup> And not to their daughter, as was suggested by Beck 1929, 277.

separate hands can seemingly be identified amongst the miniatures.<sup>562</sup> The signature 'DE MOLISON' was disguised in the miniature of the *Martyr Saints* on the cloak of Saint James (Saint Jacques), the patron saint of Jacquelin, indicating that it was Jacquelin, not Jean, who signed the miniature with the family name (fig. 4.7.8).<sup>563</sup> James stands beside saints represented as officers in armour, Saints George, and possibly Maurice on the foreground. The predella below shows a number of martyrdoms of saints. The large size of the saint in the main miniature above, represented as if a giant, and his staff made of a tree branch, render a convincing identification with Saint Christopher, the position which is taken by a number of scholars.<sup>564</sup> Yet, the size could also be for emphasis, as the saint is represented in close-up at the forefront of the image, closest to the picture plane, and his staff may be that of a pilgrim. The painting style differs notably from the only genuinely attested work by Jean, his signed miniature, thus indicating that the miniature is by Jacquelin, which would render a compelling case that he wished to sign the miniature on the garment of Saint Jacques.

The signed miniatures by Jean and Jacquelin reveal the stylistic difference between father and son. The distinctive curly hair, slit eyes and long faces, of the Saint James miniature, can also be found in the previously discussed *Christ performing a miracle* miniature, and in the miniature of *Iisac blessing Jacob* in the Monypenny Breviary (figs. 3.3.48, 4.7.38).<sup>565</sup> In the former, the reflections of sunlight falling onto the stone surface of the castle of Mehun-sur-Yèvre are exquisitely painted. The garments of the figures are entirely covered in crosshatching in gold, adding to their three-dimensional feel. The man healed by Christ, kneeling on the left, is particularly skilfully rendered, attention being paid to the detail of his costume and the modelling of his face in grey and fleshy pink (fig. 4.7.39). In the miniature *Iisac blessing Jacob*, the illuminator displays, once more, his ability to convey genuine characters and sentiments behind the protagonists he depicted. The verisimilitude transmitted through the various elements of the miniature is quite striking. Each precious stone on the jewelled columns shines differently according

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<sup>562</sup> Christopher de Hamel, who examined the entire manuscript, identified four hands (de Hamel 1989); within the miniatures that I have been able to see of this manuscript, today in an unknown private collection, I can identify three hands, as I have not seen the two miniatures de Hamel attributed to the fourth hand. However, I cannot agree, in all cases, with the earlier distribution of the miniatures between the apparent three hands.

<sup>563</sup> The signature was found by A. Van de Put, see Van de Put 1922, fig. 8.

<sup>564</sup> Including Avril and Reynaid 1993, 342 and Ribault 2002<sup>a</sup>, 36.

<sup>565</sup> Christopher de Hamel attributed the latter to Jean de Montluçon (de Hamel 1989, 135), but the manner of modelling the faces, especially the characteristic curls of the hair and the slit eyes, indicate it was painted by Jacquelin.

to its type and position in relation to the sun. The cool marble surface of the dark columns at the back of the hall is rendered with a superb blue shimmer. One can almost feel the texture of Jacob's hair and the animal skins wrapped around him, or expect the sculpted figures to jump down from their column, so lively are their attentive expressions. The charming stag, fleeing a hunter in the predella, is depicted with admirable accuracy.

In the *Crucifixion*, another miniature in this style, the figure of John was painted with similar separated thick curls of hair as the signed Saint James (fig. 4.7.40-41). The sophisticated highlighting of the draperies, gathered realistically in irregular folds, as at the Virgin's waist, further exhibits Jacquelin's competence in the treatment of light. This skill is also manifest in the miniature of the *Assumption of the Virgin*, showing Saint Thomas standing with his back to the viewer, holding the Virgin's girdle, his cloak depicted in close-up, at the forefront of the image, falling in delightfully ample and realistic folds (fig. 4.7.42-43). The scene takes place in a beautifully painted landscape with carefully observed gnarled tree trunks and charming farm cottages leading the eye to a distant city and castle suggested with fine strokes of the paintbrush in camaïeu of diluted blues. He appears to have sought to express how light actually fell on a fabric and sketched delicate details he had observed in nature, rather than mechanically repeating drapery or plants in the manner in which such designs were probably taught.

The final signed work is an altarpiece made for a chapel dedicated to Saint-Sépulcre and Saint Catherine in the now-destroyed convent church of the Antonites of Chambéry. According to two seventeenth-century descriptions, the chapel included an altarpiece that could be closed 'avec deux portes peintes par dedans et par dehors', and a stained glass window decorated with the coat of arms *d'argent à cinq tourteaux de gueules 3 et 2 au chef de gueules chargé d'un tau*.<sup>566</sup> While the stained glass no longer survives, the arms of the patron who financed the chapel are painted in the *Raising of Lazarus* panel of the altarpiece. They are discreetly included in the architectural decoration of the chapel in which this scene takes place, painted in grey camaïeu to depict a sculpted shield at the top of a column, perhaps echoing the decoration of the chapel for which the altarpiece was destined (fig. 4.7.6). The arms remain to be identified, but the charge in chief, the

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<sup>566</sup> As cited in Sterling 1978 and Ribault 1994; see the former for the excellent reconstructions of the altarpiece, and the latter for the attribution of the altarpiece to Jacquelin based on the signatures.

Greek letter Tau, 'T', characterises the heraldic of the Order of the Antonites.<sup>567</sup> Fitting this description, surviving panels of the altarpiece demonstrate that it was originally composed of three double-sided panels of equal size (originally c. 1,10 m x 1,20 m). One of the panels represents the *Annunciation to the Virgin* on one side and the *Raising of Lazarus* on the counter-side; the panel has since been cut length-wise to form two separate panels, both conserved today in Lyon (figs. 4.7.44, 4.7.3).<sup>568</sup> Another panel represents *Nativity*, also in Lyon (fig. 4.7.45).<sup>569</sup> Originally on its counter-side, although now divided into a separate panel, was a scene that is also found represented in the Pessard stained glass, namely, the *Feast in the house of Simon*, today in a private collection.<sup>570</sup> The final panel comprises the *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* on one side and the *Descent into Limbo* on its counter-side, conserved today in Chambéry (figs. 4.7.46-47).<sup>571</sup> The altarpiece would thus have been visible on both sides, one side narrating the Life of Jesus from the Annunciation and his birth, to his descent into Limbo, bringing salvation to all the righteous who had died since the beginning of time, and the other side depicting female saints, the first two narrating episodes from the life of Christ involving Mary Magdalene, and the final scene showing the martyrdom of Saint Catherine.

The signatures, 'DE MOLUSSON' and 'I DE MOLUSSON', are found on the panel of the *Raising of Lazarus*, their short form leaving open the question of whether it was Jean or Jacquelin, or both of them, who painted the panel and the rest of the altarpiece.<sup>572</sup> The letters are inscribed on the clothing of the high priest, resembling embroidery as in the signed miniatures; here they ornament the sleeves of his tunic (figs. 4.7.4-5).

The altarpiece can be attributed to Jacquelin de Montluçon by its style in relation to the signed miniature in the Monypenny Breviary. The features of Emperor Maxentius in the *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine* panel closely resemble those of Saint James, particularly the long bearded face and the manner in which the hair falls to the front and sides from behind in thick tufts, separated by streaks of lighter and darker shades (figs.

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<sup>567</sup> Ribault 1994, 285.

<sup>568</sup> Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

<sup>569</sup> Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

<sup>570</sup> The *Feast in the house of Simon*, like the *Nativity*, was sold in Paris at Palais Galliera in 1969.

<sup>571</sup> Chambéry, Musée savoisien de Chambéry.

<sup>572</sup> Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts. The connection between the inscriptions and the Montluçon workshop was first made by Jean-Yves Ribault, see Ribault 1994.

4.7.48-49). Although the scale and medium of the panel painting required more detailed execution, the face is essentially painted in the same way. The figure of Paul behind Christ in the signed *Raising of Lazarus* panel also shares the same physiognomy, and his hair particularly is treated in the same manner (the second figure to the left of Christ; fig. 4.7.50). Moreover, the sculpted column figures with energetic drapery folds and individualised expressions in the *Raising of Lazarus* panel and the *Isaac blessing Jacob* miniature in the Monypenny Breviary are painted effortlessly in camaïeu to a very similar effect (figs. 4.7.51-52).

According to the local archives, Jacquelin was absent from Bourges between 1496 and June 1497, and again in 1498; in these years, another painter took over his duties in providing the annual Corpus Christi decorations for the municipality.<sup>573</sup> It seems likely, as has been suggested by Jean-Yves Ribault, that during this period, between 1496 and 1497, he was in Savoy painting the altarpiece for the church of the Antonites of Chambery.<sup>574</sup>

The paternal relation between Jean and Jacquelin de Montluçon is visible when the two hands are compared. The face of the Virgin Mary in the signed miniature by Jean is similar to the face of Mary Magdalene, the sister of Lazarus, in the *Raising of Lazarus* (figs. 4.7.54-55). The reddish blonde hair is parted high on the head in a distinct ogee shape and it falls in soft waves that frame the face. In both images, the creases of the chubby neck form clearly visible lines underneath the round chin. The face is modelled in a like manner with shadows in grey on the right side of her face, around the eyes, nose and chin, while delicate hues of pink have been added on the bridge of the nose and the lower parts of the heavy cheeks to create a youthful complexion. The eyes and nose are formed very similarly, and the shapes of the eyebrows and the parted lips are nearly identical. It cannot be ruled out that Jean painted this part of the panel for the Antonites (if it was in fact begun before 1493), although the affinity may merely expose the training Jacquelin received from his father and betray the long hours working together and sharing the same models. The features of the Virgin in Jean's signed miniature are also close to those of the figures seemingly painted by his son in the Bouer Hours and the Pessard window (figs. 4.7.53, 4.7.56). Particularly fascinating is the

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<sup>573</sup> AM Bourges, CC 265-CC 275.

<sup>574</sup> Ribault 1994, 298.

analogous manner in which the inner corner of the Virgin's eyelid was painted in the Bouer Hours and the signed miniature in the Chappes Hours (figs. 4.7.57-58).

Further stylistic elements in the Pessard window relate this work in Moulins to the Antonites altarpiece. In the presumed portrait of one of the monsieurs Pessard (now displaced in the *Virgin in Glory* window, but painted in the style of the *Life of Mary Magdalene* window where it must originate), the heavy, lined neck and the hair of the patron were also modelled in a comparative manner to the figure of Mary Magdalene in the *Raising of Lazarus* panel (figs. 4.7.59-60). Streaks of hair, drawn in parallel lines, begin from an ogee shaped parting high on the forehead, frame the forehead and turn forward over the ears, feathering on the sides of the face.

Jacquelin's style and technique in panel painting, as observed in the Antonites altarpiece, is marked by the depth of emotions depicted with a variety of brush-strokes, from relatively large and rhythmic strokes (figs. 4.4.61, 4.4.63-66), at times using a very white tone for hair and beard, as on the remarkable account of Peter's belief, trust and assurance as he, kneeling by the pale Lazarus, raises his gaze to Christ (fig. 4.7.61), or applied in a particular quick and fluid manner as on the affective face of Joseph (fig. 4.7.65), to very fine strokes applied with a thin brush to define the delicate features of Mary Magdalene, Martha, the Virgin Mary and angels (figs. 4.7.62, 4.7.67-69). An unmistakable interest was placed on the realistic description of everyday objects, such as the vase - not filled with lilies but field flowers - and the open book on Mary's prie-dieu in the *Annunciation* (figs. 4.7.70-71). Finally, considerable attention was paid to the representation of luxurious textiles (figs. 4.7.72-73).

The church of Notre-Dame in Montluçon conserves a polyptych of the *Life of the Virgin* in seven panels that has been attributed, for over a century, to Jean de Montluçon,<sup>575</sup> and recently, more justly, to Jacquelin de Montluçon (fig. 4.7.74).<sup>576</sup> The narrative sequence begins in the first panel with the *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, where Joachim and Anne meet at a city gate, through which a busy street view can be seen, not of Jerusalem, but of Montluçon (figs. 4.7.75-76).<sup>577</sup> The street presented is rue de la Fontaine, recognisable from a fountain of a very particular shape, which still survives (fig. 4.7.77). The road is depicted climbing past shop windows displaying goods and their signs - the royal arms and the *Étoile d'or* - arriving at the Place Notre-Dame, on

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<sup>575</sup> Fournier-Sarlovèze 1909.

<sup>576</sup> Ribault 2002a.

<sup>577</sup> As first recognised by Fournier-Sarlovèze 1909, 121.

which the Notre-Dame church could be found, where the painting is held today and where it was most probably originally destined. The patron is depicted in the final panel, kneeling at his prie-dieu in the church Notre-Dame of Montluçon, as can be recognised from its form with two naves and a large gothic window shown at the end of one (fig. 4.7.78). He is identified as a soldier, wearing armour, complete with spurs, a sword and a helmet by his side, and is presented by the Archangel Michael, the patron saint of soldiers. He was a local, as can be identified by the coat of arms of de Laage (or de Lâge), a family that held numerous *seigneuries* in areas around Montluçon; he may have been one Bompar de Laage, chamberlain of the dukes Jean II and Pierre II de Bourbon.<sup>578</sup> The arms are painted on the Golden Gate, integrated into the window panels of Saint Anne's bedchamber in the *Birth of the Virgin* and on the patron's prie-dieu, while the patron is further identified by his livery, the colours of which also decorate the border of Saint Anne's bed canopy (figs. 4.7.75, 4.7.78-80).<sup>579</sup>

The central panel, thinner and slightly higher than the three panels to either side of it, represents the *Libyan Sibyl revealing to Emperor Augustus the becoming of the Virgin and the Messiah* (fig. 4.7.81). The narrow eyes of the Sibyl can be paired with those of Christ in the signed *Raising of Lazarus* panel (fig. 4.7.50). The arch of her upper lip is deep and the philtrum, the vertical groove between her nose and mouth, is carefully modelled, as found in the Antonites altarpiece and the Pessard stained glass. The third scene of the polyptych, the *Annunciation to the Virgin*, takes place in an Italianate portico, with a balustrade and marble columns, reminiscent of the hall in *Isaac blessing Jacob* in the Monypenny Breviary (figs. 4.7.82, 4.7.38).<sup>580</sup>

The final two episodes depicted from Mary's life in the de Laage polyptych are the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* and the *Assumption of the Virgin* (figs. 4.7.74, 4.7.83). The latter provides a revealing comparison with the same scene in the Monypenny Breviary. In both, the painter desired to show the Virgin taken into Heaven by an entourage of angels painted in camaïeu in blue with modelling in white (figs. 4.7.83-86). In the de Laage polyptych, the later work, he elaborated on the composition by

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<sup>578</sup> Ribault 2002a, 39, n. 10.

<sup>579</sup> The rosary around the de Laage coat of arms might be a reference to a particular order, such as the Order of Saint Michael, the Order of the Golden Fleece or the Order of the Round Table of Bourges (the beads in the rosary of the latter order were black and gold, not gold and red as depicted in the polyptych; see Jarry 1972, 29). Identification of the rosary with a particular order would perhaps enable the secure identification of the patron.

<sup>580</sup> For a comparison of this panel with other altarpieces painted in Auvergne, particularly the Latour d'Auvergne triptych, see Sterling 1966.

constructing a mandorla around the body of the Virgin from beautifully drawn heads of child angels. The draperies of the tunics worn by the angels hovering around the mandorla echo those in the Monypenny miniature.

The faces of the figures in the de Laage polyptych are painted in the same manner as those in the Antonites altarpiece. Eyes are either almond-shaped or narrow and long, giving an impression of squinting. Rosy blush was added on the nasolabial fold rather than on the cheekbone. Eyebrows are thin (as if plucked) and match the colour of the hair. The mouth has plump lips and a prominent 'M' shape, its contours emphasised in white. The hair is depicted realistically in unruly curls and waves.

The de Laage polyptych can also be related by its style to the Bouer Hours. The head of the Emperor Augustus has the same shape as that of Saint Luke in the miniature of *Saint Luke painting the Virgin Mary* in the Bouer Hours: a long nose with a straight ridge, flat, red lips under a white moustache, and a long, forward-pointing beard, painted in short strokes of very bright white (figs. 4.7.87-89). The most beautiful of the figures in the de Laage polyptych is the young servant in the *Birth of the Virgin* panel (fig. 4.7.79-80, 4.7.90-91). Depicted at the very forefront of the image, she is kneeling on the floor, filling a water basin with a jug, while checking the temperature with her other hand. The strokes of the paintbrush are left visible on her face, modelled in thick white paint, reflecting the energetic and confident manner in which Jacquelin appears to have painted this image of a charming country girl. Her youthful beauty steals the attention in the image. She has pensive, lowered eyes and a delicate rosy mouth; her red hair, braided with a green ribbon, shines naturally golden in the light. Her skin blushes slightly around the nasolabial fold and the temple. Jacquelin was probably using a life model. The features of the Virgin in the Bouer *Saint Luke painting the Virgin Mary* are closely comparable, in particular the small dip of the chin, the tender upper lip, and the gentle eyes with heavy eyelids shadowed lightly in blue-grey (fig. 4.7.92). These comparisons strongly suggest that the collaborator working with the Master of Spencer 6 on the Bouer Hours was Jacquelin de Montluçon.

The technical examination conducted of the Bouer Hours provides evidence of the manner in which Jacquelin worked in illuminating manuscripts. He applied paint labour-intensively despite the small scale of the page, resulting in images of considerable quality that could be admired on their own as captivating paintings. In *Saint Luke painting the Virgin Mary*, he built the facial tone of the two figures with layers of individual

strokes, particularly fine lines for the Virgin's face and thicker strokes for Luke's face. A mixture of white with a small amount of red and blue made the base colour, as the individual particles in the micrograph reveal (fig. 4.7.93). He then added short strokes of pink for the lower parts of the cheeks up to the nasolabial fold, as he did in the panel paintings. Shadowing, under the eyes and nose for instance, was applied with a small amount of blue paint onto which he had probably mixed some black to create its greyish tone. Finalising the modelling of the face with highlighting, he added a generous amount of white under the eyes, on the nose and on the upper lip. The thick quality of the pigment, lead white, can be appreciated particularly well in a micrograph taken under raking light (fig. 4.7.94). An entirely comparable manner of highlighting can be observed in the image of the servant girl in the de Laage polyptych, the thick white paint clearly visible under the eyes, on the nose and on the upper lip (fig. 4.7.91).

In order to create the minutest details, Jacquelin appears to have used a very small paintbrush. The eye of Saint Luke, for instance, measuring only about a millimetre in the actual manuscript, was painted in several separate strokes of different colour, between which the artist lifted his brush from the work (fig. 4.7.95-96). Paint could be laid on the surface of the parchment very thickly in order to create a certain effect. In the *Betrayal of Christ*, Jacquelin used impasto touches of red paint to render the drops of blood pouring from Malchus's ear in the *Betrayal of Christ* miniature (fig. 4.7.97-98). This technique reflects his training as a panel painter. The effect is efficient: the tactile nature of the paint gives an impression of realistic representation of blood and sets the appropriate devotional mood for the Office of the Passion. He also applied paint in small stipples or applied it on the parchment with the flat edge of a hard instrument, as observed on the face of the previously discussed angel of the evangelist Matthew (fig. 4.7.32).

Jacquelin's colouring methods were also labour-intensive despite the small scale of the miniatures. In comparison, the Master of Spencer 6, the secondary illuminator in the Bouer Hours, approached colouring methodically, using one pigment for one item of clothing, adding gold highlighting for light effects. Jacquelin, by contrast, had a more sophisticated approach. In order to suggest directions of light, he used distinct tones of colour, which he mixed from different pigments. Infrared imaging and microscopic analysis of the miniature of *Saint John on Patmos* reveals his manner of working (figs. 4.7.101-104). In a two-value method, the evangelist's tunic is divided into two clearly

distinct areas of different pigment mixtures. There was no attempt to soften the transition between the different values; he left the juxtaposition visible.<sup>581</sup> Painting the effect of light falling on the saint's right side, the illuminator used a matt blue shade of purple. Under infrared light, this side appears dark and opaque due to high absorption of the infrared rays, indicating that the blue included in the paint mixture was most probably copper-based azurite (fig. 4.7.101). This azurite-rich side appears to have been laid first. Under the microscope mainly blue particles (azurite) can be observed, with only some red particles (probably a red dye)<sup>582</sup> and a few white particles (lead white) (fig. 4.7.103). The area on the saint's left side, where the main shadow falls, was painted with a reddish purple paint. In the infrared image this side appears light and transparent (fig. 4.7.101). A microscopic analysis reveals that the paint mixture has several red particles (probably a red dye), some white particles (lead white) and only few blue particles (azurite) (fig. 4.7.104). The high infrared reflectance of the redder purple and the high absorption of the infrared rays by the bluer purple areas could suggest the presence of ultramarine and azurite blue respectively. However, the high infrared reflectance is probably due to the paint containing mainly red pigment (high infrared reflectance) and a very small amount of blue pigment, as shown by the very few blue particles visible in the micrograph. The blue pigment is probably azurite in both cases, as the particles are very similar in shape. In addition, the blue cannot be an organic dye such as indigo, since in this case individual particles would not be visible. Jacquelin achieved satisfying results by choosing a tone that one would expect to be perceived as dark for the highlights, and reserving a tone with an intrinsically brighter value for the shadows.

The two-value treatment is rare in manuscript illumination, but one instance of a similar method can be found in the frontispiece to a copy of the *Golden Legend* prepared for Charles VIII, where the robe of one of the female saints on the foreground appears to be painted in two tones to imply a shadow (fig. 4.7.108).<sup>583</sup> The miniature has been attributed to the Master of *Chroniques scandaleuse*,<sup>584</sup> another forward-looking illuminator ready to abandon the archaic techniques of meticulous brushwork that were still practised by his Parisian contemporaries. However, although it is impossible to confirm without technical analysis, it seems that the Master of *Chroniques scandaleuse*

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<sup>581</sup> Although he may have wanted to convey the strong light of his apocalyptic vision, it seems the division posed no visual problem, and thus if an experiment, it was successful.

<sup>582</sup> The pink tone of the overall colour suggests that the pigment used for the mixture was a dye.

<sup>583</sup> Paris, Rés. Vélins 689.

<sup>584</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 277.

simply used more of the red pigment on his darker tone, and his mixtures were not as intricate as those attributed to Jacquelin de Montluçon.

The combination of colours in the *Betrayal of Christ* is original (fig. 4.7.97-100). All figures but Christ and Saint Peter are painted in base tones of brown and yellow ochres. The light of the torches under the purple sky falls on the garments in an extraordinarily expressive manner, the effect being built using crosshatching in pinks, yellows and gold. The light beaming from Malchus's fallen lantern illuminates the back of Judas's garment, painted in yellowish-brown ochre, while for painting the rest of the robe the artist mixed in a darker pigment, perhaps an umber, based on the brown overall appearance of this garment; some azurite or carbon black might have been mixed into the colour of the harnesses showing darker in the infrared image (fig. 4.7.109-110). The light hitting Christ's knees is expressed in a bright lemony yellow and gold within the intricate mesh of pink and purple reflections (4.7.100). The treatment shows rare understanding and experimentation in the use of colour in illumination, revealing the artist's skill, and also betraying his experience in painting on a larger scale.

Jacquelin de Montluçon can also be identified as the author of most of the miniatures in the so-called Hours of Louis d'Orléans.<sup>585</sup> Dated 'anno domini 1490' by the scribe,<sup>586</sup> the manuscript appears to have been begun before that date for a patron for whom another book of hours was made (today in Cambridge), which includes the same emblem of a burning tree planted on a spring and the motto 'A prier me lie' as in this manuscript.<sup>587</sup> The borders in the Hours of Louis d'Orléans, begun for this original patron, are not in the Bourges style, but were painted by an illuminator from the area of Toulouse, who included scrolls holding mottos 'Tout ce change' and 'Tout est changé et changera' that can be found also in the Missal of Jean de Foix, bishop of Comminges, made in Toulouse.<sup>588</sup> However, the manuscript seems to have been completed and personalised for Louis d'Orléans in 1490 by Jacquelin de Montluçon and some assistants in Bourges, while the duke was imprisoned in the Grosse Tour of the city. It may have been the Augustinian confessor of Marie de Clèves, Louis's mother, who commissioned the hours to bring him spiritual comfort; various Augustinian texts were added to the

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<sup>585</sup> Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Lat. Q.v.I.126.

<sup>586</sup> On folio 2v.

<sup>587</sup> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 94; as identified by François Avril, see Avril and Reynaud 1993, 400.

<sup>588</sup> Paris, BnF, lat. 16827; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 400.

manuscript, including a prayer to Saint Augustine adapted to the situation of a prisoner.<sup>589</sup>

Although previously attributed to Jean Colombe,<sup>590</sup> a comparison with the Bouer Hours or the Pessard stained glass, for instance, suggests that, apart from some miniatures by assistants working in the style of the Colombe atelier, the Hours of Louis d'Orléans was painted by Jacquelin de Montluçon. The border surrounding the *Annunciation to the Virgin* in the Hours of Louis d'Orléans includes the same motif of winged putti holding a gilt tree trunk bent in the shape of an arch, as found in the Bouer Hours, and it is realised in a comparable manner (figs. 4.7.112-113). Its green marble columns are identical to those flanking the miniature of the evangelist Matthew, attributed to Jacquelin in the Bouer Hours. The Virgin's hair and facial shape compares with the female figures in the Pessard window and the Virgins in the Bodleian Hours, for instance, while her narrow eyes find likeness in the Antonites altarpiece. The illuminator painted the fascinating and rare depiction of the seven-headed beast of the Apocalypse in both the Hours of Louis d'Orléans and the Bouer Hours (figs. 4.7.111, 4.7.113).

Significantly, Jacquelin had already previously worked for the duke of Orléans. On 13 January 1483, he was paid four *écus* (approximately 6 livres 12 sols) by Louis's treasurer, Jacques Hurault, for painting a jousting shield (*l'escu de jousté*) for the duke.<sup>591</sup> It is well known that Louis spent his time jousting and hunting, avoiding his crippled wife, Jeanne of France, an evasion that extended to many happy months dedicated to the sport after the coronation of Charles VIII in May 1484.<sup>592</sup>

Jacquelin can also be identified collaborating with the Master of Spencer 6 in the so-called Boisrouvray Hours, where the inventive interlacing gnarled tree trunks and putti, painted in camaïeu of shell gold and ochre with red modelling, encircle a number of the miniatures (fig. 4.7.114). In the Bollioud Hours, one again finds his characteristic figure types, particularly recognisable by the face and hair of the Virgin, painted in an especially like manner, for instance, in the Hours of Louis d'Orléans, the Bodleian Hours and the Pessard window (figs. 4.7.115-118, 4.7.30). The figure types and compositions in the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* in the

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<sup>589</sup> Thibault 1989, 19.

<sup>590</sup> Rodriguez and Garcia 2002.

<sup>591</sup> As Louis's secretary Guillaume Callipel relates in the document found in Paris, BnF, Cabinet des titres, pièces originales, dossier Molisson, published in Robert 1880-1881.

<sup>592</sup> Baumgartner 1994, 23.

Hours of Louis d'Orléans, the Bollioud Hours and the Bodleian Hours all provide close comparisons (figs. 4.7.117-121). The figure of God the Father creating Eve in the Hours of Louis d'Orléans takes the same form as Christ in the *Betrayal of Christ* in the same manuscript, in the Franciscan Missal in Lyon in which the composition is repeated very closely,<sup>593</sup> and in the Bouer Hours (figs. 4.7.122-125). The facial features, hair, beard, bent posture and the manner in which the light falling on the purple tunic distinguishes the shape of the knees are analogous.

In addition to the Pessard stained glass window, Jacquelin's skill in portraiture is demonstrated in a book of hours that survives today in a very fragmentary state in the abbey of Einsiedeln.<sup>594</sup> The manuscript includes a portrait of the patron, depicted at prayer within a church interior, presented in dramatic close-up at the very forefront of the miniature (figs. 4.7.126-127). The details of the face are carefully executed. Although portraying what were seemingly the characteristic features of the patron - the chubby chin and neck and the plump cheeks falling over the corners of the mouth, the small nose and the bushy eyebrows - Jacquelin's hand can be identified from the manner in which the contours of the eyes, lips and the lines of the neck were painted, or from the way rosy blush was added on the lower halves of the cheeks, reaching the area of the naso-labial fold and almost touching the edge of the nose, as on the face of the Virgin in the Bouer Hours (fig. 4.7.92).

The patron's identity remains unknown, although in the borders, held by angels and tied by a love knot, the initials 'A' and 'G' (Anne and Guillaume?) can be found (fig. 4.7.128). Scrolls containing the patron's motto 'Mieulx ne pourroye' are twisted around the tree trunks decorating the borders (figs. 4.7.128). In the stained glass window in Moulins, Jacquelin had used the same motif, introducing the Pessard motto on a scroll and winding it around a thin column (fig. 4.7.129-130).<sup>595</sup> He was probably inspired by the older stained glass window of the Le Tailleur family in the chapel neighbouring the Pessard chapel, in which the family motto is displayed on a long scroll curled around thin columns (fig. 4.7.131). Finally, it is Jacquelin's interpretation of the motif in the Einsiedeln Hours, winding the scroll tightly around the full length of its support, which arrives closest to the presumed source of inspiration in the Le Tailleur window.

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<sup>593</sup> Lyon, BM, ms. 514, f. 180v.

<sup>594</sup> Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 641.

<sup>595</sup> This detail is only known through photographs conserved in the Archives des Bâtiments de France in Moulins (reproduced in Bruel 2003, 380), as these parts of the stained glass no longer survive.

Jacquelin de Montluçon's ability to suggest a personality through a portrait also becomes evident through a group of extraordinary initials in the Franciscan Missal. He appears to have painted a number of the 4-line initials infilled with figures in this manuscript. Small, yet strikingly realistic, the portraits are viewed in three-quarter and depict young and old women and men, children and infants. The figures are not generic, but instead appear as if they were ordinary people Jacquelin could have passed on the street. Life-like details suggest some of them may have posed for Jacquelin in order for him to draw them, such as the young boy with shoulder-length blond hair and blue eyes infilling an initial 'T' that begins the Introit for the Second Sunday in Lent, *Tibi dixit cor meum* (fig. 4.7.132). Jacquelin's hand can be recognised from the way he painted the boy's hair, falling in thick gatherings of hair that curl slightly at the ends, resembling the signed Saint James miniature in the Monypenny Breviary. The eyes also are painted with prominent upper and lower lids and slightly enlarged inner corners, as was typical of the artist. The mouth, however, is a narrow line, perhaps a characteristic detail he observed on his model; elsewhere in the de Laage polyptych, he also portrayed the narrow lips of his patron, going against his tendency to paint faces with plump lips, which formed a contour in a shape of an 'M'.

The recent attribution made to Jacquelin de Montluçon of the panel *Appearance of the Risen Christ in a Church* conserved in Pont-Saint-Espirit, by Frédéric Elsig, is convincing.<sup>596</sup> The figure of Christ is painted with the familiar squinting eyes, narrow eyebrows, curly hair and beard and a small mouth with plump, curvy lips (fig. 4.7.133). Christ is seen appearing through a cloud of young angels, whose heads only are painted with charming characterisation in camaïeu of blue and gold, echoing the angel heads in the *Assumption of the Virgin* in the de Laage polyptych (figs. 4.7.134-136). Another, more tentative attribution by Elsig to Jacquelin is of a small devotional diptych of the *Virgin and Christ*, which remains problematic, for its location is unknown and it can only be seen through a small reproduction, making a definitive attribution challenging.<sup>597</sup>

It seems significant that each of the signatures made by Jean and Jacquelin de Montluçon are inscribed on pieces of clothing, ornamenting hems and collars of garments in the form of embroidery in the Chappes *Marriage of the Virgin*, in the Pessard *Feast in the House of Simon*, in the Monypenny *Martyr Saints*, and in the Antonites *Raising of*

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<sup>596</sup> Elsig 2004, 59; Point-Saint-Espirit, Musée d'Art Sacré du Gard, inv. CD. 96-12-1.

<sup>597</sup> Reproduced in Elsig 2011, 175.

*Lazarus*. In comparison, the signatures by Jean Colombe and his sons are placed within architectural settings; specifically, those by the sons, François and Philibert, are inscribed under works of sculpture in the Paris *Troye*. This association with sculpture appears to demonstrate their family heritage, suggesting ties to their sculptor grandfather, Philippe, and their sculptor uncle, Michel Colombe, whose patrons included Louis XI, Anne of Brittany and Margaret of Austria.<sup>598</sup> The placement of the Montluçon signatures creates a similar unison within the Montluçon family, showing alliance to Guillaume de Montluçon, Jean's other son and Jacquelin's brother, who worked in the local textile industry in Bourges as *marchand teinturier*, a merchant dyer of fabrics.<sup>599</sup>

Both Jean and Jacquelin paid great attention to the representation of costume and fabrics. In the Antonites altarpiece, Jacquelin depicted the Virgin Mary of the *Annunciation* in a startling red dress, richly decorated in gold embroidery with a pattern of thistles (figs. 4.7.44, 4.7.73). Her deep blue velvet cape, embroidered in gold along its hem, and falling in abundant, heavy draperies along the forefront of the picture plane, is directly echoed by the brocade cape of the Virgin in the *Annunciation* of the de Laage polyptych (fig. 4.7.82). The green fabrics of the canopy, covering also Mary's prie-dieu and the dalmatic of Gabriel, are depicted with eloquent embroidery in thread subtly darker in tone than the main fabric, adding to the sense of depth, luxury and verisimilitude of the scene (fig. 4.7.44). In the de Laage *Annunciation*, Gabriel's dalmatic and Mary's dress are richly embroidered in gold, and the two figures are standing on an intricately decorated Persian rug (fig. 4.7.82). This latter detail is rendered particularly interesting in the context of archival evidence that documents a payment by the city of Bourges to Jacquelin de Montluçon in 1499/1500 for working on Persian fabric.<sup>600</sup> In painting this detail in the *Annunciation*, he appears more concerned with exactly representing the intricate pattern than in getting the perspective correct.

The costume of the Libyan Sybil and Emperor Augustus in the central panel is also particularly luxurious (fig. 4.7.81). The Emperor is depicted wearing a cloak in heavy wool embroidered with an eagle and foliage pattern. His wide ermine collar is pinned with an enormous jewel. Jewels and pearls also decorate the Sybil's golden dress and her unusual headdress worn over a long sheer veil. Her white tunic under the dress,

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<sup>598</sup> The remark was made by Inés Villela-Petit at the conference 'Enjeux de la recherche sur l'enluminure médiévale. Les Manuscrits à peintures en France: vingt ans après' on 30 November 2013.

<sup>599</sup> AD, 7 G 14 no. 15; Ribault 1994, 289.

<sup>600</sup> Girardot, 1861, 26-30.

modelled in dark green, is decorated in intricate ornamentation in gold (including the initials 'AL' (?) of the patron?).

In the de Laage polyptych, Jacquelin painted small still life details that display his technical skills, seemingly attentive to innovations made in Flemish oil painting. On the foreground, water is being poured from an ewer, filling a basin in shimmering ripples (fig. 4.7.137). The large precious stone, or mirror, on the reliquary over Saint Anne's bed, decorated with pearls, gold and other precious stones, appears to reflect the light beaming through the cross window and door that are opening into the room (fig. 4.7.138). One can even distinguish the string by which the reliquary is attached to the nail on the wall. The crystalline transparency of the water flask on the wooden bench by the bed is convincingly suggested, in a few careful strokes made in white and grey with a fine brush over the background that is allowed to show through, while the gentle rose and the half-open box of sugarcoated almonds (generally associated with the baptism), presents offered to the mother, add to the charming details (fig. 4.7.139).

In 1483 Jacquelin is documented as living in Tours.<sup>601</sup> He would have been twenty years old. Had he moved to Tours after having trained in his father's workshop? In Bourges, the duration of an apprenticeship appears not to have been fixed, while by contrast the time one could work as a companion was regulated, for instance one year and a day for hatters, two years for ropers.<sup>602</sup> In Paris, the period of apprenticeship during the fifteenth century was theoretically ten years, but in practice it generally took four years, from an age of between thirteen and fifteen years.<sup>603</sup> Similar conventions can be assumed to have governed painters in Bourges and Tours. Jacquelin most probably trained in his father's workshop in Bourges during his teenage years, since the surviving signed miniature and the documented work indicate that Jean de Montluçon was an excellent painter. Jacquelin's style also strongly suggests that his father trained him. Following his training, Jacquelin was perhaps engaged in Tours as a companion to a master painter for a short period of time, in order to gain experience in the epicentre of artistic and political activity, before returning to his native town. Generally the recruitment of a companion was for a specific task that took no longer than a year and,

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<sup>601</sup> The document records a payment to Montluçon for having painted a jousting shield for Louis d'Orléans; see Robert 1880-1881.

<sup>602</sup> Martin Saint-Léon 1897, 272

<sup>603</sup> Leproux 2001, 24-25. The renewed statutes of 1583 in Paris defined that a painter was required to serve five years as an apprentice, followed by four years as a companion, before he could become a master.

occasionally but not always, the companion was given accommodation in the workshop.<sup>604</sup> Although in theory a companion had no right to directly sell an item, this happened quite often, indicating that the regulation was not followed,<sup>605</sup> and it is possible that Jacquelin was working attached to an atelier of a master painter, albeit receiving a commission from the king for a jousting shield. Alternatively, had he already received his status as a master (which, in Bourges, was relatively easy for a painter's son), he was perhaps working in Tours independently, or had been summoned to collaborate on a commission with another master.

It may have been Michel Colombe who organised the introduction of Jacquelin in Tours. Michel had worked with Jacquelin's father, Jean, between February 1463 and March 1464, decorating the chapel of château de Baugy of Jean de Bar, bailiff of Touraine and *capitaine des châteaux* of Tours,<sup>606</sup> it was probably Jean de Bar who, before his death in 1469, introduced Michel Colombe to King Louis XI and his court at Plessis-lès-Tours.<sup>607</sup> At any rate, soon after Michel had established himself in Tours, it was to this sculptor from Bourges that the king entrusted the preparation of a model for his funeral effigy in 1473, painted in colours by Jean Fouquet.

