The Cloisters Annunciation by the Master of Charles of France

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Among the collection of illuminated manuscripts and cuttings belonging to The Metropolitan Museum of Art is an extraordinary double miniature of the Annunciation to the Virgin (Figure 1).[1] This diptych, together with the book of hours from which it came, provides an exceptional opportunity to examine the production of a late medieval manuscript in its sociohistorical context. As we shall see, the material evidence of the book, dated 1465, and the history of its commission demonstrate a critical change in the conception of its decorative content. This in turn reflects significant developments in the history of French manuscript illumination in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, marking an important moment when the pictorial innovations of the predominant French painter and illuminator Jean Fouquet were absorbed and reshaped by his contemporaries.

The Cloisters leaves present the sacred scene of the Annunciation to the Virgin as viewed through an elaborate framing architecture. This architecture, with its variety of columns, sculptures in niches, gables with pinnacles, and tracery, creates the illusion of stagelike spaces in the foreground. Each of the two leaves utilizes this space differently. On the left-hand page, a balustrade marks the back of the stage. Beyond is a landscape dominated by a hillside and a castle in the far background. Innumerable angels playing musical instruments descend from the heavens, alight on the hillside, and enter the foreground on the left. They join Archangel Gabriel, who kneels at the right, facing the opposite page. A dove hovers above Gabriel. Golden rays project from the bird through a doorway on the right and onto the facing page, indicating that the two leaves depict a continuous space. In the center foreground of the right-hand page, the Virgin Mary sits reading and raises her head as

though she has just noticed the archangel's presence. She sits below a richly ornamented octagonal stone cupola supported by columns. Behind the Virgin is a choir screen, and in the background a priest stands before an altar, suggesting that the octagonal space represents the crossing of a church—likely an allusion to the octagonal shape of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. Similar architectural frames border the narrative scenes on both pages, but in the Virgin miniature the relationship between the architectural frame and the church architecture is unclear, and the towering cupola barely fits into the space provided by the frame. We look at the exterior and the interior of the church simultaneously. While the frames surrounding the two scenes separate them, the spaces merge into a seemingly coherent and continuous—if unrealistic—space, especially in the lower registers. The doorway before Gabriel grants access to the right half of the diptych and into the church. Gabriel's space is thus to be read as an antechamber and the doorway as a portal to the church. Followed by his entourage of angels, Gabriel has descended from heaven to announce the birth of the Christ Child just as he is about to enter the Lord's house.

On the verso of the Virgin miniature, the text of the Hours of the Virgin begins with Matins (Figure 2). The composition of the page repeats aspects of the Gabriel miniature, including an architectural frame, a stagelike setting with a balustrade, and a landscape extending into the background. A tablet suspended by a chain from the top of the frame obscures most of the Visitation scene, allowing only a glimpse of Mary and Elizabeth in the left foreground and a castle in the distant background. On the tablet are the first verses of Matins. The effect is that of a text written on a plaque, perhaps of stone, that was hung from the frame.[2] The text is embellished with an initial D historiated with the Virgin Mary at her loom amid music-making angels, adding yet another layer of visual and spatial complexity to this composition. The text is off-center in keeping with medieval

1. Master of Charles of France. Annunciation to the Virgin, two leaves from the Hours of Charles of France. Bourges, 1465. Colors and gold on vellum; Angel of the Annunciation: 6¾ x 4⅞ in. (17.3 x 12.5 cm), Virgin of the Annunciation: 6¾ x 4⅞ in. (17.2 x 12.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1958 (58.71a, b)

conventions of page layout, which implies that the traditional division between text and border is preserved. However, the realms of text and border have been merged to a degree that produces the effect of a full-page miniature. Around the outside of the frame, a painted inscription identifies the patron and the date: KAROLVS DE FRANCIA / KAROLI SEPTIMI FILIVS / NORTHMANNORVM DVX / NONVS ANNO MCCCCLXV VIVAT (Charles of France, son of Charles VII, ninth duke of Normandy, in the year 1465). In the foreground, two kneeling angels hold his coat of arms, while on either side a standing angel carries a banner decorated with an image of Archangel Michael. The same arms are attached to the top of the frame of the Gabriel miniature.

In 1936, Edith Greindl established that the manuscript from which the Cloisters Annunciation leaves were removed is in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris (MS 473).[3] This book lacks the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin, and on its folio 63 the text continues seamlessly from the opening of

Matins on the Cloisters page. Moreover, the dimensions of the text block (about 2⅞ x 1⅞ in. [7.4 x 4.9 cm]) as well as the number of lines per folio (14) are the same in the Mazarine manuscript. The arms featured in two of the Mazarine miniatures, identical to the ones in the Gabriel miniature and those held by the kneeling angels on the Cloisters Visitation, are those of Charles of France as duke of Normandy.[4] It is undisputed that the same artist painted the Cloisters Annunciation and Visitation and the miniatures in the Mazarine hours (except one, fol. 13), and he has been named after this manuscript, Master of Charles of France.[5] This master illuminated several manuscripts for Charles, and he may well have been based in Bourges, the capital of Berry.[6] He portrayed Charles's nearby birthplace and favorite residence, the Château de Mehun-sur-Yèvre, in the background of the Gabriel miniature.[7]

Charles of France (1446–1472) was the youngest child of Charles VII, king of France (b. 1403; r. 1422–61).[8] After his

3. Master of the Munich Boccaccio. Betrayal of Christ, in the Hours of Charles of France. Tours or Bourges, ca. 1465. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473, fol. 13. Photograph: © Bibliothèque Mazarine

2. Master of Charles of France. The Visitation and the beginning of Matins on the verso of the Virgin of the Annunciation in Figure 1. The date 1465 is in the inscription down the right side.

father's death and the accession to the throne of his older brother, Louis XI (1423–1483), Charles became duke of Berry and Dauphin. On October 5, 1465, he was granted the Duchy of Normandy according to the provisions of the Treaty of Conflans, which ended the conflict between the king and the League of the Public Weal, a coalition of French nobles that opposed the king's centralizing policy. Charles's new status as duke of Normandy is reflected in the arms in the Cloisters and Mazarine miniatures, and the inscription around the Visitation celebrates his political success and territorial gain. The significance of that year in Charles's life and career suggests that the October treaty was a catalyst in the production of this book.

