ROSE OLIVEIRA

LANDSCAPE, LOCALITY, AND LABOR:

LATE MEDIEVAL CALENDAR IMAGES FROM 1400-1550

AND THEIR VARIETIES

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2012

LANDSCAPE, LOCALITY, AND LABOR:

LATE MEDIEVAL CALENDAR IMAGES FROM 1400-1550

AND THEIR VARIETIES

by

Rose Oliveira

(USA)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

_____

Chair, Examination Committee

_____

Thesis Supervisor

_____

Examiner

_____

Examiner

Budapest
May 2012

LANDSCAPE, LOCALITY, AND LABOR: LATE MEDIEVAL CALENDAR IMAGES FROM 1400-1550 AND THEIR VARIETIES

by

Rose Oliveira

(USA)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

_____

External Examiner

Budapest
May 2012

LANDSCAPE, LOCALITY, AND LABOR:

LATE MEDIEVAL CALENDAR IMAGES FROM 1400-1550 AND THEIR VARIETIES

by

Rose Oliveira

(USA)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

_____

Supervisor

Budapest
May 2012

I, the undersigned, **Rose Oliveira**, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 16 May 2012

_____

SIGNATURE

Abstract

Late medieval devotional books often included the Labors of the Month in their calendar sections. Representations this cycle of the seasons and human work reached its zenith the late fifteenth century in Western Europe. Scholars have treated these works, created in specialized workshops, as mines of information about costume and agricultural tools, increasing development of landscapes in art, and reflections of an idealized representation of the peasant world. This paper uses French and Flemish sources in an attempt to understand the differences of development due to regional placement and the context of the societies. By comparing the calendars and examining elements of composition focusing on place, person, gender, and considering the effect of the patron, clear patterns and differences were identified which reflected the needs of the society, consciously and unconsciously. Thus, in the use of landscape, one sees how architecture and town space were used differently to emphasize the correct work, in some cases becoming a proxy for the elite in society. Differing notions of hierarchy in rural and elite contexts are represented both in the increase of noble activities in later calendars and where peasant and upper class member meet. A stark difference in the number of women depicted in the calendars was evident as well as some regional differences in the work in which medieval rural women participated. By placing the Labors into a broader context one better sees how these images developed and functioned based upon the society where they were created.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to give my deepest thanks to the CEU Medieval Department and my colleagues, for providing both an intellectually challenging and a supportive environment in which to foster my ideas. In particular, I would like to sincerely thank my advisor, Dr. Gerhard Jaritz, who provided endless hours of conversation, editing, and support without which this paper would not have been possible. I would also like to thank Dr. Judith Rasson for her hours spent on editing and providing comments which have enriched this text and made it clearer than it would have otherwise been.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank my family for their continual support in my journey. I am indebted to Petra Rowan Rhines, Alexis Wolf, and Jill Politsch-Zarzeczny, who provided critical comments on this work, were supportive voices in times of doubt, and models of creative, strong women. Finally, my greatest thanks to my partner, Patrick McMurchie, who supported me from my first proposal sent to CEU and who has been my best critic and my deepest love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

Figure i.1. René Magritte *the Treachery of Images*, 1929

Magritte in his iconic painting *The Treachery of Images* points to the precarious relationship between people and images. The straightforward pipe and inscription seamlessly create a visual contradiction commenting on what we see and what we understand. The image is seductive, plainly two dimensional, yet we understand it as the stand-in for its real-world counterpart. As such, it becomes this for us: it is and is not a pipe. The Labors of the Month are a medieval pictorial cycle that follows the agricultural rhythms of the year. Images of peasants sowing seeds, harvesting grain, and butchering pigs seems in one way "real," and yet these labors are not just bucolic depictions of "real" life although there are elements of reality. As part of a genre, they guide the viewer through an idealized version of the seasonal round and function as a guide to how one should work.