The documentary evidence demonstrating Jacquelin de Montluçon's presence in Tours is significant for understanding the stylistic elements in his work that suggest inspiration from painting in the Touraine capital. Particularly, an apparent debt to Jean Fouquet is visible. This has already been remarked by Claude Schaefer, who suggested that the proportions and colour of the initials by Jacquelin de Montluçon in the Hours of Louis de Laval (reminiscent of those in the Hours of Étienne Chevalier<sup>608</sup>), his compositions which imitate but do not equal those of Fouquet, his rotating perspective, and certain motifs, such as the foreshortened horse, demonstrate that the illuminator knew the art of Jean Fouquet intimately.<sup>609</sup> The *Betrayal of Christ* in the Bouer Hours, which finds a close echo in the same subject attributed to Jean Fouquet in the Hours of Charles of France, can be added to these observations (figs. 4.7.140-141). In both, extraordinarily dramatic colouring was used to create an enchanting nocturnal effect: the

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<sup>604</sup> Leproux 2001, 25.

<sup>605</sup> In June and July 1454 as many as five companions were caught selling their products in the district of Châtelet in Paris, but each escaped paying a fee, suggesting the regulation was not enforced; see Leproux 2001, 14.

<sup>606</sup> Coyecque 1930-1931, 88.

<sup>607</sup> As suggested by Pradel 1953, 19 and Ribault 2001, 25-26.

<sup>608</sup> Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 71.

<sup>609</sup> Schaefer 1980, 48.

contours of the figures were suggested by hues of purple and liquid gold painted against solely dark tones. In the same manuscript, Jacquelin's Virgin Mary, as well as his servant girl in the de Laage polyptych, find close echoes in an archetype of the Virgin that is ultimately rooted in the work of Fouquet, and which circulated in Tours from the 1470s until the beginning of the sixteenth century; the type survives today in its most beautiful interpretation as the *Virgin in Prayer*, represented on the right-hand panel of a devotional diptych probably painted by Jean Bourdichon (figs. 4.7.142-147).<sup>610</sup> Elsewhere, in the *Noli me tangere* scene in the Pessard stained glass window, the face of Christ, carefully drawn in monochrome, demonstrates a quality of line also found in the work of Jean Fouquet and his entourage. This beautiful face in Moulins is comparable, for instance, to the figure of Saint John in the Nouans *Pietà* that was probably realised, judging by its hesitant execution and numerous pentimenti, by an assistant working over Fouquet's drawing in the 1470s (figs. 4.7.148-149).<sup>611</sup> In the Bouer Hours, the almost impressionistic stipple technique that Jacquelin used, for instance in painting Matthew's symbol, the angel, might also derive from his experience in Tours; a similar technique was occasionally used by Fouquet, for example, in painting the Archangel Gabriel in the *Annunciation* of the Hours that was begun most probably for Antoine Raguier, and later finished by Jean Colombe for Jean Robertet.<sup>612</sup> In the same manuscript, within the study of the evangelist Luke, Fouquet painted glass flasks that are not very different from that attributed to Jacquelin in the de Laage polyptych. Similarly, the Flemish-rooted idea of reflecting a casement window with a vertical mullion and a horizontal transom, thus forming the shape of a cross, was assimilated by Fouquet on the reflective stone decoration of the throne in the *Virgin and Child surrounded by angels*, the right-hand panel of the Melun diptych,<sup>613</sup> and by Jacquelin on the reflective surface of the reliquary in the de Laage polyptych. Furthermore, in the Bouer *Saint Luke painting the Virgin*, the Renaissance interior of the evangelist Luke's study with the porphyry garnet panels in pastel tones set into the marble walls (as found also, for instance, in the Antonites and de Laage panels), as well as the illusionistic motif of the ox placing its hoof on the plinth

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<sup>610</sup> Tours, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Inv. 2007-2-2. For this diptych, see particularly Charron and Girault 2012; Nash and Herman 2011; also König 2010 and 2011.

<sup>611</sup> Parish church of Nouans-les-Fontaines; for this painting, see Avril 2003, 155-163.

<sup>612</sup> New York, PML, ms. M. 834; Avril 2003, 252-258, no. 28.

<sup>613</sup> For the *Virgin and Child surrounded by angels*, Anvers, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Inv. 132, see Avril 2003, 121-130, no. 7. For the Flemish influences in the art of Jean Fouquet, see Lorentz 2003.

and engaging its gaze with the viewer, indicate inspiration from the entourage of Tours painters, such as Jean Bourdichon (figs. 4.7.150-151).

Moreover, given certain compositional similarities and the fact that Jacquelin de Montluçon worked for officers in the court of Bourbon, it is worth comparing his works with those of Jean Hey, a painter documented in the service of Pierre II, Duke of Bourbon, and Anne of France, in Moulins from 1488 to around 1505 (thus simultaneously with the period when Jacquelin would have worked on the Pessard window in the early 1490s). The *Annunciation* that Jacquelin painted in the Hours of Louis d'Orléans closely resembles the *Annunciation* panel of the *Immaculate Conception of the Virgin* altarpiece of c. 1490-95 attributable to Jean Hey, the Master of Moulins (figs. 4.7.152-153).<sup>614</sup> In both, the Virgin Annunciate turns her head to her right, but does not yet see the angel who arrives in flight through the arcade behind her. She raises her right arm in a similar manner, exposing the palm of her hand to the viewer. In the *Annunciation* panel of the Antonites altarpiece Mary's delicate gesture is similar (fig. 4.7.44). The architectural setting of Jacquelin's miniature echoes that in Jean Hey's panel: porphyry marble columns flank the scene, the floor is tiled and the room is entered through a rounded arcade on the far left. Only the right sides of the images differ: while Hey imagined the event taking place in the Virgin's private bedchamber, according to the Flemish tradition, Jacquelin suggested a church setting, as was the French trend, complete with a cloister full of young angels witnessing the scene, a motif that circulated in Bourges and is found in numerous locally-made manuscripts.

Furthermore, the *Nativity* panel of the Antonites altarpiece includes a detail of two shepherds looking into the stable to admire the Christ Child as found in the *Nativity with Jean Rolin*, painted seemingly by Jean Hey around 1480 (figs. 4.7.154-155).<sup>615</sup> However, instead of having seen the *Nativity* attributed to Hey, which is quite unlikely, for it was destined for Rolin's tomb in the cathedral of Autun, Jacquelin may have been working from a model that ultimately derived from a painting by Hugo van der Goes (with whom Hey appears to have trained in Ghent), such as the Monforte altarpiece (fig. 4.7.156).<sup>616</sup> As in this Netherlandish precedent, Jacquelin painted delicate stems of flowers on the foreground of the image that strike a contrast against the light ground. Elsewhere, in the de Laage *Assumption of the Virgin*, the young angels dressed in

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<sup>614</sup> Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago.

<sup>615</sup> Autun, Musée Rolin, Inv. H.V. 87.

<sup>616</sup> Berlin, Gemäldegalerie.

excessively long colourful tunics, which fall in delightful folds hiding the feet, loosely resemble the angels adoring the Virgin and Child in the *Triptych of the Virgin in Glory* painted by Jean Hey for Pierre II and Anne of France around 1498 (figs. 4.7.157-158).<sup>617</sup> In Bourges, Jacob de Litemont had already introduced the motif of an angel in flight, clad in a very long tunic (figs. 2.5.4-5). Whether Jacquelin's model derived from Hey, de Litemont, or some other source, its origin appears to be Flemish.

Although living in Tours in 1483, Jacquelin may have moved back to Bourges soon after, to assist Jean Colombe in the completion of the *Très riches heures*, the work which must have begun soon after the first payment was made to Colombe in August 1485. Borders designed with coloured porphyry columns, putti and tree trunks, painted in a style that can be associated with the Montluçon workshop, surround eight of the full-page miniatures painted during this final campaign of illumination in the *Très riches heures*.<sup>618</sup> The miniature of the *Apostles going forth to preach*, for instance, is topped by an architrave formed of a gilt gnarled tree trunk held by two male figures seated on top of the columns, similar to the arch motif in the Hours of Louis d'Orléans and the Bouer Hours (figs. 4.7.159, 4.7.112-113).<sup>619</sup> While the figures in the main miniature are attributable to Jean Colombe, the statuettes painted in camaïeu in the border are painted in a different style. The expressive, gentle faces are painted with a few, skilfully formed lines (figs. 4.7.160, 4.7.162-163). One female figure gathers her draperies in a very similar manner to a male column figure in the Antonites altarpiece (figs. 4.7.161-162), while a slightly kneeling male figure makes an echo, in the way the garment drapes over his knees, to the already-discussed God the Father and Christ figures in the Hours of Louis d'Orléans and the Bouer Hours (figs. 4.7.163, 4.7.122-125). The borders in this style also include coloured marble columns ornamented in gold penwork, as found for instance in the Bouer Hours (fig. 4.7.164). Furthermore, Jacquelin appears to have made a direct quote of Malchus' fallen lantern from the *Ego Sum* miniature, painted by the Limbourg brothers in the *Très riches heures* in the *Betrayal of Christ* miniature in the Bouer Hours (figs. 3.3.1-4). This observation supports the hypothesis that he was involved in the work to complete the manuscript with Jean Colombe and other assistants, which probably also included his father, Jean de Montluçon.

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<sup>617</sup> Moulins, Cathedral of Notre-Dame.

<sup>618</sup> Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 65, ff. 82, 95, 100v, 122v, 126, 133v, 184, and 201; I am grateful to François Avril for sharing this observation with me.

<sup>619</sup> Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 65, f. 122v.

Jacquelin and Jean Montluçon also collaborated with the Colombe workshop around this time on the second campaign of illumination of the Hours of Louis de Laval, c. 1485-1489.<sup>620</sup> The enormous commission, including 1,234 miniatures, involved at least six different illuminators. In this manuscript, Jacquelin appears to have painted borders that included his signature motifs, such as an architrave topping the miniature of the *Transfiguration*, which is held by two male figures clad in loose tunics, very similar to the border motif in the *Très riches heures*, discussed above (fig. 4.7.165).<sup>621</sup> It is not coincidental that the Montluçons worked in collaboration with Jean Colombe. Jean de Montluçon lived right across the road from Colombe, and had already worked with Colombe's sculptor brother, Michel, on the construction site of Jean de Bar's castle in 1463/4. Jean de Montluçon probably painted the calendar images in the Hours of Anne of France from around 1473, otherwise attributed to Jean Colombe,<sup>622</sup> and with his son, Jacquelin, appears to have collaborated with Colombe on the Franciscan Missal held today in Lyon.<sup>623</sup> Jean de Montluçon's hand can further be identified in *Les Passages d'Outremer*, also commissioned by Louis de Laval, the governor successively of Dauphiné, Genoa, Champagne, and Touraine, made a year later, around 1474-1475, making it the earliest surviving work in which Jean Colombe managed a large team of collaborators.<sup>624</sup>

The Flemish tendencies in the art of the Montluçons perhaps derive from the experience Jean de Montluçon gained when working under the direction of Jacob de Litemont in 1461, although no direct visual borrowing can be found.<sup>625</sup> Jacquelin's brushwork was fine and he had the skill to depict different types of objects, surfaces and textiles with realism. His colouring was original. In comparison, Jean Colombe's style was drier, and his figures often remained stereotypical. The figures attributed to both Jean and Jacquelin, in contrast, have expressive, even grimacing faces, as observed, for instance, in the magnificent *Betrayal of Christ* in the Bouer Hours. They were able to depict the banality of humanity. Some men have rough angular faces with large noses half-covered under the brims of hats, as also found in the Franciscan Missal and the

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<sup>620</sup> Paris, BnF, lat. 920; for this manuscript, see particularly Schaefer 1980.

<sup>621</sup> Paris, BnF, lat. 920, f. 339v.

<sup>622</sup> New York, PML, M.677.

<sup>623</sup> Lyon, BM, ms. 514.

<sup>624</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 5594; see particularly Avril and Reynaud, 1993, 332 and Delcourt, Quérueu and Masanès 2009.

<sup>625</sup> Ribault, 1994, 285-301.

Einsiedeln Hours. The bent postures of the hunched bodies might be interpreted as a means of diminishing and mocking peasants, the lowest of the three orders of medieval society,<sup>626</sup> or the soldiers who arrested Christ without fully understanding what they were doing. In comparison, their contemporaries, such as the Master of Spencer 6, continued to idealise their figures, painting romantic and nostalgic images of peasantry and soldiers. In the Arsenal Hours, for instance, the soldiers in the *Arrest of Christ* have shiny, clean armour and helmets (fig. 4.2.67).

Jacquelin de Montluçon visibly inspired his collaborator, the Master of Spencer 6. In the Langres and Bouer Hours, the Spencer Master painted the green marble columns that appear to originate in the Montluçon repertoire, as found in the Hours of Louis d'Orléans, the Bouer Hours and the *Très riches heures* (fig. 4.4.23, 4.1.4, 4.7.112, 4.7.164). In the *Last Supper* attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 in the printed copy of *Horloge* of Madeleine d'Amboise, he utilised a pictorial technique for narrative emphasis, which he may have observed and learned from Jacquelin de Montluçon's *Betrayal of Christ* in the Bouer Hours (figs. 4.7.97, 4.7.166). In both images, the faces of the main protagonists - Christ and Peter in the *Betrayal*, Christ and John in the *Last Supper* - are painted with a white base colour, drawing the attention of the viewer, in contrast to the faces of the figures surrounding them, which blend into the dark background colour. Furthermore, the technique of the Master of Spencer 6 gradually became increasingly painterly, with a more detailed and layered manner of applying paint, and his figures approached the types found in the repertoire of Jacquelin de Montluçon. Consider, for instance, the figure of Joseph in the Bouer Hours (fig. 4.1.2). The illuminator adopted the use of very white pigment to draw hair, eyebrows and beards for his elder figures, as found in both Jean and Jacquelin de Montluçon's work (figs. 4.7.2, 4.7.61).

Finally, in addition to manuscripts, the two miniatures painted in a printed copy of *Liber Sextus Decretalium* made for the abbey of Clairvaux in Champagne can also be attributed to Jacquelin de Montluçon.<sup>627</sup> The half-closed slit eyes and the figure type of the Virgin in the miniature of *Bernard receiving milk from the breast of the Virgin Mary* can be associated with the Antonites altarpiece and the manuscripts in which Jacquelin collaborated with the Master of Spencer 6 (fig. 4.7.167).

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<sup>626</sup> For functions of negative imagery of peasantry in medieval calendar cycles, see Alexander, 1990, 436-452.

<sup>627</sup> Troyes, BM, inc. 41.

Nevertheless, fewer extant books can be attributed to Jacquelin, or his father Jean de Montluçon, than to the Master of Spencer 6; undoubtedly, this is explained by the fact that they were by profession painters and, besides illuminating books, worked on panels, stained glass, polychromy, and ephemeral decorations for royal entries, celebrations, and possibly stage sets for mystery plays. The Spencer Master's collaborator, Jacquelin de Montluçon, can be summarised as an artist of versatile talent, working at least in panel painting, illumination and stained glass in Bourges, Tours, Chambéry, and Moulins. Apparently inspired by Northern masters, he took pleasure in displaying his skill in representing surfaces, textiles, everyday life and landscapes with great pictorial detail, while he followed his Italian contemporaries less attentively, showing some weakness in indicating perspective. His talent and fascination apparently lay in portraiture and devotional images, areas in which his little-known yet significant works deserve further examination and recognition.

#### 4.8 Contemporary anonymous illuminators in Bourges

In addition to the Colombes, the Montluçons and the Master of Spencer 6, a number of contemporary anonymous illuminators can be identified in Bourges by virtue of their style. Whilst it is not within the scope of the current study to examine them in detail, it is worth giving a brief overview of the main personalities, in order to more fully understand the rich centre of manuscript illumination that could be found in Bourges around 1500.

The significant artist whom Nicole Reynaud named the Monypenny Master has remained anonymous, despite having worked in collaboration with Jean and Jacquelin de Montluçon in the Monypenny Breviary, painting some of its most important miniatures, including the portrait of William Monypenny (fig. 4.8.1).<sup>628</sup> The hand of this illuminator can also be found in the so-called Vanderbilt Hours in Yale,<sup>629</sup> and in a book of hours in Grenoble (figs. 4.8.2-3).<sup>630</sup> The same high, pronounced cheekbones, pale complexions and border styles are found in these manuscripts. Related to this figure style and connected to the same milieu of the Monypenny Master and the Montluçon workshop, can be identified an illuminator who painted two books of hours in the use of Lyon,<sup>631</sup> participated with Jean and Jacquelin de Montluçon in the Chappes Hours, and perhaps painted the *Last Judgment* side of the Orchaie altarpiece (figs. 4.8.6-10).<sup>632</sup> The figures of this illuminator have distinctively narrow pointy noses, often placed off-centre on the face, usually a pale complexion, a high forehead and a downward gaze through heavy eyelids. At times he placed the eyes of his figures at different levels.

Marie Jacob has attributed most of the miniatures found in the copy of the *Romuleon*, produced in collaboration with the late Colombe workshop, that survives today in Paris in three volumes to a disciple of the Monypenny Master.<sup>633</sup> Another follower from the entourage of the Montluçons and the Monypenny Master appears to

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<sup>628</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 340-342.

<sup>629</sup> Yale, Beinecke Library, ms. 436; previously attributed to Jacquelin de Montluçon by Claude Schaefer (Schaefer 1994, 303).

<sup>630</sup> Grenoble, BM, ms. 1011; also previously attributed to Jacquelin de Montluçon by Claude Schaefer (Schaefer 1994, 303).

<sup>631</sup> Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 447 and Sotheby's, 23-24 February 1959, lot 232; see Avril and Reynaud 1993, 339-40.

<sup>632</sup> Blois, Musée du Château de Blois, Inv. Blois D.77.2.1; 0,90 x 1,42 m; Giraud 2008, 31; Lesueur 1969, 280, pls. XX A-B.

<sup>633</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 365-367; Jacob 2012, 62-63. Marie Jacob has also attributed miniatures in this manuscript to the Master of Spencer 6 (Jacob 2012, 67); however, the figure types are decidedly different from those in the rest of the Spencer manuscripts and cannot be attributed to the same illuminator.

have painted the miniatures in a copy of Flavius Josephus's *Antiquités judaïques*,<sup>634</sup> the compositions of which are based exactly on those in an earlier copy, attributed to the Master of the Munich Boccaccio, likely identifiable as one of the sons of Jean Fouquet (figs. 4.8.11-12).<sup>635</sup>

An Antiphonary, painted around 1500 for the Convent of the Celestines in Lyon, survives today in a fragment leaf illustrated with a large historiated initial 'A' containing the *Annunciation to the Virgin* (fig. 4.8.13).<sup>636</sup> The style is similar to that of the Montluçon entourage in Bourges. It is perhaps the same illuminator who painted a book of hours in the use of Rome that can nevertheless be located in Bourges due to the inclusion of saints, such as Guillaume and Supplicius, in the Litany (figs. 4.8.14-16).<sup>637</sup> Another illuminator can be identified as working in Bourges around 1500 in a book of hours that survives today in Philadelphia (figs. 4.8.17-18).<sup>638</sup> His figures display a style similar to some extent to that of the Montluçon and the Monypenny Master entourage, while his bright colouring and certain compositions associate him with the Master of Spencer 6.

A small book of hours in the liturgical use of Bourges, found today in London, was illustrated with thirteen full-page and nine small miniatures demonstrating skilful drawing of carefully observed anatomical proportions, bright colouring and a graphic technique displaying dark outlines and heavy modelling of the draperies (fig. 4.8.19-20).<sup>639</sup> Amongst other elements, the receding horizons painted in diluted blue tones place him within the artistic ambience of Berry. The identity of the artist remains unknown. The full floral borders surrounding the miniatures include motifs of ivy leaves and small blobs in burnished gold decorated with penwork featherings in black, which appear to date the illumination possibly as early as the 1470s. This talented, anonymous illuminator painted delicate faces which also evoke those of Tours illuminators, such as Jean Poyer (fig. 4.8.21). In a second campaign of illumination, a prayer *Mon benoïst Dieu* was added to the manuscript, illustrated with a miniature of *Christ in Majesty* attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 (fig. 4.8.22). On this occasion, around 1500 (datable through

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<sup>634</sup> Cologne, Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 181.

<sup>635</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 247.

<sup>636</sup> Paris, Musée de Cluny, Musée national du Moyen-Age, Cl.23831. I am grateful to François Avril for bringing this fragment to my attention.

<sup>637</sup> Sotheby's, London, 18 May 1981, lot 5.

<sup>638</sup> Philadelphia, The Free Library of Philadelphia, Rare Book Department, Lewis E 86.

<sup>639</sup> London, BL, Harley 2919.

the style, which is comparable to the Spencer Hours and other manuscripts painted around the turn of the century), our illuminator also painted the decorated floral borders that adorn the outer margins of every text page throughout the manuscript. The motifs include hybrid creatures, birds, snails, flies, frogs, in colours and gold, interchangeable with those found, for instance, in the copies of the *Anabase*, the Copenhagen and the Spencer Hours.

Within the ranks of the anonymous illuminators working in Bourges, it is worthwhile considering the success of certain compositions and iconographical motifs. In the Hours of Jean de La Rue, for instance, the Master of Spencer 6 presented the Annunciation to the Virgin witnessed by a group of angels, observing the event from the cloister behind (fig. 4.8.5).<sup>640</sup> The Monypenny Master used the same motif in the Grenoble Hours, as did another anonymous Bourges illuminator in the so-called Bourgeois Hours (figs. 4.8.3-4).<sup>641</sup> The group of angels witnessing the moment of God's incarnation introduced an Augustinian theme to the image.<sup>642</sup>

Finally, a brief enquiry into manuscript illumination in Bourges beyond the period of the current study implies that the Master of Spencer 6 inspired a new generation of artists. A follower of the Spencer style, an anonymous illuminator probably based in Bourges, painted a copy of *La complainte de la dame pasmée contre fortune* for Catherine d'Amboise (1481-1550), the niece of Georges and Madeleine d'Amboise, around 1530.<sup>643</sup> Catherine appears to have been the author of the work herself. The style of the illumination derives from that of the Master of Spencer 6, demonstrating that this manner of painting remained popular a full two decades after his disappearance.

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<sup>640</sup> He had already introduced the theme in the Hours of 1488 (fig. 3.3.59) and in the *D'estre* and Copenhagen Hours the role of the witness was taken by the congregation (figs; 4.4.28-29).

<sup>641</sup> Named after Raymond Bourgeois of Paris, who owned the manuscript at least since 1514, less than a decade after it must have been made; Christie's, London, 6 July 2011, lot 25.

<sup>642</sup> Arasse 2010, 264. The pictorial idea of a cloister with small angels looking on the scene may ultimately derive from the *Annunciation* in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux painted in Paris around 1325-1328 by Jean Pucelle (New York, Metropolitan Art Museum, 54.1.2).

<sup>643</sup> Christie's, London, 6 June 2007, lot 41.

#### 4.9 Collaboration and the role of the *libraire*

By 1500, the popularity of the book of hours and the improved economic conditions of towns necessitated new, more efficient procedures of manuscript production. Even artists themselves could now commission devotional manuscripts, as demonstrated by the order Michel Colombe made to the scribe Pierre Fabbri of Bourges for a book of hours for his sister Jeanne in 1487.<sup>644</sup> The making of books of hours, and other manuscripts, came to be supervised by a *libraire*, who was either a professional who concentrated only on bookselling, a scribe who sub-contracted the illustration from independent illuminators,<sup>645</sup> or an illuminator who sub-contracted the scribe to write the text.<sup>646</sup>

Various manuscripts testify that labour could be divided in quires between different illuminators. In the Paris *Troye*, the Master of Spencer 6 was involved in the last three of the eight quires, but he did not illuminate these quires in their entirety. The work was divided in such a manner that the Master of Spencer 6 was given one bifolium in quire 8 and two bifolia in quire 7 to illuminate. In quire 6, he appears to have been asked to illuminate miniatures on three separate bifolia, on which the joining leaves had already been illuminated. This irregular manner of dividing the work suggests that he was not involved in the campaign from the beginning, but was engaged later, presumably to complete work left undone by others for one reason or another. By contrast, in the Bouer Hours, the division of work was planned from the start, and Jacquelin de Montluçon worked only on the third quire. The same pattern is found elsewhere. In the 1460s, the second campaign of illumination on the book of hours that had been begun by Barthélémy d'Eyck in the 1440s progressed in this manner: Enguerrand Quarton and his decorator divided the quires between them and painted a bifolium at a time.<sup>647</sup>

However, examples from the end of the fifteenth century show new forms of collaboration. Individual miniatures were now seemingly sub-contracted from individual illuminators. The Master of Spencer 6 painted a *Visitation* for the Bodleian Hours, otherwise entirely attributed to Jacquelin de Montluçon, and a *Mass of Saint Gregory* for

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<sup>644</sup> Favière 1996, 67; Ribault 2001, 19.

<sup>645</sup> Clancy 1998, 110.

<sup>646</sup> Delaunay 2001, 249.

<sup>647</sup> New York, PML, ms. M. 358; van Buren 2006, 87

the Guémadeuc Hours, otherwise attributed to the Master of Antoine de Roche. These images were not painted on inserted leaves, as was the case of the *Christ in Majesty* miniature he provided for the prayer *Mon benoist Dieu* that was inserted into a book of hours that had been painted some years earlier in Bourges. The miniatures of the *Visitation* and the *Mass of Saint Gregory* were planned for the manuscripts from the outset.

While sub-contraction probably allowed an increased speed of manuscript production, the relatively liberal conditions of work for illuminators undoubtedly led to some problems. These might be reflected in the tightening of regulations, as seen in the statutes of 1618 for Bourges painters and stained glass makers, specifying that a workshop master could not engage a *compagnon* from another workshop without the consent of his master, and without paying his master a fee for the services.<sup>648</sup> Furthermore, *compagnons* coming to work in Bourges ateliers from outside the city had to remain in residence for a year before they could present a masterwork, become a master and join the guild.<sup>649</sup>

Illuminated manuscripts were already a result of collaboration, in the sense that they were an agreement between the patron who commissioned the work and the artist who was responsible for the execution and style. Although a patron would commission a manuscript from an individual, be it the *libraire*, the illuminator, or the scribe (or perhaps a combination of these), he was most likely aware of the collaborative nature of the work involved. For commissions of the higher-end panel paintings, agreements survive that prohibit the involvement of anyone bar the master painter, as in the contract for a panel from Piero della Francesca in 1445 which states that no-one else should have their hand on it.<sup>650</sup> The expectations regarding manuscript production were undoubtedly more relaxed.

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<sup>648</sup> Toubreau de Maisonneuve 1881, 233.

<sup>649</sup> Toubreau de Maisonneuve 1881, 234.

<sup>650</sup> Baxandall 1979, 20.

#### 4.10 Vision and devotion in Bourges around 1500

Given the considerable lack of sources, many issues relating to artistic practice of the early periods have not been dealt with. One aspect that warrants examination and new approaches is the question of artistic intention. Is it possible to speculate what an artist thought during his activity of creation, when his thought was produced in a culture so different from ours? The artist and viewer perceived an image differently from each other, and while the cognitive dispositions of a fifteenth-century painter and a fifteenth-century layman or woman were different, they were all the more so in comparison with a twenty-first-century viewer. Can one postulate how a patron looked at the images in his manuscript? Philippe Bouer, for instance, seeing the Virgin Mary in his book of hours, was looking at it - unlike the modern viewer - unfamiliar with Leonardo da Vinci's *Virgin of the Rocks*,<sup>651</sup> Raphael's *Sistine Madonna*,<sup>652</sup> Rossetti's *Annunciation*,<sup>653</sup> and many other interpretations of the Mother of God that predispose our viewing experience. In an attempt to understand the vision of the painter, or that of the patron, it is necessary to suppress concepts and knowledge of one's own and adopt those of another.<sup>654</sup>

Saint Augustine divided vision into three categories: corporeal sight of the eyes, spiritual vision of the spirit and the intellectual vision of the *mens*.<sup>655</sup> Spiritual vision also became known as imaginative vision, thus *visio imaginaria* according to Thomas of Aquinas.<sup>656</sup> In viewing experience, it was thought possible to use meditation of corporeal images at the first stage and imagination and speculation at the second stage to reach the highest stage, intellectual vision, in other words, contemplation.<sup>657</sup> It is worth applying this model in the attempt to understand the visions of the creators of our corpus of images and the visions of the contemporary viewers.

In images of the *Annunciation to the Virgin*, the figures are seen corporeally as an angel and a young woman kneeling facing each other. Spiritual vision allows the scene to be understood as the Incarnation of the Son of God in the womb of Mary, while the

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<sup>651</sup> 1483-1486; Paris, Louvre.

<sup>652</sup> 1512; Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister.

<sup>653</sup> 1855; London, Tate Britain.

<sup>654</sup> Baxandall 1985, 110.

<sup>655</sup> Ringbom 1969, 162.

<sup>656</sup> Ringbom 1969, 162.

<sup>657</sup> Ringbom 1962, 327, note 12.

ideas of Word becoming flesh and Christ being at once human and divine are perceived intellectually. The elements sensible by sight in the image lead to the contemplation of the divine.

Jean Gerson warned against the dangers of adoring images for their corporeal beauty, while at the opposite end of the spectrum, Jan Mombaer extolled the sweetness of meditating on the limbs of the Virgin.<sup>658</sup> Gerson instructed that images should direct one's thoughts towards spirituality: 'And we ought thus to learn to transcend with our minds from these visible things to the invisible, from the corporeal to the spiritual. For this is the purpose of the image.'<sup>659</sup> In superior forms of devotion, one reached such an ideal level of contemplation that one could produce an internal image oneself, as did the saints who had their visions in front of devotional images.<sup>660</sup> Visions were perceived with the eyes of the soul, whereas painted images were perceived with the eyes of the body.<sup>661</sup>

What made one devotional image more effective than another? Particular elements in an image correspond to sensations. In the Geneva Hours, an image of the *Crucifixion* was not chosen to illustrate the hymn *Stabat Mater*. The traditional illustration accompanying the hymn, the *Crucifixion*, follows the words closely, showing the mother standing by her crucified son. Instead, in the Geneva Hours, Mary is shown half-length in a dramatic close-up, with the Arma Christi displayed in the background (fig. 4.10.1-2). The inclusion of the Arma Christi is probably connected to a recent introduction of an indulgence, as will be discussed below, while the close-up composition concentrates on the emotional state of the Virgin Mary as a mother, emphasising her sorrow, as described on the first lines of the hymn:

The mother stood in pain  
tearful near the cross  
as her son hung.

Her suffering, her pressed  
mournful soul,  
was pierced by a sword.

O how sad and how afflicted  
was this blessed one

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<sup>658</sup> Ringbom 1962, 327. The strict Bernandine tradition in fact prohibited corporeal images of the Virgin's limbs.

<sup>659</sup> Ringbom 1969, 165, cited from Johannes Gerson, *Opera omnia*, II, leaf 71L, Strasbourg, 1514.

<sup>660</sup> Belting 2007, 555-556.

<sup>661</sup> Belting 2007, 557.

mother of the only born.<sup>662</sup>

The development of the book of hours for the laity fulfilled the desires of the pious for personal participation; its texts were presented with new expression and psychological depth, which appealed to the needs of the readers.<sup>663</sup> Similar development is visible in devotional images. An image in a devotional book had more freedom than an altarpiece standing on the table of the Lord, involved and present at the administration of the Mass.<sup>664</sup>

‘The picture field has local properties that affect our sense of the signs.’<sup>665</sup> Thus, different placement of figures affects the viewer’s reaction. The Virgin Mary, for instance, could be placed in the centre, to the left, to the right, close to the foreground of the picture plane, but rarely in the periphery, on the background or in the corner. The significance of Mary’s portrayal on the right side at the moment of the Annunciation remains to be fully explained by the history of art. The roles of narrative direction and viewing habits from left to right seem only partial answers.<sup>666</sup> Certainly, the leftward profile provided an easier movement for the right-handed artist. In a similar direction of movement, when right-handed persons draw a circle, they most often do it anti-clockwise, whereas left-handed persons draw a circle clockwise.<sup>667</sup> Yet, in addition, recent research has established that the human brain functions with a left-sided bias, namely giving preference to the left side of the face, which is arguably more emotionally expressive.<sup>668</sup> In Western art, the Virgin Mary - in the same way as a sitter for a portrait - is most commonly placed facing to the left of the picture plane, thus exposing the left side of her face to the viewer. Arguably, Mary’s face is consequently invested with maximal emotional quality. Although medieval artists were not necessarily aware of the right-hemispheric dominance of the brain, they learned to elicit the required responses in viewers through compositional and technical exploration.

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<sup>662</sup> Translation after Rubin 2010, 251.

<sup>663</sup> Belting 2007, 556-557. The text of the book of hours originated in the breviary, where the 'Little Office of Our Lady' was included amongst various other offices, before being integrated first into the psalter, and then as the fundamental element of the book of hours (Bruna 1998, 128).

<sup>664</sup> Baxandall 1986, 106.

<sup>665</sup> Schapiro 1994, 12.

<sup>666</sup> Leftward or rightward narrative direction in a picture may accommodate the scene to a liturgical focus; see Schapiro 1994, 16.

<sup>667</sup> Schapiro 1994, 19.

<sup>668</sup> Blackburn and Schirillo, 2012.

The Marian symbolism of the window motif provides an example for considering painting as a form of devotion. In the de Laage polyptych, Jacquelin de Montluçon depicted a reflection of a cross window on the reliquary seen above Saint Anne's bed in the *Birth of the Virgin* panel (fig. 4.7.138). The motif, which had been used by Northern painters, such as the Master of Flémalle and Jan van Eyck, could be understood, following the writings of medieval theologians, as a symbol of the Virgin's virginal maternity - although penetrated by sun rays, the glass of the window remains intact.<sup>669</sup> As the glazed window was a recent commodity in late medieval society, its association with the Marian mystery was undoubtedly appealing. In the context of the de Laage *Birth of the Virgin*, perhaps the artist wished to make a subtle reference to the related mystery of the Immaculate Conception.

In addition to Marian imagery, the devotional image of Christ depicted as the *Man of Sorrows*, a close-up from the *Ecce Homo* scene, became particularly popular in the later Middle Ages. Inventories, such as that of Guillaume de Cambrai, the archbishop of Bourges, record such devotional images of Christ in private households, as also found hanging in the private bedchamber of the Virgin Mary in Jean Hey's *Annunciation* panel (fig. 4.7.153).<sup>670</sup> Saint Catherine of Genoa (1447-1510) had one in her chamber and is reported to have looked at it every time she entered and 'felt herself pierced through her very marrow with pain and love by the bitter passion which the Lord had took upon Himself out of love for us'.<sup>671</sup> The image of Christ's face was also collected in the form of "Veronicas" that were small pieces of leather, parchment, lead or fabric on which the Holy Face was represented; the Veronicas on leather or parchment were occasionally sewn into books of hours.<sup>672</sup> The popularity of the *Man of Sorrows*, the *Veil of Saint Veronica*, the *Virgin in the Sun*, and the *Virgin of the Rosary* can be explained by their connection to indulgences.<sup>673</sup> Pope Sixtus IV, for instance, is said to have granted an indulgence of eleven thousand years for those who say the prayer *Ave Sanctissima Maria* in front of an image of the *Virgin in the Sun* (Maria in Sole).<sup>674</sup> Pope John XXII appears to have given ten thousand years to those who say the prayer *Salve Sancta Facies* in front

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<sup>669</sup> See Lorentz 2003, 38.

<sup>670</sup> Chicago, Art Institute. The right wing of a triptych, *The Immaculate Conception*, of which the central panel is lost, but the left wing, *The Meeting at the Golden Gate*, survives at the National Gallery in London.

<sup>671</sup> Ringbom 1969, 162.

<sup>672</sup> Bruna 1998, 130.

<sup>673</sup> Ringbom 1969, 165.

<sup>674</sup> Ringbom 1962, 326.

of an image of the Holy Face, while Gregory the Great is said to have granted an indulgence of fourteen thousand years to the image of the *Man of Sorrows*; the image of the *Arma Christi* was connected with as many years of remission as there were wounds on the body of Christ.<sup>675</sup>

Finally, what might the vision of an artist, as transmitted through his works, communicate about his personality? The style and technique examined in this chapter contribute not only to the attribution of the manuscripts to the Master of Spencer 6, but also to forming an idea of his personality and identity. For 'style is, above all, a system of forms with a quality and a meaningful expression through which the personality of the artist and the broad outlook of a group is visible.'<sup>676</sup> Style and technique, the manner of working, can reveal a fuller image of the artist.

Was the Master of Spencer 6 inventive? A number of modest, run-of-the-mill books of hours in his œuvre (the Venice Hours or *Les Heures traduit en vers*, for instance) suggest a commercial attitude with a readiness to make multiple and mediocre copies quickly, rather than an artist concerned with investing his creativity. However, within the books that survive in the Spencer style, no direct copying of compositions or motifs materialise that would suggest production line type activity, or the existence of a workshop. Instead, although displaying a vast scale of artistic quality (seemingly matching the vast scale of his patronage), even the lower-end products, painted quickly, and with cheaper earth pigments, demonstrate an individual, charming, and often humoristic, touch. In *Les Heures traduit en vers*, for example, the miniatures are mainly mediocre in quality, presumably painted rapidly with limited time or care spent on drawing and modelling. Yet, the visual language is inventive. In the miniature of *Saint Bernard*, the Cistercian monk is shown kneeling in prayer as he receives a vision, identified by golden rays (fig. 4.10.3). The walls of the interior received particular attention, as our illuminator suggested relief sculpture with a skilful technique of modelling in black and white over grey background colour. Behind the monk, a little devil is tiptoeing in the most captivating manner, referring to Bernard's ability to cure those possessed by the devil. However, instead of depicting the monk's triumph over the devil, holding a crozier and trampling on the devil captured in a chain, as was the

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<sup>675</sup> Ringbom 1962, 328.

<sup>676</sup> Schapiro 1953, 51.

pictorial tradition,<sup>677</sup> Bernard is shown kneeling in prayer, seemingly still unaware of the devil sneaking behind his back. The image is both unusual and amusing.