Work on the manuscript must have begun prior to that date, however, for in two instances the book shows Charles's arms as duke of Berry. As mentioned, the miniature on folio 13, the Betrayal of Christ (Figure 3), is the only illumination in the book done by an artist other than the Master

of Charles of France. It was once attributed to Jean Fouquet but has recently been given to the Master of the Munich Boccaccio, Fouquet's closest follower.[9] It has been examined in detail by Stephen Clancy, who has shown that the bifolio that included folio 13 was removed from the manuscript, painted under circumstances different from the rest of the manuscript, and subsequently reinserted.[10] To account for Charles's arms as duke of Berry on that page, Clancy concluded that either the Betrayal was painted before October 1465 or the artist, who was not closely involved in the book's production, was simply unaware of the swiftly unfolding events surrounding the Treaty of Conflans and Charles's new title.

The other instance of Charles's arms as duke of Berry is on the verso of the Crucifixion (fol. 122). As Nicole Reynaud observed, those arms were painted over the arms of Louis, Bastard of Bourbon (d. 1486), count of Roussillon, an illegitimate son of Charles I, duke of Bourbon, which indicate

that the manuscript was initially intended for him.[11] Louis had been a supporter of the League of the Public Weal, but he entered the king's service after the Treaty of Conflans. In 1466, for instance, he assumed the politically influential and lucrative post of Amiral de France, and in 1471 he became Lieutenant-Général of Normandy. Early in November 1465, four weeks after the Treaty of Conflans, Louis was betrothed to the king's natural daughter Jeanne de Valois, dame de Mirabeau (d. 1519).[12] A marriage contract was signed on Thursday, November 7, at the Hôtel de Ville in Paris.[13] The festivities took place at the end of February the following year.[14] This chain of events suggests that during the negotiations between the crown and the league, the king promised his daughter to Louis in return for his allegiance. In the Mazarine hours, the Crucifixion shows the initials L and I in the lower right corner of the miniature, seemingly a reference to Louis and his new bride, Jeanne (Figure 10). In the lower left corner of that folio is a drawing of a shield, but the details of the coat of arms were not sketched in. Although the drawing is difficult to decipher, it is topped with what could be identified as a crown. Perhaps Louis commissioned the manuscript in anticipation of his union with the royal daughter Jeanne.[15]

Soon the manuscript passed into the possession of Charles of France. This must have happened before the Treaty of Conflans because Charles's arms that were painted over those of Louis on the verso of the Crucifixion were his as duke of Berry. Subsequent work on the manuscript was short-lived, however, for its decoration remains largely unfinished.[16] The completed miniatures were: the Betrayal of Christ (Figure 3) by the Master of the Munich Boccaccio, illustrating the Passion of Christ; the Cloisters Annunciation and Visitation (Figures 1, 2), beginning the Hours of the Virgin; the Journey to Bethlehem (Figure 5) and the Nativity (Figure 4), illustrating Lauds and Prime of the Hours of the Virgin; and the Assumption of the Virgin (Figure 7), now lost, also part of the Hours of the Virgin, at Compline.[17] Another two miniatures have some paint applied: the Massacre of the Innocents (Figure 6) and the Crucifixion (Figure 10). There are preliminary drawings for an additional thirteen miniatures. In twelve further instances, there are only empty fields that indicate images (see Appendix).
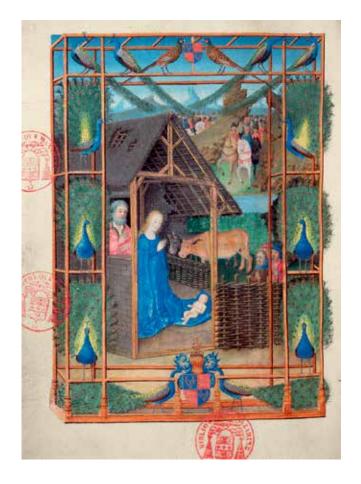
The history of the commission as outlined here has long been known. What has not been remarked upon, however, is that the book's textual content and its decoration were significantly altered during its production. This is most obvious in the textual additions that make up gatherings 8 and 9 (fols. 47–62), in which there are thirteen short prayers (see Appendix). In order to begin the prayers on a new gathering (8), blank folios were left at the end of gathering 7. The textual decoration of the prayers was never carried out, unlike that in the rest of the manuscript. In addition, the planned miniatures within folios 47–62 are the only ones in the book that leave space for several lines of text beneath them. None of these miniatures was ever begun, whereas in the rest of the book all except one of the planned miniatures (fol. 34v) at least received underdrawing. Finally, it seems a different scribe was employed for gatherings 8 and 9, for his ink now appears brownish instead of the black in the rest of the manuscript. Thus, these thirteen prayers were evidently not part of the original textual sequence.

As for changes in the decoration of the book of hours, the illustrations for Matins and Lauds of the Office of the Dead—the Funeral Service (fol. 164) and the Last Judgment (fol. 195v)—seem also to have been later additions to the manuscript as it was originally planned. These increased the number of illustrations for the Office of the Dead from one to three—one for each of its hours, Vespers (Deathbed Scene, fol. 154), Matins, and Lauds. Addition of these illustrations is indicated by odd gathering structures amid the book's regular sequence of quaternions that were apparently made to accommodate the extra images:[18] the Last Judgment on folio 195v was inserted as a singleton into a quaternion (gathering 27, fols. 190–198),[19] and gathering 23, which features the Funeral Service, consists of only one bifolio (fols. 164–165). The catchword on folio 163v ("regem cui") indicates the beginning of Matins on folio 164v ("Regem cui omnia vivunt . . ."), thus ensuring the correct textual sequence. A catchword on folio 165v serves the same purpose. Both were inserted by a hand different from the scribe who wrote the other catchwords in the book.[20]

While Greindl convincingly argued that the Cloisters leaves introduced the Hours of the Virgin in the Mazarine manuscript, the codicological implications have never been properly examined. Contrary to what the double miniature might suggest, that gathering 10 lacks two bifolios, it lacks only one. This can be deduced from the amount of text missing between the manuscript's present folios 68 and 69, which would have fit on the recto and verso of a single leaf. This would have been the conjoint of the leaf with the Virgin of the Annunciation on the recto and the Visitation and opening words of Matins on the verso. Therefore, the page showing Gabriel must have been integrated either as a single leaf or as part of a single bifolio preceding gathering 10.