The passage of time and seasonal renewal was captured in the agricultural work of the Labors of the Month. These images were ubiquitous and can be found in church portals, stained glass, murals, and manuscripts. The iconography of the Labors has a long history stretching from antiquity; the earliest examples of these images date to first century B.C. in Hellenistic friezes.[1] These images first were found primarily in monumental forms in sculpture, mosaics, and stained glass which were the primary modes of presenting this cycle

[1]James Carson Webster, *The Labors of the Month in Antique and Medieval Art to the end of the Twelfth Century* (New York: AMS Press, 1970).

up until the thirteenth century. James Webster has traced the development of the static to active postures in the depictions of the labors as they moved from their antique heritage and developed into their medieval forms.[2] By the twelfth century the Labor cycle had begun to form its medieval shape[3] and with greater frequency can be found in the monumental works and manuscripts in the twelfth and thirteenth century.[4] It is within the intimate scale and fluid medium of manuscript illumination, particularly in the calendars of the Books of Hours, where in subsequent centuries these image cycles were used and continued to develop.[5]

Books of Hours are devotional texts meant for a lay audience and one of the most popular books for private devotion for the laity, especially between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries; as such, they are the most numerous type of illustrated book that remains from the Middle Ages.[6] These devotional books follow a general pattern in textual content and images; they were often modified to some extent for their owners. Although almost all Books of Hours have calendars with the liturgical feasts, less than half were illuminated with the Labor cycle.[7] When they were illustrated, the images are to be found in the margins within constrained formats like quatrefoils, medallions, or blocks, often as a stylized background depicting a single figure (figure i.2[8]).[9]

[2]Ibidem, 32-36 and 97-103, see especially 36 and 102.
[3]Ibidem, 102.
[4] Perrine Mane, *Calendriers et Techniques Agricoles: France-Italie, XIIe-XIIIe Siècles* (Paris: Sycomore, 1983), 19. She notes that the 12th and the 13th century that there is a frequent integration of the calendars into monumental works as well as in the manuscripts.
[5] Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 5. She notes the popularity of these scenes in England, France, Italy, and Flanders and speaks about the vitality of the images especially in devotional texts.
[6] John P. Harthan, *The Book of Hours* (New York: Crowell, 1977), 11 notes that "their popularity was such that they form the largest single category of illuminated manuscripts."
[7]Roger Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (London: Sotheby's Publication, 1988), 45. He also notes that even books that otherwise have lavish illustrations may not have their calendars decorated.
[8]http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Mandragore (last accessed May 5, 2012)
[9] For another French example, see figure 3.5. In my sample these stylized backgrounds were dominant until the first half of the fifteenth century

Figure i.2 October, broadcasting, *Hours of Marguerite d'Orleans*Paris1426 Latin 1156 Bibliothèque Nationale de France

The strength of tradition meant that the development was slow and stayed close to these models throughout the Middle Ages. Interest in the development of the visual representation of space came from Italian antecedents and the development of nature representation started with Giotto.[10] Otto Pächt explicitly traced an Italian preoccupation with nature studies in bestiaries and herbals like the *Tacuinum Sanitatis* as influences on the calendar scenes and the development of landscape in illuminated miniatures. The development of perspective and a new interest in naturalism began in Italy and diffused to more northern countries. The interest in depicting more "naturalistic" landscapes and capturing details of social space was a fundamental interest for some illuminators, especially in Flanders, and The 'Labors' or 'Occupations' of the Month were motifs which some illuminators used to explore these concepts. Thus, one of the roots of the emergence of landscape painting is in the Labors of the Month.

Where calendar images were used there is an overlap of secular and religious duties, thus, the depictions of labor have layers of religious meaning, adding depth to the portrayal of the seasons. The calendar keeps liturgical time through feast dates and the cyclical seasons of the year that begins, ends, and begins again. The labors add elements of everyday life and the

[10] Otto Pächt, "Early Italian Nature Studies and the Early Calendar Landscape," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13, no. 1/2 (1950): 13-47.

passage of time to the devotional atmosphere. Thus, images of peasants and labor are created and consumed by those who have little to do with the *laboratores*; however, these images provide a moral exemplar and a didactic message. The Labors provide a representation of work that unfolds at the appropriate time and is performed by the appropriate people.[11] This visual depiction of timely work is thus linked with ideas of moral correctness and a larger sign of the functioning of society. The Ambrogio Lorenzetti mural of the *Effects of Good Government on Town and Country* in the Palazzo Pubblico of Siena (1338-40) (figure i.2) shows how good government is represented as the relationship of all the working parts. The harmony of each aspect of society working in the right way is the visible outcome of the right actions.