In the same manuscript, the Master of Spencer 6 provided a set of miniatures of the Seven Cardinal Sins, illustrating the text of the Seven Penitential Psalms translated into French (figs. 4.10.4-10). He represented the personifications of the vices riding the associated symbolic animals; however, some with such curious appearances that the viewer might have been left to speculate on their identity. Adding to the confusion, the pairings appear not to have been fixed, but changed according to different artists and poets.<sup>678</sup> The dog, goat and boar are realistically depicted, familiar to our artist and his society through domestication and hunting (figs. 4.10.7-9). The lion, ridden by Pride (*Orgueil*), has a foolish smile, typical of contemporary representations (fig. 4.10.4). However, Wrath (*Yre*), Greed (*Avarice*) and Sloth (*Paresse*) appear to ride animals the Master of Spencer 6 had never seen, and he had to paint them from his imagination, or from existing imaginative versions. The large white cat mounted by Wrath is presumably a wolf (fig. 4.10.5). The light brown creature under the weight of Greed and his moneybags resembles most a bear or a monkey, but these were not typical in the symbology of the set; instead one should expect to see a donkey or a badger (fig. 4.10.6). Sloth appears to be falling asleep on a beast mildly resembling a bear, yet it is most likely a fantastical representation of a mole (fig. 4.10.10).

To an extent, the Master of Spencer 6 appears to have worked in a comparable manner to his contemporary in Tours, the Master of Jean Charpentier. This illuminator, although also capable of invention and evolution of his style and palette, specialised in the production of stereotypical books of hours without ambition for renewal.<sup>679</sup> The fact that our illuminator appears to have adopted this strategy may have been a key to his success. He had access to models in current traditions and was capable of copying them. The contemporary clientele seems to have been more concerned about the references to great existing works than about acquiring new forms.<sup>680</sup> The manuscripts in the Spencer group show that, in addition to our illuminator's more important commissions, which allowed the time and resources for fuller artistic engagement, he provided books to meet the ever-growing demand from clients with more modest means. Commercial

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<sup>677</sup> France 2011, 335-339.

<sup>678</sup> Compare, for example, a ballad by Eustache Deschamps (Boudet and Millet 1997, 242) and a wall painting from the beginning of the sixteenth century in the parish church of Saint-Étienne in Pujols (Lot).

<sup>679</sup> Gautier 2012, 262.

<sup>680</sup> Gautier 2012, 262.

calculation does not make him an uninspired and uninventive painter. In the context of medieval painting, evaluated through the modern senses of the terms - creation and invention - everyone copied. Clients found a guarantee of quality in the re-use of compositions.<sup>681</sup> It is only the avant-garde ideology of *tabula rasa* which has made us believe that creation *ex nihilo* is possible; in the modern sense, a medieval artist invented nothing.<sup>682</sup> However, on one hand, copying was both encouraged and expected, and on the other hand, since Jean Pucelle in the fourteenth century, French painting had seen the emergence of the artist as an inventor, marking the beginnings of the Renaissance. It is through the versatile transformation of forms, displaying iconographic and compositional originality, that one may most fully appreciate the creativity of an artist.

On at least one occasion, the Master of Spencer 6 appears to have created a devotional image without any visual precedent. In the Arsenal Hours, he painted an image of Saint Gond, a saint venerated in Champagne against the plague. Although a small number of depictions of the saint survive in sculpture and stained glass from the early sixteenth century, the manuscript illumination from around 1500 appears to be the earliest surviving representation of the saint in painting. This specific request by the patron placed the illuminator in a situation where he had to invent an image; as a result he painted a rather generic saint holding a book, at the same time based on his other saint figures, but with a new facial type not found in his earlier repertoire (figs. 4.10.11-12). Of other plague saints, the Hours of 1488 includes a miniature of Saint Sebastian, and in the Geneva Hours, the Master of Spencer 6 painted Saint Roch. The body of Saint Roch was present in Voghera in Italy in 1469, and Roch has been venerated at least since then, with a feast in his honour celebrated in 1483. Although the veneration of Sebastian is older, the prayers to (and images of) Roch and Gond connect the manuscripts to newly revived veneration, related to contemporary outbursts of the plague.<sup>683</sup>

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<sup>681</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 267.

<sup>682</sup> Recht 1998, 7.

<sup>683</sup> Bourges also suffered from the ravages of the plague in this period; in 1499-1500 one sculptor of the city, Guillaumel, and his wife died of plague, after which their house had to be closed down and the city paid an amount of 6 livres to their children who survived (Girardot 1861, 29).

## 5 The Identity of the Master of Spencer 6

Can the letters 'Ph Ph Ph Ph' in the Paris *Troye* be accepted as the signature of Philibert Colombe? If not, his style remains unknown. Would Philibert Colombe, the son and heir of Jean Colombe, then not be the most likely identity for the Master of Spencer 6? Philibert's appropriate age, and the fact that his style of illumination cannot be identified with certainty, suggest this possibility. If the Master of Spencer 6 was Philibert Colombe, it would provide the most straightforward explanation for the presence of the Spencer style in the late manuscripts from the Colombe workshop, such as in the Paris *Troye*, alongside a miniature signed by his brother, François Colombe. A family relation would also explain the strong inspiration the Master of Spencer 6 took from the style of Jean Colombe, particularly at the beginning of his career, or how he made connections with patrons in Troyes, following in the footsteps of his father.

However, Philibert died in 1505,<sup>684</sup> and thus he could not have illuminated all the manuscripts identified in the Spencer style. None of his heirs appear to have continued the business: his widow, Jeanne George, found herself in a difficult financial situation at her husband's death, selling his property to reconstitute her dowry, while his six underage children were deprived by Jeanne, their step-mother, of their heritage.<sup>685</sup> The eldest of Philibert's children, Philippe, is, however, documented as a painter and stained glass maker much later, in 1534, in Ainay-le-Château and Boussac in the Bourbonnais, south of Bourges.<sup>686</sup> In 1505, Philippe was, nevertheless, described as underage, rendering it impossible that he painted the manuscripts in the Spencer group made in the 1480s and 1490s, and identification even with the later work is most unlikely. The image is quite incompatible with the mature and established illuminator receiving significant commissions from a number of royal officers that seems to describe the Master of Spencer 6 by this date. In addition, it seems quite probable that the inscription 'Ph Ph Ph Ph' in the Paris *Troye* is a discreet signature by Philibert

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<sup>684</sup> AD, 7 G 193 and 194; Ribault 2001, 20.

<sup>685</sup> Ribault 2001, 20-22. Marie Jacob has emphasised the difficult financial situation of the Colombe workshop during the management by Jean Colombe (as suggested by the numerous complaints made by assistants as disguised inscriptions in manuscripts) that became even worse under the management of his sons (and resulted in a number of unfinished commissions); Jacob 2012, 37.

<sup>686</sup> Ribault 2001, 22.

Colombe, and that another late Colombe style belonging to him can be differentiated from that of François Colombe.

Could the Master of Spencer 6 be Jacquelin de Montluçon? Yet, if Jacquelin was identified as the Master of Spencer 6, who was the Spencer Master's collaborator in the manuscripts? The hand of this collaborator shows an affinity with the miniature signed 'Iohannes de Montelucio me pinxit', and since the five manuscripts on which he collaborated with the Master of Spencer 6 can all be dated to about 1490, he could be Jean de Montluçon, who lived until 1493. This idea is supported by the observation that after about this date the collaborations stop, and none seems datable as late as 1500. Other manuscripts in this collaborator's hand, such as the Hours of Louis d'Orléans and the Einsiedeln Hours, can also be dated to a period before 1493. This scenario would explain the evident similarity of some of the figures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 and his collaborator, as found, for instance in the Bouer Hours. A father and son could, in fact, have painted this manuscript.

Nonetheless, Jacquelin could not have painted all the manuscripts in the Spencer group, for he is documented as deceased in the spring of 1505. One possibility would be to identify Jacquelin with the early half of the reconstructed career for the Spencer Master, with the œuvre showing the closest affinity with the style of his father. A follower, perhaps Jacquelin's son, daughter, or wife, Ursine, might have painted the latter part of the work, showing a clear shift in style from the Lallemant Missal and the Spencer Hours onwards. However, although it is known that he had children, for the last payment made for his work, received after his death, went to his widow Ursine and his 'enfants',<sup>687</sup> nothing is known about his wife or children and none of them took over from him as the municipal painter, as he had done after his father. Even so, the visual evidence in the manuscripts suggests that the Master of Spencer 6 was one individual illuminator.

Furthermore, since the signed miniature of Saint Jacques in the Monypenny Breviary appears to be by Jacquelin (given that he most evidently sought protection from his patron saint and the fact that its style is different from the signed leaf by Jean), a number of details indicate that Jacquelin was a different illuminator than the Master of Spencer 6. Figures attributable to Jacquelin in the Monypenny Breviary, for instance, are depicted wearing long boots or have bare feet. Boots were almost never painted in the

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<sup>687</sup> Paris, BnF, Cabinet des titres, pièces originales, dossier Molisson, published in Robert 1880-1881.

group of the Spencer manuscripts, and feet only begin to appear regularly from around 1500 onwards. Jacquelin's technique of illumination was more detailed and accomplished, bringing scenes alive with action and showing an ability to depict different surfaces and textures with conviction. His technique also betrays his training as a painter on a larger scale. His modelling of faces in the Monypenny Breviary, the Pessard window and the Antonites altarpiece was rich, displaying verisimilitude - indispensable also for a portraitist. These signed, attested works display a notably different style and separate set of figure types from the Master of Spencer 6 and he cannot thus be identified with Jacquelin de Montluçon.

Finally, a documented illuminator, Laurent Boiron, offers another possibility. Boiron is recorded as having taken a lease on rue du Collet d'Or in Bourges in 1479/80.<sup>688</sup> A document dated 13 January 1482 specifies that he rented a house in the vicinity of the house of Jean de Montluçon on rue du Collet d'Or.<sup>689</sup> The lease was from the canons and chapter of Bourges Cathedral, for twice twenty-nine years. He continued paying rent on the property until at least 1508.<sup>690</sup> While surviving manuscripts show that the workshop of the Colombe family collaborated with the Montluçon workshop, it would be very unusual to find that Boiron did not collaborate with his neighbours, given his physical proximity to them. This clearly strengthens the case for identifying Boiron with the Master of Spencer 6, who is known to have collaborated with both workshops.

In the same house with Laurent Boiron resided one Nicolas Boiron, a sculptor, presumably Laurent's brother.<sup>691</sup> Nicolas realised, with Marsault Paule, the *patrons des hystoires des pourtaulx* for Bourges Cathedral, in 1513, and two years later, he sculpted the Virgin for the portal of the Virgin.<sup>692</sup> He also appears to have sculpted a statue of Saint François for the church of the Minimes in Montluçon, and a statue of Saint Sebastian for the Sainte-Chapelle of Bourges, the latter in 1531.<sup>693</sup> Interestingly, in the context of providing the *patrons* in 1513, he is referred to as 'le peintre';<sup>694</sup> perhaps he was another

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<sup>688</sup> AM Bourges, CC 4.

<sup>689</sup> AD, 8 G 956.

<sup>690</sup> AD, 7 G 177, p. 35.

<sup>691</sup> AD Cher, 8 G 501 f. 3r, 504 f. 2v, 505 f. 2r, 506, f. 2r; Goldman 2002, 5.

<sup>692</sup> Orrit 2008, 8. Eight different sculptors, whose names survive, were responsible for the canopy of the portal; see Orrit 2008, 12.

<sup>693</sup> AD Cher, 8 G 501 f. 3r, 504 f. 2v, 505 f. 2r, 506, f. 2r. Chancel-Bardelot 2004, 87; Orrit 2008, 8. The alternative spellings, Poyson, Poyzon, appear in documents.

<sup>694</sup> Orrit 2008, 8.

polyvalent artist active in Berry in this period, such as his collaborator, Marsault Paule, referred to as 'peintre et tailleur d'images', a painter and sculptor.<sup>695</sup>

The working spaces of the two brothers, Laurent and Nicolas, would presumably have been separate, since the dust which is produced in a sculptor's workshop prohibits sculptors and painters from working in the same space. Another brother in the family may have been Guillaume Boiron, who in 1506 participated in the preparations for Louis XII's ceremonial entry to the city by making a wagon.<sup>696</sup> A scribe, one Guillaume *l'écrivain*, resided in the house next door to Laurent Boiron in 1479 and was still there in 1483.<sup>697</sup> He could have been Guillaume Richard, who lived on the street in 1442, or Guillaume le Rond, who is known to have scribed with one 'messire Jamet' the Antiphonary of the château de Baugy for Jean de Bar in 1465.<sup>698</sup> Was 'messire Jamet' the same figure as 'Jaquet', *écrivain de forme*, living on rue du Collet d'Or around 1480?<sup>699</sup>

The proximity of Laurent Boiron's house to that of known patrons of the Master of Spencer 6 may further strengthen the identification, at least in our imagination, of how the actual commission of the manuscript could have happened. Boiron lived in the parish of Saint-Pierre-le-Puellier, nearby to the house of Jean de Montluçon, whose house can be located on rue Collet d'Or (house in blue in map 2). Philippe Bouer, the first mayor of Bourges, and the most likely patron of the Bouer Hours, lived only 190 metres away from Montluçon's house (map 2: red). It would have taken him two minutes to walk along rue de Bontemps, to arrive from his house to commission the manuscript. Next to Philippe Bouer lived his sister-in-law, Étienne Bouer's widow (map 2: orange), whose neighbour was Jean Lallemand, who, with his brothers, ordered manuscripts from the Master of Spencer 6 (map 2: yellow).

Furthermore, considering the miniatures in the Bouer Hours attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 and Jacquelin de Montluçon in the light of contemporary archival documentation may further illuminate the question of identity. Notary minutes from 1490 record an inquiry about a property next door to the house of Laurent Boiron.<sup>700</sup> Laurent Boiron and four other craftsmen from the area provided evidence to the

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<sup>695</sup> Goldman 2008, 4.

<sup>696</sup> AM Bourges, CC 572.

<sup>697</sup> AD Cher, 8 G 956 and AM Bourges, CC 4.

<sup>698</sup> AM Bourges, CC 4.

<sup>699</sup> Goldman 1987, 49.

<sup>700</sup> AD 7 G 24, no. 7.

inquiry: two joiners, a carpenter, and the painter Jean de Montluçon. The record of the inquiry in Latin describes Montluçon as *pictor* and Boiron as *illuminator*; this corresponds with the technique and works of the Master of Spencer 6 in comparison to those of both Jean and Jacquelin de Montluçon. It is not known whether Jacquelin was living in his paternal home in 1490, but the fact that Laurent Boiron was a neighbour of the Montluçon house further strengthens his identification with the Master of Spencer 6, the illuminator who collaborated with Jacquelin de Montluçon.

Without documentation to provide definitive proof, the case remains tentative, although some further supporting evidence can be gathered around the character of Boiron. A record of a rent payment in 1508 refers to Boiron as *libraire*, a bookseller.<sup>701</sup> It has already been suggested that the involvement of the Master of Spencer 6 with the Parisian book trade, as shown by the miniatures in his style in the printed *Horae* of Guillaume Eustace, might support the identification with Laurent Boiron, *libraire*.<sup>702</sup> This argument can now be supported further with the introduction of another Parisian printed book in the œuvre of the Master of Spencer 6, the copy of *Horloge de dévotion* published by Étienne Jehannot. The possibility that Laurent Boiron was the University bookseller, 'Maître Laurent', should not be ignored either. An illuminator was free to simultaneously exercise other professions surrounding book production and could become a bookseller taking charge, by means of sub-contracting, of every stage in the making of the book, from the writing and illumination to the binding and selling, including also the possibilities of the printed book.<sup>703</sup> A contemporary example can be found in the Paris-based illuminator Jean Pichore, who printed an edition of a book of hours in collaboration with Rémy de Laistre, in 1504.<sup>704</sup>

Furthermore, the relatively large number of manuscripts attributable to the Master of Spencer 6 (of which only a fragment survives) for patrons as far afield as Berry, Champagne, Forez, Paris and Touraine, suggests commerce reaching beyond that of any other anonymous illuminator in Bourges. Perhaps his activity had become, or was seen as, that of a bookseller. His manuscripts included high-quality custom-made manuscripts, but also several ordinary and rapidly painted examples. As a merchant-libraire he might have even stocked ready-made manuscripts in his shop in order to

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<sup>701</sup> AD 7 G 177, p. 35.

<sup>702</sup> Wieck 2005, 279.

<sup>703</sup> Leproux 2001, 35.

<sup>704</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 284-285.

respond to the increasing demand for devotional books from the general customers, thus ensuring his survival in the trade. As has been shown elsewhere, it was possible during this period in France for an artist to also be a libraire, to take on the dual activity of creating books by hand and *en moule*.<sup>705</sup>

Laurent Boiron is identified at various moments of his life and certainly from 1479 as *bâtonnier du chapitre* (as well as *enlumineur*), referring to the order and position of confidence he held in the chapter of the Cathedral.<sup>706</sup> Again in 1502 he is described as 'Prudent hom[m]e Laurent Boizon bastonnier de leglise saint estienne de bourges & age de cinquante huit ans en environ'.<sup>707</sup> The position was honorary and there would have been only one *bâtonnier du chapitre* for each chapter.<sup>708</sup> It is unclear whether other illuminators in Bourges held similar positions in other chapters, yet certainly other artisans held prebends of chapters, including the illuminators Jean Colombe and Jean de Paris (Jean Perréal?), the painter, Jacques Malassègue, and the *menuisier*, Jean Cousturier (who made the pews in the Sainte-Chapelle), who each benefitted by acquiring plots of lands in the Clos de Saint-Ursin drawn from the endowment of the canons around 1475.<sup>709</sup>

The first time Boiron appears in the archival records is in 1479, when he took a lease of a Cathedral chapter house on rue Collet d'Or and received the function of *bâtonnier du chapitre*. Had he earlier been a live-in apprentice in another workshop? Is this the moment when he established himself as an independent illuminator (while continuing to collaborate with other illuminators)? Boiron was then 34 years old (see below), which apparently was a not untypical age for a Bourges illuminator to set up a modest independent shop, since Jean Colombe had also begun to pay rent for small premises he shared with a scribe at approximately this age, in 1463/4.<sup>710</sup> This profile of Boiron fits that of the Master of Spencer 6.

Laurent Boiron provided evidence for at least two property inquiries. In the minutes concerning an inquiry in October 1490, he was given the approximate age of

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<sup>705</sup> Delaunay 2001, 249.

<sup>706</sup> AD, 7 G 23, 8 G 155, f. 20v, 8 G 956; Ribault, 2002, 44. Another anonymous illuminator, Jacques de Besançon (prudently named the Master of Jacques de Besançon), held an office of *bâtonnier*, this one of the brotherhood of Saint-Jean-l'Evangeliste in the church of Saint-André-des-Arts in Paris; see Avril and Reynaud 1993, 256.

<sup>707</sup> 7 G 24, no. 7.

<sup>708</sup> I am grateful to Béatrice de Chancel-Bardelot for this information.

<sup>709</sup> Ribault 2001, 18.

<sup>710</sup> Ribault 2001, 17.

forty-four, while in July 1502 the estimation was fifty-eight.<sup>711</sup> Thus Boiron was most probably born in either 1444 or 1445. This makes him noticeably younger than Jean Colombe, who was born around 1430, and Jean de Montluçon, born around 1417. Boiron's arrival on the scene later than Colombe and Montluçon supports his identification with the Master of Spencer 6, who apparently collaborated in the late workshop of the former, and collaborated with the son of the latter, while also continuing to illuminate manuscripts when both these masters had died and their workshops, then managed by their sons, had ceased to exist.

Nothing is known about the life of Laurent Boiron from his birth until the first lease for a property. He may have been trained from a young age, and served for two years as an apprentice illuminator as was typical, or he could have been trained within an artist family. As the neighbouring Colombe and Montluçon families show, the profession of an illuminator was often hereditary. The reduced cost of training in family was clearly an incentive. In Bourges, the son of a painter or stained glass maker was not obliged to make a masterwork to become a master; he only needed to be recognised by two masters of the profession as a craftsman, and could also pay fees reduced by half.<sup>712</sup> There may have been other regulations that favoured the family arrangement. In Flanders, the masters' sons also paid reduced fees to become masters.<sup>713</sup> In consequence, artist families were common. Simon Marmion was the son, brother and uncle of a painter, and the father of an illuminator, while Simon Bening was the son and father of an illuminator.<sup>714</sup> The period of apprenticeship for illuminators in Bourges probably lasted for about two years, as was the case in Brussels and Tournai.<sup>715</sup> The existence of a contemporary sculptor, Nicolas Boiron, suggests that Laurent Boiron came from a family of artists, as Nicolas was probably his brother. The Colombe family presents a parallel set-up for the training of sons: one son, Jean, trained as an illuminator, and another son, Michel, became a sculptor. After his training, Laurent Boiron probably worked for a master illuminator as a *compagnon*, a title given to an illuminator who has received his vocation but who does not have the means to establish

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<sup>711</sup> AD, 7 G 23, f. 2v and 7 G 24, no. 7.

<sup>712</sup> According to the statutes of 1618, but probably reflecting a longer tradition. Toubeau de Maisonneuve 1881, 233.

<sup>713</sup> Reynolds 2003, 17.

<sup>714</sup> Kren and Ainsworth 2003, 36-37.

<sup>715</sup> Goovaerts 1896; Reynolds 2003, 20. Although the length of the apprenticeship for Bourges illuminators might not have been fixed, as regulations for other professions in this city show; see Martin Saint-Léon 1897, 272.

his own business for the lack of finances.<sup>716</sup> According to guild regulations, a *compagnon* had no right to keep a shop or directly sell an item.<sup>717</sup>

An early attachment of the Master of Spencer 6 to the Colombe workshop seems quite likely, not only for stylistic but also for pragmatic reasons. Some sixty surviving manuscripts can be attributed to the Colombe workshop, including several large and important commissions; it is clear the Colombe firm would have been the most prominent employer of young illuminators in Bourges at the time when the Master of Spencer 6, possibly Laurent Boiron, would have reached the end of his apprenticeship.

Most crucially for the identification, however, Laurent Boiron is the only illuminator documented in Bourges throughout the period coinciding with the surviving manuscripts attributed to the Master of Spencer 6. The latest surviving manuscript painted in the hand of this illuminator is the Tours Psalter, which can most probably be dated to 1511 since its calendar is inscribed on every page with '1512', the presumed first year of it being taken into use.<sup>718</sup> This coincides with Laurent Boiron being recorded as deceased by 1511/1512.<sup>719</sup>

One intriguing, yet problematic, argument for the identity of Boiron can be put forward from an inscription. In order to consider this evidence, envisage the beginnings of the career of Master of Spencer 6. His early, non-independent work may differ from the distinctive style found in manuscripts attributed to him, and it may thus be difficult to recognise. Given the stylistic similarity, the most likely workshop for his training and early career is that of Jean Colombe. Colombe employed a number of assistants at the height of his firm's success around 1480. The immense book of hours made for Louis XI's governor in Champagne, Louis de Laval, illuminated with no fewer than 1,234 images and involving a team of assistants, can be dated to this period. The miniatures in this manuscript include various inscriptions; at times they explain the subject of the miniature, or add a decorative element to the architecture. However, some were puns and plays on words, perhaps intended as private workshop jokes or as discreet signatures identifying individual contributions in a collaborative work, or were simply included as artists' secrets that were never intended to be intelligible to others. The

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<sup>716</sup> For *compagnons* see Lorentz 2007, 135.

<sup>717</sup> Leproux 2001, 14.

<sup>718</sup> Le Borgne 2010, no. 2 [no page numbers].

<sup>719</sup> Goldman 2002, 5.

workshop master, Jean Colombe, himself signed some of his own miniatures with inscriptions OMNIS SPIRITUS LAUDET DOMINUM or MOLBECO. The latter is a straightforward anagram of his name, while the former is a subtle multi-level reference deriving from psalm 150. Firstly, the wordplay has a literal sense, the phrase *Let every spirit praise the Lord* reflecting Colombe's painting as a devotional activity, and secondly, it refers to his name through the symbol of the Holy Spirit, the dove (Fr. *colombe*).

Several manuscripts produced by large teams in the Colombe workshop include inscriptions. Some provide fascinating evidence of the assistants' reflections on their work, revealing their disappointments at working solely as assistants: *Or ai ge bien mon temps perdu pour leuement server*, or *Je perds temps à vous server*; some suggesting poor pay: *A grand labour pousse cette oeuvre et sans profit*; others exposing ambitions: *En espérant mieux*.<sup>720</sup>

One inscription in the Hours of Louis de Laval reads A LA VERDURE TROBI (fig. 5.1-2). It is written along an architectural frieze found in the scene of *Ahaz sacrificing his son*, painted by one of Colombe's assistants.<sup>721</sup> The inscription ends quite clearly TROBI rather than TRO as has previously been cited.<sup>722</sup> The inscription A LA VERDURE TROBI can also be found in another large commission from the Colombe workshop, a copy of *Les douze perils d'enfer*, made around 1480 for the queen, Charlotte of Savoy.<sup>723</sup>

No-one has yet explained its meaning. The word TRUVE would make more sense at the end of the phrase, thus giving A LA VERDURE TRUVE, *to find on verdure*. (In Middle French the word *verdure* also had an additional sense: as well as to greenery and vegetation, it could refer to the moment when verdure appears, the dawn.)<sup>724</sup> Since the letters appear to read more clearly TROBI, let us entertain for a moment the possibility that the artist indeed intended this reading. Why would he insist on the senseless word form TROBI? Strikingly, the inscription A LA VERDURE TROBI makes an almost perfect anagram of the name Laurent Boiron. Re-arranged, the letters compose A LAURE[N]T BOIRV[N], allowing for the contraction of the 'N's as in Latin, and leaving out the letters D, R, E. To take the hypothesis further, might DRE be

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<sup>720</sup> Thomas 1973, 11.

<sup>721</sup> Paris, BnF, lat. 920, fol. 255v.

<sup>722</sup> Schaefer 1980, 47.

<sup>723</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 449, f. 66v; the three devils in this miniature are similar in spirit to those the Master of Spencer 6 painted in the Arsenal Hours. Claude Schaefer has also found the inscription in the miniature of the *Siege of Jerusalem* in a copy of Flavius Josephus's *Histoire des guerres des juifs*, made a few years later (Paris, BnF, fr. 405, f. 38v), but I have not been able to study this manuscript.

<sup>724</sup> DMF.

understood as the common Latin contracted form for *dicere* (to say), *docere* (to teach), *differentiae* (differences) or *diceretur* (it would be said)? It is difficult to prove whether or not the illuminator knew Latin, since although many of his miniatures include Latin inscriptions, he could have copied them diligently without having real command of the language.

The inscription A LA VERDURE TROBI was discreetly lettered on the architectural frieze in one of 1,234 miniatures of the manuscript, thus escaping the attention of viewers who may have appreciated its decorative effect, or those who read it and perhaps expected it to spell out *A la verdure true*. While the suggestion put forward here for an artist's secret signature may be pure fantasy and coincidence, one ought to consider its possibility. Did the illuminator compose a word play hiding a cryptic message: *By Laurent Boiron, it would be said?*

If Laurent Boiron painted *Ahaz sacrificing his son*, the situation provides major problems for his identification with the Master of Spencer 6. The miniatures "signed" A LA VERDURE TROBI are not in the reconstructed style of the Master of Spencer 6, but in a style that is generally attributed to Jean Colombe. The telltale characteristic of Colombe's style - the misplaced eye - marks the figures painted in profile. The eye of the acolyte, and that of King Ahaz, is placed in the awkward frontal position immediately above the nose, rather than its realistic position centrally in the eye socket. The same positioning of the eye, violating the sense of anatomy, is found in the figure of Charles I of Savoy painted by Jean Colombe in the *Très riches heures* (fig. 4.6.2).

Initially this may appear as conclusive evidence that the A LA VERDURE TROBI miniatures have nothing to do with the Master of Spencer 6. However - given their early dates, all around 1480, nearly a decade before the earliest manuscript in his recognizable reconstructed style - would the illuminator, presumably working as one of several assistants in the Colombe workshop, have yet developed an individual style? In any event, he was probably required to adjust his manner of painting into a house style. Assistants would presumably not have been allowed to display individual styles. Moreover, the miniatures, or at least the main figures, may have first been drawn by the master of the workshop, making it difficult to subsequently distinguish assistants' hands from that of their master (for both the patron, and much later, for the art historian). A homogeneous style would have been a sign of good workshop management by Jean Colombe.

If the Master of Spencer 6 is Laurent Boiron, and the inscription A LA VERDURE TROBI is his signature, why did he not use it in his later miniatures? Perhaps he lost interest in it, or simply found no reason to keep using a disguised signature once he worked independently. Taking part in large illumination projects organised by Jean Colombe, the Master of Spencer 6 would have been only an assistant, painting miniatures that would get lost amongst those of several other aspiring assistants, such as the author of the miniatures signed A COVLARTI, possibly identifiably as Jean Couart, a contemporary illuminator documented in Bourges.<sup>725</sup> This contrasts with the work of the Master of Spencer 6 on the two late Colombe productions, the copies of the Paris *Troye* and the *Fleur des histoires*, attributable mainly to Jean Colombe's sons. By the time of his collaboration on these manuscripts, at least fifteen years later, his style is recognisable as that found in other manuscripts attributed to him.

To make a counter-argument, let us consider the possibility that A LA VERDURE TROBI is a signature of the documented *enlumineur* Laurent Boiron but that he is not the Master of Spencer 6. Laurent Boiron would thus be an illuminator working in the style of Jean Colombe. Why then, are there no surviving manuscripts in this Colombe style after 1500, when Laurent Boiron was still active in Bourges until 1511/12 according to the archival records? On one hand, on the evidence of surviving manuscripts, the only prominent illuminator in the city was the Master of Spencer 6. On the other hand, according to the archival records, the only prominent illuminator in the city was Laurent Boiron.

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<sup>725</sup> The inscription is found in the same manuscript, the Hours of Louis de Laval, Paris, BnF, lat. 920, f. 314v.

## 6 Conclusion

Is the study of anonymous artists worthwhile? The activity of attribution is, to an extent, subjective, and it may appear trivial to debate the authorship of unsigned manuscripts produced some five hundred years ago. Should it matter to us who painted them? An historical record can, at times, be so slender that an artist's name might reveal little of his life and artistic activity. The works themselves may not disclose the names, but given a number of clues, ready to be recognised and interpreted, they provide us with some of the pieces needed to complete the puzzle. This investigation has not proved the identity of the Master of Spencer 6 with absolute certainty, but has revealed an illuminator who appears, in his day, to have enjoyed considerable success and received important commissions. While the archival sources have possibly brought us closer to his historical identity, the focus of this thesis has been on his personal and artistic identities, revealed layer by layer, as his patrons, style, technique, collaborators and pictorial inventions all provided evidence. The examination of the world in which he lived and worked exposed a number of hitherto little-known Bourges artists of undeniable talent, and several significant paintings in manuscripts, as well as on panel and stained glass, that have previously received little attention. Through his works, contemporaries and environment, we may attempt to know our illuminator, even if we lack his name. In the widest sense of identity, it does matter who painted the manuscripts - it is, in fact, one of the most essential questions.

What was our illuminator's environment? Identifiable patrons and liturgical uses of the books suggest a clientele spread over a wide geographical scope. One of the aims in this study was to establish whether it was the artist himself who travelled, or whether his patrons made orders and purchased manuscripts in his shop in Bourges. Stylistic aspects, such as palette, page layouts and border decorations, imply, on one hand, that the manuscripts were commissioned rather than purchased ready-made in a shop. On the other hand, the variety of work indicates a great ability to respond to a vast array of expectations. Furthermore, codicological aspects of the books suggest that our illuminator worked with different individuals and not always with the same scribe. These elements help to advance the hypothesis that our illuminator was operating in different artistic centres during his life, travelling from one town to another in search of clients and collaborations.

Historical events and currents appear to have had an effect on the direction our illuminator took in his quest for patronage. The fire of Madeleine in 1487 seems to have spurred him into seeking work from patrons in Champagne, where he perhaps benefited from a clientele newly arrived for the recently established fairs in Troyes. A decade later, the increasing importance of printing in Paris seems to have enticed him to make contact with the book trade in the capital, where he appears to have returned in 1506 to illustrate two diplomatic gifts. The presence of the royal court in Lyon around 1500 (strategically placed for the Italian campaigns), might have encouraged our illuminator to gravitate there to find work. The continuing importance of the city of Tours ensured the presence of numerous royal officers in this capital of Touraine at the beginning of the sixteenth century, for some of whom the Master of Spencer 6 found himself working at the end of his career.

While our illuminator's itinerary appears to emerge from the localisable and datable manuscripts, it remains uncertain what the connections between the commissions were, or whether they happened more haphazardly. It has not been possible to identify an individual, perhaps a *libraire*, who brought the illuminators, scribes and patrons together. A more extensive study of the archival documents conserved in Bourges, examined in the context of the surviving manuscripts, would undoubtedly provide more evidence for the organisation of the book trade. Yet, given the relatively liberal conditions in which manuscript illuminators appear to have worked in Bourges, any official associations between individuals, as documented in historical records, would be likely to provide only a partial view of the reality. Sub-contracting one's neighbour to paint a miniature here, or another three there, might have happened casually, and unexpectedly, on demand. Recommendations by word of mouth could likewise have represented complicated networks that would be impossible to reconstruct today. However, neighbourhood and family can also be identified as major factors leading to new commissions. At least three members of the Lallemand family commissioned manuscripts from the Master of Spencer 6, as did their next-door neighbours, the Bouer family.

An artistic identity embodies a prospect of development. This examination challenges the earlier view that the manuscripts painted for patrons in Champagne were by a distinct illuminator, the so-called Master of Morgan M.271. In fact, these manuscripts appear to conform naturally to the other attributions grouped around the

eponymous Spencer Hours, together revealing the coherent development of an artist, as examined through his style, technique, iconography, compositions and personality. In addition, the later Arsenal Hours, close in style to the Spencer Hours, and in the liturgical use of Troyes, demonstrates that the Master of Spencer 6 worked for patrons in Champagne, rendering the early commissions from this region all the more conceivable.

The variety of our illuminator's œuvre has also demonstrated how an artist working in the later Middle Ages was required to diversify and keep abreast of patrons' enthusiasms and tastes, and evolving saints' cults. In order to survive, he not only needed to travel to find clients, but he was also required to work quickly and efficiently, continually re-interpreting traditional artistic patterns which had proven popular, introducing amusing details that pleased his patrons, occasionally inventing entirely new images, and time and again investing his devotional images with an affecting quality that would promote veneration. It appears that in this ability to renew and adapt, the Master of Spencer 6 is a revealing case for an understanding of how late medieval illuminators operated.

The artistic identity of the Master of Spencer 6 was, to a great extent, formed by contact with his contemporary artists, and particularly with his main collaborator. The short life and career of Jacquelin de Montluçon (1463-1505) remains virtually unknown despite the serene beauty of his images. The analysis of his application of paint and use of colour in manuscripts, panel paintings and stained glass, conducted as part of this thesis, has brought his artistic personality to light.

Technical methods were used to examine the ways in which the Master of Spencer 6 expressed himself through the forms available to him. His œuvre exposes an inventive, productive and humorous artist whose brush appears to have moved quickly and boldly. He understood the symbolic, political, narrative and emotional roles that colour could play. He varied layout options, compositions and decorative schemes to diverse ends, for instance, to narrate biblical events, to evoke devotional response, to suggest typological readings, or to convey fashionable tastes in classicising ornamentation. In applying technical methods to address not only questions of attribution, but also the personality and artistic intention of the illuminator, this investigation proposes a new direction for future studies of French manuscripts.

## Bibliography

### Abbreviations: archives, libraries and museums

AD	Archives départementales du Cher
AM Bourges	Archives municipales de Bourges
Arsenal	Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
BL	British Library
BM	Bibliothèque Municipale
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
Bodleian	Bodleian Library, University of Oxford
Getty	Getty Research Institute
Getty Museum	The J. Paul Getty Museum
Louvre	Musée du Louvre
NYPL	New York Public Library
PML	Pierpont Morgan Library and Museum

### Abbreviations: manuscripts attributed to the Master of Spencer

(in alphabetical order)

The <i>Anabase</i> of Charles II	Paris, BnF, fr. 701
The <i>Anabase</i> of Henry VII	London, BL, Royal 19 C VI
The Arsenal Hours	Paris, Arsenal, ms. 651
The Bodleian <i>Visitation</i>	Oxford, Bodleian, ms. Rawl. liturg. e. 37 (the entire manuscript also referred to as the Bodleian Hours)
The Boisrouvray Hours	Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 3116
The Bouer Hours	Leeds, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection, ms. 8
The Chantilly Monstrelet	<i>Chroniques</i> of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, Chantilly, Musée Conde, ms. 875
The <i>Christ in Majesty</i> miniature	London, BL, Harley 2919
The Copenhagen Hours	Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, ms. Gl. Kgl. Saml. 1610, 4 <sup>o</sup>
The Drouot leaves	Paris, Drouot, 15 March 1989, salle 1, no. 8
The <i>Épître à Dame Furie</i>	London, Sam Fogg, lot 14644
The <i>Fleur des histories</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 53
The Geneva Hours	Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, ms. latin 147
The Getty leaves	Los Angeles, Getty, Special Collections, 920003*
The Guémadeuc <i>Mass</i>	The <i>Mass of Saint Gregory</i> , Guémadeuc Hours, location unknown

The <i>Horloge</i> of Madeleine Amboise	San Marino, Huntington Library, RB 88375
The Hours of 1488	Location unknown
The Hours of Guillaume de Seigne	London, BL, Harley 2969
The Hours of Jean de La Rue	Paris, Private collection
The Hours of Bérenger Bollioud	Lyon, BM, ms. 5141
The Huntington Hours	San Marino, Huntington Library, RB 88370
The Langres Hours	New York, PML, ms. M.271
The Louvre fragments	Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, Inv. 20695, 20695 bis, 20695 ter, 20695 quater
The <i>D'estre</i> Hours	Paris, BnF, lat. 1375
The Rose Hours	Paris, BnF, lat. 10560
<i>Les Heures de la croix</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 1869
<i>Les Heures traduit en vers</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 2224
The Lallemand Boccaccio	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, ms. F. 171b
The Lallemand <i>La Danse aux aveugles</i>	Private collection
The Lallemand Missal	New York, PML, ms. M.495
The Moscow Hours	Moscow, National Library of Russia, ms. f. 183, n° 1912
The Paris <i>Troye</i>	<i>Histoire de la destruction de Troye la grant</i> , Paris, BnF, n.a.f. 24920
<i>Les Sept articles de la foi</i>	London, BL, Egerton 940
The Spencer Hours	New York, NYPL, Spencer Collection, ms. 6
The Venice Hours	Venice, National Library of St Mark's, Lat. I, 70 (=2898)
The <i>Pentecost</i> fragment	London, Sam Fogg
The <i>Massacre of the Innocents</i>	New York, Private collection
The <i>Shepherds</i> fragment	Location unknown
The Tours Psalter	Location unknown

**Abbreviations: other frequently cited manuscripts and works of art**  
(in alphabetical order)

The <i>Anabase</i> of Louis XII	Paris, BnF, fr. 702
The Antonites altarpiece	Chambéry, Musée savoisien de Chambéry and Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts
The Chappes Hours	Paris, Arsenal, ms. 438
The Colombe <i>Romuléon</i>	Paris, BnF, fr. 364
The de Laage polyptych	<i>Life of the Virgin</i> , Église Notre-Dame de Montluçon
The Einsiedeln Hours	Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 641
The Escorial <i>Apocalypse</i>	Madrid, Escorial, ms. E. vit. 5

The Hours of Charles of France	Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms. 473; <i>Annunciation</i> bifolium: New York, Cloister Museum, ms. 58.71a
The Hours of Henry VIII	New York, PML, ms. H.8
The Hours of Louis de Laval	Paris, BnF, lat. 920
The Hours of Louis d'Orleans	Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Lat. Q.v.I.126
The Lyon Franciscan Missal	Lyon, BM, ms. 514
The Monypenny Breviary	Private collection
The Pessard window	<i>Life of Mary Magdalene</i> , Mary Magdalene chapel, Moulins Cathedral
<i>Très riches heures</i>	<i>Très riches heures du duc de Berry</i> , Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 65

### Abbreviations: online reference sources

DMF	Dictionnaire du Moyen Français 1330-1500, <a href="http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/">http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/</a>
GW	Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, <a href="http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de">http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de</a>
Joconde	Joconde, Portail des collections des musées de France, <a href="http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/joconde">http://www.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/joconde</a>
Heures manuscrites identifiées	<a href="https://sites.google.com/site/heuresbookofhours/">https://sites.google.com/site/heuresbookofhours/</a>

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**VISION AND DEVOTION IN BOURGES AROUND 1500:  
AN ILLUMINATOR AND HIS WORLD**

**APPENDICES**

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**2014**

## CATALOGUE

1. The Hours of 1488<sup>1</sup>

Unknown location<sup>2</sup>

Book of hours

Use of Troyes

1487 (dated 1488)

158 ff.