Clancy reconstructed a similar scenario for the Hours of Diane de Croy, a book of hours illuminated by a follower of Fouquet: an existing manuscript was upgraded to feature a double miniature of the Annunciation. In order to do so, the gathering's first folio was cut out and a single bifolio inserted in its place to accommodate the diptych (Figure 11); the lost text was then rewritten on the verso of the second leaf, as is indicated by a different script, by thirteen instead of the book's usual fourteen lines of text to a page, and by

4. Master of Charles of France. Nativity, in the Hours of Charles of France. Bourges, ca. 1465. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473, fol. 85v. Photograph: © Bibliothèque Mazarine

5. Master of Charles of France. Journey to Bethlehem, in the Hours of Charles of France. Bourges, ca. 1465. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473, fol. 72*bis*. Photograph: © Bibliothèque Mazarine

different textual decoration.[21] In Charles's hours, the integration of the new leaf was subtler, but here, too, there are indications that the text was rewritten. First, the ink appears brownish rather than black. More compelling is the fact that the line fillers on the Cloisters leaf feature rows of either French lilies or lions *passant guardant*, references to Charles's arms as duke of Normandy, instead of the simple decorative designs elsewhere in the book.[22] If we assume that the text and its decoration were accomplished before work on the illustrations was begun, as was customary, these line fillers indicate that the text on the Visitation page was rewritten when the Annunciation was upgraded. In other words, the original outermost bifolio of the opening of the Hours of the Virgin was replaced and one leaf added to allow for the insertion of the two-page miniature.

Given that this upgrade can be linked to Charles, the addition of illustrations to the Office of the Dead and of prayers before the Hours of the Virgin were likely done at his request as well. According to this reconstruction, thirteen short prayers were added, nine of which were to be illustrated; two illustrations were added to the Office of the Dead; the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin was turned into a double miniature; and the Betrayal on folio 13 was assigned to the workshop of Jean Fouquet. These changes would almost have doubled the number of illustrations.

This program of enhancements also affected the appearance of the individual miniatures. The standard layout of the miniatures consisted of the narrative scene surrounded by a frame of even width.[23] In the finished or nearly finished miniatures, these frames were sites of the artist's great inventiveness. The frame of the Nativity, a finished leaf, features an aviary populated with peacocks (Figure 4). It is a three-dimensional, box-shaped construction made of wood poles. On either side three peacocks proudly fan their tails. Six birds perch across the top, two flanking Charles's coat of arms, and two stand on the ground among the wood slats, here again flanking Charles's arms. Through the framing structure one looks at the stable, in which Mary and Joseph adore the Christ Child. The Journey to Bethlehem (Figure 5), also finished, is surrounded by a frame made of an illusionistic elaborately carved wood casing in which standard-bearers with banners display Charles's arms. The frame of the Massacre of the Innocents (Figure 6), an unfinished leaf, is made of boxes resembling caskets, in which children sit or stand. The inventiveness demonstrated in these frames certainly accords with the highly creative treatment of the architectural frames of the Cloisters Annunciation and Visitation (Figures 1, 2).

This arrangement of narrative scene and surrounding frame was altered in one way or another in several of the

miniatures. The most obvious case is the finished Betrayal (Figure 3), executed by the Master of the Munich Boccaccio. It is a true full-page miniature, that is, without a frame and surrounded only by a narrow brown line. Among the finished miniatures painted by the Master of Charles of France, only the Assumption is truly a full-page illustration, but there is evidence that the composition originally included a frame. In the photographic record of this miniature (Figure 7), the frame's inner contour defined in the underdrawing can be seen through the painted surface, especially in the light blue sky and in the damaged paint surface below the tomb. Was there a drawing for the original conception of the narrative, as is common in this book? What did it look like and how was it changed? The underdrawing for the angels in the mandorla, where discernible, does not reveal any major compositional changes. The painting follows the drawing fairly truthfully. The flanking angels playing music and the tree at the lower left are largely confined to the space formerly allocated to the frame. Omitting them would not compromise the iconographic integrity of the composition, which suggests that the earlier composition was simply enlarged by adding motifs to the left and right. In the lower half of the Assumption, Saint Thomas and three other apostles could also be additions to the original composition. Iconographically, an Assumption without apostles is unusual but not without precedent. The tomb, on the other hand, poses a problem. The fact that it transgresses into the area that would have been the frame might not have bothered the artist. He did not seem to mind truncation, for in the Funeral Procession (Figure 8), he cut off the entire upper part of the body of a soldier lying on the ground in the lower right corner. However, in the Assumption, the tomb would have been awkwardly off-center if the inclusion of apostles had not been part of the original plan. While the outline of the frame in the underdrawing shows through the thin layer of gray used for the base of the tomb and its cover, there is no indication of a different positioning of the tomb itself. Although the composition was changed, it remains unclear exactly what the original design looked like.

A change in layout of the miniature can also be sensed in the Cloisters leaves, in which the framing architecture largely respects the space given to the frames in this book, but architecture and narrative scenes are fused in an attempt to create a coherent space.

The usual process of preparing an illustration for this illuminator was with two successive layers of drawing that established the frame and sketched the composition of the narrative scene.[24] A first sketch in a gray-blue medium, perhaps metalpoint, was superseded by a more detailed one in brown-black ink. Occasionally revisions occurred

8. Master of Charles of France. Funeral Procession, in the Hours of Charles of France. Bourges, ca. 1465. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473, fol. 108. Photograph: © Bibliothèque Mazarine

9. Master of Charles of France. Apocalypse, in the Hours of Charles of France. Bourges, ca. 1465. Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473, fol. 131. Photograph: © Bibliothèque Mazarine

between the first and the second. For example, in the Death of the Virgin for None in the Hours of the Virgin (fol. 103), the Virgin's deathbed is surrounded by women and, more prominently, men, some of them reading. Two windows in the back help define the setting. At the upper right a bearded man lifts his hat as he enters the room through an open door. In the first sketch, however, there was an opening in the room's back wall parallel to the picture plane, consisting of a double arch supported by a central column.

In the two miniatures that were added to the Office of the Dead, the Funeral Service (fol. 164) and the Last Judgment (fol. 195v), modifications between the first sketch and the ink drawing significantly pertain to the frames. The initial sketches show the standard squared-off area of the frame, but in the more detailed drawings, the narrative scenes extend into the space reserved for the frame, of which only the exterior outline was repeated in ink.

This change in layout can be observed in two more drawings, namely, the illustrations for the Hours of the Cross (Crucifixion, fol. 122) and the Penitential Psalms (Apocalypse, fol. 131). The drawing for the Apocalypse (Figure 9)—an iconographically unusual introduction for the Penitential Psalms—has the frame fully laid out in the gray-blue medium and ink, but both drawings transgress into this space. A seven-headed leonine dragon moves from right to left through the foreground of a landscape that is little defined except for a large castle not far behind. Much smaller apocalyptic (?) horsemen and -women precede the dragon. The architecture extends across the full width of the scene but not into the frame. Dragon and horsemen also respect the frame. Only a smaller structure adjacent to the castle on the left and a fine line characterizing a rolling hill just in front of the architecture on the right trespass this boundary. Flanking the apocalyptic vision to left and right are tall standing figures of a naked man and woman with long tails and diabolic heads. These are confined to the frame space. Since they do not appear to be necessary to the narrative and they are much taller than the dragon and the horsemen, they seem an afterthought to an earlier composition. Adding two standing devils could easily be done, as the frames did not receive their underdrawing at the same time the main scene did, as will be discussed later.

Even more interesting and complex in terms of its genesis is the full-page Crucifixion (Figure 10). Its unfinished state permits reconstruction of the creative process that led to this composition. Below the castle at the upper left, the group of horsemen, which was never executed beyond the drawing stage, extends to the left edge of the miniature as it appears today. The sketch for the horsemen approaching Golgotha from the lower left, however, suggests that an earlier

full-page composition. The reason for its iconographic idiosyncrasies thus lies in the genesis of the composition. Again, introducing the additional elements did not require changes to the main scene, except perhaps for the elongation of the crosses at the top of the miniature.

At what point in the production of this book, and ultimately why, did this experimentation with the layout take place? As can be seen on folios 34v, 211v, and 216v, all seemingly intended to be full-page miniatures, the work began with a rectangle drawn on the page, establishing the outer border of the frame and thus the dimensions of the illustration. The illuminator then provided the underdrawings for the miniatures, which included outlining the frames but not specifying their motifs. Apparently it was important first to conceive the narrative cycle as a whole. For the eight textual divisions in the Hours of the Virgin, the sequence is quite unusual: Annunciation, Journey to Bethlehem, Nativity, Massacre of the Innocents, Virgin reading, Death of the Virgin, Funeral Procession, and Assumption. The Visitation appears very small on the verso of the Annunciation and thus at Matins, and the Nativity for Prime incorporates an Adoration of the Shepherds and also shows the Magi arriving in the background. Extant notations on almost all of the pages with illustrations served as directions for the illuminator, but they refer only to the text. For example, in the lower right-hand corner of the Crucifixion (fol. 122), the notation reads, "histoire de la croix"; the notation on the drawing for the Virgin reading (fol. 98), "histoire a sexte," indicating the fifth of the Hours of the Virgin.[26] After the narrative scenes were sketched in and before the illuminator began applying paint, the frames received their underdrawing, as can be deduced from the unfinished miniatures of the Massacre of the Innocents and the Crucifixion. In the Massacre of the Innocents (Figure 6), the drawing for the children and their coffers is still visible, and it reflects the morbid theme of the miniature.

Where in the book the process of painting in the miniatures began cannot be determined with certainty, but the Crucifixion (Figure 10) seems the most likely candidate because of its reference to Louis in the lower corners. The overpainting of his coat of arms on the verso with those of Charles as duke of Berry seems a logical first step to adapt the manuscript to its new owner.[27] Work on the Hours of the Virgin began afterward, as indicated by Charles's arms as duke of Normandy (see note 4), and it proceeded somewhat systematically. The illustrations for the first three Hours—Matins (Annunciation and Visitation), Lauds (Journey to Bethlehem), and Prime (Nativity)—were finished first. The illustration for Terce, the Massacre of the Innocents, received only shades of blue, green, and brown, and the figures and parts of the architecture were never taken past the underdrawing stage. Charles's arms could easily have been added

conception of the miniature did include a frame, for they do not transgress into the space usually allotted to it. Moreover, the two female figures occupying the lower left and right corners seem like additions to the initial composition. The one on the right holds the letters L and I, and the one on the left, the empty shield and the presumed crown. Behind them rise rocky cliff formations, which are connected across the picture plane by a low, narrow ridge. On the cliffs are the lion and the ox, symbols of Apostles Mark and Luke. This iconography is highly unusual for a Crucifixion in a book of hours. It likely derives from the standard illustration for a Missal, where the Crucifixion is on a page facing one showing Christ in Majesty surrounded by the symbols of the apostles. The symbolic-heraldic area denoted by the two women, the lion, and the ox is carefully separated from the biblical narrative through landscape elements and by the size of the women and animals in relation to the soldiers casting the dice over Christ's clothes.[25] It clearly belongs to a realm different from the main scene, framing the narrative both figuratively and literally. Its coinciding with the space that would have been provided by a frame implies that the Crucifixion was initially meant to have a frame, which was subsequently omitted to expand the narrative into a

to the existing designs, since they appear in the frames, which, as we have seen, were drawn in after the narrative scenes.

The Assumption (Figure 7) is the obvious exception to this otherwise methodical procedure, and its position in the chronology of the production process remains difficult to explain. Since it does not include any heraldry, it cannot be securely connected with Charles. Although the drawing originally included a frame, it now seems the most advanced among all the finished miniatures in the book (except fol. 13). However, in the Crucifixion, the reference to Louis and Jeanne in the initials held by the woman in the lower right corner, within the space where the frame would have been, suggests that this experimentation with the full-page format began before Charles took over the commission. The Master of Charles of France faced the challenge of adapting the existing design to the new format, and his attempt to do so resulted in the iconographic and compositional discrepancies described above. Perhaps this was found unsatisfactory and suggests why work on the manuscript was continued in another part of the book.

In any case, miniatures without frames became the governing design principle. The Betrayal (painted separately), the Annunciation (with architecture merging narrative and frame), the Assumption, the Crucifixion, the Apocalypse, and the two miniatures added to the Office of the Dead (Funeral Service and Last Judgment) all attest to the preference to exclude the frame. In addition, two drawings at the end of the manuscript illustrating prayers to Saint John the Baptist (fol. 214) and Saint Michael the Archangel (fol. 215) do not show any sign of a frame, which suggests that these prayers were added later, like the ones inserted before the Hours of the Virgin.[28] While this creative process and its development are difficult to disentangle, it is clear that the full-page narrative scene replaced the concept of scene plus frame.

The decision to expand and modernize the Hours of Charles of France likely reflects its new owner's aesthetic preferences. Charles was an important patron for illuminated manuscripts—as was Louis[29]—and he may well have been familiar with current artistic tendencies. Full-page miniatures were rare before the 1450s but became increasingly popular, especially among the followers of Jean Fouquet, from the 1460s on. Fouquet's prominent use of this format, most notably in his book of hours made for Étienne Chevalier, seems to have been the catalyst.[30] The Master of the Munich Boccaccio, who painted the Betrayal of Christ in Charles's book, took his composition from the Chevalier hours.[31]

Fouquet may also have been the inspiration for the double miniature of the Annunciation at the Cloisters. In the Hours of Étienne Chevalier of about 1450–55, for instance, Chevalier and his patron saint kneel on the left page before the Virgin and Child, on the right.[32] An artist from Fouquet's workshop, one close to the Master of the Munich Boccaccio, painted a double miniature of the Annunciation in the Hours of Diane de Croy of about 1470 that is analogous to the Cloisters Annunciation (Figure 11),[33] even though the Master of Charles of France retained a distinctly Gothic, even fantastical, architecture compared with Fouquet's familiarity with the burgeoning forms of the Italian Renaissance. Much as in the Cloisters leaves, Gabriel and Mary occupy facing pages, and while the setting and the figures' interaction suggest a coherent space, both miniatures retain their respective frames. On the lower edges of the frames the opening words of the prayer appear on blue scrolls, an arrangement reminiscent of the playful illusionism familiar from the Cloisters Visitation.