Parchment

164 x 115 mm, written space 91 x 60 mm, 1 column, 18 lines, ruled in red ink

Collation: 1<sup>5</sup> (6-1, lacking ii), 2<sup>6</sup>, 3-8<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>7</sup> (8-1, lacking v), 10<sup>6</sup> (8-2, lacking iii and vi), 11<sup>8</sup>, 12<sup>7</sup> (8-1, lacking i), 13<sup>8</sup>, 14<sup>7</sup> (8-1, lacking v), 15<sup>4</sup>, 16-19<sup>8</sup>, 20<sup>7</sup> (8-1, lacking v), 21<sup>7</sup> (8-1, lacking viii), 22<sup>7</sup> (8-1, lacking i)

Some vertical catchwords

In Latin, calendar in French

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in blue

Provenance: The manuscript was made for use in the diocese of Troyes (possibly for the woman shown in prayer on ff. 28, 46, 54, 56 and 60); bookplate 'Ex Museo Le Brun Dalbanne'

Initials: 3-line initials in colours decorated with foliate penwork in white, on coloured grounds decorated with gold penwork, and infilled with flowers on gold grounds; 2-line initials in red and blue with delicate leafy tracery in white and liquid gold; 1-line initials and line-fillers in liquid gold on red and blue grounds. In the small miniatures of the evangelists, initials were (unusually for this illuminator) incorporated inside the miniatures, within the upper right corner.

Borders: The border decoration in this manuscript is extremely rich; almost every possible variation is included: architectural classicising borders, gilt bar borders, floral panel borders, and mixtures of the three types. The full-page miniatures are within arched compartments framed by simple gilt bars, or a mixture of a bar, columns and decorated panels, or within complex architectural double-compartmented structures, with decorated columns supporting sculpted figures within niches, and arches or architraves. The margins beyond the columns are decorated with falling swags of fruit, flowers and antique vases, as in the contemporary *Shepherds* and Getty leaves, as well as in the illuminator's later manuscripts, the Arsenal Hours, the Louvre fragments, and the Hours of Guillaume de Seigne. Initials and 3-line incipits were placed either under the miniatures or on cartouches on top of them. The small column miniatures are within narrow architectural borders decorated with faux-relief sculpture of great variation, including figures, animals, and grotesques. Full floral panel borders are found on the miniature pages, and in the outer margins throughout the manuscript, in various designs, including zig-zag patterns, tree trunks, scrolls decorated with inscriptions (e.g. AVE MA.), pilgrim's staffs and scallop shells, fleurs-de-lis, birds, grotesques, flowers, fruit, acanthus leaves, and motifs related to the subject of the miniature (e.g. arrow-heads around the miniature of Saint Sebastian).

Twelve full-page miniatures (in arched compartments above initials and three lines of text), nineteen small miniatures (6-7 lines, with full borders), fifty-one small column miniatures (in

<sup>1</sup> I have not been able to see this manuscript; this description is based on the sale descriptions and the images held at the Witt Library at the Courtauld Institute of Art.

<sup>2</sup> Paris, Drouot, 29 March 1985, lot 29; Sotheby's, London, 1 December 1987, lot 67; Sotheby's, London, 7 December 2004, lot 47.

outer margins within architectural borders), twenty-two calendar miniatures (February leaf missing) attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 (f=full-page):

- f. 1 January: Feasting
- f. 1v January: Aquarius the water-carrier
- f. 3 March: Pruning
- f. 3v March: Aries the ram
- f. 4 April: Making flower wreaths
- f. 4v April: Taurus the bull
- f. 5 May: Riding
- f. 5v May: Gemini, represented as lovers hiding behind a shield
- f. 6 June: Mowing
- f. 6v June: Cancer the crab
- f. 7 July: Binding sheaves and reaping
- f. 7v July: Leo the lion
- f. 8 August: Threshing
- f. 8v August: Virgo the maiden
- f. 9 September: Wine pressing
- f. 9v September: Libra the scales
- f. 10 October: Tilling and sowing
- f. 10v October: Scorpio the scorpion
- f. 11 November: Knocking acorns for pigs
- f. 11v November: Sagittarius the centaur
- f. 12 December: Killing a pig
- f. 12v December: Capricorn the sea-goat, in a wintry landscape
- f. 13 John on Patmos (f)  
The devil battling with the eagle that guards John's inkpot is very similar to the devil painted in the same subject in the Arsenal Hours.
- f. 14 Bishop
- f. 14v Luke
- f. 15 Annunciation to the Virgin
- f. 16 Matthew
- f. 17 Adoration of the Magi
- f. 17v Mark
- f. 18 Ascension
- f. 18v Christ Carrying the Cross (f)
- f. 19 Betrayal of Christ
- f. 20 Arrest of Christ
- f. 21 Accusation of Christ
- f. 22 Christ before Pilate
- f. 23 Scourging of Christ
- f. 24 Christ before the people
- f. 25 Division of Christ's clothes
- f. 26 Christ offered the sponge on the Cross
- f. 27 Entombment
- f. 28 A woman in prayer, wearing a black wimple
- f. 29 Crucifixion (f)  
The composition is very close those in the Copenhagen Hours and the Langres Hours, including the soldiers playing dice for Christ's clothes, a motif deriving from Jean Fouquet (the Hours of Étienne Chevalier).

- f. 32 Pentecost (f)  
The scene is composed with the Virgin Mary in a central position, viewed from the front, with Peter and Paul in the foreground, and John easily recognisable as the young disciple on the right of the Virgin. The Getty *Pentecost* leaf and the *Pentecost* miniature in the Langres Hours provide other examples from the illuminator's early career with such a centralised composition; in later manuscripts, our illuminator preferred to present the scene as viewed from the side (from the right side of the Virgin Mary, showing her in front of the Apostles) until the Hours of Jean de La Rue, when he returned to the centralised composition.
- f. 37 Annunciation to the Virgin (f)  
The predella below the *Annunciation* depicts a scene of the Virgin Mary at her loom. In the beginning of his career (as also found in the Langres Hours), our illuminator included this subject deriving from the apocryphal accounts of the Annunciation, according to which Mary was making a veil for the temple when the angel Gabriel appeared.<sup>3</sup>
- f. 38 Two men praying
- f. 39 Monks singing at a lectern
- f. 40 A man praying, wearing a hood
- f. 41 A crowd praying
- f. 42 A crowd praying
- f. 43 A monk reading from a lectern
- f. 45 Saint Augustine being baptised by Saint Ambrose
- f. 46 A woman praying at a prie-dieu
- f. 47 Visitation (f)
- f. 48 Men praying
- f. 49 Men praying
- f. 51 Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego in the fiery furnace
- f. 52 A crowd praying
- f. 53 A man playing a flute to a crowd
- f. 54 A woman praying to a vision of the Virgin
- f. 55 A man wearing an ermine hat
- f. 56 A woman seeing a vision of God the Father and the Holy Spirit
- f. 57 Nativity (f)
- f. 58 A woman praying to Christ
- f. 59 A man praying to a vision of Christ
- f. 60 A woman praying at a prie-dieu
- f. 61 A shepherd seeing a vision
- f. 62 A man praying
- f. 63 Moses leading the Israelites out of Egypt
- f. 64 A saint about to be beheaded
- f. 65 Adoration of the Magi (f)
- f. 66 Men praying
- f. 68 Men praying
- f. 69 Moses and the Israelites
- f. 70 Two men carrying a huge bunch of grapes
- f. 72 A kneeling man
- f. 73 A man kneeling in front of three angels
- f. 74 The Israelites worshipping the Golden Calf
- f. 75 A monk kneeling before the Virgin and Child
- f. 76 Moses striking a rock to find water

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<sup>3</sup> Freeman 1960, 111.

- f. 77 Coronation of the Virgin (f)
- f. 78 A man in an ermine-trimmed coat
- f. 79 Manna falling from the sky
- f. 80 The Virgin and Child in a mandorla of light
- f. 81 King David in armour on horseback at the head of his troops
- f. 144 Pietà (f)
- f. 152 Baptism of Christ (f)
- f. 152v God the Father enthroned between two angels
- f. 153v Christ supporting the Cross
- f. 154 The Dove of the Holy Spirit
- f. 154v Pietà with Mary Magdalene and John
- f. 156v Michael vanquishing the devil
- f. 157 John the Baptist holding the Lamb
- f. 157v John the Evangelist holding the poisoned chalice
- f. 158 James dressed as a pilgrim
- f. 158v Calling of Peter from his fishing boat
- f. 159 Lawrence holding a gridiron
- f. 159v Sebastian tied to a tree (f)

Saint Sebastian was singled out from the saints in receiving the only full-page miniature. Rather than suggesting that the patron was a man named Sebastian, or a soldier, Sebastian's particular invocation was also related to the saint being commonly venerated against the plague. Outbreaks of the plague persisted in Champagne in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup>

- f. 160v Fiacre digging a trench
- f. 161 Anthony and a pig
- f. 161v Nicholas and three children in a tub
- f. 162 Claude dressed as a bishop
- f. 163 Mary Magdalene with an ointment jar
- f. 163v Catherine and an army of fighting soldiers
- f. 164 Margaret emerging from a dragon
- f. 164v Barbara beside a tower

#### Contents:

- f. 1- Calendar, in French, emphasises Saints Sabinian, Mastidia, Loup
- f. 13- Gospel sequences
- f. 18v- Passion according to John
- f. 29- Hours of the Cross
- f. 32- Hours of the Holy Spirit
- f. 37- Hours of the Virgin, use of Troyes
- f. 83- Penitential Psalms and Litany
- f. 103- Office of the Dead
- f. 144- *Obsecro te*
- f. 149- *O intemerata*
- f. 152- Suffrages of the saints

#### Notes:

In addition to the Matins rubric 'Incipiunt hore beate marie virginis secundum usum tircensis [sic]', the intended use of Troyes is further confirmed by the inclusion of the Troyes saints

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<sup>4</sup> Riffaud-Longquespé 2009, 89.

Sabinian, Mastidia and Loup in the calendar. Saint Fiacre is the only less common illustration of a saint for a French book of hours of this date. He is represented with a spade in reference to the legend according to which on his arrival to France from his native Ireland he was promised as much land for his convent as he could turn up and prepare in one day. Fiacre was a saint venerated in Meaux, the neighbouring diocese to the north-west of Troyes. Thus, perhaps the patron of the manuscript came from a region near the border with the diocese of Meaux, around the area of Sézanne. Interestingly this is also the area of the local veneration of Saint Gond, an image of which the Master of Spencer 6 appears to have painted in the Arsenal Hours, made a decade later, around 1500.

The internal dating of this book of hours is very rare. It has been suggested that the manuscript was prepared as an exemplar or template for a printed edition, and indeed, 1488 was a year of massive production of printed books of hours.<sup>5</sup> In addition to the rare internal date, the exceptional richness of illustration suits the idea of a printed edition, as the use of wood and metal cuts enabled the more economic production of fully illustrated books. One additional detail supports the idea of the manuscript prepared as an exemplar for a printed edition. In the *Annunciation to the Virgin*, the Angel Gabriel approaches the Virgin Mary from the right. Although exceptions occur, Gabriel normally greets Mary from the left. If the manuscript was envisaged as an exemplar, a mirror-image would have been provided as a model for the craftsman who produced the woodcut for the printed edition. An impression made from the woodcut would thus have been orientated correctly: Gabriel arriving from the left. If the manuscript was indeed an exemplar, the various depictions of individuals praying are not specific patron portraits, but provided various possibilities of generic portraits with which any possible buyer could identify. Although the hypothesis is tempting, it has not been possible to confirm whether the manuscript was an exemplar; no edition of a book of hours in the use of Troyes is known to survive from 1488.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Sotheby's, London, 7 Dec. 2004, lot 47.

<sup>6</sup> Bohatta 1924, 56-57.

## 2. The Langres Hours

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. M.271

Book of hours

Use of Langres

c. 1487-1490

129 ff.

Parchment

232 x 158 mm, 1 column, 18 lines, ruled in red ink

Collation: 1-3<sup>6</sup>, 4-5<sup>8</sup>, 6<sup>6</sup>, 7-13<sup>8</sup>, 16-15<sup>6</sup>, 16-17<sup>8</sup>, 18<sup>4+1</sup>

In Latin, calendar and some rubrics in French

Textus quadratus, in brown ink, rubrics in red

Provenance: Made for the unidentified patron, whose arms, *azure 3 bourdons or, in pale 2 and one a scallop shell argent*,<sup>7</sup> are on ff. 5 and 70; purchased by J. P. Morgan from Olschki in 1907.<sup>8</sup>

Initials: 4-line initials in blue decorated with white filigree, infilled with curving ivy vines in red and blue; 2-line and 1-line initials and line-fillers in burnished gold on blue and red backgrounds; line-fillers in colours decorated with white filigree and burnished gold

Borders: Full-page miniatures are within architectural double-compartmented structures, with decorated columns on plinths supporting arches or architraves. Small miniatures are within full floral panel borders of various designs, very similar to those in the Hours of 1488, including zig-zag patterns, fleurs-de-lis, birds, grotesques, flowers, fruit, and acanthus leaves.

Thirteen full-page and forty-six small miniatures attributed to the Master of Spancer 6 (f=full-page):

- f. 1 January: Aquarius, the water-carrier; Feasting
- f. 2 February: Pisces, the fish; Warming by fire
- f. 3 March: Aries, the ram; Pruning
- f. 4 April: Taurus, the bull; Making flower wreaths
- f. 5 May: Gemini, represented as lovers hiding behind a shield; Riding
- f. 6 June: Cancer, the crab; Mowing and stacking hay
- f. 7 July: Leo, the lion; Binding grains into sheaves and reaping
- f. 8 August: Virgo, the maiden; Threshing
- f. 9 September: Libra, the scales held by hand in sky above landscape; Wine pressing
- f. 10 October: Scorpio, the scorpion; Tilling and sowing
- f. 11 November: Sagittarius, the centaur; Knocking acorns for pigs
- f. 12 December: Capricorn, the sea-goat; Killing a pig
- f. 13v John on Patmos (f)  
Predella: Conversion of Aristomedus: John is being offered the poisoned chalice
- f. 15 Luke writing by a lectern; his symbol, the bull, partly faces the viewer, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 16v Matthew writing on a scroll on his knee; his symbol, the youth, looks on, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 17v Mark writing by a lectern; his symbol, the lion, faces the viewer, half-length, 6 lines

<sup>7</sup> I have not been able to identify these arms (in French: *D'azur, à trois bourdons d'or, posés en pal, chargé d'une coquille d'argent*).

<sup>8</sup> Olschki 1908-1909, 80-81, no. 30393.

- f. 19 Annunciation to the Virgin (f)  
The scene takes place in interior with columns with Corinthian capitals, curved recesses, and an arched doorway, beyond which are visible a castle with a carved frieze, and beyond it, a formal garden.  
Predella: Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple: Joachim and Anne viewed in close-up in the left foreground, while Mary climbs the steps of the temple behind them
- f. 28 Visitation (f)  
Predella: Virgin weaving. This subject, here represented with the Virgin Mary at her loom accompanied by two other virgins, is associated with the event of the Visitation also in the locally made and earlier Hours of Charles of France. However, according to the apocryphal accounts (known today) Mary was weaving at the time of the Annunciation. The presence of the other virgins is explained by *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, according to which the chief priests of the temple recruited several virgins to weave a veil, one of whom was Mary.<sup>9</sup>
- f. 42 Adoration of the Magi (f)  
Predella: Journey of the Magi; the Magi are viewed in close-up on horseback, accompanied by other men, holding their hats incorporating crowns in their hands; the inscription VIDENTES STELLAM MAGI GAVISI SVNT GAUDIO VALDE is written on the sky in small capitals in white (comparable to the inscription in the *Shepherds* fragment (cat. no. 5))
- f. 45 Presentation of Christ to the Temple (f)  
Simeon supports the standing Christ Child on a round altar that has five small columns, as in the Getty *Presentation* (cat. no. 4). Simeon is emphasised by the central position and his bishop's mitre surmounted by a cross. As in the Getty *Presentation*, Joseph holds a basket with two turtle-doves, for Mary's Purification. A large congregation witnesses the event.  
Predella: Journey to Jerusalem for the Presentation. The elderly Joseph leads the way and Mary holds the swaddled Christ Child as in the Getty leaf; a handmaiden follows Mary.
- f. 48 Massacre of the Innocents (f)  
Soldiers, dressed in armour of the Roman centurion, approach in a tight group. One grasps the arm of a woman holding a swaddled baby, while another stabs a baby in the neck with his sword.  
Predella: Flight into Egypt, viewed in close-up
- f. 53 Coronation of the Virgin (f)  
Predella: Assumption of the Virgin.
- f. 57 Pietà (f)  
Predella: Entombment. Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus support body of Christ, wrapped in a shroud. Virgin Mary, John, and the three Marys, stand beside.
- f. 61 Pentecost (f)  
Predella: Virgin Mary and a veiled woman appear to discuss with two Apostles; two more Apostles stand by.
- f. 65 Death of Absalom (f)  
Joab pierces with his lance the breast of Absalom, hanging from his hair in tree. Soldiers stand behind Joab. In the Arsenal Hours, this scene is presented in the predella.  
Predella: David in prayer
- f. 81 Job on the dunghill with three companions (f)  
Predella: Obsequies. Priests and acolytes standing in the foreground beside a bier, on which is laid a black cloth embroidered in gold with a cross. Four hooded mourners stand behind the bier. A large congregation is seen behind.

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<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Freeman 1960, 111.

- f. 109 Crucifixion (f)  
Predella: Casting the Lot for Garments
- f. 113 Virgin and Child (f)  
Virgin Mary enthroned, represented as the Apocalyptic Woman with rays emanating from her head and her feet resting on a moon crescent. She holds the Child very centrally on her lap, as in the Bouer Hours. A large group of young angels surround the throne.  
Predella: Augustus and the Prophecy of Sibyl
- f. 117 Trinity, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 118 Michael, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 118v John the Baptist, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 119 John the Evangelist, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 119v Peter and Paul, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 120 James dressed as a pilgrim, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 120v Apostles, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 121 Stephen, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 121v Lawrence; Sebastian, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 122v Mammes, patron saint of Langres, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 123 Nicholas, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 123v Claude, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 124v Anthony, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 125 Mary Magdalene, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 125v Catherine, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 126 Margaret, half-length, 6 lines
- f. 126v Barbara, half-length, 6 lines

## Contents (misbound):

- ff. 1-12v Calendar, including Saints Didier (Dizier, Desiderius) bishop of Langres in the fifth century (23 May) and Mammas (Mammes), patron saint of Langres (17 August and 10 October)
- ff. 13v-18v Gospel sequences
- ff. 19-56v Hours of the Virgin (lacking the end of Lauds)
- f. 57r-v *Obsecro te* (lacking the end)
- f. 58 blank
- ff. 58v-60v Hours of the Cross (lacking the beginning)
- ff. 61-64 Hours of the Holy Spirit
- ff. 65-74v Penitential Psalms
- ff. 75-79 Litany, including Saints Didier and Mammas
- ff. 79v-80v Prayers
- ff. 81-108 Office of the Dead (use of Langres)
- f. 109-v Hours of the Cross
- ff. 110-112v *Obsecro te, Salve regina* (masculine forms)
- ff. 113-116 *O intemerata* (masculine forms)
- f. 116-v *Inviolata integra et casta*, prayer in verse
- ff. 117-118 Suffrages to the Trinity
- ff. 118-127v Suffrages to the saints: Michael, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Peter and Paul, James, the Apostles, Stephen, Lawrence, Sebastian, Mammes, Nicholas, Claude, Anthony, Mary Magdalene, Catherine, Margaret, Barbara, Apollonia

## Notes:

This book of hours was made for an unidentified patron, whose arms, *azure 3 bourdons or, in pale 2 and one a scallop shell argent*, are found on the shield held by the Gemini in the month of May in the calendar, as in the Bouer Hours, and in one of the borders (ff. 5, 70). Perhaps the patron was somehow related to the individual who commissioned a baptismal font around 1500 (as judged by its style) in the church of Vandelicourt, near Compiègne, decorated with the arms with 'une coquille sur trois batons de pèlerin'.<sup>10</sup> As the colours no longer survive on the baptismal font, the identification cannot be made with certainty.

The manuscript is stylistically, iconographically and codicologically very similar to the Hours of 1488, made for a patron in the neighbouring diocese. While it is possible that the Hours of 1488 was made for a member of the same family, as it includes border decoration with pilgrims' staves and scallop shells (f. 158), they might in the Hours of 1488 simply be general decorative motifs.

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<sup>10</sup> Gallois 1902, 166.

### 3. The Venice Hours<sup>11</sup>

Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Lat. I. 70 (2898)

Book of Hours

Use of Troyes (Prime Ant.: *Ave Maria*, Cap. *Hec est virgo sacra*, None Ant.: *Ortus conclusus*, Cap. *Per te Dei genitrix*)<sup>12</sup>

c. 1487-1490

200 ff.

Parchment

170 x 120 mm, written space: 85 x 60 mm, 1 column, ruled in faint pink

In Latin, calendar in French

Textus quadratus, brown ink, rubrics in red

Initials: 4-line initials in blue decorated with white filigree, infilled with curving ivy vines in red and blue; 2-line and 1-line initials and line-fillers in burnished gold on blue and red backgrounds

Borders: Narrow bars in burnished gold, decorated with ivy vines, surround miniatures in arched compartments. Beyond the bar, full decorated borders on liquid gold background: acanthus leaves in blue and red, butterflies, flowers, strawberries, birds, grotesques.

Fourteen full-page miniatures and one historiated initial attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

f. 13 John on Patmos

John kneeling, writing a scroll on his knee, eagle flying to him, while rays of gold descend from Heaven. Water was decorated in horizontal lines in silver that has now oxidated into grey. In the background, another small rocky island with a tree is seen against the diluted blue landscape of hills. Figure of John is small, with facial features drawn in narrow black lines.

f. 21 Crucifixion

Mary on the left, John on the right, the letters INRI inscribed on the cross, moon crescent on the left, star on the right

f. 26 Pentecost

Side-view: Mary at the front, facing right, all Apostles behind her, John depicted with orange-blond hair, and Peter raising his hands in astonishment

f. 33 Annunciation to the Virgin

Mary under pink canopy, clad in a dress and cloak painted in one tone of blue, Gabriel on the left, dressed in a dalmatic in gold over white robes.

f. 48v Visitation

Elizabeth depicted wearing a turban with a piece of fabric left loose at the back, as found in the Bouer *Visitation*

f. 63 Nativity

The miniature is of slightly better quality than those before; it appears as if the artist got better as he went along. The modelling of Mary's facial features is more careful than in the *Annunciation* and *Visitation*, with shadows now applied for eyelids, nose, mouth, chin and neck.

f. 71 Annunciation to the Shepherds

<sup>11</sup> I am grateful to François Avril for bringing this manuscript to my attention and sharing with me the notes he had made of the manuscript in 1984 and 2006, ahead of my examination of the manuscript in the Biblioteca Marciana in 2011.

<sup>12</sup> The same antiphons and capitula are also found in the use of Sens, but given the various Troyes saints in the calendar, it is more likely that the manuscript was prepared for the diocese of Troyes.

- f. 76 Adoration of the Magi  
The crowns worn over hats by the Magi are very similar to those in the Bouer Hours.
- f. 81v Presentation at the Temple  
Simeon holding Christ above a small round altar with four miniature pillars, similar to the *Presentations* in the Langres Hours and the Getty leaves.
- f. 86v Massacre of the Innocents  
One soldier in the foreground holds a baby by its neck and pierces the neck with his sword. Another soldier is rushing after a mother, of whom only the back of the dress is seen.
- f. 95 Coronation of the Virgin  
Unusually the Virgin is depicted kneeling in profile on the left, while the enthroned God the Father places a crown on her head (typically the Master of Spencer 6 chose to show Christ and the Virgin enthroned in the *Coronation*). God the Father is depicted grey haired and bearded, holding a globus cruciger.
- f. 104 David and Bathsheba
- f. 128 Job on the dunghill with his companions
- f. 187 Virgin and Child on a moon crescent
- f. 192 4-line historiated initial with the Virgin and Child in half-view

## Contents:

- f. 1-12v Calendar, including Saints Savinian, Nicier, Vinebaut, Hoylde, Mastie (in red), Loup (both 10 May and 29 July), Fale, Potentienne, Urbain, Lyé, Gaon, Syre, Thiebaut, Tanche, Lupian
- f. 13-19 Gospel sequences
- f. 20v blank
- f. 21-25v Hours of the Cross
- f. 26-31 Hours of the Holy Spirit
- f. 32v blank
- f. 33-102 Hours of the Virgin (ff. 37, 62v blank)
- f. 103 blank
- f. 104-127v Penitential Psalms and Litany
- f. 128-186v Office of the Dead
- f. 187-191v *Obsecro te* (masculin forms ‘...*famulo tuo*’)
- f. 192-196v *O intemerata*
- f. 197-200v Suffrages: Sebastian, Anthony, Catherine, Margaret, Barbara, All Saints

## Notes:

This is a small and rather modest manuscript that remains hitherto little known.<sup>13</sup> The miniatures appear to reveal a hesitant, inexperienced illuminator, or a commission fulfilled in haste. Anatomical representation is particularly poor, as observed, for instance, in the entirely misjudged Bathsheba’s right arm, and Christ’s forearms in the *Crucifixion*. Compositions are very summary in nature, comprising only the main protagonists, due partly to the small size of the volume, and perhaps for other part to haste and low payment. The manuscript was made for a patron in the diocese of Troyes, probably around the same time as the Hours of 1488, the Langres Hours and the Moscow Hours. The initials and the textus quadratus script are similar to those found in the Langres and Moscow Hours.

The choice to illustrate the Penitential psalms with *Bathsheba Bathing* is unusual in the context of the early repertoire of the Master of Spencer 6. In his later manuscripts it is found for

<sup>13</sup> Previously described in Valentinelli 1868-1873, I, 311-312.

instance in the Spencer Hours and the Geneva Hours. Perhaps a male patron requested it here, as elsewhere the illuminator tended to choose *David in prayer* or *David killing Goliath* to open the Penitential Psalms.

The low quality and the slightly weaker figure types of this manuscript make the attribution problematic. The figures are painted roughly, with either little care or skill. However, various elements persuade the linking of this manuscript to the Spencer œuvre. One of these is the anatomy of the nude male figure of Job, close to that of Christ in *Les Sept articles de la foi*. Also, the illuminator hid the feet of the figures, which was typical treatment by the Master of Spencer 6, and painted his tell-tale squiggle of a cloud on a number of the miniatures. It seems likely that the Master of Spencer 6 painted the manuscript early in his career and executed it in a hurry.

#### 4. The Getty leaves<sup>14</sup>

Five fragments from a book of hours

Los Angeles, The Getty Research Institute, Special Collections, 920003\*

c. 1487-1490

Parchment

200 x 152 mm, 1 column, 18 lines, ruled in red ink

In Latin

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in red

Initials: 4-line initials in blue or red, decorated with white filigree, infilled with curving ivy vines in red and blue, on burnished gold backgrounds; these begin incipits of five lines of text on white cartouches (except on the miniature *Three Living and Three Dead*, where there is no initial and only two lines of text, written in blue ink and by a different hand); 2- and 1-line initials in burnished gold on blue and red backgrounds; line-fillers in burnished gold, blue and red

Borders: architectural classicising borders in two compartments; columns supporting angels, soldiers and skeletons draped in shrouds; capitals decorated in foliage or animal forms; falling swags

Five fragment leaves with full-page miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

- 1 Presentation at the Temple  
Predella: divided in two. On the left: Joseph purchasing two turtle-doves to be sacrificed for the Purification of the Virgin Mary; on the right: approaching the Temple with Joseph leading the way, Mary carries the swaddled Christ Child as in the Langres Hours; here, several handmaidens follow
- 2 Massacre of the Innocents  
Predella: Flight into Egypt
- 3 Pentecost  
Predella: Virgin Mary amongst Apostles
- 4 Three Living and Three Dead  
The motif of the three skeletons draped in white shrouds is inspired by the same scene in the *Très riches heures*, drawn by the Limbourg brothers, and completed in colours by Jean Colombe.  
Predella: Raising of Lazarus
- 5 Baptism of Christ  
Predella: Ascension of Christ

Notes:

Myra Orth discovered these fragmentary miniatures in a printed book in 1994, and François Avril subsequently attributed them to the workshop of the Master of Spencer 6.<sup>15</sup> The fragments remain inserted in a copy of John Westwood's *Sketches and Proofs for Illuminated Illustrations of the Bible: Copied from Select Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (London, 1846). An inscription by Westwood on the second flyleaf informs that this annotated volume was his own 'large paper copy' of the publication.

Judging by their style, the leaves belong to the early career of the Master of Spencer 6. Compositions and technical details also associate them with the later Spencer manuscripts, thus

<sup>14</sup> I have not been able to consult the leaves in person, and I am particularly grateful to Lois White at the Getty Research Institute for having sent me images of them.

<sup>15</sup> Unpublished communications.

supporting the argument that they are by the same illuminator. For example, the faces of the angels, represented on top of columns, were painted in silver, which in time has oxidized and turned black. The same deterioration of angels' faces happened in the copy of *Les Sept article de la foi*, seemingly painted two decades later. Also the unrealistically muscular body of Christ, with a particularly narrow waist, is nearly identical in these two manuscripts.

The five fragments derive from the same book of hours, once opening texts for the Hours of None and Vespers in the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the Office of Dead and the Suffrages to the Holy Trinity. Another leaf from the same manuscript, originally opening the Hour of Terce in the Hours of the Virgin, is described below (cat. no. 5).

## 5. The *Shepherds* fragment<sup>16</sup>

A single leaf from a book of hours: *Annunciation to the Shepherds*

Unknown location

c. 1487-1490

190 x 128 mm, 1 column, 18 lines, ruled in red ink

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in red

Provenance: the fragment derives from the same manuscript as the leaves described above (cat. no. 4); it formed part of a large Alsatian private collection of Mr. Forrer in the early twentieth century

Initial: 4-line initial decorated with white filigree, infilled with curving ivy vines, on burnished a gold background; begins the incipit of five lines of text on a white cartouche

Border: architectural classicising border in two compartments; columns supporting shepherds; capitals decorated in foliage; falling swags

One fragment leaf with a full-page miniature attributed to the Master of Spencer 6

Notes:

A comparison of the cartouches holding the incipits, placed on top of the miniatures, clearly suggests that this single leaf originates from the same manuscript as the five Getty leaves. The spacing of the words, the script, the characteristics of the hand, the initial and line-filler style and the manner in which the curling cartouches are painted, are all identical. As the Getty leaves, the *Shepherds* miniature also is divided into two levels, including a main miniature and a predella. Furthermore, figures - here shepherds making music - were placed on top of the columns, as in the Getty leaves, and similarly, classicising swags of fruit and flowers are represented falling into the side margins.

The miniature would have once opened the Hour of Terce in the Hours of the Virgin. The main miniature represents five shepherds receiving the news of great joy from a group of angels shown in a cloud above. The words, ANV(N)CIO VOBIS GAVDIV(M) MAGNV(M), are written vertically (literally descending from Heaven), in small capitals inscribed directly on the image in a comparable manner to the inscriptions in the Langres Hours. Four shepherds kneel in a circle in the foreground, while one other stands behind and shields his eyes from the glory of the angels. The shepherds' sheep dog lies in the foreground, while their herd of sheep form a tight group behind them. Seemingly, a fortified French city is represented in the background. In the predella, the shepherds are shown making their way to Bethlehem.

Although when the fragment was published in 1907, it was described as southern French,<sup>17</sup> it is in the distinctive style of the Master of Spencer 6 from the early part of his career, probably made for a Champagne (or Bourges) patron.

<sup>16</sup> I have not seen this fragment and have described it based on Forrer 1907, 13, pl. XLVIII.

<sup>17</sup> Forrer 1907, 13.

## 6. The Moscow Hours<sup>18</sup>

Moscow, The National Library of Russia, ms. f. 183, n° 1912

Book of hours

Use of Bourges

c. 1490-1500

197 ff.

Parchment

165 x 120 mm, written space 85 x 58 mm, 1 column, 13 lines, ruled in red ink

Collation: 1<sup>7</sup>, 2<sup>6</sup>, 3-14<sup>8</sup>, 15<sup>4</sup>, 16-24<sup>8</sup>, 25<sup>7</sup>, 26<sup>5</sup>

In Latin, calendar in French

Textus quadratus, brown ink

Provenance: Catherine Chenaye in '1607' (inscription on flyleaf); one (name illegible) *curé* of St. Martin (?) in '1707' (inscription on flyleaf); Conti in '1708' (inscription inside front cover); François-Marin Demougé, Strasbourg senator in '1790' (inscription on flyleaf); Marquis of Fontenay (bookplate on flyleaf); before 1914: Hermitage, St. Petersburg (shelf mark 'Ms 27' on f. 1; presumably from the library of Empress Alexandra Feodorovna in the Cottage Palace, Peterhof); The National Library of Russia since 1937

Initials: 4- and 3-line initials in blue or red decorated with white filigree, infilled with curving ivy vines in red and blue; 2-line and 1-line initials and line-fillers in burnished gold on blue and red backgrounds

Borders: A mixture of architectural borders (in two compartments, some decorated with falling flower swags) and decorative floral borders (including fruit, animals, and grotesques). In the calendar, parchment strips with foliate decoration were pasted onto the outer margins of all the pages on the recto side.

Twelve full-page miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

- f. 14 John on Patmos
- f. 22 Annunciation to the Virgin
- f. 46v Visitation
- f. 62 Nativity
- f. 70 Annunciation to the Shepherds
- f. 76 Adoration of the Magi
- f. 81v Presentation of Christ in the Temple
- f. 86v Flight into Egypt
- f. 95 Coronation of the Virgin
- f. 107 Pentecost
- f. 114 David and Goliath
- f. 135v Job on the dunghill with his companions

Contents:

- ff. 2-13v Calendar, in French, with many saints and feasts of central France, including Bourges (Dedication Saint Etienne 5 May, Ursin 30 December) and Meaux (Faro 28 October, Fiacre 30 August, Fare 7 December).

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<sup>18</sup> I have not been able to consult the manuscript, and I am particularly grateful to Yekaterina Zolotova for generously sharing her notes with me; this description is based on them and the recent description made by Inna Mokretsova and Ludmila Schegoleva, as well as on published images; see Zolotova 1991, pls. 17-21; Mokretsova and Schegoleva 2010, 341, no. 121, [unnumbered colour plate].

ff. 14-21	Gospel sequences
ff. 22-101	Hours of the Virgin
ff. 101-106v	Hours of the Cross
ff. 107-111v	Hours of the Holy Spirit
ff. 112-113	blank
ff. 114-130	Penitential Psalms
ff. 130-135	Litany with accompanying prayers
ff. 135v-210v	Office of the Dead
ff. 211-215	<i>Obsecro te</i> (beginning imperfect), masculine forms
ff. 215-217	Prayers to the Virgin ( <i>Salve regina misericordie, Ave regina celorum, Regina celi letare</i> ), and to Christ ( <i>Concede nos famulos tuus; Interveniatur pro nobis quaesumus domine</i> )

## 7. The Paris *Troye*

Paris, BnF, N.a.f. 24920

Aymar de Poitiers' copy of *Histoire de la destruction de Troye la grand* by Guido delle Collonne

c. 1493-1498

55 ff. (lacking three leaves, one of which is in an unknown location and the other two are today Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Kdz. 4645-4646)

Parchment

510 x 340 mm, 2 columns, 44 lines, ruled in red ink

In French

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in red

Provenance: Probably owned by Aymar de Poitiers, Count of Saint-Vallier and *grand seneschal* of Province; the de Poitiers arms are found on ff. 1v and 7: *d'azur chargé de six besants d'argent posés 3, 2, 1 au chef d'or*; the inscription 'Ce luvre est a moy. Faict a Ennet le ix de may 1566' behind the frontispiece shows the manuscript had passed to the library of Aymar de Poitiers' granddaughter, Diane de Poitiers, the mistress of Henry II. The inscription was made on the occasion of the division of Diana's books in her castle of Anet, some days after her death on 22 April 1566.<sup>19</sup>

One full-page miniature, six small column miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:<sup>20</sup>

f. 37 The Arrival of Pyrrhus

f. 38 Death of Penthesilea

Penthesilea, fighting on the side of Troy's defenders, has managed strike the side of Pyrrhus (or *Pirrus* in the French fifteenth-century orthography) with her lance. What remains of the lance is sticking from the bleeding wound. This appears to be an error in the manuscript: Penthesilea fought Achilles, not Pyrrhus who was the son of Achilles. The Myrmidons, represented by the illuminator as small warriors surrounding the Amazonian queen like ants (and thus seemingly referring to the etymology of their name, 'ant-people'), help their king by making his opponent fall and by taking off her helmet, thus exposing her for a final deathly blow. Some versions of the myth narrate that Achilles regretted once he saw the face of the warrior he had killed; the text in this manuscript only counts that he fainted from exhaustion.<sup>21</sup>

The landscape filling half the picture space is typical of manuscripts made in the Colombe shop. The simple seascape is characterised by a port, a city within its walls and a castle on a hill. The distant horizon and the hazy-line of mountains are painted in diluted blues.

f. 39v Priam and Amphinachus (unfinished)

f. 41v The Trojan Horse (unfinished)

The Master of Spencer 6 painted the upper part of the miniature, representing the fortified city of Troy. He has applied the first layer of colours, but not yet details. Colour was added in a thicker and smoother manner than on the pages attributed to Philibert and François Colombe. The Spencer Master did not, however, draw the miniature. The drawing visible in the lower part of the miniature, which was never finished with colours, is detailed and the figures and the magnificent horse are not in his style.

f. 45 The Argument between Ulysses and Ajax

f. 47 Orestes and his army ready to depart on campaign

<sup>19</sup> Delisle, 1868-1881, I, 188-189; Porcher 1946; Jacob 2012, 91-92.

<sup>20</sup> For a facsimile and commentary of the manuscript, see Thomas 1973; see also particularly Avril and Reynaud 1993, 336-38, no. 186 and Jacob 2012, 56-59.

<sup>21</sup> Thomas 1973, 88.

- f. 47v Orestes kills his mother Clytemnestra (as a revenge for killing his father Agamemnon, after first torturing her by slicing her breasts with his sword)
- f. 52v Menelaus chasing Andromache and her son Achilleides with a sword  
Andromache escapes to the streets where she calls for help from the people of the city. Close affinities can be found in the compositions and motifs between this miniature and the religious imagery of the Master of Spencer 6, particularly the *Journey of the Holy Family for the Presentation of Christ in the Temple* and the *Massacre of the Innocents*. The child is waddled tightly in white cloth fastened with red ribbons.

In addition, there are fourteen full-page miniatures and fifty-two small column miniatures (and a large number of decorated initials of different sizes, and line-fillers, in colours and gold) painted by François Colombe (as identified by his signature), probably together with his brother Philibert Colombe, and possibly with some assistants. In total, twenty full-page miniatures and sixty-three column miniatures were planned.<sup>22</sup>

#### Notes:

The Trojan War from Greek mythology, based mainly on Homer, became popular in the High Middle Ages through the twelfth-century *Roman de Troie* of Benoît of Saint-Maure and the thirteenth-century *Historia Destructionis Troiae* of Guido delle Collonne. This copy of the *Histoire de la destruction de Troie la grant* is a late adaptation of Guido's work in French, emphasising the Trojan lineage of the French kings.<sup>23</sup> In late medieval France the Trojan myth became a useful political tool by its capacity to root national solidarity.<sup>24</sup> The Trojan heroes were soldiers and thus provided a powerful chivalric ideal for the French army; while the myth of Troy was used to justify French wars both in the Holy Land and in Italy (1494-98).<sup>25</sup> The Trojan origin of France was to be found everywhere in literature and 'there was hardly a noble who had not been allotted his own Trojan ancestor'.<sup>26</sup>

As the miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 are in the last part of the manuscript, he may have been engaged only at a late stage of its making. However, this is not necessarily the case, since manuscripts were not always illuminated in order. In fact, as the commission was very substantial, it would have been likely that gatherings or bifolia were divided between different illuminators, as is indeed indicated by the visual evidence. In any case, and for an unknown reason, the book remained unfinished.

Although the manuscript has previously been dated to around 1500, particularly by virtue of its Italianate Renaissance forms, the style of the figures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 are close to those in the Hours of 1488 and would suggest it was painted earlier, perhaps around 1495.

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<sup>22</sup> Jacob 2012, 58.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas 1973, 8.

<sup>24</sup> Beaune 1991, 226.

<sup>25</sup> Beaune 1991, 234, 239, 241.

<sup>26</sup> Beaune 1991, 226.

8. *Fleur des histoires*

Paris, BnF, fr. 53 (former shelfmark: Anc. 6733)

c. 1493-1500

342 ff.

Parchment

565 x 340 mm, 2 columns, 57 lines

In French

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink

Provanance: the coat of arms of Louis Malet de Gravelle, Admiral of France, in various borders (*d'azur à trois sautoirs d'or, au chef d'or chargé de trois sautoirs d'azur*)

Illumination was planned on 87 pages, out of which only 69 were finished.<sup>27</sup>

Two large miniatures and thirty-one borders with miniatures attributed, at least partially, to the Master of Spencer 6 (L=Large):

- f. 52 Samnites army; Campanians sent to Rome; Romans riding; Attack on the Samnites camp by the Romans
- f. 55v Decius Mus and Manlius Torquatus; Decius Mus mounting his horse; Battle of Veseris
- f. 130 Siege of Apollonia; Battle of Apollonia; Philippe V of Macedonia burning his fleet
- f. 131v Romans discussing; Roman army; Claudius Marcellus; Capture of Taranto
- f. 133v Battle of Herdonia; Siege of Capua; Claudius Marcellus and Syracusan
- f. 135v Battle between Romans and Carthaginians (L); Horsemen; Battle between Romans and Carthaginians
- f. 138 Siege of Rome; Carthaginians outside Rome; Siege of Rome; The surrender of Capua
- f. 139v Claudius Nero and Hasdrubal Barca; Roman fleet; Claudius Marcellus and Romans
- f. 142 Romans financing the war effort; Siege of Carthage
- f. 143v Scipio the African and the wife of Mandonius; Scipio the African and Aluccius; Romans jousting
- f. 145v Battle of Canusium; Camp of Hannibal in Canusium; Hannibal and his army
- f. 147v Hannibal and messengers; Carthaginian army; Siege of Locri
- f. 149v Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator; Roman army; Battle of the Metaurus
- f. 151v Roman army [?]; Battle of Ilipa; Surrendering of a Spanish city to Scipio the African
- f. 153v Revolt of Roman soldiers; Scipio the African hearing about the revolt of his troops
- f. 156 Scipio the African and Fabius Verrucosus; Roman army; Roman fleet
- f. 160 Scipio the African and messenger of Syphax; Messenger of Syphax riding; African expedition
- f. 161v Camp of Scipio the African near Utica; Battle of Salaeca; Siege of Utica
- f. 162v Battle of Utica; Roman army (L); Scipio the African and Syphax prisoner
- f. 165v Spy of Hannibal prisoner; Scipio the African and Hannibal; Battle of Zama
- f. 167v Carthaginian messenger; Council of the Carthaginians; Scipio the African leaving Africa
- f. 170 Roman messenger horseriding; Messenger of Vermina in Rome; Arrival of Attalus I in Athens
- f. 171v Capture of Antipatreia; Surrender of Codrion; Athenagoras attacking Apustius; Apustius bringing the plunder; Allegiance to Sulpicius Galba
- f. 174v Romans sacrificing; Carthaginian paying tributes to Romans; Philip V of Macedon setting up his camp; Macedonians entering a city; Romans observing the Macedonian camp; Battle between Romans and Gallic

<sup>27</sup> For this manuscript, see particularly Jacob 2012, 59-61 and Avril and Reynaud 1993, 327, 334, 338.

- f. 177 Surrender of Opus; Philip V of Macedon and Flamininus; Macedonian messengers; Macedonian messengers in Rome; Flamininus and Nabis
- f. 179 Triumph of Minucius Thermus; Cato the Elder begged by the Ilergetes; Battle between Romans and Spaniards; Plundering of the Spaniard camp; Romans and Spaniard prisoners
- f. 181 Escape of Nabis; Taking of Sparta
- f. 183 Battle of Ilipa; Romans entering in Pisa; Battle of Pisa; Cornelius Merula and prisoners (unfinished)
- f. 185 Battle of Barbothes; Roman messengers; Council of Aetolians; Aetolians walking on Demetrias; Murder of Nabis (unfinished)
- f. 186v Battle of Delium
- f. 188v Roman fleet; Surrender of a Greek city to Acilius Glabrio; Battle of Thermopylae

In addition, Philibert (and possibly François) Colombe appears to have painted the miniatures until f. 130 (except on ff. 52 and 55v) and on f. 157v (Battle between Romans and Carthaginians; Council of the Carthaginians; Carthaginian army).

#### Contents:

- f. 1 'Une chascune personne qui raison a et entendement...'
- f. 342v '... octroyer le Pere et le Filz et le Saint Esprit. Amen'

#### Notes:

This manuscript on the history of ancient Romans, contemporary with the Paris *Troye*, appears to have been illuminated in the late Colombe workshop for the Admiral of France, Louis Malet de Graville, as indicated by his coat of arms painted in a number of the borders.<sup>28</sup> François Avril and Marie Jacob have identified the hand of the Master of Spencer 6 appearing on ff. 52 and 55v, and then painting all illumination from f. 130 onwards except on f. 157v.<sup>29</sup> However, although the faces of the figures on most of these pages identify the hand of the Master of Spencer 6, he did not draw the miniatures, as is indicated, for instance, by the manner in which the horses on ff. 52 and 162v were conceived, closely resembling those in the Paris *Troye* that were most probably drawn and painted by Philibert Colombe. That he was perhaps painting on top of Colombe's drawings, would explain instances such as the wife of Mandonius and the women represented behind her on f. 143v that are very remote from the types attributed to the Master of Spencer 6, but instead belong in the canon of the Colombe workshop. Yet, on one hand, the face of Scipio in the same image seems to reassure that the hand of the Master of Spencer 6 was present. On the other hand, some of the faces in the miniatures, such as those of the Roman soldiers on f. 162v, appear considerably different from the figure types of the Master of Spencer 6. The attribution of these miniatures remains problematic at the present, leaving open the possibilities that another hand was involved, or that the Master of Spencer 6 painted differently as he was following an underdrawing, or that he was only finishing these miniatures, out of which some had already been partially painted by Philibert Colombe or another illuminator.

Seventeen miniatures at the end of the volume were drawn, but two of them were only partially painted, and fifteen were left blank. It remains unknown why the illumination of the manuscript, like that of the Paris *Troye*, was left unfinished.

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<sup>28</sup> Jacob 2012, 61.

<sup>29</sup> Avril 1993, 338; Jacob 2012, 60.

## 9. The Chantilly Monstrelet

Chantilly, Musée Conde, ms. 875 (former shelfmark: ms. 321)

*Chroniques* by Enguerrand de Monstrelet

c. 1493-1500

343 ff.

Parchment

412 x 297 mm, 2 columns, 40 lines

In French

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink

Provenance: no. 123 in the book inventory of August 1793 at Josset de Saint-Laurent; hôtel de Condé, 1654.

Initial: large decorated initials in colours painted until f. 145

One large miniature attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 depicting the madness of Charles VI: the king on horseback attacking one of his lords with a hunting spear.<sup>30</sup>

Contents:

- f. 1 'Prohesme de ce present livre. Extrait des hystores et cronicques faittes par noble homme maistre Enguerran de Monstrelet...'<sup>31</sup>
- f. 343 'Cy fine le premier livre que fist maistre Enguerran de Monstrelé en son temps, lequel fut du tout grossé et paracomply ou mois de decembre mil CCCC et XLVI, et contient deux cens et soixante huit chapitres, dont la plus grant partie sont en double, parlant de diverses matières'

Notes:

The decoration of this copy of the first book of Enguerrand de Monstrelet's *Chroniques*, as told until 1422, was left unfinished and includes only one miniature, the *Madness of Charles VI*, at the beginning of the text. The figures are in the style the Master of Spencer 6, with effortlessly drawn features modelled in black. The anxious downward mouths of Charles VI's courtiers echo those of male saints in some of his devotional manuscripts. The horses have decorated harnesses in the style of those found in other manuscripts attributed to the Master of Spencer 6. Nevertheless, the style of the miniature remains rather generic and shows little individuality.

<sup>30</sup> Attributed initially by Nicole Reynaud (Avril and Reynaud 1993, 338); the miniature is reproduced in Vergne 1995, 289.

<sup>31</sup> The text of the manuscript is that published in Paris in 1571 and 1572 by Jean Le Blanc for Guillaume Chaudière.

## 10. The Rose Hours

Paris, BnF, lat. 10560 (former shelfmark: supplément latin 1162)

Book of Hours

Use of Rome (Prime Ant.: *Assumpta est*, Cap. -, None Ant.: *Pulchra es*, Cap. -)

c. 1490-1500

117 ff.

Parchment

160 x 105 mm, 1 column, ruled in red ink

In Latin, calendar in French

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in red

Provenance: coat of arms: *palé d'argent et de gueules à la bande d'or brochant sur le tout, chargée de trois cousins d'azur surchargés chacun d'une étoile d'or* on f. 15v

Initials: rudimentary cartouches with incipits on top of the miniatures; 1-line initials in gold on coloured grounds

Borders: simple architectural borders on miniature pages

Thirteen full-page and two small miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:<sup>32</sup>

f. 11v Virgin and Child, 9 lines

f. 16 Saint Rose

f. 17 Saint John, 9 lines

f. 20 Annunciation to the Virgin

f. 34v Visitation

f. 43 Nativity

f. 46v Annunciation to the Shepherds

f. 49v Adoration of the Magi

f. 52v Rest of the Holy Family during the Flight into Egypt

Joseph reaching for the branches to gather berries, while the Virgin is seated on the ground holding the Christ Child.

f. 55v Massacre of the Innocents

f. 61 Coronation of the Virgin

Only the figures of Christ (blessing) and the Virgin Mary (kneeling on the left) are represented, according to the pictorial tradition in Bourges.

f. 71 Patron portrait

A lady kneeling in prayer, clad in a brown woollen dress lined with brown miniver fur, with a square neckline collar. Strands of her blond hair escape under her black hood. Saints Mary Magdalene (holding an ointment jar), Rose (wearing a flower wreath in her hair), John the Baptist (clad in a hair shirt), and the Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child in her arms, stand behind her.

f. 73 Pentecost

f. 79 David and Goliath

Young David beside Goliath, who has fallen to his knees on the ground in the foreground, as in the Moscow Hours.

f. 94 Job on the dunghill with his companions

<sup>32</sup> Attributed initially by Nicole Reynaud (Avril and Reynaud 1993, 345); for this manuscript, see also Leroquais 1927, II, 21-22.

## Contents:

- ff. 1-6v Calendar in French, including Guillaume (10 January) and Ypolite (13 August)  
 ff. 7- *Obsecro te* (female forms: ...*indigna famula tua*)  
 ff. 9v- *O intemerata*  
 ff. 11v- *Doulce dame de misericorde*  
 ff. 16- *Sancte Rose* (begins under the miniature)  
 ff. 17- Gospel sequences  
 ff. 20- Hours of the Virgin  
 ff. 69- Office of the Virgin  
 ff. 71- Hours of the Cross  
 ff. 73- Hours of the Holy Spirit  
 ff. 79- Penitential Psalms  
 ff. 94- Office of the Dead

## Notes:

This manuscript with miniatures of rather mediocre quality appears to have been prepared for a woman called Rose, represented with her patron saint. A prayer to Saint Rose was also added on ff. 16-16v (rubric: *Antene de sancte Rose*):<sup>33</sup>

'O Rosa vernans dulcis et a  
 maria virgo q[ue] prudens sp[eci]osa  
 veri dei exaudi preces misere  
 mei ora pro nobis caritate ple  
 na. Vora pro nobis beata ro  
 sa ut digiri effici amur pro  
 missionibus cristi.  
 Exaudi domini preces  
 populi tui eu intercedente  
 beata rosa virgine tua et  
 a prescutibus periculis e  
 ruannir et ad vitam per  
 vemannis eternam. Per  
 dominum n[ost]r[u]m i[e]h[esu]m cri  
 stum filium tuum qui tecu[m]  
 vuut et regnat umtate  
 sp[irit]us sancti deus per Omnia  
 secula seculorum amen.'

These miniatures and the prayer are integral to the quire structure, and were therefore planned from the conception of the manuscript.

Relatively shortly after the manuscript was made, five to ten years later at most, a male patron, a member of the Order of Saint Michael (founded by Louis XI in 1469) appears to have acquired the book. This new owner had his arms, surrounded by the collar of the Order, painted onto the blank space at the end of the prayer *Doulce dame* on f. 15v. I have not been able to identify the arms, *palé d'argent et de gueules à la bande d'or brochant sur le tout, chargée de trois coussins d'azur surchargés chacun d'une étoile d'or*,<sup>34</sup> but their form indicates that they were painted to the manuscript before 1505; after this date, during the reign of Francis I, the collar of the Order changed.

<sup>33</sup> The prayer is not included in Rézeau 1983.

<sup>34</sup> They are not listed in d'Hozier 1998.

### 11. Etienne Lallemand's copy of Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*<sup>35</sup>

Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, ms. F. 171b

c. 1490-1500

131 ff.

Parchment

185 x 123 mm, written space 124 x 70 mm, 1 column, ruled in red

Catchwords

In Latin

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in red

Provenance: 'Ex libris Stephani Lalemant' according to Schnorr von Carolsfeld (Schnorr von Carolsfeld 1882, I, 416, no. 171<sup>b</sup>) - this inscription is no longer readable due to the water damage the manuscript suffered during the firebombing of Dresden in World War II

Initials: A single, large initial in blue and red on f. 3v. 2-line initials alternating in blue and red.

Borders: thin gilt bar borders

Twenty-two small (c. 39 x 41 mm) rectangular miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 (in total, 102 small miniatures were planned, but only the first twenty-six were painted; the rest of the rectangular borders remain empty):

- f. 6v [Eve, the first woman created by God; no image available]<sup>36</sup>
- f. 7 Semiramis, queen of the Assyrians, represented as a queen in armour
- f. 10v Ceres, goddess of the harvest and queen of Sicily, represented with oxen
- f. 12 Minerva, goddess of wisdom, holding a shield and a lance
- f. 13v Venus, queen of Cyprus, depicted standing in a landscape, wearing a long dress and a headdress
- f. 14v Isis, queen and goddess of Egypt, represented at her writing desk in a palace
- f. 15v Europa, queen of Crete, depicted in a galley with a white bull
- f. 16v Libya, queen of Libya, represented standing in a landscape in front of a large castle
- f. 17 Marpesia and Lampedo, queens of the Amazons, depicted in armour
- f. 18 Thisbe, a Babylonian maiden, represented beside the dying Pyramus
- f. 19v Hypermnestra, queen of the Argives and priestess of Juno, represented as a queen enthroned
- f. 21v Niobe, queen of Thebes, mourning beside a four-poster bed
- f. 22v Hypsipyle, queen of Lemnos, represented with her sons at each arm and standing beside the body of Archemorus killed by a snake
- f. 23v Medea, queen of Colchis, and Jason, standing in a galley
- f. 25 [Arachne of Colophon; no image available]
- f. 26 Orythia and Antiope, queens of the Amazons, depicted in fight on horseback
- f. 26v Erythraea, sibyl, represented beside Christ arising from his tomb and Christ crucified

<sup>35</sup> I have not been able to see the manuscript, since it is going through lengthy conservation work. This description is based on the images available online via the SLUB website, the codicological notes kindly shared by Robert Schindler, to whom I am grateful, and the published accounts; see Schnorr von Carolsfeld 1882, I, 416, no. 171<sup>b</sup>; Bruck 1906, 332, no. 136, Pls. 213, 214; Domanski 2007, 116, 195, Pl. 230.

<sup>36</sup> There are no reproductions available of the miniatures whose subjects are given in brackets, nor is there existing description of the illustration; thus, while I have not been able to study the manuscript, I give the presumed subjects based on the typical contents of *De claris mulieribus*.

- f. 27 Medusa, daughter of Phorcus, represented as a queen enthroned
- f. 28 Yole (Iole), daughter of the king of the Aetolians, depicted with Hercules
- f. 30 Deianira, wife of Hercules, represented on horseback with the centaur Nessus (instead of riding the centaur), while Hercules shoots a poisonous arrow
- f. 30v Iokaste (Jocasta), queen of Thebes
- f. 31 [Cumaean sibyl; no image available]
- f. 32 [Carmenta, goddess of childbirth and prophecy; no image available]
- f. 34 Procris, wife of Cephalus; Cephalus is depicted aiming Procris with a crossbow in a forest

And two miniatures attributed to Jacquelin de Montluçon:

- f. 9 Opis, wife of Saturn, standing in a landscape, holding an empty scroll
- f. 10 Juno, goddess of the Kingdoms, seated, wearing a fine dress (rather than war attire)

## 12. The Lallemand *Danse aux aveugles*

Private collection<sup>37</sup>

This allegorical work, Pierre Michault's *La Danse aux aveugles*, was illustrated with the dances of the blind, the Fortune and the Death, for Jean Lallemand the Elder, whose coat of arms is included in a number of the miniatures: *gules a chevron or between three roses argent centered or surmounted by a label of three points argent*.

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<sup>37</sup> I am grateful to have been able to study images of this remarkable manuscript. Due to the privacy conditions of the owner, it is not possible to include further details on this occasion.

### 13. The Bouer Hours

Leeds, Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection ms. 8

Book of hours

Use of Bourges (Prime Ant. *O admirabile*, Cap. *Ad initio*, None Ant. *Germinavit*, None Cap. -)  
141 ff.

Parchment

188 x 125 mm, written space 100 x 60 mm, 1 column, 20 lines, ruled in red ink

Collation: 1-2<sup>6</sup>, 3-9<sup>8</sup>, 10<sup>4</sup>, 11-14<sup>8</sup>, 15<sup>4</sup>, 16-19<sup>8</sup>, 20<sup>8+1</sup>

Prickings in outer margins

In Latin, calendar and some rubrics in French

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in red

Provenance: The manuscript was made for the Bouer family of Bourges, whose arms are on f. 5: *vert a cross argent between 4 oxheads or*; in the sixteenth century it belonged to a nun, Marie de Cumières, whose inscription 'Seur Marie de cumieres bonne fille' is on f. 1;<sup>38</sup> in the collection of the well-known bibliophile J. B. D. Guyon de Sardière (d. 1759) in the eighteenth century, whose inscriptions are on ff. 1 and 140v; Lord Brotherton acquired the manuscript from the London bookseller Charles James Sawyer sometime between 1922 and 1926; Brotherton's collection was bequeathed to Leeds University Library in 1936.<sup>39</sup>

Borders: Full-page miniatures are within classicising architectural borders. Foliate borders are found in the calendar, only in the outer margins of the rectos (curling acanthus leaves, thistles, strawberries, bellflowers, pansies, and other flowers)

Initials: 2- and 1-line initials in gold alternating on brown and blue grounds; line-fillers alike

Twenty full-page miniatures, twenty small miniatures with half-length compositions for the prayers and Suffrages, twenty-four small calendar images, attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 (f = full-page):

- f. 1 January: Aquarius the water-carrier; Feasting
- f. 2 February: Pisces the fish; Shovelling snow
- f. 3 March: Aries the ram; Pruning
- f. 4 April: Taurus the bull; Making flower wreaths
- f. 5 May: Gemini, represented as lovers hiding behind a shield; Riding
- f. 6 June: Cancer the crab; Mowing
- f. 7 July: Leo the lion; Binding sheaves and reaping
- f. 8 August: Virgo the maiden; Threshing
- f. 9 September: Libra the scales; Wine pressing
- f. 10 October: Scorpio the scorpion; Tilling and sowing
- f. 11 November: Sagittarius the centaur; Knocking acorns for pigs
- f. 12 December: Capricorn the sea-goat; Killing a pig
- f. 29 Annunciation to the Virgin (f)
- f. 41 Visitation (f)
- f. 48v Nativity (f)
- f. 52v Annunciation to the Shepherds (f)

<sup>38</sup> Perhaps Marie was a nun in one of the female convents in Bourges, Sainte Claire, Saint Laurent or the Convent of the Annunciate. Her name (or description) suggests she came from Cumières, in the north-east of France, near Reims. There may have been a family connection between her and the Bouers, or the family might have donated the manuscript to the convent, hoping for prayers for the souls of the family in return.

<sup>39</sup> For this manuscript, see particularly Ker 1983, III, 40-41; Airaksinen 2010; Airaksinen 2011.

- f. 55v Adoration of the Magi (f)  
This is an adjusted and abbreviated version of the scene attributed to Jean Colombe in the Hours of Guyot Le Peley<sup>40</sup>
- f. 58 Presentation at the Temple (f)
- f. 60v Flight into Egypt (f)
- f. 63 Coronation of the Virgin (f)
- f. 66v Christ Carrying the Cross (f)
- f. 69 Pentecost (f)
- f. 73r David and Goliath (f)
- f. 85r Three Living and Three Dead (f)
- f. 109r Baptism of Christ (f)
- f. 109v God the Father
- f. 110 Christ
- f. 110v Holy Spirit
- f. 111 Veronica with her Veil
- f. 112v Virgin and Child surrounded by angels (f)
- f. 115v Virgin and Child
- f. 118v Pietà
- f. 121 Annunciation
- f. 128v Michael
- f. 129 John the Baptist; John the Evangelist
- f. 129v Peter and Paul
- f. 130 James
- f. 131 Stephen
- f. 131v Christopher
- f. 132v Sebastian
- f. 133v Nicholas
- f. 134 Claude
- f. 134 Anthony
- f. 135v Anne
- f. 136 Mary Magdalene
- f. 136v Catherine
- f. 137 Margaret
- f. 137v Barbara
- f. 138 Apollonia
- f. 139 Mass of Saint Gregory (f)

In addition, in quire 3, five miniatures attributed to Jacquelin de Montluçon:

- f. 13 John on Patmos (f)
- f. 14v Luke painting a portrait of the Virgin (f)
- f. 16 Matthew adding ink to his pen (f)
- f. 17v Mark sharpening his pen (f)
- f. 19 Betrayal of Christ (f)

Contents:

- ff. 1-12v Calendar, rather empty with several ferial days, but the Bourges saints emphasized in gold are Saint Guillaume (10 January), archbishop of Bourges, and Saint Ursinus (29 December), the first bishop of Bourges from the third century.

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<sup>40</sup> Troyes, médiathèque, ms. 3901.

	Other saints' days in gold are for Saints James and Philip, John, Barnabas, Peter, Lawrence, Francis of Assisi, Denis, Stephen, and Martin of Tours.
ff. 13-18v	Gospel sequences
ff. 18v-27	Passion according to John
ff. 27-28v	Prayer before and after the Corpus Christi
ff. 29-66v	Hours of the Virgin
ff. 66-68v	Hours of the Cross
ff. 68v-71	Hours of the Holy Spirit
ff. 71v-72v	blank
ff. 73-81	Penitential Psalms
ff. 81-84	Litany
ff. 84v	blank
ff. 85-106	Office of the Dead
ff. 106-107	Prayer <i>Pro defunctis</i> for the dead
ff. 107v-108v	blank
ff. 109-111	Suffrages to the Holy Trinity
ff. 111-112	<i>De sancta facie</i>
ff. 112-115v	<i>Obsecro te</i>
ff. 115v-118v	<i>O intemerata</i>
ff. 118v-120	<i>Stabat mater</i>
ff. 120-120v	<i>Salutatio marie virginis</i>
ff. 120v	<i>Ave regina celorum</i>
ff. 120v-125	<i>Missus est gabriel angelus</i>
ff. 125-126v	Prayers for various occasions
ff. 126v-128	Prayers for the Mass
ff. 128v-138v	Suffrages
ff. 139-140v	Seven Verses of Saint Gregory

#### 14. The Bodleian *Visitation*<sup>41</sup>

Oxford, Bodleian Library, rawl. liturg. e. 37

A single miniature in a book of hours

Use of Bourges

120 ff.

Parchment

193 x 120 mm, written space 115 x 66 mm, 1 column, 19 lines, ruled in red ink

In Latin, Calendar and rubrics in the Hours of the Virgin in French

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in red

Provenance: sixteenth-century inscription at the end (f. 117): 'Ses Heures sont a Marie vraye femme de Guillaume de Villames [?] de Melun'

Borders: full floral panel borders on the pages with miniatures, decorated with monkeys, grotesques, snails, butterflies, birds, roses, daisies, columbines, bluebells, strawberries, grapes, and acanthus leaves.

One full-page miniature attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

f. 40v Visitation

In addition, there are twelve full-page and five small miniatures attributed to Jacquelin de Montluçon (contents misbound) (f=full-page):

f. 26 Annunciation to the Virgin (f)

f. 50 Nativity (f)

f. 54 Annunciation to the Shepherds (f)

f. 58 Adoration of the Magi (f)

f. 61 Presentation at the Temple (f)

f. 64 Flight into Egypt (f)

f. 69v Coronation of the Virgin (f)

f. 74 Crucifixion (f)

f. 77 Pentecost (f)

f. 80 Bathsheba and David (f)

f. 93 Job on the dunghill (f)

f. 115v Christ, half-length

f. 13 John writing on his knee on Patmos, with eagle, half-length

f. 14 Luke writing on his knee from an exemplar on the lectern, with ox, half-length

f. 15 Matthew writing on his knee, with angel, half-length

f. 16v Mark writing on his knee from an exemplar on the lectern, with lion, half-length

f. 17 The Virgin and Child enthroned, surrounded by angels (f)

Contents (misbound):

ff. 1-12 Calendar

ff. 26-73v Hours of the Virgin, rubrics in French

ff. 74-76v Hours of the Cross

ff. 77-79v Hours of the Holy Spirit

ff. 80-92v Penitential Psalms and Litany

ff. 93-115 Office of the Dead

ff. 115v-116v *O domine ihesu christe adoro te*

<sup>41</sup> I am grateful to Christine Seidel for sharing her images of this manuscript, and to Eva Oledzka for checking folio references for me. For this manuscript, see particularly Pächt and Alexander 1966-1973, I, 64, no. 826.

ff. 13-17	Gospel sequences
ff. 17v-20	<i>Obsecro te</i>
ff. 20v-22v	<i>O intemerata</i>
ff. 23-25	<i>Stabat mater</i>

Notes:

This manuscript is very similar in style of illumination and compositions to the Hours of Bérenger Bollioud, and can be attributed to the same team of two illuminators; it appears to have been made around the same time as the manuscript today in Lyon.

## 15. The Hours of Bérenger Bollioud

Lyon, BM, ms. 5141

Book of hours

Use of Bourges (Prime Ant. *O admirabile*, Cap. *Ab initio*, None Ant. *Germinavit*, Cap. -)

c. 1490-1500

215 x 145 mm, written space 127 x 75 mm, 1 column, 16 lines, ruled in red ink

Collation: 1-2<sup>6</sup>, 3<sup>8</sup>, 4<sup>4</sup>, 5-8<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>7</sup> (8-1, viii lacking), 10-18<sup>8</sup>, 19<sup>2</sup>

One horizontal catchword (f. 20v 'andi')

In Latin, calendar in French

Textus quadratus, brown ink, rubrics in red

Provenance: Inside the binding, a round book label with the pressmark: 'No. A | 21'. On the first front flyleaf in pencil: 'No. 10'. The arms of the Bollioud family are included on several miniatures. The patron was probably Bérenger Bollioud (d. 1522), who became *procureur* and lord of Bourg-Argental in Forez in 1488.<sup>42</sup>

Codicological notes: Missing f. 64, presumably containing the miniature, *Adoration of the Magi*. A curious detail of three little holes in a formation of a triangle can be found in the lower corner of f. 58, possibly made with an instrument used for ruling the lines. Some of the 1-line initials were never painted; in their place only the rectangular frames, in which initials were drawn in black ink, are found. The scribe drew a small dragonhead on f. 39v and a calligraphic squiggle on f. 122. A mark similar to the letter 'g' was made in the lower corners of ff. 59 and 60, presumably by the binder.

Initials: 4-line initials in blue ornamented with foliate penwork in white, on brown grounds ornamented with filigree in gold. These initials and 4-line incipits are on cartouches, placed on top of the miniatures. 2- and 1-line initials in gold on grounds alternating in brown and blue; line-fillers in gold on grounds in brown and blue; one line-filler in a form of a flower (f. 90)

Borders: Gilt bar borders (c. 130 x 190-200 mm both the borders of the Master of Spencer 6 and of his collaborator).

Six full-page and four small miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 (f=full-page):

f. 13 The Virgin and Child enthroned, surrounded by angels (f)

Lower register: two angels hold the arms of the Bollioud family

f. 17 John writing on his knee on Patmos, with eagle, half-length

f. 18 Luke sharpening his quill, with ox, half-length

f. 20 Matthew writing on his knee, with youth, half-length

f. 21v Mark writing at a lectern, with lion, half-length

f. 42v Visitation (f)

The dramatic close-up brings into focus the ring worn by the Virgin Mary in her middle finger, placed in the very centre of the image for emphasis. The detailed elderly face of Elizabeth evokes the figure of Elizabeth in Jean Poyer's Briçonnet Hours.<sup>43</sup>

Lower register: two angels hold the arms

f. 68 Presentation at the Temple (f)

Lower register: two angels hold the arms

f. 72 Flight into Egypt (f)

Lower register: a group of soldiers question a peasant by a wheat field

<sup>42</sup> Tour-Varan 1854, 48.

<sup>43</sup> Harleem, Teylers Museum, ms. 78, f. 31v.

- f. 75 Coronation of the Virgin (f)  
The Virgin Mary and Christ shown alone in half-length  
Lower register: three angels each hold the arms
- f. 105 Job on the dunghill (f)  
Lower register: a skeleton wrapped in a shroud supports a cartouche above him

In addition, six full-page and twenty-four small miniatures attributed to Jacquelin de Montluçon:<sup>44</sup>

- f. 1 January: Feasting
- f. 1v January: Aquarius the water-carrier, represented by two winged putti pouring water from their vases
- f. 2 February: Keeping warm by the fire
- f. 2v February: Pisces, two fish in water
- f. 3 March: Pruning
- f. 3v March: Aries, the ram
- f. 4 April: Hawking, a noble couple walking in the countryside with a hawk
- f. 4v April: Taurus the bull
- f. 5 May: A noble couple making flower wreaths in the garden
- f. 5v May: Gemini, a nude couple embracing in a garden
- f. 6 June: Shearing a sheep
- f. 6v June: Cancer, two crabs in water
- f. 7 July: Mowing
- f. 7v July: Leo, the lion
- f. 8 August: Reaping
- f. 8v August: Virgo the maiden by a sheaf of wheat
- f. 9 September: Sowing
- f. 9v September: Libra, the scales
- f. 10 October: Wine pressing
- f. 10v October: Scorpio, the scorpion
- f. 11 November: Knocking acorns for pigs
- f. 11v November: Sagittarius, the centaur
- f. 12 December: Baking breads in the oven
- f. 12v December: Capricorn, the sea-goat
- f. 25 Annunciation to the Virgin (f)  
Lower register: two angels (flanking a pot of lilies) supporting a cartouche
- f. 54v Nativity (f)  
Lower register: ox and ass
- f. 60v Annunciation to the Shepherds (f)  
Lower register: a shepherd lying down
- f. 81 Crucifixion (f)  
Lower register: division of Christ's clothes
- f. 84v Pentecost (f)  
Lower register: two angels support a cartouche
- f. 89 Bathsheba and David (f)

Contents:

ff. 1-12v      Calendar

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<sup>44</sup> These miniatures were for a long time attributed to Jean Bourdichon (Mély 1913, 329-331; Limousin 1954, 93; Cotton 1965, 311-312, no. 112), before being ascribed by Nicole Reynaud to the Montluçon workshop (Avril and Reynaud 1993, 345). The stylistic inspiration of his contemporaries in Tours is visible in Jacquelin's work, thus rendering the early speculation comprehensible.

ff. 13-16v	<i>Obsecro te</i> (masculine forms: ... <i>famulo tuo</i> ...)
ff. 17-22	Gospel sequences
ff. 22v-24v	blank
ff. 25-79v	Hours of the Virgin
f. 80	blank
ff. 81-84	Hours of the Cross
ff. 84v-88	Hours of the Holy Spirit
f. 88v	blank
ff. 89-104v	Penitential Psalms and Litany
ff. 105-137	Office of the Dead
f. 137v	blank

## 16. The Boisrouvray Hours

Paris, BnF, N.a.lat. 3116

Book of hours

Use of Rome

c. 1500

139 ff.

Parchment

125 x 190 mm, 1 column, ruled in red ink

Traces of catchwords

In Latin, calendar in French (a prayer for the Mass of the Passion in French added in the sixteenth century)

Provenance: H. Harvey Frost; Sotheby's, London, 19 December 1929, lot 742; Le Comte Guy du Boisrouvray donated the manuscript to the Bibliothèque nationale de France<sup>45</sup>

Nine full-page miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

f. 22v	Annunciation to the Virgin
f. 27v	Visitation
f. 36v	Nativity
f. 39v	Annunciation to the Shepherds
f. 42v	Adoration of the Magi
f. 45v	Flight into Egypt
f. 48v	Massacre of the Innocents
f. 67v	Betrayal of Christ
f. 72v	Pentecost

In addition, sixteen full-page (f) and twelve small miniatures attributed to Jacquelin de Montluçon:

f. 1	Christ blessing (frontispiece) (f)
f. 1v	January: Feasting (f)
f. 2v	February: Digging ground (f)
f. 3v	March: Pruning (f)
f. 4v	April: Courting (f)
f. 5v	May: Riding (f)
f. 6v	June: Mowing and stacking hay (f)
f. 7v	July: Reaping (f)
f. 8v	August: Threshing (f)
f. 9v	September: Wine pressing (f)
f. 10v	October: Tilling and sowing (f)
f. 11v	November: Knocking acorns for pigs (f)
f. 12v	December: Killing a pig (f)
f. 78v	Uriah being killed in battle (f)
f. 93v	Job on the dunghill with his companions (f)
f. 123v	Virgin Mary
f. 127	Michael
f. 134	John the Baptist
f. 134v	John the Evangelist
f. 134v	Peter and Paul

<sup>45</sup> See also Porcher 1961, 131-133, no. 27.

f. 135	Christopher
f. 136	Sebastian
f. 136v	Claude
f. 137	Anne
f. 137v	Mary Magdalene
f. 137v	Catherine
f. 138	Margaret
f. 138	Barbara
f. 138v	Apollonia

## Contents:

ff. 1-13	Calendar
ff. 14-21v	Gospel sequences
ff. 21v-66v	Hours of the Virgin
ff. 67v-71v	Hours of the Cross
ff. 72v-75v	Hours of the Holy Spirit
ff. 76-78	Hours of the Conception of the Virgin
ff. 78v-93	Penitential psalms
ff. 93v-118	Office of the Dead
ff. 118-139	Suffrages and prayers

## Notes:

The general liturgical use of Rome of this manuscript does not give any clues of its original destination, and today the book is known after its twentieth-century owner, the Count Guy du Boisrouvray.