Also relevant to the Hours of Charles of France is the Hours of Simon de Varie.[34] About 1455, Fouquet was commissioned to paint a double miniature for this manuscript, a book otherwise illuminated by the Dunois Master and the Master of Jean Rolin II. The left of the diptych shows the Virgin and the Christ Child (Figure 12). The kneeling patron appears on the facing page accompanied by his motto and arms. A latticework frame intertwined with flowering vines surrounds each miniature, not unlike the aviary framework for the Nativity in the Hours of Charles of France (Figure 4). Simon de Varie was a rich and powerful local merchant and royal official from Bourges.[35] Fouquet had numerous connections with that city, for the church in which the Annunciation in the Hours of Étienne Chevalier takes place was clearly inspired by the Sainte-Chapelle of Bourges, likely known to Fouquet from firsthand experience.[36] He also painted a portrait of Charles VII, today in the Louvre, Paris, which is known to have been in that chapel in the fifteenth century.[37] A copy of this portrait was

11. Artist close to the Master of the Munich Boccaccio. Annunciation to the Virgin, in the Hours of Diane de Croy. Tours, ca. 1470. Collection of the Guild of St. George, Museums Sheffield, R. 3548, fols. 18v–19

12. Jean Fouquet. Virgin and Child Enthroned with Simon de Varie kneeling in prayer, in the Hours of Simon de Varie. Tours, ca. 1455. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Partial gift of Gerald F. Borrmann, MS 7, fols. 1v–2. Photograph: The J. Paul Getty Museum

manuscripts, particularly books produced in the workshops of the Boucicaut and Bedford Masters.[43] While Pächt's analysis of the Stonyhurst hours indeed suggests an early date for the book, it should be given a date of about 1450–55 because the Master of Charles of France collaborated with illuminators from the Jouvenel group, artists who did not begin working until the late 1440s.[44] In the Stonyhurst hours, the Master of Charles of France made no attempt to integrate miniature and border, and Gabriel and Mary are not hierarchically distinguished through architecture as they are in the Cloisters Annunciation. His use of pictorial conventions of the earlier fifteenth century, still unaffected by the Italian Renaissance, suggests an artistic formation at a time and within an artistic milieu that made him reluctant to adopt a purely Renaissance treatment of, for instance, architecture.

Also painted by the Master of Charles of France but later in date is a book of hours of about 1455–60 today in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (N. a. Lat. 3191). As in the Stonyhurst miniature, the layout of the Annunciation in this book (Figure 14) is traditional in its division of narrative

subsequently included in one of the miniatures in a *Romuleon* owned by Charles of France and illustrated by the Master of Charles of France.[38] Fouquet's influence on the Master of Charles of France's work in terms of pictorial innovation and, more generally, on the appearance of Charles's book of hours thus far exceeds that suggested by his workshop's contribution of a single miniature (fol. 13).
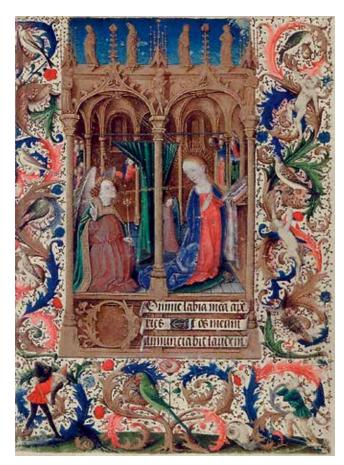
Including the Cloisters Annunciation, there are four known Annunciations to the Virgin painted by the Master of Charles of France. One is in a book of hours at Stonyhurst College, Lancashire (Figure 13).[39] Otto Pächt attributed it tentatively to Fouquet, although he would soon give it to the Master of Charles of France.[40] He dated it to about 1440 based on an analysis of its perspective, representation of space, and figure style, and thus recognizing it as work that predated Fouquet's journey to Italy.[41] Gabriel and the Virgin in the Stonyhurst Annunciation especially recall their counterparts in the same scene in the Hours of Diane de Croy of some years later. According to Pächt, the Stonyhurst miniature is an early example of the French adaptation of an early Netherlandish convention for the representation of interior space. The perspective is empirical but shows signs of horror vacui, particularly in the central column. In addition, the figures display features of the "angular" style and blocklike form typical of the work of Jan van Eyck and other exponents of Netherlandish art at this time. Pächt also acknowledged that the central column is reminiscent of church interiors typical of Annunciations in French manuscripts.[42] Furthermore, the historiated medallions alternating with acanthus and floral motifs in the borders of the Stonyhurst hours are common motifs in early fifteenth-century French

13. Master of Charles of France. Annunciation to the Virgin, in a book of hours (use of Bourges) made for Louis, Bastard of Bourbon. Angers or Bourges, ca. 1450–55. Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, MS 38, fol. 40. Photograph: Sotheby's, London, June 17, 2003, sale cat., lot 90

14. Master of Charles of France. Annunciation to the Virgin, in a book of hours (use of Poitiers). Bourges, ca. 1455–60. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, N. a. Lat. 3191, fol. 26. Photograph: BnF

15. Master of Charles of France, Annunciation to the Virgin, in a book of hours (use of Rome). Bourges (?), ca. 1465–67. Private collection, fol. 15. Photograph: Sotheby's, London, November 29, 1990, sale cat., lot 140

scene and framing acanthus border, even though the border at the top of the page is replaced by sculpture on the roof of the church standing out against a blue sky. The Virgin and the angel are in a church setting, and as in the Stonyhurst Annunciation, a column assigns distinct spaces to each figure. As with the Cloisters Annunciation, both the interior and the exterior of the architecture are represented simultaneously. The text has the appearance of being written on scrolls that are attached to the base of the architecture, anticipating the same motif painted by a follower of Fouquet's in the Hours of Diane de Croy (Figure 11). It also anticipates the more sophisticated trompe l'oeil in the Cloisters Visitation of 1465 (Figure 2).