Apart from the frontispiece showing Christ blessing, all full-page miniatures in this manuscript are on the versos of the leaves, allowing for the text to begin next to the opening miniature. As was typical for the Master of Spencer 6, Vespers in the Hours of the Virgin is illustrated with the *Massacre of the Innocents* (rather than the *Flight into Egypt*), and the Hours of the Cross with the *Betrayal of Christ* (rather than the *Crucifixion*). For the opening of the Penitential Psalms a less usual subject was chosen, the *Combat between the Philistines and David's soldiers*, with the death of Uriah shown in the foreground.

### 17. The *Horloge* of Madeleine d'Amboise<sup>46</sup>

San Marino, The Huntington Library, RB 88375  
 Jean Quentin, *L'Horloge de dévotion* (on title page: 'Loreloge de deuocion')  
 Printed c. 1496 by Etienne Jehannot  
 95 ff.  
 Parchment  
 In French  
 Gothic type

Provenance: personalised for Madeleine d'Amboise, abbess of Charenton and of Saint Menoux; the book includes the coat of arms of the Amboise family with a crozier, and two patron portraits of Madeleine dressed as a nun

Initials and linefillings in red, blue and gold

Borders: foliate panel borders on all pages with full-page miniatures; in addition, classicising architectural borders surround the full-page miniatures by the Master of Spencer 6, and some of those by the collaborator

Two full-page and one small miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:<sup>47</sup>

- f. 6v Patron portrait<sup>48</sup>  
 Madeleine d'Amboise kneeling by her prie-dieu in her abbey, surrounded by the nuns of her community; identified by her abbess's crozier that leans on her shoulder and by the Amboise coat of arms in the margin below; the miniature was painted on the blank leaf facing the Annunciation
- f. 29v Patron portrait  
 Madeleine d'Amboise in prayer (below the miniature of *Mary Magdalene washing the feet of Christ with her hair* by his collaborator, see below), 6-lines, half-length
- f. 31v Last Supper

In addition, twenty-six full-page miniatures by the collaborator:

- f. 1v Author portrait
- f. 7 Annunciation
- f. 12v Nativity
- f. 16v Presentation at the Temple
- f. 20 Flight into Egypt
- f. 23v Christ chasing out the money lenders
- f. 27 Baptism of Christ
- f. 29v Mary Magdalene washing the feet of Christ with her hair
- f. 31v Last Supper
- f. 34v Judas and the Philistines
- f. 37 Christ and the Samaritan woman at the well
- f. 40 Betrayal of Christ
- f. 43v Christ before Caiaphas
- f. 47v Christ before Pilate
- f. 50v Christ mocked by Herod

<sup>46</sup> I have not been able to see this printed book; I am grateful to Katherine Baker for sharing her images with me.

<sup>47</sup> The volume is not foliated, but "artificial" foliation is used here for reference purposes (that corresponds with the counting of the leaves); I have not been able to consult the volume and check the signatures.

<sup>48</sup> Reproduced in Winn 1997, 202-4, fig. 4.27.

- f. 53v Flagellation of Christ
- f. 58 Sentencing of Christ
- f. 62 Christ nailed to the cross
- f. 66 Elevation of the Cross
- f. 70 Crucifixion
- f. 75 Deposition of Christ
- f. 79v Christ at the gates of hell
- f. 83 Resurrection of Christ
- f. 86v Ascension of Christ
- f. 88v Pentecost
- f. 91 Last Judgment

## Notes:

This copy of the devotional work, *Horloge de dévotion* by Jean Quentin, derives from an edition printed by Etienne Jehannot in Paris most probably in 1496. The year of printing is not given but the recording of another copy of the same edition in the accounts of Louise of Savoy in 1496 suggests this year.<sup>49</sup>

All illustration was painted by hand, except for the large woodcut initial on f. 1 decorated with beasts and birds. Woodcut illustrations for the miniatures appear to have been scraped out before they were painted. The Master of Spencer 6 collaborated with one or more anonymous illuminators to personalise this copy for Madeleine d'Amboise. The copy was prepared most probably within the following year from its printing (and certainly before 1500, the year when she died), as her coat of arms given on the page of the *Last Supper* miniature, are only surmounted by one abbess's crosier, referring to her resigning the charge of her second abbey of Charenton in 1497.<sup>50</sup>

The anonymous, possibly Parisian, artist illuminated most of the volume, while the Master of Spencer 6 painted three miniatures. One of these is a portrait of the abbess on the page facing the *Annunciation to the Virgin*, forming the left side of an opening diptych.<sup>51</sup> Madeleine is shown kneeling in prayer in front of a prie-dieu, surrounded by a community of nuns from her monastery. Although she is depicted with generalised features rather than in real likeness, she is identified by her Benedictine habit, her abbess's crosier, and the d'Amboise coat of arms.

The copy was personalised further by the addition of an invocation to Madeleine's patron saint, Mary Magdalene, in manuscript. Instead of inserting a new leaf, the verso of a printed leaf appears to have been scraped clean (f. 29v), and on this blank space a scribe wrote the text of the prayer, and above it, the anonymous illuminator painted the miniature *Mary Magdalene washing the feet of Christ with her hair*. The Master of Spencer 6 painted a small 6-line image of Madeleine, in the text section, beside the prayer to her patron saint. The portrait is similar to her larger patron portrait in the beginning of the book.

The final miniature attributed to the Master of Spencer 6, the *Last Supper*, was added for the seventh hour of devotion. The text on this page is in manuscript, and it appears that this leaf in manuscript replaces the original printed leaf. This hypothesis is supported by the observation that no original woodcut can be detected below the paint layer of the *Last Supper*, and the observation that this miniature is larger than the images of the Passion that follow.

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<sup>49</sup> Winn, 1997, 202.

<sup>50</sup> For the arms of Madeleine d'Amboise that survive in Saint-Menoux (those of before 1497, surmounted by two crosiers), see Bruel, 2006, 100 (note 56), 129.

<sup>51</sup> Reproduced in Winn, fig. 4.27.

## 18. The Huntington Hours<sup>52</sup>

San Marino, The Huntington Library, RB 88370  
 Book of hours  
 Use of Rome  
 Printed in Paris c. 1500 by Thielman Kerver for Guillaume Eustace  
 Parchment  
 Octavo  
 In Latin  
 Gothic type

Fourteen full-page miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

- b3a Christ before Caiaphas
- b7b Annunciation to the Virgin
- c6a Visitation
- d2a Nativity
- d4a Annunciation to the Shepherds
- d6a Adoration of the Magi
- d8a Presentation at the Temple
- f2a The Massacre of the Innocents
- f5a Coronation of the Virgin
- g3b Absalom hanging in a tree
- h3b Job on the dunghill
- k2a Crucifixion
- k4a Pentecost
- k6a Christ blessing

Notes:

In these miniatures the Master of Spencer 6 gave a mediocre display of his skill, using a very restricted palette of azurite and orangy bright red (probably vermilion) for the figures, against a background of pale diluted blue and green landscapes or grey interiors.

One other copy this edition survives in Paris, also printed on parchment; it is carefully illuminated in the style of the Master of Anne of Brittany.<sup>53</sup> Although the Paris copy has sixteen miniatures, this copy lacks the leaf [a]8, which presumably had the miniature *John boiled in oil* on its verso, as in the Paris copy, and the leaf m3, which presumably had *Man of Sorrows* on the recto, as in the Paris copy.

The compositions and even some of the subjects in these two copies differ. Either the original woodcuts in these copies were different,<sup>54</sup> or - contrary to what would be expected of printed *Horae* of the period - the illumination was not done on top of woodcuts, but instead, the pages were left blank for the miniatures and their borders to be painted in afterwards. Alternatively, the Master of Spencer 6 may have scraped out the woodcuts. This, however, is difficult to demonstrate since no residue appears visible.

<sup>52</sup> I have been unable to examine this copy, and I am particularly grateful to Stephen Tabor at the Huntington Library for verifying miniatures and sending me images.

<sup>53</sup> Paris, BnF, Vélins 1647. Stylistically images in this Parisian copy are very close to a contemporary manuscript book of hours attributed to the Master of Anne of Brittany (London, V&A, MSL/1910/2388), and to the book of hours printed by Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre in 1498, in which the engravings were based on the Master of Anne of Brittany's models (Paris, BnF, Res. Vélins 1498; see Taburet-Delahaye, Bresc-Bautier, Crépin-Leblond 2010, 242-244).

<sup>54</sup> In which case they have been catalogued (in the GW) by mistake as of the same edition; if a different set of woodcuts was used, they formed parts of different editions, despite the identical type setting.

In some copies of Eustace's *Horae* editions illuminators painted on top of the full-page miniatures that had been printed from woodcuts or metalcuts, but were also expected to provide the decorated border, the absence of which, normally a standard element, distinguish Eustace's *Horae* editions. An example of this is a copy *Horae* printed by Nicholas Hygman in Paris in c. 1516 for Guillaume Eustace, which was illuminated by a contemporary unidentified illuminator.<sup>55</sup> Thus, not only are the miniatures in the two copies of the same edition entirely different, but also the borders around them are in different styles. The Master of Spencer 6 painted a simple classical structure in shell gold with a plinth and Corinthian columns supporting an architrave. Meanwhile, in the Paris copy, the miniatures are surrounded by floral borders, in addition to simple columns and arches around some of them.

As no other copies from this edition survive, it is not evident whether it consisted only of illuminated copies, or whether - as is more likely - a larger number of copies were printed with woodcut illustrations, perhaps based on designs by the Master of Anne of Brittany. The edition would thus have been accessible to a potentially vast public. If some copies were painted without the woodcuts, Eustace would undoubtedly have commissioned Kerver to print only a small number of copies to be illuminated by hand, in order to be certain to pay for the illumination and sell all the copies without making a loss. Some of the pages with illustration were printed with four lines of text. If these pages were printed without the woodblocks, thinner blocks would have been adjusted in place of the illustrations, in order to print the pages with blank spaces for the miniatures. Eustace may have employed artists in his shop to illuminate copies. *Libraire du roy*, Guillaume Eustace, had his shop 'deda[n]s la gra[n]t salle du palais [...]', in the great hall of the royal palace next to the Sainte-Chapelle and the Conciergerie, with his name above the sign of Saint John the Evangelist, as he informs in his colophon.<sup>56</sup> His editions of printed *Horae* are distinguished for the particularly fine parchment he selected and for the illumination adorning the pages, which was executed with more care than in most mass-produced printed books of hours of the period.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Christie's, New York, 7 Oct. 1994, lot 104.

<sup>56</sup> For Guillaume Eustace, see Brunet 1864, V, 1644-8.

<sup>57</sup> Brunet 1864, V, 1644-8.

### 19. The Copenhagen Hours (also known as the Ardicino della Porta Hours)

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, ms. Gl. Kgl.Saml. 1610, 4°

Book of hours

Use of Bourges (Prime Ant. *O admirabile*, Cap. *Ab initio*, None Ant. *Germinavit*, Cap. *Gaude Maria*)  
c. 1450-1455 (Tours?) and c. 1500 (Bourges)

76 ff.

Parchment

174 x 120 mm, 1 column, 22 lines, ruled in red ink

Collation: 1<sup>2</sup> (f. 1-2), 2-5<sup>8</sup> (f. 3-35), 6<sup>4</sup> (8-4) (f. 36-39), 7-8<sup>8</sup> (f. 40-55), 9<sup>6</sup> (f. 56-61), 10<sup>2+1</sup> (f. 62-64), 11<sup>6</sup> (f. 65-70), 12-13<sup>3</sup> (f. 71-76) (the manuscript is misbound with quires in wrong order)

In Latin

Lettre bâtarde, black/brown ink, rubrics in red/fuchsia

Provenance: Ardicino della Porta (1434-1493); Philippe de Béthune (1565-1649) (*cf.* the *D'estre* Hours); Terkel Klevenfeldt; Christian VI of Denmark

Initials: 2-line foliate initials in blue with white penwork on brown grounds, 1-line initials in gold on alternating blue and brown grounds

Borders: full floral panel borders on the pages with miniatures, decorated with monkeys, grotesques, snails, daisies, columbines, bluebells, and acanthus leaves.

Seven full-page and four smaller miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6, in the reconstructed order (with foliation as today)<sup>58</sup> (f=full-page):

f. 36 Carrying of the Cross

f. 36v Crucifixion, with soldiers throwing dice

f. 37 Crucifixion, with John and the three Marys under the Cross

f. 38 Burial of Christ

f. 40 Annunciation to the Virgin (f) (Matins)

f. 49v Visitation (f) (Lauds)

f. 5 Nativity (f) (Prime)

f. 8v Annunciation to the Shepherds (f) (Terce)

f. 56 Adoration of the Magi (f) (None)

Curiously, a patron portrait (illuminated during the first campaign of production, see below) was used for the hour of Sexte, rather than the *Adoration of the Magi*, which was thus used for the hour of None. The following two miniatures, the *Massacre of the Innocents* and the *Flight into Egypt*, were also pushed forward, and finally there is no *Coronation of the Virgin* in this cycle of images.

f. 58 Massacre of the Innocents (f) (Vespers)

f. 61v Flight into Egypt (f) (Compline)

Missing: the original f. 13 on the recto of which was the miniature attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 that opened the Passion sequence (offset on facing page reveals it was painted by the Spencer Master)

In addition, there are five large historiated initials attributed to an illuminator from the entourage of Jean Fouquet:<sup>59</sup>

f. 3 Pietà (Hours of the Cross, Matins)

<sup>58</sup> As reconstructed by Erik Drigsdahl, see Drigsdahl 1991-2000.

<sup>59</sup> Avril 2003, 182-187, no. 22.

- f. 4 Pentecost (Hours of the Holy Spirit, Matins)  
 f. 1 Patron portrait (Hours of the Virgin, Sexte)  
 The owner, Arcidine della Porta, kneeling as Bishop in front of the Virgin and Child. It is not clear whether this image was intended for the hour of Sexte, or whether the scribe, who here wrote the text after the images had been painted, ordered the image pages incorrectly  
 f. 11 King David in prayer  
 f. 20 Funeral Procession

Contents, in the reconstructed order (with foliation as today):<sup>60</sup>

- ff. 65-76v Calendar, in Latin, including Tours saints highlighted: Gatien (2 May and 18 December) and Martin of Tours (11 November)  
 ff. [?] <sup>61</sup>-38v Passion according to John  
 f. 39 blank  
 ff. 40-55v Hours of the Virgin (Use of Bourges) Matins and Lauds  
 f. 3 Hours of the Cross, Matins  
 f. 4 Hours of the Holy Spirit, Matins  
 ff. 5-10v Hours of the Virgin, Prime, Terce  
 ff. 1-2v Hours of the Virgin, Sexte  
 ff. 56-64v Hours of the Virgin, None, Vespers, Compline  
 ff. 11-18v Penitential Psalms and Litany  
 f. 19 Prayers  
 ff. 20-35 Office of the Dead (Use of Bourges)  
 f. 35v blank

Notes:

This book of hours in the liturgical use of Bourges is generally known as the Ardicino della Porta Hours, or - due to false provenance fabricated when the manuscript was in the collection of Philippe de Béthune (a brother of the celebrated Sully) - the Hours of Cardinal Charles de Bourbon. The original patron of the manuscript remains unknown. The initial campaign which saw the completion of large historiated initials and decorated borders are attributed to an artist stylistically very close to Jean Fouquet, while the manuscript was finished much later, around 1500, seemingly by the Master of Spencer 6. It seems that either the Master of Spencer 6 did not see the finished gatherings by the Fouquetian artist, or if he did, he paid very little attention to them. No direct visual borrowing can be observed in this manuscript, or his later work.

In terms of iconography and composition, the miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 are very close to those in the Lallemand Missal. The border decoration attaches this manuscript stylistically to the later works, the *D'estre* Hours, the Hours of Jean de La Rue and the Tours Psalter. Yet, the palette used here does not yet include the pastel tones found in his manuscripts following the contact with Jean Poyer.

<sup>60</sup> As reconstructed by Erik Drigsdahl, see Drigsdahl 1991-2000.

<sup>61</sup> Pages are missing in the beginning of the Passion sequence, including the opening miniature, as noted above. It is possible the manuscript also had Gospel sequences that are now entirely missing.

## 20. The *Pentecost* fragment<sup>62</sup>

Private collection

A leaf from a book of hours (originally opening the Matins of the Hours of the Holy Spirit)

c. 1500

177 x 125 mm

Parchment

In Latin

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in blue

Initials: 2- and 1-line initials in gold on grounds in blue, red and brown

Provenance: London, Sam Fogg, lot 14024

Border: gilt bar frame, with the incipit to the Matins of the Hours of the Holy Spirit inscribed in capitals in red ink on the lower part: D(OM)NE LABIA MEA APERIES ET OS MEU(M) ANNUN (continued on the verso: CIABIT LAUDEM). Beyond the frame is a dark burgundy background decorated with pansies.

One full-page miniature attributed to the Master of Spencer 6: Pentecost

Notes:

The scene takes place in a classical temple with Corinthian columns of green marble. All architectural surfaces are covered in ornamental relief sculpture, skilfully modelled with highlighting in white and lighter grey and shadows in black. The Virgin Mary is presented at the forefront of the picture plane close to the frame. John the Evangelist stands behind her, holding out his right arm as if to support her. The figures are presented in three-quarter length, combined with the dramatic close-up, emphasising the role and special relationship of John and the Virgin, brought closest to the viewer. The other Apostles stand behind them. Against the neutral colouring of the background in grey and green, the vibrant colouring of the robes makes the figures stand out.

This miniature and another, *Massacre of the Innocents*, held in a private American collection (cat. no. 21), are the only known leaves from a beautiful, carefully painted book of hours. The *Pentecost* leaf has been extensively cropped over time, and only half of the decorated border survives. A banderole, perhaps containing a motto of the patron, has been cut in half. The visible letters are SPOI, thus the word may have spelled out ESPOIR. Alternatively, SPO might have indicated an abbreviation of SPIRITO, fitting well in the context of the Hours of the Holy Spirit and Pentecost. However, the word appears to continue with an 'T' after the 'O'. The word ESPOIR forms part of several possible mottos.<sup>63</sup> However, at this stage it is only possible to speculate the identity of the patron. Finally, to add a codicological note, the manuscript may have been prepared for a patron in Champagne or Touraine, since the rubrics are in blue (as observed on the verso of the miniature). Within the Spencer group, the rubrics tend to be blue more often in manuscripts painted for patrons in the diocese of Troyes and Tours.

<sup>62</sup> I am grateful to Sam Fogg and Arcadia Fletcher for facilitating the consultation of this manuscript in London in 2011.

<sup>63</sup> For example, the motto of the Grolée de Mévillon family, 'Espoir de Myeulz' (Hope for the best). Antoine de Grolée-Mévillon (d. 1501), lieutenant general of the government of the Dauphiné from 1495, or his brother, Louis de Grolée, abbot of Bonnevaux, would make possible patrons of this once magnificent manuscript; the Grolée de Mévillon family are known to have commissioned manuscripts; see Hindman and Bergeron-Foote 2010, no. 20.

**21. The *Massacre of the Innocents* fragment<sup>64</sup>**

Private collection (New York)

This fragment derives from the same manuscript as the *Pentecost* leaf described above  
c. 1500

Parchment

In Latin

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in blue

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<sup>64</sup> I am grateful to Arcadia Fletcher for making me aware of this fragment; I have not been able to see it.

## 22. The *Christ in Majesty* miniature

London, BL, Harley 2919

A miniature illuminating the prayer *Mon benoist Dieu* in a Book of Hours

Use of Bourges

c. 1470-1480; c. 1500

158 ff.

Parchment

170 x 105 mm, written space 100 x 60 mm, 1 column, 18 lines, ruled in red

In Latin, Prayer *Mon benoist Dieu* and calendar in French

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in red

Provenance: Harley Collection, formed by Robert Harley (b. 1661, d. 1724), 1st earl of Oxford and Mortimer, politician, and Edward Harley (b. 1689, d. 1741), 2nd earl of Oxford and Mortimer, book collector and patron of the arts, before acquired by the British Museum<sup>65</sup>

Initial: 3-line initials in colours on coloured grounds, decorated in white foliate penwork. 2- and 1-line initials in gold on alternating blue and red grounds. The added prayer *Mon benoist Dieu* (written in a paler ink) has two simple initials in gold on red grounds

Border: Miniature pages by the collaborator have full foliate borders. All text pages throughout the manuscript have decorated borders attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 with hybrid creatures, birds, snails, flies and frogs in colours and gold, very similar to those found in the Copenhagen and the Spencer Hours and the copies of *Anabase*.

One miniature attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

f. 19 A small miniature (third of the page, half-length) of *Christ in Majesty*, depicted with his right hand raised in blessing and his left hand holding a book. A very similar rendition of the subject is found in the Lallemand Missal, where a full-length composition was chosen.

Thirteen full-page and nine small miniatures attributed to a collaborator:

f. 15 John on Patmos

f. 17 Noli me tangere

f. 23 Christ praying in the Garden of Gethshemane, under a starry sky, while the Apostles sleep and soldiers carrying torches enter the garden

f. 34v Mass of Saint Gregory

f. 36v Virgin and Child in a landscape, standing on a mandorla

f. 41 Deposition of Christ

f. 47 Annunciation to the Virgin

f. 90 Nailing Christ to the Cross

f. 93v Pentecost

f. 97 David praying in a landscape

f. 112v A noble woman pierced with a lance to her chest by a skeleton

f. 140v Michael slaying the devil, 7 lines

f. 141 John the Baptist with a lamb, 7 lines

f. 141v John the Evangelist blessing a poisonous chalice that exposes a small dragon, 7 lines

f. 142 Sebastian holding arrows, 7 lines

f. 143 Denis holding his dead, 7 lines

<sup>65</sup> British Museum 1808-12, II, no. 2919.

- f. 144 'Ave gemina monachorum...' Saint Jerome kneeling under a vision of the crucified Christ in his study with the lion and his galero
- f. 145v François showing his stigmata to a golden crucified seraphim
- f. 146v Anne teaching Mary to read, 7 lines
- f. 147 Catherine, 7 lines
- f. 147v Margaret, 7 lines
- f. 148v Barbara, 7 lines

## Contents:

- ff. 3-14v Calendar in French in red and black, very empty (filled in much later), but including the local saints Guillaume, archbishop of Bourges (10 January), Eutropius of Saintes (30 April), Hylaire (13 January), and Ursinus, the first bishop of Bourges from the third century (29 December). Also Victor (6 March), Longin (15 March), Eustache (29 March), Sabine (31 March), Helena (15 April), Victor (20 Apr), Vital (28 Apr)
- ff. 15- Gospel sequences
- ff. 19- *Mon benoist Dieu*
- ff. 23- Passion according to John
- ff. 34v- Seven Verses of Saint Gregory
- ff. 36v- *Obsecro te*, and other prayers
- ff. 47- Hours of the Virgin
- ff. 90- Hours of the Cross
- ff. 93v- Hours of the Holy Spirit
- ff. 97- Penitential Psalms and Litany
- ff. 112v- Office of the Dead
- ff. 140v-158 Suffrages, and other prayers

### 23. *Les Heures traduites en vers*

Paris, BnF, fr. 2224 (former shelfmark: 8004)

*Les Heures traduites en vers, avec les sept vers saint Bernard*

c. 1500-1505

48 ff.

Parchment

2 columns (a wide column for main text and a narrow column in the margin for the gloss), 26 lines, ruled in red ink

In French, annotation in the margin in Latin

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in red

Initials: 3-, 2- and 1-line initials in gold on blue, brown and red grounds (line-fillers alike)

Borders: Miniatures simply framed with a thick line in red and a line in gold

Fifteen miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

- f. 3v Patron portrait of a lady, with several figures gathered behind her
- f. 4 Annunciation to the Virgin
- f. 5 Nativity of Christ
- f. 5v Pentecost
- f. 6 Apostles preaching in different languages
- f. 6v Dove of the Holy Spirit appearing to the Apostles above a fountain
- f. 7 Dove of the Holy Spirit appearing to the Apostles with devils in the background
- f. 7v Last Judgement
- f. 9 Seven cardinal sins: pride (orgvl) riding a lion in the foreground; a seraph appearing to King David praying in the background
- f. 10v Seven cardinal sins: wrath (yre) riding a wolf (?)
- f. 14 Seven cardinal sins: greed (avarice) riding a bear (?), holding moneybags
- f. 21v Seven cardinal sins: envy (envie) riding a dog
- f. 27 Seven cardinal sins: lust (lvcvre) riding a goat, holding a mirror
- f. 34v Seven cardinal sins: gluttony (glotonie) riding a boar, eating and drinking
- f. 37 Seven cardinal sins: sloth (paresse) riding a mole (?), falling asleep
- f. 41v Saint Bernard, wearing a white Cistercian habit, a devil behind him

Contents:

- ff. 1-8v Canonical Hours, translated into French verse, beginning:  
'Sans grace riens on ne peult faire,  
Pourtant à nous soit octroyée...'
- ff. 9-40v Penitential Psalms, translated into French verse, beginning:  
'Mon seigneur Dieu, ne veuillez me arguer  
En ta fureur, combien que j'ay meffait...'; and ending:  
'Et me donne le repos angelique,  
Raison pour quoy je suis ton serviteur'
- ff. 41-43 Seven Verses of Saint Bernard, beginning:  
'Tres doux Jhesu Crist, roy de gloyre,  
Veulles mes yeulx enluminer...'; and ending:  
'Donne moy contre lui victoyre  
Et enfin de lassus la gloire.  
Amen'

## 24. *Les Heures de la croix*

Paris, BnF, fr. 1869 (former shelfmark: 7879)

c. 1500-1505

16 ff.

Parchment

2 columns (a wide column for main text and a narrow column in the margin for the gloss), 25 lines, ruled in red ink

In French, annotation in the margin in Latin

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in red

Initials: 2-line initials in gold alternating on blue, brown and red grounds

Borders: simple architectural borders, colourful falling swags

Eleven large miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:<sup>66</sup>

f. 3v Crucifixion

f. 4 Patron portrait of a lady kneeling in prayer at her prie-dieu

f. 4v Patron portrait of a lady kneeling in prayer in front of the Virgin Mary, seated by the Cross; Christ appearing in a cloud above

f. 8 Betrayal of Christ

f. 9v Christ brought to Pilate

f. 10 Carrying of the Cross, with Saint John and the Virgin Mary

f. 10v Crucifixion, with John and Mary; soldiers torture of Christ by sponging vinegar into his wounds

f. 11v Crucifixion and torture of Christ

f. 12v Deposition of Christ from the Cross

f. 13v Entombment of Christ

f. 14v Pietà

Contents:

ff. 3v-16 The Hours of the Cross in French (13 openings, 26 pages), beginning on f. 3v:  
'Femme pour qui mon sang j'espans,  
Que charité me fait espandre...!';  
and ending on f. 16:  
'Jhesus, qu'à clere vision  
Luy et toy voye face à face.  
Amen'

Notes:

The miniatures are of very mediocre quality. The short text occupies only 26 pages,<sup>67</sup> but has as many as eleven miniatures; it would have provided an ample visual collection to inspire the contemplation on the Passion of Christ.

<sup>66</sup> Attribution by Nicole Reynaud (Avril and Reynaud 1993, 345).

<sup>67</sup> In comparison, another fifteenth-century manuscript described as a French translation of the Hours of the Cross, prepared for a female patron contained as many as 58 leaves (and eight miniatures); Sotheby's, London, 19 December 1921, lot 474.

## 25. The Arsenal Hours

Paris, BnF, Arsenal, ms. 651

Book of hours

Use of Troyes (Prime Ant. *Ave maria*, Cap. *Ecce virgo*,<sup>68</sup> None Ant. *Ortus conclusus*, Cap. *Per te dei*)  
c. 1500

129 ff.

Parchment

185 x 128 mm, 1 column, 18 lines, ruled in red

Vertical catchwords

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in blue

Provenance: Marquis de Paulmy

Initials: 3-, 2- and 1-line initials in gold alternating on red and blue grounds (line-fillers alike)

Borders: Decorated foliate borders in the outer margins of every text page. Miniatures are within double-compartmented architectural borders.

Thirteen full-page and thirty-two small miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 (f=full-page):<sup>69</sup>

- f. 1 January: Feasting
- f. 1v January: Aquarius the water-carrier, represented by a child pouring water from a vase in a barren landscape
- f. 2 February: Turning over soil
- f. 2v February: Fishing (Pisces)
- f. 3 March: Pruning
- f. 3v March: Aries, the ram combatting with an Ottoman Janissary
- f. 4 April: A noble couple making flower wreaths in the garden
- f. 4v April: Taurus the bull combatting with an Ottoman Janissary
- f. 5 May: Riding and courting
- f. 5v May: Gemini, a nude couple hiding in a bush
- f. 6 June: Mowing and stacking hay
- f. 6v June: Cancer, a crab combatting with an Ottoman Janissary on horseback
- f. 7 July: Binding grains into sheaves and reaping
- f. 7v July: Leo, the lion, lying in a landscape, with an Ottoman Janissary riding in the background
- f. 8 August: Threshing
- f. 8v August: Virgo, the maiden
- f. 9 September: Harvesting grapes
- f. 9v September: Libra, a maiden holding scales in a landscape
- f. 10 October: Tilling and sowing
- f. 10v October: Scorpio, the scorpion, combatting with an Ottoman Janissary
- f. 11 November: Knocking acorns for pigs
- f. 11v November: Sagittarius, the centaur, aiming an arrow at an Ottoman Janissary
- f. 12 December: Wildboar hunt
- f. 12v December: Capricorn, the sea-goat, combatting with an Ottoman Janissary
- f. 13 John on Patmos (f)  
Predella: John the Evangelist descending into his grave. This less common subject relates

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Madan 1927, 24, Prime Cap. for Troyes: *Haec est Virgo*, otherwise identical.

<sup>69</sup> Attribution initially made by Nicole Reynaud (Avril and Reynaud, 1993, 343); see also Avril, 2007, 43.

to the passage of John's life in the *Golden Legend*, which narrates the episode from the end of the disciple's life when he had reached the age of ninety-nine. Christ called him to come to him on Sunday, and thus the following Sunday John gave a sermon, then dug a grave near the altar, and surrounded by everyone descended into it. After John had said a prayer, a radiant light surrounded him, and once the light had gone, also the saint had vanished and the grave was filled with manna. Jean Colombe also treated the subject in the Laval Hours, while Jean Poyer included it in the so-called Hours of Henry VIII.

- f. 19 Arrest of Christ (f)  
Predella: Praying in the Garden of Gethsemane
- f. 23 The Virgin Mary with Peter and Paul (f)  
Predella: Pentecost
- f. 27 Annunciation to the Virgin (f)  
Predella: Mary weaving in the accompany of two other virgins
- f. 37 Visitation (f)  
Predella: Mary conversing with Elizabeth
- f. 47 Nativity (f)  
Predella: Mary and Joseph arriving at the stable
- f. 52 Annunciation to the Shepherds (f)  
Predella: Journey of the shepherds to Bethlehem
- f. 55v Adoration of the Magi (f)  
Predella: Journey of the Magi by sea
- f. 59 Presentation at the Temple (f)  
Predella: Journey of the Holy Family to the Temple
- f. 63 Massacre of the Innocents (f)  
Predella: Flight into Egypt
- f. 69 Coronation of the Virgin (f)  
Predella: Angels making music
- f. 74 David mourning over Absalom (f)  
Predella: Death of Absalom
- f. 89 Job on the dunghill (f)  
Predella: Job's cattle being destroyed
- f. 121v Michael vanquishing the devil, half-length
- f. 122 John the Baptist, half-length
- f. 122v Nicholas, half-length
- f. 123 Claude, half-length
- f. 124v Gond, half-length
- f. 125 Mary Magdalene, half-length
- f. 125v Margaret, half-length
- f. 126 Barbara, half-length
- f. 127v Mass of Saint Gregory, half-length

#### Contents:

- ff. 1-12v Calendar, including various Saints of Tours and its vicinity: Saint Loup, bishop and patron saint of the city of Troyes and its diocese (29 July), Saint Savinien (or Sabinien) of Troyes (24 January), Saint Savine (or Sabine) of Troyes (29 January),<sup>70</sup> Saint Vinebaud, abbot of Saint-Loup, Troyes (6 April), Saint Syre of Troyes (8 June), Saint Thiebault of Provins (21 June), Saint Remi of Reims who

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<sup>70</sup> The correct feast day of Saint Savine is on 29 August.

	converted Clovis (13 January), Saint Gérard of Toul (24 April), Saint Dizier of Langres (22 May), <sup>71</sup> and Saint Hélène of Auxerre (21 May)
ff. 13-18v	Gospel sequences
ff. 19-22v	Passion according to John
ff. 23-26v	Hours of the Holy Spirit
ff. 27-72v	Hours of the Virgin
f. 73	blank
ff. 74-88v	Penitential Psalms and Litany
ff. 89-111v	Office of the Dead
ff. 112-117v	Prayers to the God the Father, God the Son and the Holy Spirit
ff. 114-117v	<i>Obsecro te</i>
ff. 118-121v	<i>O intemerata</i>
ff. 121v-127	Suffrages of the saints and the prayer <i>O felix ancilla dei nos</i>
ff. 127v-129	Seven Verses of Saint Gregory

## Notes:

In addition to the local saints in the calendar, the Hours of the Virgin are in the use of Troyes, and Saint 'Lupe' (Loup) is included in the Litany. Furthermore, the destination of the manuscript in the east of France is also suggested by the inclusion of the feast of Seven Sleepers of Ephesus on 27 June, the date on which it was celebrated in Germany, in comparison to manuscripts in the use of Paris or Rome, in which the feast is included on 27 July.

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<sup>71</sup> The calendar is rather confused. The feast of Saint Hélène of Auxerre was in fact on 22 May and of Saint Dizier (Didier, Desiderius), bishop of Langres in the fifth century, on 23 May; these were mixed up. Also, in this calendar 15 August has been left blank, and the Assumption of the Virgin is instead inserted on 10 and 24 August. A comparative study of calendars in manuscripts from Champagne (as well as Berry) remains to be made, which undoubtedly would aid the comprehension of local textual models available for scribes.

26. *Épître à Dame Furie*<sup>72</sup>

Private collection

St Jerome, *Letter LIV To Furia*

c. 1500

63 ff.

Parchment

210 x 135 mm, written space 115 x 70 mm, 1 column, 17 lines, ruled in red

Gatherings mostly in eights

In French

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in blue

Provenance: In the library of Anne de Polignac (1495-1554),<sup>73</sup> at her château at Verteuil near Angoulême, which was inventoried in 1728.<sup>74</sup> In 1792, the Verteuil library was inherited by Louis-François Auguste, Cardinal de Rohan-Chabot (1788-1833), who moved part of it to his castle at Josselin in Brittany. In order to raise funds to restore his castle, thirty-six manuscripts of Anne de Polignac's library, including this manuscript, were placed on sale at auction in Paris through the dealer Adolphe Labitte in 1879.<sup>75</sup> Six years later, the manuscript is described in the catalogue of the library of Eugène Paillet, the bibliophile and president of the Société des Amis des Livres, whose ownership signature is found on f. 2.<sup>76</sup> Paillet's library was sold in 1887 to the Librairie Damascène Morgand.<sup>77</sup> In 2010-11, the manuscript was in the hands of the London dealer, Sam Fogg (lot 14644).<sup>78</sup>

Initials: One 3-line initial in blue decorated with white penwork on a red ground with floral gold decoration (f. 6v); 1-2 line initials, paragraph marks and line-fillers in gold on red or blue grounds decorated with gold

Border: An architectural border with columns resembling tree trunks, stylised Corinthian capitals, a simple architrave, very similar to the borders in the copy of *Horloge de dévotion* prepared for Madeleine d'Amboise. Against the plinth is leaning a shield providing a space for heraldic arms (left blank).

One full-page miniature attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

f. 5 Full-page frontispiece miniature divided in two compartments. On the right, Saint Jerome, dressed as a cardinal, is giving his epistle to a messenger kneeling in front of him. On the left, the messenger hands the book to Furia, the intended recipient. Two female servants accompany Furia. The illuminator depicted Furia's dwelling with a higher ceiling, in order to differentiate between the two spaces and two temporal events. Only a central column of the architectural frame divides the scenes; the same technique of pictorial narrative our illuminator used in the copies of the *Anabase*.

<sup>72</sup> I am grateful to Sam Fogg and Arcadia Fletcher for facilitating the consultation of this manuscript in London in 2011. I am also particularly grateful to Mara Hofmann for sharing her notes about the manuscript with me, and on whose thorough research I have based the provenance information presented here.

<sup>73</sup> For her library, see Delisle 1880, 305-49, Bauchart 1886, I, 43-53 and Cahn 2005.

<sup>74</sup> de Fleury 1884-85, 71-209; Gérard 1984, 239-92.

<sup>75</sup> Labitte/Hôtel Drouot, 18 March 1879, no. 10.

<sup>76</sup> Beraldi 1885, 1, no. 3.

<sup>77</sup> Librairie Damascène Morgand 1887, no. 389; Gamut 1890, 12.

<sup>78</sup> Lot 14644.

## Notes:

The text of this manuscript is a letter written by Saint Jerome to a young Roman lady called Furia, probably in 395 A.D.<sup>79</sup> It is a letter of guidance to a widow on the best means of preserving her widowhood.<sup>80</sup> The preface to the text informs that the priest Charles Sonin translated it from Latin into French for a 'tres honnoree damoiselle' and that the brother Jehan Fernand of the monastery of Saint-Sulpice-les-Bourges reviewed his translation. No other copy of this translation is known to survive.

It is very unlikely that the manuscript would have been made for Anne de Polignac. At the time the manuscript was made, around 1500, she would only have been five years old. Nor is her coat of arms painted on the presentation page. The style of illumination, and in particular the border, suggest that the Master of Spencer 6 illuminated the manuscript about the same time as the copy of the *Horloge de dévotion*. Although there is no heraldic evidence for support, one wonders if this remarkable book could also have been made for Madeleine d'Amboise. The 'tres honnoree demoiselle' was undoubtedly local to Bourges (or the diocese), where the manuscript was translated, written and illuminated. Who had the interest and means to commission a translation of Jerome's rules of conduct guiding an unmarried life, dedicated to the care of children and elderly rather than one's husband? Was it the recently ordained abbess, Madeleine d'Amboise, or perhaps Jeanne of France, whose marriage to Louis d'Orleans had been annulled on his ascendance to the throne in 1498? Or a young widow with children, who had decided not to remarry, as her example lady Furia? Unfortunately, the discreet dedication and the empty shield keep her identity secret.

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<sup>79</sup> Nautin 1974, 251-284.

<sup>80</sup> Conring 2001, 170-198.

## 27. The Lallemand Missal

New York, PML, M.495

Missal

Use of Tours

c. 1500-1504

179 ff.

Parchment

342 x 228 mm, 2 columns, 30 lines, ruled in red ink

In Latin

Lettre bâtarde, black/brown ink, rubrics in red

Provenance: Made for a member of the Lallemand family, probably for Guillaume Lallemand, canon and archdeacon of Tours as well as canon of Bourges and Tournai; the Lallemand coat of arms (*gules a chevron or between three roses argent centered or*) is found in several margins. A. Firmin-Didot sale (Paris, 1879, no. 18) to Fontaine; Robert Hoe Collection (Grolier Club exhibition, 1892, no. 63, 2 pl.); his sale (New York, 1912, II, no. 2496) to Quaritch; purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913) from Alexandre Imbert in 1912

Initials: Very fine 3- and 2-line initials of great variation: foliate initials in colours with white penwork, infilled with flowers, on coloured ornamented grounds; initials formed of branches in colours; humanistic letters decorated with candelabra ornamentation; line-fillers in the form of branches and a great variety of designs

Borders: The panel borders by the Master of Spencer 6 decorate two sides of his column borders and are in Renaissance candelabra designs. The borders by Jean Poyer are heavy architectural borders and gilt panels decorated with similar *all'antica* ornamentation.

Eighteen column miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

- f. 5 Annunciation to the Shepherds
- f. 10 Circumcision
- f. 11 Adoration of the Magi
- f. 13 Entry into Jerusalem
- f. 52 Ascension
- f. 61 Christ in Majesty, surrounded by five seraphim
- f. 63 Last Supper
- f. 99 Man of Sorrows within the historiated initial T(e Igitur); border decorated with the Arma Christi
- f. 115v Saint Gatien, bishop of Tours, preaching in church
- f. 117 Martyrdom of Saint Stephen
- f. 119v Presentation of Christ in the Temple
- f. 121v Annunciation to the Virgin
- f. 125 Birth of John the Baptist
- f. 131 Assumption of the Virgin
- f. 132v Birth of the Virgin
- f. 136v Saint Mauritius
- f. 141 Celestial vision of Saint John on Patmos
- f. 143 Resurrection of Lazarus
- f. 144 Saint Martin of Tours dividing his cloak with a beggar

In addition, five large miniatures and a large initial attributed to Jean Poyer (f=full-page):<sup>81</sup>

- f. 8 Nativity
- f. 50v Resurrection of Christ
- f. 59 Pentecost
- f. 85v Calvary (f)
- f. 86 Crucifixion (f)

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<sup>81</sup> For this manuscript, and particularly for the miniatures by Jean Poyer, see especially Wieck 2000; Plummer 1982, no. 112; and Hofmann 2004, 33, 38-39, 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 51, 53, 54, 62, 80, 106, 112, 131, 142-45, 153, 188, 191, Pls. 118-24. See also Hofmann 2003, 69; Grolier Club 1892, no. 63; de Ricci 1937, 1460; Fitzgerald 1992, 75b; Randall 1992, (cited in nos. 192, 206); Avril and Reynaud 1993, 317, no. 174; Girault 1995, fig. 1; Chastel 1995, 84; Burin 1996, 214; Wieck and Hearne 1999, 110-12, 119, 207, figs. 10, 11; Tenschert 2000, 456; Elsig 2000, 252; Natale 2001, 75, fig. III-15; Châtelet 2001, 163 n. 77; Fuchs and Oltrogge 2001, 111, Pls. 5, 6; Elsig and Avril 2002, 108, fig. 2; Thiébaud, Lorentz and Martin 2004, 171, fig. 99; Hofmann 2005, 134, Pl. 5; Avril 2005-6, 34-35; Bottineau-Fuchs 2006, 256; Avril 2007, 186; Wieck 2010, 229; Avril, Reynaud and Cordellier 2011, 196, 198, 200 n. 3; Charron 2012, 49; Chancel-Bardelot et al. 2012, 347, 368, no. 110; König 2012, 55, 62, 124 n. 151; Skemer 2013, I, 27.

## 28. The Guémadeuc *Mass of Saint Gregory*<sup>82</sup>

Private collection

Book of Hours

Use of Rome

c. 1500-1505

122 ff.

Parchment

207 x 135 mm, written space 120 x 72 mm, 1 column, 22 lines

In Latin, calendar in French

Lettre bâtarde, black ink, rubrics in red

Provenance: coat of arms of the Guémadeuc family

Borders: The border around the miniature attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 has a very finely formed classicising architrave in liquid gold. The pedestal of the base supports two child angels with blue wings, dressed in pink robes and holding the Guémadeuc arms. Above them, over the plinth, is a trompe-l'œil cartouche containing a two-line incipit. The cartouche distinguishes itself from those in the miniatures attributed to the Master of Antoine de Roche in its white outlines, identical to those attributed to our illuminator in the Hours of Jean de La Rue. Depth of the border is enforced by the inclusion of four columns, with two polygonal columns paired with two round columns. The round columns are decorated with wingless putti in relief sculpture. They are very finely drawn in different positions, displaying our illuminator's improved understanding of human anatomy. The capitals of the columns are Corinthian with curving acanthus leaves in two layers. The borders attributed to the Master of Antoine de Roche are decorated with flowers and fruit and architectural elements, and are divided into compartments, most of which include pictorial elements or small miniatures in medallions.

Initials: 2- and 1-line initials are mostly in gold on blue or magenta grounds

One full-page miniature attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

f. 121 *Mass of Saint Gregory*

Pope Gregory is shown in profile with two acolytes dressed in blue cloaks and two cardinals in red garments (two more behind them are suggested by tops of heads). All facial features are carefully and individually painted with great skill. The features of the Man of Sorrows are those frequently used by the Master of Spencer 6 for Christ, while the arrangement of the Arma Christi recalls his treatment of the same subject in the Hours of Jean de La Rue.

In addition, there are 334 images, including 40 full-page miniatures attributed to the Master of Antoine de Roche.

Notes:

The Guémadeuc Hours was made around 1500 for the Breton couple Guémadeuc, whose coats of arms and interlocked initials T and A are found in the volume. It has been suggested that the Guémadeuc family intended the book as a gift to Anne of Brittany.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>82</sup> I am grateful to François Avril for bringing this miniature to my attention.

<sup>83</sup> König and Tenschert 2000, 2, 36.

All illumination, bar one full-page miniature, has been attributed to the so-called Master of Antoine de Roche, an artist possibly originating in south of Burgundy or in Franche-Comté.<sup>84</sup> The Master of Antoine de Roche can probably be situated in the duchy of Burgundy also during his later career, as suggests his stylistic connections with the masters of Burgundian prelate, and the patron of his eponymous manuscript, the Missal made for Antoine de Roche, a great prior of Cluny and a prior La Charité-sur-Loire.<sup>85</sup> The *Livre des premières prières* of Claude of France demonstrates the high rank of his clients.<sup>86</sup> The Master of Antoine de Roche included the device REGARDE LA FIN in the Guémadeuc Hours and in three other prayer books, and is possibly responsible for the “signature” A. BRANT in one of the miniatures (f. 105v).<sup>87</sup> The one miniature in a different style, the *Mass of Saint Gregory*, has previously been attributed to an anonymous painter from Lyon,<sup>88</sup> but can in fact be attributed to the Master of Spencer 6. The miniature is entirely integral to the manuscript and is not painted on a singleton. The text written by the scribe continues on its verso uninterrupted in the same ink as on the pages before and after. Also the border of the page, attributed to the Master of Spencer 6, is decorated in a style similar to the other decorated text pages. Our illuminator was thus most probably commissioned to paint the miniature into the manuscript in which the other miniatures had already been painted.

The circumstances for the commission appear very intriguing. How did the Master of Spencer 6 secure this task? Did the main illuminator sub-contract the Master of Spencer 6? Why was he only asked to paint this miniature? Did the Master of Antoine de Roche die or get ill before completing the manuscript and a new illuminator had to be found to paint the last miniature? Alternatively, did the Guémadeuc couple commission the miniature from our illuminator as they wished to have one miniature in his style? Perhaps one of our illuminator's former patrons had recommended him to them. The presence of members of the Guémadeuc family in Paris at the end of the fifteenth century,<sup>89</sup> suggests also the possibility that the patron commissioned the miniature from the Master of Spencer 6 in the capital.

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<sup>84</sup> The illuminator was initially named such in Avril and Reynaud 1993, 397-98.

<sup>85</sup> Paris, BNF, Latin 881; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 397-98.

<sup>86</sup> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum ms. 159; Avril and Reynaud 1993, 397-98.

<sup>87</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 398; König and Tenschert 2000, 2, 36.

<sup>88</sup> König and Tenschert 2000.

<sup>89</sup> König and Tenschert 2000, 2.

## 29. The Louvre fragments

Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des dessins, Inv. 20695, 20695 bis, 20695 ter, 20695 quarter (former shelfmarks/inventory numbers: MI 57, N III 35446)

Four fragment leaves from a book of hours

c. 1500-1505

Parchment

c. 171/174 x 121/125 mm, written space 95 x 62 mm, 1 column, 23 lines

In Latin

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink

Provenance: The coat of arms of the patron are found in the borders of the *Annunciation* and the *Carrying of the Cross*: *mi-parti au 1 d'argent à trois trèfles d'or, au croissant de gueules en cœur; au 2 d'or à la fasce vivrée du meme et en pointe d'une aigle d'azur membrée de gueules*. The arms remain unidentified, but contain elements that Philippe Palasi has demonstrated to be associated with seignories in Touraine, thus strongly suggesting that the manuscript was made for a patron in this region.<sup>90</sup> In the nineteenth century the leaves were in the collection of Horace de Salviac, Count of Viel-Castel (1802-1864), who gave them to the Louvre in 1854.

Initials: On all the miniatures, bar the *Annunciation*, cartouches are placed on top of the scenes containing the incipits to the texts and fine decorated 4-line initials. The initials are in light blue, ornamented in white foliage penwork, on grounds in darker blue, ornamented in gold. The initials are infilled with a rabbit, a bird and bluebells, respectively, on shell gold grounds. 1-line initials and line-fillers are in gold on brown grounds.

Borders: Architectural borders in shell gold, with columns and arches taking vegetal forms, trimmed tree trunks and branches, decorated with colourful falling swags (similar to those in *Les heures de la croix*, but here more finely executed)

Four miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:<sup>91</sup>

Inv. 20695                      Annunciation to the Virgin

Inv. 20695 bis                Nativity

Inv. 20695 ter                Adoration of the Magi

Inv. 20695 quarter        Carrying of the Cross

<sup>90</sup> Private communications.

<sup>91</sup> Attributed initially by Nicole Reynaud (Avril and Reynaud 1993, 343-344, no. 190); see also Hoffman 2011, including reproductions of all four leaves.

### 30. The Drouot leaves<sup>92</sup>

Unknown location

Five fragments from a book of hours

c. 1500-1505

Parchment

Provenance: Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 15 March 1989, salle 1, no. 8

Five arched miniatures cut out from pages in a book of hours attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

- 1 Annunciation to the Virgin
- 2 Visitation
- 3 Nativity
- 4 Annunciation to the Shepherds
- 5 Adoration of the Magi

Notes:

The scenes are depicted in dramatic close-up, presenting the figures in three-quarter length. They display fine artistic quality, with highly worked draperies, bright colours and profuse use of gold highlighting. The compositions and figure types show close association with the manuscripts our illuminator made around this period, particularly the Arsenal and the Spencer Hours.

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<sup>92</sup> I have been unable to see these miniatures; I am particularly grateful to Nicole Reynaud for sharing images of them with me.

### 31. The Spencer Hours

New York, NYPL, Spencer Collection, ms. 6

Book of hours

Use of Rome

c. 1500-1505

195 ff.

Parchment

198 x 131 mm, written space 116 x 65 mm, 1 column, 21 lines, ruled in red ink

Collation: 1<sup>8</sup>, 2<sup>6</sup>, 3-12<sup>8</sup>, 13<sup>2</sup>, 14-24<sup>8</sup>, 25<sup>2</sup>, 26<sup>8+1</sup>

In Latin, calendar in French

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in red

Provenance: bookseller Joseph Lilly; Henry Huth (1815-78); Alfred H. Huth (1850-1910); Huth sale, Sotheby's, London, part III, 2-6 and 9-12 June 1913, lot 3802; Leighton; bookseller Lathrop C. Harper, New York, from whom purchased for the Spencer Collection on 4 June 1919

Initials: 3-line initials in grey or pink ornamented with white penwork, infilled with flowers, on gold grounds; 2- and 1-line initials in pink ornamented with penwork in white and light blue, infilled with flowers, on gold grounds; line-fillers in gold and colours

Borders: Text pages decorated with foliate borders in the outer margins, incorporating birds, animals, insects, and grotesques of great variety; calendar pages are decorated with borders composed of trimmed tree trunks and branches incorporating putti, falling swags, and other Italianate motifs; miniatures within gilt architectural borders

Two double-page miniatures (d), thirty-three full-page miniatures (f), forty smaller miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:<sup>93</sup>

- |          |                                                                    |
|----------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ff. 1v-2 | Expulsion from Paradise (d)                                        |
| f. 2v    | January: Feasting (f)                                              |
| f. 3     | Aquarius: two child water-carriers                                 |
| f. 3v    | February: Falconry (f)                                             |
| f. 4     | Pisces: a child fishing                                            |
| f. 4v    | March: Pruning vines (f)                                           |
| f. 5     | Aries: a ram                                                       |
| f. 5v    | April: Courting, walking in the garden (f)                         |
| f. 6     | Taurus: a child poking a bull with a stick                         |
| f. 6v    | May: Courting, riding and walking in the countryside (f)           |
| f. 7     | Gemini: represented as lovers (rather than twins) hiding in a bush |
| f. 7v    | June: Mowing and stacking hay (f)                                  |
| f. 8     | Cancer: two children poking a giant crab in a pond with sticks     |
| f. 8v    | July: Reaping and binding sheaves of wheat (f)                     |
| f. 9     | Leo: a lion in a rocky landscape                                   |
| f. 9v    | August: Falconry; threshing in the background (f)                  |
| f. 10    | Virgo: two maidens                                                 |
| f. 10v   | September: Harvesting grapes (f)                                   |
| f. 11    | Libra: two maidens holding scales                                  |
| f. 11v   | October: Plowing and sowing; a rabbit hunt in the background (f)   |
| f. 12    | Scorpio: two children poking a scorpion with sticks                |

<sup>93</sup> For earlier descriptions, see particularly Plummer 1982, 73-74, no. 95A and Wieck 2005.

- f. 12v November: Falconry; feeding pigs in the background (f)
- f. 13 Sagittarius: two centaurs drawing arrows at each other
- f. 13v December: Wild boar hunt (f)
- f. 14 Capricorn: a child pokes a seagoat with his stick, while another child tries to pull him away
- f. 14v John exiled on Patmos (f)
- f. 16v Turkish armies besieging Antioch (f)
- f. 18v Matthew writing (f)
- f. 20v Christ or Mark protecting ships at sea (f)
- f. 22 Betrayal of Christ (f)
- f. 22v Christ before Caiaphas (f)
- ff. 32v-33 Annunciation to the Virgin (d). The prophets who foretold the advent of a Redeemer are decorating the wall behind.
- f. 49v Visitation (f)
- f. 59v Carrying of the Cross (matins to the Hours of the Cross) (f)
- f. 61v Christ with the Virgin Mary, Peter and another Apostle (matins to the Hours of the Holy Spirit) (f)
- f. 63v Nativity (f)
- f. 68v Annunciation to the Shepherds (f)
- f. 73v Adoration of the Magi (f)
- f. 78v Herod embarking for Rome or Jerusalem (f)
- f. 83v Massacre of the Innocents (f)
- f. 90v Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin (f)
- f. 96v David and Bathsheba (f)
- f. 114v The Three Living and the Three Dead (f)
- f. 152v Christ holding an orb and blessing, standing in a landscape, full-length (f)
- f. 153v God the Father, holding an orb and blessing, viewed in half length (9 lines)
- f. 154 God the Son, pointing at the Cross, viewed in half length (9 lines)
- f. 154v Dove of the Holy Spirit (9 lines)
- f. 155 Sudarium with the image of Christ's face (9 lines)
- f. 156v Virgin and Child with a bird, viewed in half length (f)
- f. 160v Virgin and Child enthroned with angels (f)
- f. 164v Crucifixion (f)
- f. 167v Annunciation to the Virgin, viewed in half length (f)
- In this second *Annunciation* of the manuscript, Mary is depicted at her prie-dieu (presumably interrupted from her reading the Bible at the moment when she reaches the prophecy of Isaiah foretelling the coming of Christ, as early Christian commentators say)
- f. 173v Michael vanquishing the devil, viewed in half length (9 lines)
- f. 174 John the Baptist carrying a lamb, *Agnus Dei*, viewed in half length (9 lines)
- f. 174v John the Evangelist blessing the poisoned chalice, viewed in half length (9 lines)
- f. 175 Peter holding keys and Paul holding a sword, viewed in half length (9 lines)
- f. 175v James carrying a pilgrims staff, viewed in half length (9 lines)
- f. 176 Christ with Apostles, viewed in half length (9 lines)
- f. 176v Stephen with a stone on his head, viewed in half length (9 lines)
- f. 177 Lawrence holding a book, viewed in half length (9 lines)
- f. 177v Christopher carrying the Christ Child, viewed in half length (9 lines)
- f. 178v Sebastian shot with arrows, viewed in half length (9 lines)
- f. 179v Martyrs
- f. 180 Nicholas, three children in a tub, viewed in half length (9 lines)
- f. 180v Claude

- f. 181v Anthony, reading from an open book in a forest, viewed in half length (9 lines)  
 f. 182 Anne teaching the Virgin Mary to read, viewed in half length (9 lines)  
 f. 182v Mary Magdalene with an ointment jar  
 f. 183 Catherine, holding her hands together in prayer, viewed in half length (10 lines)  
 f. 183v Barbara, standing by a tower and holding a book, viewed in half length (9 lines)  
 f. 184v Margaret, viewed in half length (9 lines)  
 f. 185v Apollonia, holding a pincer with a tooth, and a book, viewed in half length (9 lines)

## Contents:

- ff. 2v-14 Calendar in French, including Geneviève, Ursinus, but the main feasts were never filled in  
 ff. 14v-21v Gospel sequences  
 ff. 22-31v Passion according to John  
 f. 32 blank (ruled)  
 ff. 32v-95v Hours of the Virgin, with the short Hours of the Cross and of the Holy Spirit incorporated from lauds onwards  
 f. 96 blank (ruled)  
 ff. 96v-114 Penitential Psalms and Litany, including Eutropius, Blaise, Germanus, Marcellus, Ursinus, Avia, Susanna, Radegundis, Geneviève, Clara, and Valeria  
 ff. 114v-152 Office of the Dead, use of Rome  
 ff. 152v-156 Suffrages to the Trinity, God the Father, God the Son, the Holy Spirit, followed by the prayer to the Holy Face, *Salve sancta facies*  
 ff. 156v-173 Prayers to the Virgin: *Obsecro te*, *O intemerata*, *Stabat mater dolorosa*, *Missus est Gabriel angelus*  
 ff. 173v-185v Suffrages of saints (see miniatures above)  
 ff. 185v-195 Prayers: the Verses of Saint Gregory; the Verses of Saint Bernard; prayer to Christ between the Elevation and the Agnus Dei, with an indulgence given in French; Prayer to Saint John on the letters of Mary's name; prayer to Mary, *Ave Maria ancilla trinitatis*..., prayer on Christ's name, *O bone Ihesu*...; prayer to Christ, *Domine Ihesu Christe rogo te*...; prayer to the Three Kings, *Rex Gaspar rex Melchior*...  
 f. 195v blank (ruled)

### 32. The *Anabase* of Henry VII

London, BL, Royal 19 C VI

Xenophon, *Anabasis*, translated into French by Claude de Seyssel: *L'Anabase ou le voyage du jeune Cyrus*

c. 1506

182 ff.

Parchment

320 x 225 mm, written space 205 x 135 mm, 1 column, 32 lines, ruled in red ink

In French

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in red

Provenance: Commissioned by Claude de Seyssel who presented it to Henry VII of England; given to the British Museum by George II in 1757 as part of the Old Royal Library

Initials: Large 6-line initials, including the one beginning the main text, formed of two dragons, undoubtedly in reference to the recipient of the book, Henry VII, for dragon was one of his most important emblems. Each chapter begins with a very fine decorated initial in bright, fresh colours or in gold, decorated with fine foliate penwork in white (or red on gold). Small initials are in gold on blue and red grounds, line-fillers in blue and red with penwork decoration in gold.

Borders: Miniatures are within full, decorated borders on liquid gold grounds, with carefully painted acanthus foliage, flowers, and grotesques displaying great imagination, of the type also found in the Spencer and Copenhagen Hours.

Ten large miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

- f. 9v Claude de Seyssel offering his work to Louis XII  
His councillors, courtiers and armed guard surround him.
- f. 16v The royal arms of England, supported by a red dragon and a white greyhound
- f. 17 Claude de Seyssel offering his work (this manuscript) to Henry VII  
The king is enthroned under a canopy, inscribed (with the small capitals typically used by our illuminator): *Dieu Est Mon Droit*.
- f. 20 Death of Darius II, king of Syria (on the right); Darius's son, Artaxerxes enthroned, orders the imprisonment of his brother, Cyrus (on the left)
- f. 46 Greek camp: Cyrus assembling troops
- f. 64v Greeks by the sea: the troops of Cyrus continue their journey on foot; the scene takes place by a seaside with galleys, with soldiers depicted in the foreground in armour.  
The braided hairstyle of the woman to the left perhaps provides evidence of the inspiration the Master of Spencer 6 found in the work of the Master of Philippa of Guelders.
- f. 83 A battle scene with a number of dead soldiers lying in a heap on the right, and a group of Cyrus's soldiers standing on the left, Cyrus singled out by his helmet decorated with a fine eagle's head
- f. 106v Greeks keeping council by the sea of Cuvine
- f. 131 Greeks dancing and dining
- f. 152 Greeks fighting at the gates of Byzantium

Contents:

- ff. 1-9 Table of contents with chapter summaries
- ff. 10-15 Preface dedicating the work to Louis XII
- ff. 15v-16 blank, ruled

- ff. 17-19v Preface dedicating the work to Henry VII, beginning:  
 'Au plus saige prinpce qui soit sur terre  
 Henry sixieme [*sic*] regnant en Angleterre  
 Claude de Seyssel humblement fait present  
 de ceste histoire tresrere au temps present.'
- ff. 20-182v Main text

## Notes:

Xenophon's *Anabasis* gives a heroic example of leadership in battle, telling the story of the retreat of 10,000 Greek soldiers out of Asia Minor. Claude de Seyssel translated this work for the first time into French in a copy prepared for Louis XII in 1504-1505.<sup>94</sup> It was the first of many classical works of history which had hitherto only been known through Greek and Latin copies, but which Seyssel set out systematically to translate, working in the service of Louis XII.<sup>95</sup> Seyssel had been teaching law at the University of Turin and was a valued jurist in the court of Savoy, when he was summoned to the court of France by the newly crowned Louis XII in 1498, through the intermediary role of Georges d'Amboise.<sup>96</sup> The choice of Seyssel was highly political: the conquest of Milan was the main goal Louis had set for his reign, and Seyssel had connections with the court of Savoy, the state that held the mountain passes leading to Italy.<sup>97</sup>

The copy described here was a diplomatic gift to the king of England, Henry VII.<sup>98</sup> Louis XII had sent Seyssel as an ambassador to England in 1506, to plead the friendship of Henry; France needed allies ahead of their Italian endeavours and Henry needed to be dissuaded from marrying Margaret of Austria, an alliance that would link England with France's enemies.<sup>99</sup> Seyssel's mission to England was successful. He gained Henry's esteem by giving a remarkable oration to the English court that was printed almost immediately in England by Wynkyn de Worde, and by offering him this manuscript.<sup>100</sup>

The scribe made twice the error of referring to the king as Henry VI (within the verses on f. 16v and in the second preface on f. 17). Despite these errors, the copy undoubtedly pleased the king. Seyssel ends his preface with flattery of Henry's qualities as a ruler:

'...à mon advis vous estes le prinpce sur la terre qui autant ou plus avez monsté par experience d'avoir des qualités requises pour regner. Et aussi de scavoir comme il fault conduire non pas seulement une armee, mais ung grand royaume, soit en paix ou en guerre...'<sup>101</sup>

The relative lack of delicacy and detail in the painting of this and the copy that followed in comparison to the original illuminations attributed to the Master of Philippa of Guelders in Louis's copy perhaps suggests that the Master of Spencer 6 made the copies from patterns or drawings, rather than directly from the original.<sup>102</sup> As has been suggested, he may have been sub-contracted for the work by the Master of Philippa of Guelders, rather than receiving the commission directly from Seyssel. In 1506, the Master of Philippa of Guelders appears to have

<sup>94</sup> Paris, BNF, fr. 702.

<sup>95</sup> Boone 2000, 565; Thibault 1989, 26-32.

<sup>96</sup> Boone 2000, 562; Thibault 1989, 27. George d'Amboise had close ties to the Seyssel family: his niece, Barbe d'Amboise, married Claude de Seyssel's cousin, Jean de Seyssel in 1501; Boone 2007, 36. By the end of his career, Seyssel had reached the archbishopric of Turin in 1517.

<sup>97</sup> Boone 2000, 562.

<sup>98</sup> For this manuscript see particularly Jackson 2011; see also Avril and Reynaud 1993, 345; Ward and Herbert 1883-1910, I, 54; Warner and Gilson 1921, II (2), 334-335; Saxl and Meier 1953, III, 201; MacKinney 1965, no. 63; Backhouse 1995, 179; Krochalis 1988, 56; Carley 2000, xxvi, n. 15.

<sup>99</sup> Boone 2007, 39.

<sup>100</sup> Dionisotti 1995, 77; Boone 2007, 39.

<sup>101</sup> London, BL, Royal 19 C VI, f. 19v.

<sup>102</sup> Avril and Reynaud 1993, 345.

been busy illuminating the magnificent first volume of the *Vie du Christ* for Philippa of Guelders, which might be the reason why the Master of Spencer 6 was involved, whether directly by de Seyssel, or through the Master of Philippa of Guelders.<sup>103</sup> If he executed the miniatures based on drawings, it is possible that he carried out the work in Bourges rather than in Paris. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the style of the Master of Philippa of Guelders appears in general neater and more detailed, and he seems to have used a thinner paintbrush than the Spencer Master, also potentially explaining the differences. Furthermore, other Parisian productions for royal patrons that appear to lack care in their workmanship suggest that such enormous commissions with large miniatures, often produced in haste, placed the emphasis on bright colours and the amount of gold.<sup>104</sup> In this copy, the rich and intense colours also compensated for the lack of verisimilitude and the apparent haste in which the copy was produced, evident also in some blatant mistakes in the presentation text. Yet, the final appearance of the manuscript is imposing and it would undoubtedly have made a good impression on the English king.

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<sup>103</sup> Lyon, MM, ms. 5125. Avril and Reynaud 1993, 278.

<sup>104</sup> Similar observations about weak workmanship can be made, for instance, as regards the copy of *Bataille judaïque* (Paris, BnF, Rés. Vélins 696) and the book of hours the Master of Jacques de Besançon illuminated for Charles VIII (Madrid, Bibl. nat. Vit. 24-1); see Avril and Reynaud 1993, 261-2.

### 33. The *Anabasis* of Charles II

Paris, BnF, fr. 701 (former shelfmark: Anc. 7140)

Xenophon, *Anabasis*, translated into French by Claude de Seyssel: *L'Anabase ou le voyage du jeune Cyrus*

c. 1506

194 ff.

Parchment

1 column, 32 lines, ruled in red ink

In French

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in red

Provenance: Charles II of Savoy, passed by heritage to François I, old royal collection

Ten miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 (mostly following those in the copy made for Henry VII):<sup>105</sup>

- f. 12 Claude de Syssel offering his work to Louis XII, surrounded by his court (as in Henry VII's copy)
- f. 20v The arms of Charles II of Savoy, supported by two lions
- f. 21 Claude de Syssel offering his work to Charles II of Savoy
- f. 24v Death of Darius II, king of Syria; Darius's son, Artaxerxes enthroned, orders the imprisonment of his brother, Cyrus (as in Henry VII's copy)
- f. 51 [27]<sup>106</sup> The Greeks learn about Cyrus's death
- f. 70 [46] Greeks by the sea. The troops of Cyrus continue their journey on foot; the scene takes place by a seaside with galleys, with soldiers depicted in the foreground in armour (very close to the scene in Henry VII's copy, except that the hair of the woman facing away is not braided)
- f. 90 [66] A battle scene with a number of dead soldiers lying in a heap on the right, and a group of Cyrus's soldiers standing on the left, Cyrus singled out by his helmet decorated with a fine eagle's head (as in Henry VII's copy)
- f. 116 [92] Greeks keeping council by the sea of Cuvine (as in Henry VII's copy)
- f. 142 [118] Greeks dancing and dining (as in Henry VII's copy)
- f. 164 [140] Greeks fighting at the gates of Byzantium (as in Henry VII's copy)

Contents:

- f. 1-2 blank
- ff. 3-11 Table of contents with chapter summaries
- f. 11v blank
- ff. 12v-17v Preface dedicating the work to Louis XII
- ff. 18-20 blank
- ff. 20v-23v Preface dedicating the work to Charles II of Savoy, beginning:  
'A son seigneur, et prinpce naturel  
Charles second, noble duc de savoie  
Ce petit don, fait claud de seissel  
Son bon subiect, luy priant quil le voye.'
- f. 24 blank
- ff. 25-194 Main text

<sup>105</sup> For an earlier description of the manuscript by Nicole Reynaud, see Avril and Reynaud 1993, 345, no. 192.

<sup>106</sup> Contemporary foliation that begins in the beginning of the main text, on f. 25 of the modern foliation.

### 34. The Hours of Guillaume de Seigne and Claudine Fortier

London, BL, Harley 2969

Book of hours

Use of Rome (Prime Ant. *Assumpta est*, Cap. *Que est*, None Ant. *Pulchra es*, Cap. *In plateis*)

1508

161 ff.

Parchment

210 x 125 mm, written space 120 x 65 mm, 1 column, 24 lines, ruled in pink ink

In Latin

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink, rubrics in bright pink/fuchsia (main feasts in the calendar in blue)

Provenance: The manuscript was made for the marriage of Guillaume de Seigne, Lord of Boispaceau and *trésorier général de l'artillerie du roi*, and Claudine Fortier, held in the parish church of Bléré, near Tours, on Monday 28th August 1508, according to a contemporary inscription in the manuscript: 'Le lundi vingthuitiesme jour daoust lan mil cinq cens et huit furent espousez en leglise parrochiale de blere guillaume de seigne tresorier de lartillerie et Claudine Fortier fille de monseigneur le tresorier maistre Florimont Fortier' (f. 156). This inscription is followed by many dated entries recording the birth and baptism of children from 1514 to 1528 (ff. 156-159). The family coat of arms and the couple's initials G and C decorate the borders on ff. 33, 38, 70v and 136. The manuscript then passed down the family, as informs the dedication on f. 1v: 'A damoysselle Anne de Seigne dame de Beauchesne [?] et de Boyspaceau'. By 1567, after the death of Guillaume and Claudine's grandson, Galiot de Seigne, the manuscript was passed to the Vasselin family, who were closely linked to the de Seigne family.<sup>107</sup> By the end of the sixteenth century the book was in the hands of certain Decorat (?) ladies, whose inscription is found on f. 2: 'Ces heures apartiene a Mademoiselles decorat [?]'. In the eighteenth century the manuscript became part of the Harley Collection, formed by Robert Harley (b. 1661, d. 1724) and Edward Harley (b. 1689, d. 1741). The manuscript arrived to the British Museum through Edward Harley's daughter, Margaret Cavendish Bentinck (b. 1715, d.1785), duchess of Portland, when the Harley manuscripts were sold to the nation in 1753.<sup>108</sup>

Initials: Very fine 3-line initials on the miniature pages in colours decorated with white penwork foliage on grounds in gold or colours; presented with incipits of three lines on cartouches placed on top of the miniatures. Very fine and imaginative decorated 2-line initials for each text division are in gold, blue or white with fine penwork decoration and on grounds in blue, red or gold. 1-line initials on grounds in three alternating colours: blue, red and brown. Line-fillers in red, blue and brown with fine, varied gold penwork decoration; some small line-fillers take the form of flowers.

Borders: architectural borders; columns, some in coloured marble, some partly marble, partly gilt, with Corinthian capitals, some resembling tree trunks; high plinths decorated with flowers and fruit, including heartsease, columbine, daisies, roses and strawberries; Renaissance architraves

<sup>107</sup> In 1588, one Anne Vasselin was a Lady of the fiefdom of Bois Pateau, the same fief that had been created for Guillaume de Seigne on the domaine that had previously belonged to the fiefdom of the abbey Saint-Julien; Busserolle 1878-1888, 288. Was she Galiot de Seigne's widow? The following inscription is found on f. 2 of the manuscript: 'Le lundi xxvije iour de octobre mil cinq cens soixante sept une heure apres mynuict nasquit Alexandre Vasselin et furent ses parains Iacques Chapeau sr du grand goustan pres seymes et Pierre Regnault sr de la Bochestiere: et marayne Claude Dargy dame de mesvre et fut baptize en leglise de blere et nasquit A Boys pateau'. Further inscriptions relating to the Vasselin family are found on ff. 158v-161v.

<sup>108</sup> For this manuscript, see particularly Deuffic 2010; British Museum 1808-12, II, no. 2969; Backhouse 1985, 58, pl. 57; Backhouse 2004, fig. 32.

and arches. Individual stems of flowers and strawberries wind around columns and arches. Several columns are decorated with the initials of the couple.

Fourteen full-page and seven smaller miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

- f. 9 John being taken to the boat that will exile him to Patmos  
John stands in the foreground in full figure (bare feet peeking under his garment), holding a book in his left hand and raising his right hand; he is held by two soldiers whose armour is finely painted, the one in the middle has a magnificent helmet ornamented with a dragon; a yellow iris is growing on the waterfront. The panels of the plinth are decorated with a rose and a strawberry.
- f. 10v Luke at his lectern; kneeling ox beside him engaging with the viewer (16 lines)
- f. 11v Matthew, writing on a scroll on his knee; small angel hovers above him (8 lines)
- f. 12v Mark, writing on his knee; lion beside him (8 lines)
- f. 13v Crucifixion  
Predella: Christ praying in the Garden of Gethsemane, while the Apostles sleep under a starry sky
- f. 33 Meeting of Anne and Joachim at the Golden Gate  
Anne is depicted wearing a white turban similar in shape to that worn by Elizabeth in the *Visitation* with a long tailpiece and a wide rim and cloth covering the top of her head, while this turban is fastened under her chin. A secondary scene of an angel appearing to the Joachim praying is added in the distance of the landscape.
- f. 38 Annunciation
- f. 50v Visitation
- f. 60 Nativity  
The Virgin, Josef and two child angels kneel by the manger on which lies the Christ Child emanating a mandorla of bright light depicted in acidic yellow, warm orange and gold. The Virgin and one of the angels appear to be straightening the white cloth under the Christ Child. The ox and ass witness the scene from their pen.
- f. 64 Annunciation to the Shepherds  
A charming detail in the foreground: the shepherds's flask is kept cold in the river.
- f. 67v Adoration of the Magi
- f. 70v Presentation at the Temple  
Joseph carries a long candle and a basket with two turtle doves. Christ Child is fully swaddled in a white cloth secured with scarlet ribbons, as in the Langres Hours and the Getty *Presentation*. Simeon is, unusually, kneeling on the floor holding out a yellow cloth. The floor is tiled in pink and blue, in line with the preference for pastel tones during our illuminator's later career.
- f. 73v Massacre of the Innocents
- f. 79 Coronation of the Virgin
- f. 91 David and Bathsheba
- f. 105 Job on the dunghill with his three companions  
His castle is depicted in ruins. The friend in the foreground wears a hat of a particular shape with a brim that is very narrow at the front and high at the back, and has a high round body, resembling a *skiadion* of byzantine emperors.
- f. 133 Christ blessing, half-length, 7 lines  
The illuminator appears to have intended a globe on Christ's left hand (faint drawing visible), but seems to have forgotten to paint it
- f. 133v God the Father, blessing and wearing a papal tiara, half-length, 7 lines; Christ blessing beside a Cross, half-length, 7 lines
- f. 134 Dove of the Holy Spirit, 7 lines
- f. 134v Veil of Saint Veronica with an image of Christ's face, 7 lines

- f. 136 John the Baptist is depicted preaching in a forest to a group of richly clad listeners, when Christ walks by; John the Baptist is shown exclaiming, as inscribed on the scroll that he holds: 'Ecce Agnus Dei, Ecce Q[ui] Tol[li]t P[ec]cata mundi'

## Contents:

- ff. 3-8v Calendar, undecorated (and not full), includes a number of Tours saints: Briccius, bishop of Tours (13 Nov), Gatien, bishop of Tours (18 Dec, written with an 'r', i.e. 'Gratiani'), Grégoire, bishop of Tours (17 Nov), Martin, bishop of Tours (both, the main feast on 11 Nov and Translation on 4 July included).
- ff. 9-13 Gospel sequences
- ff. 13v-32v Passion according to John
- ff. 33-37 Office of the conception of the Virgin Mary
- ff. (unfoliated) 3 and half blank unfoliated folios
- ff. 38-90 Hours of the Virgin
- ff. 91-98v Penitential Psalms
- ff. 99-104v Litany and prayers
- ff. 105-132v Office of the Dead
- ff. 133- 134v Prayers to the Trinity
- ff. 134v-135 *Salve sancta facies*
- f. 135r-v *Deus qui nobis famiulis tuis lumine vultus*
- ff. 136-137 Suffrages to John the Baptist (with a full-page miniature)
- ff. 137v-155v Suffrages (undecorated) to Michael, John the Evangelist, Peter and Paul, James, Andrew, Apostles, Stephen, Laurent, Gervasius and Protasius, Christopher, Sebastian, Denis, Adrian, Julian, Martin, Claude, Nicholas, Julian (the Hospitaller), Pavatio, Bertramio, Anthony, Francis, Roch, Virgin Mary, Anne, Mary Magdalene, Cecile, Catherine, Margaret, Barbara, Apollonia, Scolastica, martyrs, confessors; short prayers (no *Obsecro te* or *O intemerata*)

### 35. *Les Sept articles de la foi*

London, BL, Egerton 940

*Les Sept articles de la foi* by Jehan de Mehun (Jean le Meung), authored in 1341

c. 1508-1509

41 ff.