A fourth book of hours, now in a private collection, takes the development of this illusionism still further.[45] It shows the Annunciation as a full-page miniature, completely omitting a decorative border or frame (Figure 15). There is a fine brown line around the miniature except for the architectural base, which evokes a plinth on which the painting is standing. The beginning of the text is painted as if it were carved into the stone instead of written on a scroll. However, the

scene is similarly composed to the one in the book of hours in Paris (Figure 14), particularly with respect to interior versus exterior view of the church setting and the central column. Unlike in the Paris Annunciation, this column functions to create a spatial hierarchy, effectively making visible the exalted status of the Virgin. As in the Cloisters Annunciation, the Virgin is placed in the crossing or choir of the church, while Gabriel remains in an antechamber, the nave, or a lower aisle. The Cloisters Annunciation astonishes in its detail and complexity, while the miniature in the privately held book of hours is at once more sober and a more advanced pictorial solution. The most likely date for this last book is about 1465–67, based on initials in the manuscript that link it to an older sister of Charles of France, Yolande, and her husband, Amadeus IX, duke of Savoy.

The evolution toward the full-page narrative scene without a frame that we can trace in the Hours of Charles of France is paralleled in the artist's treatment of the Annunciation throughout his known work. The Hours of Charles of France is a milestone in this development, and the examples presented here are essential to understanding

the creative process that led to the Cloisters Annunciation. They reveal an effort toward a more refined representation of space and an attempt to adhere to a new convention in pictorial form that evolved in the third quarter of the fifteenth century and was widely disseminated in the ensuing decades. Charles's book is thus an experimental and highly creative landmark in this development, and its unfinished condition allows a glimpse into the illuminator's creative struggle toward the new mise-en-page.

NOTES

1. The only extensive discussion of the Cloisters Annunciation is Freeman 1960.
2. This detail was commented on in Sterling 1975, p. 31. See also Pächt 1948.
3. Greindl 1936. For a bibliography of the manuscript, see Avril 2003, p. 309. To this should be added Martin 1909, p. 101; Martin 1928, p. 79; Blum and Lauer 1930, pp. 32, 74; La Batut 1932, p. 42; Friedländer 1948, p. 253; Sterling 1975, pp. 30–34; Manchester 1976, p. 31; Clancy 1988, pp. 31–42, 179–81, 206; de Winter 1996.
4. Charles's arms as duke of Normandy are on Mazarine folios 72*bis* (Journey to Bethlehem; Figure 5) and 85v (Nativity; Figure 4). The shield in the drawing on Mazarine folio 92v (Massacre of the Innocents; Figure 6) is quartered to accommodate those arms, but they were never painted in. Folio 72*bis* was once detached from the Mazarine hours but was pasted back into the manuscript; see Delisle 1894.
5. John Plummer (1982, pp. 48–49, no. 64) was the first to coin the name Master of Charles of France. A few years earlier, Otto Pächt called him Master of Charles of Normandy; see Manchester 1976, p. 31.
6. For Charles of France, in addition to the Mazarine book of hours, the artist illuminated a *Romuleon* (Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny-Geneva, MS 143); and Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fr. 1949).
7. His representation of the Château de Mehun-sur-Yèvre on the Gabriel half of the Cloisters diptych was identified in Freeman 1960, p. 109. See also Meiss 1967, vol. 2, fig. 430. The identification is reiterated in Avril and Reynaud 1993, pp. 157–58; Avril 2003, p. 308. The château is depicted as well on folio 22 of the Bodmer *Romuleon* (see note 6 above).
8. For a biography of Charles of France, see Stein 1919.
9. See Avril 2003, pp. 308–9. The entire Mazarine manuscript was initially thought to be the work of Jean Fouquet; it was first mentioned as such in Vallet de Viriville 1857, p. 435. Since Freeman 1960, it has been accepted that its illumination includes the work of two hands.
10. Clancy 1988, pp. 37–42; Clancy 1993, pp. 213–16.
11. See Reynaud 1981, p. 86n168. Louis's coat of arms can be seen in a book of hours at Stonyhurst College, Lancashire (MS 38, fol. 40; see Figure 13—the arms in the initial D). For Louis's biography, see Anselme (1726–33) 1967, vol. 1, pp. 308–9, vol. 7, p. 857; Amat 1954; and La Mure 1860–97, vol. 2, p. 224n2.
12. November 2, 1465, is given as the date of the marriage in Anselme (1726–33) 1967, vol. 1, p. 309; Amat 1954, col. 1409; and La Mure 1860–97, vol. 2, p. 224n2. The date of November 7, 1465, is given in Mandrot 1894–96, vol. 1, pp. 136–38. A letter to the duke of Milan, dated November 9, 1465, written by Giovan-Pietro Panigarola and

Cristoforo da Bollate, mentions that the French king had married one of his daughters to the Bastard of Bourbon; see Mandrot 1916–23, vol. 4, p. 65. For biographical information about Jeanne, see Durand-Delga 1997 and 2004. Subsequently, Louis was granted various estates by the king by letters patent issued on November 11, 1465; see Blanchard 1715, pp. 299, 301.
13. For a transcript of the contract, see Commynes 1747, vol. 2, pp. 544–48.
14. Jeanne was legitimized on February 25, 1465 (old style; 1466, new style); see the transcription of the document in Gallier 1873, p. 51.
15. Jeanne apparently had an interest in illuminated manuscripts herself, as she owned an illustrated copy of Boccaccio, *De casibus virorum illustrium*, French translation by Laurent Premierfait (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fr. 230).
16. Perhaps Charles's tenuous status and loss of revenue early in 1466 led to the abandonment of this ambitious and costly commission: King Louis, not inclined to fulfill the terms of the Treaty of Conflans, moved his army to Normandy and occupied its capital, Rouen, early in 1466. Charles fled to Brittany, seeking protection from Duke Francis II, and remained there almost continuously until 1469. See Greindl 1936, p. 221, and Reynaud 1981, p. 56.
17. Avril and Reynaud 1993, p. 160, where the Assumption is mentioned as having been seen in a German private collection in 1970. Its current location is unknown, but there exists an excellent photograph of it, which is reproduced here.
18. Apart from irregularities in the gatherings owing to loss, the only other anomalies can be found in gathering 7, which preceded the Hours of the Virgin before the additional prayers were inserted, and gathering 18, which contains the full texts of the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit. See Appendix.
19. The notations on the bifolios in this gathering are si through siiii (fols. 190–193), followed by the thread. The catchword appears on folio 198v. Thus, the single added leaf seems to be inserted before folio 196, but the tight binding of the manuscript makes it impossible to be certain. I express my gratitude to Yann Sordet and Patrick Latour at the Bibliothèque Mazarine for their examination of the gathering in question.
20. The insertion of additional miniatures suggests that leaves were replaced and texts rewritten. This would have affected the text on the new leaf and perhaps also the following leaf or the conjoint leaf if a double folio was replaced. However, it is difficult to be certain of the use of different inks without further technical analysis.
21. Collection of the Guild of St. George, Museums Sheffield, R. 3548; Clancy 1993, p. 224. In this case, a stub indicates the missing original first folio of this gathering. Clancy also mentions another case, somewhat similar though less successful, involving a miniature by Fouquet or a close follower in the Hours of Louis Malet de Graville (Huntington Library, San Marino, California, HM 1163).
22. For an analysis of the differences in completion of the textual decoration throughout the Hours of Charles of France, see Clancy 1988, pp. 179–81.
23. The miniatures that have frames indicated or painted are folios 28v (Luke), 31 (Matthew), 40 (Virgin and Child), 72*bis* (Journey to Bethlehem), 85v (Nativity), 92v (Massacre of the Innocents), 98 (Virgin reading), 103 (Death of the Virgin), 108 (Funeral Procession), 122 (Crucifixion; layout changed), 126v (Transfiguration), 131 (Apocalypse; layout changed), 154 (Deathbed Scene), 164 (Funeral Service; layout changed, discussed below), and 195v (Last Judgment; layout changed). In some of them, aspects of the narrative scene extend into the frame, as will be discussed. The narrative scenes on folios 40 and 98 have rounded tops, which extend into the upper section of the frame.

24. Alexander 1992, p. 40.

25. The Crucifixion resembles compositions by Fouquet, especially in the circular arrangement of the onlookers, the view of the horse from behind, and the soldiers rolling the dice over Christ's clothing. Compare, for example, the Crucifixion in the Hours of Étienne Chevalier (Musée Condé, Chantilly, MS 71; see Reynaud 2006, p. 87). Unlike Fouquet, the Master of Charles of France combined a populous Crucifixion with a "devotional" type that includes only Christ on the Cross, Mary, John, and Mary Magdalen, which is unusual as well.

26. The notation read "histoire a nonne," but "nonne" was crossed out and "sexte" written above it. These notations may have been written in the same hand as the catchwords on folios 163v and 165v; if so, that would further support the observation that this gathering (23) was not part of the original plan for the manuscript.

27. As already mentioned, the Betrayal (Figure 3), which also has Charles's coat of arms as duke of Berry, is a different case, for that bifolio seems to have been sent to Fouquet's workshop even before the textual decoration in the manuscript was completed; see Clancy 1993, p. 214.

28. The miniatures for the prayers to Saints James (fol. 216v) and Bernard (fol. 211v) did not receive underdrawing. Only a faint line marking the outer borders of the miniatures is visible.

29. Manuscripts made for or owned by Louis are Ludolph of Saxony, *Le livre de vita Christi* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fr. 177–179); *Secret des secrets* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, N. a. Fr. 18219); Frontinus, *Le livre des strategemes*, French translation by Jean de Rovroy, and *Notables extraictz du livre de Vegecce* (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fr. 1235); Book of Hours (Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, MS 38; see discussion below and note 39); Missal (Sir John Soane's Museum, London, MS 2); Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Les faits du grand Alexandre*, French translation by Vasco de Lucena (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 2566); *Les faits des romains* (Bibliothèque de Genève, Fr. 80). To Jeanne de France, duchess of Bourbon, the wife of his brother Jean II de Bourbon, Louis presented a copy of *La Boucquechardière* of Jean de Courcy (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Fr. 329).

30. Musée Condé, MS 71. For this manuscript, see Avril 2003, pp. 193–217, no. 24, and Reynaud 2006.

31. For the Betrayal in the Chevalier hours, see Reynaud 2006, pp. 50–53, no. 7.

32. See ibid., pp. 39–45, nos. 4, 5.

33. Collection of the Guild of St. George, Museums Sheffield, R. 3548, fols. 18v–19. See Avril 2003, pp. 364–66, no. 43.

34. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, MSS 74 G 37 and 74 G 37a; and J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, MS 7. See Marrow 1994 and Avril 2003, pp. 187–92, no. 23. In Plummer 1982 (p. 47), the Madonna on folio 1v in Los Angeles is attributed to the Master of Charles of France; it is now given to Fouquet.

35. See Avril 1985 and Marrow 1994, pp. 111–44.

36. See Reynaud 2006, p. 59, Annunciation ill. p. 55.

37. See Avril 2003, pp. 101–10, no. 4.

38. Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny-Geneva MS 143, fol. 6v; see Reynaud 1981, p. 17. For the manuscript, see Pellegrin 1982, pp. 349–53.

39. Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, MS 38, fol. 40. The manuscript was offered at *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, sale, Sotheby's, London, June 17, 2003, lot 90, but it was not sold.

40. Pächt 1974, pp. 82–85 (attribution to Fouquet); Manchester 1976, p. 31 (attribution to Master of Charles of Normandy; see note 5 above).

41. Pächt 1974, pp. 82–85.

42. This tradition is referred to in ibid., p. 77. See also Panofsky 1935, p. 445: "the French fifteenth century painters were extremely reluctant to adopt the bourgeois interior type" and (p. 445n24) "retained . . . their traditional iconographical schemes, namely . . . the church interior types"; Robb 1936, p. 495: "The Annunciation's ecclesiastical setting is the outstanding characteristic of its French iconography in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries."

43. See, for example, the Annunciation in the Mazarine Hours (Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 469, fol. 13); Paris 2004, ill. p. 285.

44. Manchester 1976, pp. 31–32, no. 57. As a date for the Stonyhurst book of hours, the sale catalogue Sotheby's, London, June 17, 2003, lot 90 (see note 39 above), suggests about 1460–70; this is surely too late. For the Jouvenel group, see König 1982, pp. 213–20, and Avril 2003, pp. 414–17.

45. *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, sale, Sotheby's, London, November 29, 1990, lot 140; and *The Jaime Ortiz-Patiño Collection of Important Books and Manuscripts*, sale, Sotheby's, New York, April 21, 1998, lot 36 (called the Northumberland Hours). According to the 1998 sale catalogue, this book seems to have been produced in several phases, as was the Hours of Charles of France. The Master of Charles of France shared the commission with the Master of the Geneva Boccaccio and the Master of the Échevinage de Rouen.