Parchment

280 x 185 mm, written space 175 x 110 mm, 1 column, 25 lines, ruled in red ink

Horizontal catchwords

In French

Lettre bâtarde, brown ink

Provenance: fifteenth-century inscriptions erased on f. 41v; in the eighteenth century belonged to one Madame Richardia and subsequently to the Saint-Sulpice monastery in Bourges (see contents of f. 1 below); Thomas Thorpe sold at Fletcher's on 21 April 1842, lot 747; bought by H. Bohn (£13); bought by the British Museum from Bohn seven days later on 28 April 1842.<sup>109</sup>

Initials: Large decorated initials on the pages that face the miniatures, in colours and gold. Small initials in gold on alternately red or blue grounds. Every line of text ends with a line-filler; these alternate in blue and brown decorated in gold foliage.

Borders: coloured marble columns with Corinthian capitals on plinths decorated with ornamental scenes and motifs in relief sculpture, and supporting curved Renaissance arches ornamented with falling swags, branches of fruit, flowers, birds, foliage, dolphins, angels and playing winged putti

Eight full-page miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 (misbound, all images full-page):

f. 2v Trinity, with the Virgin Mary and All Saints

On the plinth are inscribed the words OMNIS SPIRITUS LAUDET DOMINUM. The phrase derives from psalm 150, *Let every spirit praise the Lord*, and (instead of referring to Jean Colombe who used it as his signature) summarises the devotional content of the image. At the top of the image are shown God the Father, God the Son and the Dove of the Holy Spirit enthroned, while the Virgin Mary, enthroned to their right, and all saints below them, are all presented their hands together in prayer and praise. The miniature echoes the same subject in the Hours of Etienne Chevalier by Jean Fouquet.

f. 4 Baptism of Christ

The composition is the same as in the Bouer Hours and the Getty *Baptism*. Christ is depicted with a peculiar anatomy as in the Getty fragment: a very narrow waist, clearly articulated ribs, knees and muscles; the eyes are clear and penetrating. Also, as in the Getty *Baptism*, the illuminator included silver leaf on the faces of the angels on the columns, which has later oxidated, turning the faces black.

The arch is inscribed with the words: HIC EST FILIVS MEVS DILECTVS.

The plinth is decorated in fine red penwork suggesting relief sculpture showing a scene of hunting and an angel with an eagle.

f. 9 Nativity of Christ (1st article)

The scene is depicted in a large open interior with arches through which opens a view over a rural landscape vista with a single manor house and individual bare trees. The distant skyline is rendered in diluted blue. The architectural elements are realised in hues of blues. Four pillars in various styles support a vaulted ceiling, while the motif of the

<sup>109</sup> British Museum 1850, 105; Warner and Gilson, 1921, II (2), 323.

edge of a broken wall remind of the modesty of the stable. The treatment of light exquisite: the Christ Child emanates both gold and blue rays. Joseph is given the familiar features from our illuminator's repertoire: his old age is expressed by grey thinning hair and beard and characterising lines around the eyes. He raises his hands in amazement, as in the Bouer and the Boisrouvray Hours. In addition to the gestures, the colouring of the costumes is the same: Joseph is clad in a red tunic and a blue cloak. In this manuscript, the folds of the drapery are particularly accomplished; our illuminator paid particular attention to his shading in a darker colour and highlighting in a lighter colour and the cross-hatching in gold. His skill in anatomical presentation can be appreciated observing Joseph's hands, rendered with convincing shapes for the palms of the hands and the joints of the fingers.

The columns of the border support two peasants, as in the Bouer Hours. On the arch are inscribed the words GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN TER(R)A PAX HOMIN(I)BUS, while on the plinth reads PUER NATUS ES NOBIS.

f. 10 Crucifixion

The top half of the image is taken up by Christ crucified on the Cross, his figure emphasised against the pale blue sky. In the foreground, under the Cross, to the left, the Virgin is depicted standing by John who supports her under her arm and looks at her with a gloomy expression.

f. 20 Christ leading Adam and Eve from Purgatory

Christ of Resurrection holds the wrist of Adam and leads him and others away from what appears a mountaneous cave, topped by five devils escaping in every direction. The wooden door of the cave is now flat on the ground. The scene takes place in a mountainous landscape. The muscles of the nude figures are very prominent, as in the *Baptism*.

f. 22 Resurrection of Christ

f. 28v Ascention of Christ (6th article)

The Virgin Mary, the three Marys and Apostles witness the event

f. 34v Last Judgement (7th article)

The miniature is reminiscent of the same subject in the Laval Hours and the Hours of Louis d'Orleans attributed to Jacquelin de Montluçon.<sup>110</sup>

Contents:

f. 1 (eighteenth-century inscriptions) 'Ce manucrit contiens les Sept articles de foy, composez par Jehan Clopinel natif de Mehun sur Loire', 'Voyez la Notice qui est à la fin.', 'Il a e te doné le 24 May 1765 par Madame Richardia à M. Biscarel Prêtre de St Sulpice.'

f. 3 Facing the miniature of the Trinity, the text begins (with a 4-line initial):

'O glorieuse trinite.  
 Une essance en uraye unite.  
 En troys singulieues perso[n]nes.  
 O glorieuse deite.  
 En fouuerance maieste.  
 Qui ung dieu de toutes personnes  
 Qui toutes choses feis bonnes  
 Qui les quatre elemens esbonnes  
 Qui regnes en eternite  
 Qui vivre en entende ment donnes  
 Et tous les biens nous habandonnes  
 A yde moy ad te dutie

<sup>110</sup> Paris, BnF, lat. 920, f. 335; Saint Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Lat. Q.v.I.126, f. 78v.

Tu es alrum dieu qui tout feiz  
Qui char en la vierge preiz  
Sans la virginite mal mettre...'

f. 9v MISBOUND: the real beginning of the work can today be found here, on f. 9v;  
following the miniature of the Nativity, the text begins:

'O tu es glorieuse naissance  
Qui humilias la puissance  
A qui mille ne se compere  
Qui feis du sens dieu enfance  
Qui desordonnas ordonnance  
Quant tu feis de feis de fille mere...'

### 36. The Hours of Jean de la Rue

Paris, Private collection<sup>111</sup>

Book of hours

Use of Tours (Prime Ant. *O admirabile*, Cap. *Virgo Verbo concebit*; None Ant. *Germinavit*, Cap. *Te laudant angeli atque archangeli sancta dei*)

c. 1508-1510

154 ff.

Parchment

191 x 133 mm, written space 130 x 80 mm, 1 column, 18 lines, ruled in red ink

In Latin

Humanistic script, brown ink, rubrics in red

Provenance: Made for Jean de la Rue, notary and the king's secretary to Louis XII, treasurer of the wars, and his wife, Perrine Le Fuzelier; sold at Rotterdam on 27 April 1867, lot 44; private collection in England; collection of Lucien Dhuy; sold at Drouot in Paris on 23-24 May 1935, lot 14<sup>112</sup>

Seven miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6 (all, except last, full-page):

f. 23 Annunciation to the Virgin

The angel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary are viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. Gabriel approaching from the left: a young boy with delicate features: a curly, shoulder-length hair in golden brown with the curls drawn in gold; round, narrow, black eye brows; eyes narrowed between heavy upper and lower eyelids, touched in red; eyelashes drawn in black; shadows around the eyes in blue; a delicate nose modelled in skin-tone, white, grey and pink; delicate small mouth and chin with a hollow in bluish-grey. Dressed in a light lilac tunic embroidered in gold, with a blue collar on which in gold inscribed GABRIEL. The collar of a delicate white linen chemise smock is visible. Raising his narrow index finger in a sign to speak. Bearing his sceptre as herald of God. The Virgin of the *Annunciation*, as the Virgin of the *Missus est Gabriel angelus* prayer in the Spencer Hours, is narrowing her eyes between heavy eyelids and her face is carefully painted with highlighting and bluish-grey shadows. She is holding her hands in prayer in front of her prie-dieu. Different textures are handled with particular sensitivity: the ermine cuffs of her dress, the delicate collar of her white linen chemise revealed under the dress, and the white silk lining of her cloak. Behind the two main figures of the narrative, the architecture shows a cloister from which, behind the pillars, several angels in red and blue and with shoulder-length hair, look on at the holy scene. On the frieze above the cloister is inscribed AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA.

f. 41v Ecce Homo

Pilate exhibits Christ prior to his Crucifixion, viewed in dramatic close-up in three-quarter-length. The crowd is not included in the image, but Pilate is facing the viewer, implying he is part of the crowd. Christ's bare upper body is covered in bleeding wounds. The words uttered by Pilates at this moment 'Ecce Homo' (i.e. 'Behold the Man'; John 19:5) are written on the cartouche.

f. 43 Pentecost

The composition is reminiscent of the scene attributed to Jean Poyer in the Lallemand Missal. As in the Poyer composition, the Apostles are circled around the room, with two of them, in the foreground, shown partly facing away to the centre of the group.

<sup>111</sup> I am very grateful to the owner of the manuscript for facilitating my examination of it.

<sup>112</sup> For this manuscript, see Avril 2012, 346-347, no. 98; Hofmann 2004, 58, 168-169.

- f. 75 King David  
The composition is very similar to the King David in New York, NYPL MA 151 (f. 85), attributed to a student or follower of Jean Poyer.
- f. 90 Job on the dunghill with his three companions
- f. 146v Mass of Saint Gregory with patrons  
Saint Mark introduces Marc de La Rue, while Saint Peter holding the keys introduces his mother, Perrine de La Rue. Perrine's younger son is presented kneeling at her right side.
- f. 148v Saint Gregory (half-page).

## Contents:

- ff. 1-12 Calendar, including the local Tours saints Gatien, Lidoire and Brice
- ff. 13-21v Gospel sequences
- f. 22 blank, ruled
- ff. 23-74v Hours of the Virgin, with the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit incorporated
- ff. 75-89v Penitential Psalms and Litany
- ff. 90-126 Office of the Dead
- ff. 126v-128v Prayers: *Mitissime deus...*, *Protector nostra alpice...deus refugium...ne delicias omnipotens, O ihesu Nazarene...*, *Domine ihesu christe saluator...*, *Estime domine ne tardaveris...*
- ff. 129-134v Suffrages of the saints: Michael, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Christopher, Sebastian, Gaciano (Gatien, bishop of Tours), Martin, Rocho, Anne, Catherine (singled out with a rubric in blue), Barbara, Margaret, Apollonia
- f. 135v blank
- f. 136 Psalm 21 (beginning in the lower half of the page)
- f. 142v *Gloria patri et filio*
- f. 143 blank
- ff. 143v-146 Prayer to Saint Augustine
- ff. 146-148 Verses of Saint Gregory; with indulgences:  
'Saint gregoire adone .xiiii.  
mille ans de vrai pardon a  
tous ceulx qui diront deuo  
tement sept fois Pater n(ost)r(e) .&  
Ave maria. auectes orailos  
qui fenfuiuent.' (f. 146)
- 'Pape Boniface donna a tous  
Vrays co(n)fes & repantans  
Qui diront ces cinq vers de  
Uant la vison saint gregoire  
Pleniere absolution' (f. 148)
- f. 149v Prayer to Saint Claude
- ff. 150v-152 Prayer to Saint Susanna (ends at top page)
- f. 152v blank
- f. 153-v *Inviolata integra et casta*, prayer in verse (as in the Langres Hours)
- f. 154 Marian antiphon, *Ave Regina Caelorum*

### 37. The Geneva Hours

Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, ms. Latin 147 (former shelfmarks: Ms. lat. 33a; Inv. 946)

Book of hours

Use of Rome (Prime Ant. *Assumpta est*, Cap. *Que est*, None Ant. *Pulchra es*, Cap. *In plateis*)

c. 1500

197 ff. (missing leaves: four leaves between ff. 41-42, one leaf between ff. 66-67, 163-164, 172-173, two leaves between ff. 173-174, one leaf between ff. 179-180)

Parchment

116 x 70 mm, 1 column, 24 lines, ruled in purple ink

Gatherings generally in eights

Traces of horizontal catchwords

Lettre bâtarde, black/brown ink, rubrics in blue

Provenance: The manuscript belonged to the Geneva family of Naville, who gave it to the Bibliothèque de Genève in 1803; the family coat of arms is found on f. 1v.

Bibliography:

Initials: 1-, 2- and 3-line initials in pink decorated with white foliage penwork, on gold grounds and infilled with flowers

Borders: architectural borders in two compartments around a main miniature and a predella; decorated initials and the first five lines of text are on a cartouche laid on top

Thirty-five full-page miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

- f. 8 John the Evangelist writing on the scroll that is resting on his knee, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. Dressed in red tunic and blue cape over one shoulder. Predella: his symbol, the eagle.
- f. 10 Luke raising his quill in the air, while holding his codex on his knee with the other hand, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. Predella: his symbol, the ox (oddly formed).
- f. 11v Matthew dipping his quill in the ink pot while holding a small erasing knife in the other hand, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. A landscape with a castle can be seen through a window opening. Predella: his symbol, the man.
- f. 13 Mark sharpening his quill, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. Predella: his symbol, the lion.
- f. 14v Virgin and Child, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. Predella: Boats at sea.
- f. 18 Betrayal of Christ, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. Predella: soldiers fighting over the possession of Christ's clothes.
- f. 26 Annunciation to the Virgin, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. Predella: the Virgin Mary weaving with her companions
- f. 34 Visitation, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. The Virgin Mary greets Zacharias while Elizabeth looks on. Predella: the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth seated with their companions.
- f. 42v Catherine, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. Predella: landscape [?]
- f. 45 Rescuing souls from Purgatory / Patron portrait

- f. 46v Nativity, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length.  
Predella: Journey of the shepherds
- f. 54 Annunciation to the Shepherds, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. Three shepherds in the foreground, one seen in silhouette, look up to the angel appearing in a blue cloud, outlined in gold.  
Predella: landscape [?]
- f. 60v Adoration of the Magi, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length.  
Predella: the Magi returning by sea: a maritime landscape with three boats.
- f. 72v Rest on the Flight into Egypt, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. The Virgin and the Christ Child are seated in the foreground, while behind them Joseph is reaching to the branches of the palm-tree, referring to the story from the Pseudo-Matthew which tells that a palm-tree bowed its branches when the Christ Child told it to, so that her Mother might reach its fruits.  
Predella: Soldiers of Herod stop to question the farmer who tells them he saw the Holy Family when he was sowing; at the same time the wheat has miraculously grown.
- f. 81v Herod giving the order to kill all the children in and around Bethlehem who were two years old or under (Matt. 2: 16-18), viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length.  
Predella: Massacre of the Innocents: in the middle two women carrying their infants while groups of soldiers attack from both sides.
- f. 107 Bathsheba bathing, viewed in dramatic close-up in three-quarter-length. She stands by a fountain in front of a large castle; David is watching from a window.  
Predella: Battle scene showing the death of Uriah.
- f. 122 Job on the dunghill  
Job is shown sitting on the dunghill to relieve his sores, one of the trials of his piety. Job is not represented with his friends, but with his wife who is throwing a bucket of water over him (apocryphal Jewish "Testament of Job"). The scene is viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length, with Job's collapsed house is in the background.  
Predella: Job losing his herds and flocks. The torrential rain represented is probably the fiery rain from heaven representing a signa magna, an event mentioned in the Apocalypse.<sup>113</sup>
- f. 158 Christ blessing in a landscape, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length.  
Predella: a column (Passion: flagellation).
- f. 159 Peter and Paul, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length.  
Predella: Christ stretching out to reach the sinking Peter who had lost his faith in trying to cross the Sea of Galilee to join Christ on the water (Matt. 14: 22-33).
- f. 160 James wearing a floppy hat decorated with a scallop shell and holding an open book, his pilgrim's staff leaning on a tree, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. A landscape and a castle in the background.  
Predella: James with a rope round his neck being pulled to his execution by a man named Josias who was converted by the saint; the three escaping demons perhaps related to the demons that tormented Hermogenes, a magician that was also converted by James
- f. 161 Christopher carrying the Christ Child over a river, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length.  
Predella: Christopher tortured by being pulled along the road by horses
- f. 162v Sebastian, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length.  
Predella: the martyrdom of Sebastian by being shot with arrows.
- f. 164 Claude of Beçanson, holding an open book, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. His habit identifies him as a monk and Abbot of Condat (Bienne, Jura), while the ring and the mitre refer to his election as the bishop of Beçanson in 685. The castle in the

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<sup>113</sup> Boeckl 2000, 47.

background may refer to the tradition after which Claude was born in the castle of Bracon near Salins.

Predella: the monk leading a horseman in a forest

- f. 165v Roch holding his hands in prayer and wearing a garb and staff of a pilgrim, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length.

Predella: The saint is shown withdrawn into a forest after having caught the plague from tending to the sick in Rome and elsewhere in Italy where he had arrived on a pilgrim from his native Montpellier. Roch would have perished had it not been for the miracle that brought him a spring of water and the dog of a nobleman, Godhart Palastrelli, supplying him with bread and licking his wounds, healing them. The predella illustrates Palastrelli arriving with his dog carrying a loaf in his mouth.

- f. 167v The Virgin in prayer looking up to the Christ Child appearing in a blue cloud, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length.

Predella: The Virgin praying in a landscape, accompanied by the Christ Child.

- f. 171 The Virgin praying, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length.

Arma Christi in the background.

Predella: decorative elements of the border.

- f. 175 Michael in the form of a child angel, holding a cross and chasing the devil in armour and carrying various weapons, viewed in dramatic close-up. Mont Saint-Michel in the background.

Predella: Maritime landscape with boats.

- f. 178 Meeting of Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. Behind a castle and its gate (rather than a temple).

Predella: An angel appearing to Joachim telling him to go and meet his wife Anne at the Golden Gate who is to have a child

- f. 180 David in prayer in a landscape, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. His hat and harp are on the ground behind.

Predella: Young David displaying the head of Goliath to a crowd.

- f. 181v Pierre de Luxembourg represented wearing the scarlet garments of a cardinal, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. (only one compartment)

- f. 185 Lawrence, holding the gridiron, the instrument of his martyrdom, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. He is represented as a deacon, young and beardless, wearing a dalmatic embroidered in red and gold.

Predella: Lawrence blessing or preaching

- f. 186 Apollonia, holding a book in one hand and in another a tooth with pincers, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length.

Predella: Apollonia being tortured as part of her martyrdom with her teeth being pulled off.

- f. 187 Anne teaching the Virgin Mary to read, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length. A castle in the background.

Predella: Anne praying in the garden.

- f. 188 Mary Magdalene, holding an ointment jar, viewed in dramatic close-up in half-length.

Predella: Mary Magdalene lying down in her cave

In addition, one miniature by another illuminator, added later:

- f. 190 A small church or chapel held by kneeling angels, surmounted by the Virgin and Child in a mandorla, over a stretch of sea

Predella: landscape

## Contents:

f. 1	blank
f. 1v	blank (coat of arms of the Naville family)
ff. 2-7v	Calendar
ff. 8-14	Gospel sequences
ff. 14v-17v	<i>Obsecro te</i> , masculine forms
ff. 18-25v	Passion according to John
ff. 26-105	Hours of the Virgin, integrated with suffrages of saints, the Hours of the Cross, the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the Hours of the Conception of the Virgin Mary, the Hours of Saint Catherine and the Hours of the Dead
ff. 105v-106v	blank
ff. 107-116	Seven Penitential Psalms
ff. 116-121v	Litany
ff. 121v-157	Office of the Dead
f. 157v	blank
ff. 158-166	Suffrages of saints
ff. 167v-170v	<i>O intemerata</i> , masculine forms
ff. 171-172v	<i>Stabat mater</i> and <i>Propter grave</i>
ff. 173-188v	Prayers and suffrages of saints
f. 189-v	blank
ff. 190-195v	Litanies <i>Laurentanae</i> (de Lorette), a contemporary addition
ff. 195-196	Texts on Mary of Clopas and Mary Salome, the sisters of the Virgin Mary, sixteenth-century additions

## Notes:

This small and very beautiful book of hours has hitherto received little attention.<sup>114</sup> The patron is represented in front of the scene, *Rescuing of souls from Purgatory*. His name, 'Philippe', is included in one of the prayers (f. 180v). Another name, 'Cassien', included in a prayer that follows (f. 183v), might suggest that the manuscript was made for a patron in the small community of Saint-Cassien in the Dauphiné, twenty-five kilometres to the northwest from Grenoble. The fact that the manuscript is today held in Geneva, some hundred kilometres to the north, might support this hypothesis, assuming that the manuscript never travelled very far from its original destination. The localisation of the book in Dauphiné or Savoy, the regions near the border with Italy, might also be supported by the inclusion of the rare office of the Hours of Saint Catherine. This office is not often found in a French book of hours, but in addition to England, Saint Catherine was particularly venerated in Italy.

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<sup>114</sup> The contents are described in *Iter Helveticum*, V, 290-298. A small description is given by Gagnebin 1976, 144-46, no. 63, and the attribution is mentioned in Avril and Reynaud 1993, 345.

### 38. The *D'estre* Hours

Paris, BnF, lat. 1375 (former shelfmarks: Béthune, min. 49; Regius 4630)<sup>115</sup>

Book of hours

Use of Rome (Prime Ant. *Assumpta est Maria*, Cap. - , None Ant. *Pulcra*, Cap. -)

c. 1505-1510

155 ff. (one numbered front flyleaf, three unnumbered end flyleaves)

Parchment

165 x 105 mm, 1 column, 20 lines, ruled in red ink

In Latin, in the calendar a Cisiojanus in French

Humanistic script, brown ink, rubrics alternate in red and blue ink (lengthy rubrics extending to several lines are written in alternate colours for each line: blue, red, blue)

Provenance: Made for an unknown patron. Later, the manuscript belonged to Philippe de Béthune (1565-1649), Count of Selles-sur-Cher in Berry (halfway between Bourges and Tours), who also owned the Copenhagen Hours.

Initials: Very fine 4-line foliate initials. Those in the Hours, infilled with the monogram TS or ST, and those beginning other major texts, constructed thematically, as with a two-headed eagle for the Gospel sequence from John, with snails for the Passion sequence (in reference to the long suffering of Christ), with chains for the Penitential Psalms, and also with tree trunks, our illuminator's favourite motif. The initials are infilled with realistic flowers. 1-line initials are in gold on red, blue and brown grounds; line-fillers alike or in the form of fine gilt branches.

Borders: Miniature pages have very fine, full floral borders with grotesques, snails, frogs, monkeys, birds, acanthus foliage, coloured branches, and winding cartouche on which is inscribed the motto IL ME SUFFIST DESTRE, on liquid gold grounds.

Eleven miniatures attributed to the Master of Spencer 6:

f. 35 Annunciation to the Virgin

f. 55v Carrying of the Cross

f. 57 Pentecost

f. 58v Nativity

f. 62 Annunciation to the Shepherds

f. 65v Adoration of the Magi

f. 68v Holy Family and handmaiden on their way to the Temple (for the Presentation)

f. 71v Massacre of the Innocents.

f. 76 Rest during the Flight into Egypt

f. 85 David kneeling in his garden

f. 100 Job on the dunghill with his three companions

Contents:

ff. 1-12 Calendar (including Catherine of Siena; use of Rome)

ff. 13-16 blank

ff. 17- Gospel sequences

ff. 21- Passion according to John

ff. 28- Office of the Conception of the Virgin Mary

ff. 33-34 blank

ff. 35- Hours of the Virgin, Matins and Lauds

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<sup>115</sup> Leroquais 1927, I, 197.

- ff. 55v- Hours of the Cross, Matins  
 ff. 57- Hours of the Holy Spirit, Matins  
 ff. 58v- The small hours of the Virgin, the Cross and the Holy Spirit  
 ff. 81-84 blank  
 ff. 85- Penitential Psalms  
 ff. 94- Litany (including Saint Bonaventura canonised in 1482)  
 ff. 100- Office of the Dead (Use of Rome)  
 ff. 122v blank  
 ff. 123- Prayers to the Trinity: *Domine deus omnipotens eterne pater et ineffabilis fine que unum in trinitate* (f. 123), to the Father: *Domine deus omnipotens pater qui con substantiatem et coeternum* (f. 123v), to the Son: *Fili redemptor mundi deus misere* (f. 123v), to the Holy Spirit: *Spiritus sancte misere nobis* (f. 124), to the Holy Face: *Salve sancta facies nostril redemptoris* and other devotions to the Christ (ff. 124v-131)  
 ff. 131v- Prayers to the Virgin: *Obsecro te* (f. 132-), *O intemerata* (f. 134v-), *Stabat mater dolorosa* (f. 136v-)  
 ff. 139- Prayer *Missus est Gabriel*  
 ff. 143v- Suffrages: Michael, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Peter and Paul, James, Apostles, Stephen, Laurent, Christopher, Sebastian, Denis, Julian, Martyrs, Nicholas, Claude, Martin, Anne, Mary Magdalene, Catherine, Margaret, Barbara, Apollonia  
 ff. 154- Prayers to be said before and after the Communion, the Verses of Saint Bernard, etc. (rubrics in French: *Quant on veult recevoir le crops de nostre seigneur, Quant on la recue, ...*)

## Notes:

The patron of this manuscript is unknown. The decorated initials opening each hour in the Office of the Virgin hold within them the interlocked initials T and S. The motto IL ME SUFFIST DESTRE (It suffices for me to be) is included on two scrolls in the margins of each miniature page of the manuscript. The prayer *Obsecro te* includes masculine forms, suggesting the patron was a man (or a couple, but not a woman on her own).

Compositional and stylistic similarities in the miniatures associate this manuscript with the Copenhagen Hours and the copies of the *Anabase*; while the decorated initials are very close to those in the Tours Psalter. Many details of the production, the style and palette of the small initials and line-fillers, as well as the border decoration, and the humanistic script, provide close comparisons with the Hours of Jean de la Rue.

The calendar includes a Cisiojanus, a poetical device for remembering the most important feast days of the year and their dates, which could be counted from the syllables.<sup>116</sup> Each four-line stanza was written at the end of each month in the hand of the main scribe (rhyming *aabb*):

[1v]

'En ian uier que les roys ve nus sont	[Epiphany]
Glau me dit fremin mort font.	[Guillaume, Fermin, Maurus]
An thoin boit le iour vin cent fois	[Anthony, Vincent]
Pol us en sont tous ses dois	[Paul]

<sup>116</sup> For a detailed analysis of the Cisiojanus, and a published text of the poem as it appears (almost exactly as here) in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson Liturg. E 40; see Rudy and Stuij 2010.

[2v]	
Au chan de lier a gathe beut	[Candlemas, Agatha]
Mais le vin si fort l'es meut	
Qu'il tu a pres d'aus si.	
Pier res mathias aus si.	[Peter, Matthew, Audebert]
[3v]	
Au bin dit que mars est pril leur	[Albinus]
C'est mon, fait gre goir, il est feux,	[Gregory]
Et tout prest de don ner des eaux.	
Mari e dit: il est caux.	[Annunciation]
[4v]	
En auril am broise vint.	[Ambroise]
Droit a le on, là se tint.	[Leo]
En son temps e stoit en bal le	
George marchant de go dalle.	[George, Mark]
[5v]	
Ia que[s] croix dit que ieha[n] & moy	[James, Holy Cross, John]
Ni co las dit: [il] est vray.	[Nicholas]
Ho no rez sont sa[i]ges & sotz.	[Honorius]
Car mes augustins & bigotz.	[Augustine]
[6v]	
En iu ing a l'on bien sou uent	
Grant soif, ou bar na bé ment.	[Barnabas]
En son temps fut prins com les res.	
Damp iehan, eloy et damp pi er res.	[John, Eligius, Peter]
[7v]	
En iuillet Martin se com bat	[Martin]
Et du benoi tier saint va ast bat	[Benedict, Vedastus]
La sur uint marguet & germai[n]	[Margaret, Germain <sup>117</sup> ]
Iac mart dor[t] an ne ger main.	[James, Marcel, The Sevel Sleepers, Anne, Germain]
[8v]	
Pier res & os on get toit	[Peter]
A près laure[n]s qui bru loit.	[Lawrence]
Marie lors se print abraire.	[Assumption]
Barthe le my fait iehan taire.	[Bartholomew, John the Baptist]
[9v]	
Gilles a ce que ie vois.	[Giles]
Mari e toy, se tu me crois.	[Nativity of the Virgin, Turin, Holy Cross]
Et prie des nopces mathieu.	[Matthew]
Son filz fremin, cos me mi cheu.	[Fermin, Cosmas, Michael]

<sup>117</sup> The scribe copied here by error from the line below; instead of Germain, he should have written Magdalen; see Rudy and Stuij 2010, 513.

[10v]

Re mis sont fran çoys en vigueur  
 De nis n'en est pas bien as seur.  
 Car luc est prisonnier a han.  
 Cres pin & sy mon a ca an.

[Remigius, Francis of Assisi]  
 [Denis]  
 [Luke, Eleven Thousand Virgins]  
 [Crispin, Simon (in Caen)]

[11v]

Sains mors sont les gens bie[n] eu rez  
 Com dit martin du biez.  
 Aus si fait por rus de mil an  
 Clement Kathe rin & sat an.

[All Saints, All Souls]  
 [Martin]  
 [Clement, Catherine, Saturninus, Andrew]

[12v]

Eloy fait barbe colart.  
 Mari e cri & lu ce art  
 Dont en grant ire tho mas meut.  
 De No E Iehan in nocent fut.'

[Eligius, Barbara, Nicolas]  
 [Conception of the Virgin, Lucy]  
 [Thomas]  
 [Noel, John, Innocents]

**39. The Tours Psalter**<sup>118</sup>

Psalter

Use of Tours

Unknown location

1511 (The calendar is prepared for its first use in 1512, see below)

257 ff.

Parchment

215 x 135 mm, written space 145 x 75 mm, 1 column, 20 lines, ruled in red ink

Collation: 1<sup>1+6</sup>, 2<sup>4</sup>, 3-14<sup>8</sup>, 15<sup>1+6</sup>, 16-27<sup>8</sup>, 28<sup>10</sup>, 29-33<sup>8</sup>

Catchwords at the end of all quires but 1, 2 and 15

In Latin

Lettre bâtarde, black/brown ink

Provenance: Made for an unknown patron. Later belonged to the great bibliophile, Charles Brisard-Tiville (d. 1656), *Conseiller au Parlement de Paris*, whose binding decorated with his coat of arms survives on the volume; Robert Samuel Turner (1818-1887) whose bookplate is on front flyleaf;<sup>119</sup> Robert Hoe III (1839-1909) whose bookplate is on front flyleaf;<sup>120</sup> Cortlandt F. Bishop (1870-1935) whose bookplate is on front flyleaf;<sup>121</sup> Colonel Daniel Sickles (1904-1989) whose bookplate with his coat of arms is on front paste-down; sold by Galantaris in 1975;<sup>122</sup> sold by Le Borgne in 2010.<sup>123</sup>

Miniatures: Twelve small (37 x 21 mm) miniatures of the signs of the zodiac in landscapes in the calendar attributed to the Master of Spencer 6

Borders: Eight pages with full decorated borders on gold grounds with fantastical animals and grotesques, animals, flowers, fruit and curving acanthus foliage.

Initials: Eight large ornamental initials (on the pages with borders) in white (except on f. 128v in blue decorated with white filigree) on red background panels decorated with gold filigree, infilled with floral motifs on gold grounds. They are 4 lines high, except for the first (f. 12), which is of 6 lines. This first initial beginning the Psalter is infilled with the monogram DI or ID. 2-line initials are in blue with white penwork filigree (over grounds alternating in gold decorated with red filigree and red decorated with gold filigree) or in white (over grounds in gold decorated with vegetal and floral motifs), and occasionally in gold (over grounds in blue decorated with white filigree). 1-line initials are in gold on grounds alternating in blue, red and brown, decorated with gold filigree. Line-fillers: blue, red or brown decorated with gold filigree.

Contents:

f. 1v Lunar calendar

ff. 2-7v Calendar, including Saints Avertin of Tours (5 May), Martin of Tours (translation 4 July, feast 11 November), Lidoire (13 September), Brice of Tours (13 November)

ff. 8-11 Perpetual table of mobile feasts

<sup>118</sup> I have not been able to see the manuscript; this description is based on the various sale descriptions (and their images).

<sup>119</sup> Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 12-16 March 1878, lot. 4

<sup>120</sup> New York, Anderson, May 1911, lot 2174

<sup>121</sup> New York, Anderson, 25, 26, 27 April 1938, lot 1819

<sup>122</sup> Galantaris 1975, no. 228.

<sup>123</sup> Le Borgne 2010, no. 2.

ff. 12-191v	Psalter
ff. 191v-206	Canticles
ff. 207-211v	Litany, including Saints Bié of Vendôme, Volusien, Gatien, Lidoire, Martin, Brice, Eustoche, Perpet, Baud, Euphore, Grégoire, Monegonde of Chartres
ff. 211v-252v	Prayers and hymns, including a hymn for the feast of Saint Gatien and five hymns for the feast of Saint Martin

## Notes:

Bernard Le Borgne rightly attributed the illumination of this Psalter to the Master of Spencer 6.<sup>124</sup> The small rectangular miniatures in the calendar are in simple gilt bar borders, conceived in the manner this illuminator generally presented miniatures for the calendar, as well as often for the Suffrages in books of hours. The figures representing the signs of the zodiac were placed in the foreground of the image, against a landscape vista painted in diluted colours. The *Libra* of September, a maiden holding a palm branch and a scales, is comparable to the same figure in the Bouer Hours.

The opening initial B includes the monogram ID or DI made of the two interlocked letters, most likely the initials of the patron (Iehan/Jean D...?). It is comparable to the monogram in the *D'estre* Hours. Equally, as in the *D'estre* Hours, all but one of the large decorated initials are in white. The initial beginning the psalm on f. 128v is singled out in blue; perhaps it marked the favourite psalm of patron.

The calendar is dated '1512' at the top of each page. Thus if it was first taken into use in 1512, and was most likely made in 1511. As there are no manuscripts known in the œuvre of our illuminator that can stylistically, or otherwise, be dated to the second decade of the sixteenth century, this appears to be his last known work.

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<sup>124</sup> Le Borgne 2010, no. 2

**APPENDIX: LITURGICAL USE****THE HOURS OF THE VIRGIN<sup>125</sup>**

	<b>Prime Antiphon</b>	<b>Prime Capitulum</b>	<b>None Antiphon</b>	<b>Capitulum</b>
<b>Bourges</b>	O admirabile	Ab initio	Germinavit	Gaude Maria
<b>Tours</b>	O admirabile	Virgo Verbo	Germinavit	Te laudant
<b>Troyes</b>	Ave Maria	Haec est Virgo	Hortus conclusus	Per te Dei
<b>Sens</b>	Ave Maria	Haec est Virgo	Hortus conclusus	Per te Dei
<b>Langres</b>	Assumpta est	In omnibus	Pulchra es	Sicut cinnamomum
<b>Rome</b>	Assumpta est	Quae est	Pulchra es	In plateis
<b>Paris</b>	Benedicta tu	Felix namque	Sicut lilium	Per te Dei

**THE CALENDAR (AND LITANY, SUFFRAGES)****Bourges**

Local saints: Guillaume, archbishop of Bourges (10 January); Ursinus, the first bishop of Bourges from the third century (29 December); Satyrus (7 March); Eutropius of Saintes (30 April); Marina (17 July); Victor (18 September)

**Tours**

Local saints: Avertin (Aventinus), hermit in Tours and friend of Saint Thomas Becket, in Latin (5 May); Baud, bishop of Tours (7 November); Bié (Bienheure, Beatus) of Vendôme (9 May); Brice (Briccius) of Tours, bishop of Tours (13 November); Euphrône (Euphore, Eufronius, Eufroy), bishop of Tours (4 August); Eustoche, bishop of Tours, (19 September); Gatien, bishop of Tours, (18 December); Grégoire, bishop of Tours (17 November); Lidoire (Litorius), bishop of Tours (13 September); Martin of Tours, bishop of Tours (translation 4 July, feast 11 November); Monegonde of Chartres, abbess and thaumaturgy in Tours (2 July); Perpet, bishop of Tours (8 April); Volusien, bishop of Tours (18 January)

**Troyes**

Local saints: Loup, bishop and patron saint of the city of Troyes and its diocese (29 July); Savinien (or Sabinien) of Troyes (24 January); Savine (or Sabine) of Troyes (29 August); Syre of Troyes (8 June); Vinebaud, abbot of Saint-Loup, Troyes (6 April)

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<sup>125</sup> After Madan 1927, 23-29.