Hours of Charles of France (use of Paris)

Bourges (and Tours?), dated 1465

Parchment; 218 folios, 7⅛ x 5¼ in. (18 x 13.3 cm); 14 lines, 3 x 1⅞ in. (7.5 x 4.8 cm)

Catchwords and gathering signatures largely intact (see below)

Modern Arabic foliation: 1–220; 72*bis* is inserted, 159 is not assigned

Written in bastarda, by two hands

Bound in red Morocco leather, semé of fleurs-de-lis

Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, MS 473 (813)

iii + gatherings 1–2^6 (fols. 1–12), 3^8 (13–20), 4^6 (21–26), 5$^{8-2}$ (27–32), 6^8 (33–40), 7^6 (41–46), 8^8 (47–54), 9^8 (55–62), 10$^{8-2}$ (63–68), 11^{8-2+1} (69–74), 12–16^8 (75–114), 17$^{8-2}$ (115–120), 18^{10} (121–130), 19–21^8 (131–154), 22^8 (155–163), 23^2 (164–165), 24–26^8 (166–189), 27^{8+1} (190–198), 28–29^8 (199–214), 30^4 (215–218) + iii

Calendar (fols. 1–12v)

Passion of Christ (13–25v)

    13: Betrayal of Christ, attributed to the Master of the Munich Boccaccio (finished; Figure 3)

    26–26v: blank

Gospels (27–34, defect at beginning and end)

    28v: Saint Luke (drawing)

    31: Saint Matthew (drawing)

Obsecro te (35–39v), introduced by planned miniature on fol. 34v

O intemerata (40v–45), introduced by the Virgin and Child on fol. 40 (drawing)

    45v–46v: blank

Prayers (47–62v)

    47–49: Narrative of Christ's Passion based on John 19:1–36 and Matthew 27:30, 34, "In illo tempore apprehendit pilatus ih[esu]m et flagellavit eum . . ."; introduced by planned half-page miniature

    49–50: Prayer, "Deus qui man[us] tuas et pedes tuos . . ."

    50v–51: "O salutaris hostia," introduced by planned half-page miniature

    51: Prayer, "Perpetua q[uae]s[umus] d[omi]ne pace custodi quos per lignum sancte crucis redimere dignatus es salvator mundi. amen."

    51v–54: "Stabat mater dolorosa," introduced by planned half-page miniature

    54: "Ave regina caelorum"

    54v: "Salve regina mater misericordiae"

    55: Prayer, "Post partu[m] virgo inviolata perma[n]sisti. Dei genetrix intercede pro nobis"; followed by "Concede nos famulos tuos q[uae]s[umus] domine deus perpetua mentis et corporis sanitate gaudere et gloriosa beate marie semper virginis intercessione a pr[aes]i[n]ti liberari tristicia et eterna perfrui leticia per d[omi]n[u]m."

    55v–57: Prayer to Saint Sebastian, "Egregie dei martyr Sebastiane, princeps ac propagator . . ."; introduced by planned half-page miniature

    57v–58: Prayer to Saint George, "Corona[m] glorie pona[m] super caput martiris dicit d[omi]nus . . ."; introduced by planned half-page miniature

    58v–59v: Prayer to Saint Christopher, "Cum autem complevisset sanctus xpo[christo]forus or[ati]onem suam . . ."; introduced by planned half-page miniature

    60–61: Prayer to Saint Catherine, "Virgo s[an]c[t]a katherina grecie ge[m]ma urbe alexa[n]drina costi regis erat filia . . ."; introduced by planned half-page miniature

    61v–62v: Prayer to Saint Barbara, "Media nocte circumfulxit lux de celo beata[m] barbara[m] in apparuit ei salvator dicens . . ."; introduced by planned half-page miniature

Hours of the Virgin (63–120)

    63–72v: Matins, originally introduced by the Cloisters Annunciation and Visitation (finished; Figures 1, 2)

    72*bis*v–85: Lauds, introduced by the Journey to Bethlehem on fol. 72*bis* (finished; Figure 5)

    86–92: Prime, introduced by the Nativity on fol. 85v (finished; Figure 4)

    93–97v: Terce, introduced by the Massacre of the Innocents on fol. 92v (unfinished; Figure 6)

    98v–102v: Sext, introduced by the Virgin reading on fol. 98 (drawing)

    103v–107v: None, introduced by the Death of the Virgin on fol. 103 (drawing)

    108v–115v: Vespers, introduced by the Funeral Procession on fol. 108 (drawing; Figure 8)

    116–120: Compline (defect at beginning), originally introduced by the Assumption of the Virgin (finished; Figure 7)

    120v–121v: blank

Hours of the Cross (122v–126), introduced by the Crucifixion on fol. 122 (unfinished; Figure 10)

Hours of the Holy Spirit (127–130v), introduced by the Transfiguration on fol. 126v (drawing)

Penitential Psalms (131v–146), introduced by the Apocalypse on fol. 131 (drawing; Figure 9)

Litany (146–153v)

Office of the Dead (154v–211)

154v–163v: Vespers, introduced by the Deathbed Scene on fol. 154 (drawing)

164v–195: Matins, introduced by the Funeral Service on fol. 164 (drawing)

196–211: Lauds, introduced by the Last Judgment on fol. 195v (drawing)

Verses of Saint Bernard (212–213v), introduced by planned miniature on fol. 211v

Suffrages (214v–217v)

214v: Saint John the Baptist, introduced by a miniature of Saint John the Baptist holding a book and a lamb on fol. 214 (drawing)

215v–216: Saint Michael the Archangel, introduced by a miniature of Saint Michael and the Devil on fol. 215 (drawing)

217–217v: Saint James, introduced by a planned miniature on fol. 216v

218–218v: blank

Production Marks
In gathering 5/on fols. 27–29: a°ii, a°iii, a°iiii; 6/33–36: b°i, b°ii, b°iii, b°iiii; 7/41–44: c°i, c°ii, c°iii, c°iiii(*); 10/63, 65: aii, aiiii; 11/69, 70: bi, bii; 12/75–78: ci, cii, ciii, ciiii; 13/83–86: di, dii, diii, diiii; 14/91–94: ei, eii, eiii, eiiii; 15/99–102: fi, fii, fiii, fiiii; 16/107–110: gi, gii, giii, giiii; 17/115–117: hi, hiii, hiiii; 18/121–125: Ii, Iii, Iiii, Iiiii, Iv; 19/131–134: ki, kii, kiii, kiiii; 20/139–142: Li, Lii, Liii, Liiii; 21/147–150: mi, mii, miii, miiii; 22/155–158: ni, nii, niii, niiii; 23/164, 165: oi, oii(*); 24/166–169: pi, pii, piii, piiii; 25/174–177: qi, qii, qiii, qiiii; 26/182–185: ri, rii, riii, riiii; 27/190–193: si, sii, siii, siiii; 28/199–202: ti, tii, tiii, tiiii; 29/207–210: vi, vii, viii, viiii; 30/215–217: ui, uii, uiii(*)

Catchwords—on fols. 13v(*), 20v, 40v, 54v, 74v, 82v, 90v, 98v, 106v, 114v, 129v(*), 138v, 146v, 154v, 163v (different hand), 165v (different hand), 173v, 181v, 189v, 198v, 206v, 214v

(*)—denotes an irregularity in a production mark

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