Figure i.3 detail Allegories of Good and Bad Government, Ambrogio Lorenzetti 1337/9, Siena, Palazzo Pubblico,

The depiction of landscape is a society's cultural construction. The depiction of wild, cultivated, domestic, commercial, and urban space provides a glimpse into ideas about the world that presents itself around us. Although these books are heavily bound to tradition, each is subtly different from the other. The object of the book and the images within it were potent symbols of both power and wealth. The visual page was an area of actualization where

[11]Colum Hourihane, ed., *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), iv-v discuss the positive representation of the Labors to convey a reassuring message.

idealized reality and pleasures could be projected, where strong visual statements of wealth could be depicted, and where hidden fears and new attitudes and developments could be captured. The personal nature of these books is the key interest of this thesis. My study will examine these variations in space, gesture, and people in search of regional differences among the books. It will also examine issues of identity and power tied into the pages of the calendar.

What do these variations reveal about patron and place and how much is veiled by trends and tradition? How do the cycles vary from locality to locality? What do these variations reveal about the use of space and a relationship to the viewer? What do the depictions of the people and their activities of the calendar, peasants and elites, men and women, reveal about the attitudes of patron and artist? The central question revolves around how place is expressed, how variations point to shifts in the fifteenth century, and what these may indicate regarding power and identity. These variations become apparent by closely examining objects, people, and space. By analyzing the various depictions in the cycles, my research will illuminate the varieties which are reflected by regional differences in attitudes toward the environment and gender. Understanding how people in the past shaped and were shaped through these landscapes and the activities in them contributes to understanding both the ideological implications of place and the importance of the environment as a space of memory.

CHAPTER 1: METHODS OF INTERPRETING MEDIEVAL CALENDAR IMAGES

Books of Hours provide an intersection of patrons' wishes, tradition, and function; the cycle of the labors in the calendar creates a crossroads in the depictions of culture. Generally commissioned by the upper class in society, it entwined liturgical devotions with agrarian scenes and noble occupations. In this way, religious life, agrarian cycles, and noble pleasures intersected in physical and illuminated space. There some problems with interpreting the meaning of the illuminations. The reception of the idea of the labors differed dramatically depending on the form of the portrayal. Monumental works, including the sculptural programs of churches, mosaics, and murals in religious and public buildings addressed a diverse audience with varying levels of education.[12] Manuscripts, although smaller, were more personal and specialized for the owner[13] and demonstrated their affluence[14] and, to a certain extent, their tastes. Although the calendar cycle functioned within tight conventions, the books were made in workshops where motifs were copied, images borrowed, and designs formulated and shared in model books. In addition, books of hours were part of a large international market, so artists and art works were made for people not necessarily from a specific region. However, these books symbolized status[15] and thus the images that were developed do reflect at least some of the "reality" of their patrons. This "reality" could be as

[12]Perinne Mane, "Iconographie et Travail Paysan," In *Le Travail au Moyen Âge: Une Approache Interdisciplinaire* ed. Jacqueline Hamesse (Louvain-La-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain,1990): 251-262, see especially 252-253.

[13]It may be argued that with the advent of printing they became more widely available in less costly editions; however, manuscript illuminations, which are the basis of this study, suggest the need for a certain amount of wealth. In the earliest stages they were essential markers of wealth and position, see Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character* (New York: Icon Editions,1971), 27.

[14]Brigitte Buettner, "Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions: Manuscripts in Late Medieval Courtly Society," *The Art Bulletin* 74,no. 1 (1992): 76, shows that the cost of some illuminated manuscripts ranged from a hundred to six hundred francs, which was more than average clerical texts, which were valued at ten francs, and even more expensive than the most expensive horse, valued at three hundred francs.

[15]Thomas Kren says: "Luxury devotional books were simultaneously a means to communion with God, physical evidence of personal piety, and testaments to the wealth and tastes of the Patron." in"Revolution and Transformation: Paintings in Devotional Manuscripts 1467-1485" *Illuminating the Renaissance The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe,* Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, ed. (Los Angeles: John J. Getty Museum, 2003), 121. He also notes in his chapter on court culture, 13 footnote 7, that although the books were fragile and thus of the audience may have been smaller but the company to whom it was shown was more powerful and politically significant,

direct as the depiction of the owner's properties in the Très Riches Heures of Jean Duc de Berry or, in a more general way, including more elite occupations. The prevalence of copying suggests the development and appreciation of ideas and themes; an example is the depiction of towns, manors, and castles included in the calendar cycles, which reflect the society for which it was made. That is why variations, no matter how minute, are significant because they show an independent branch of thinking in their intentions. The introduction of the patron's pursuits in the calendar provides a way to examine how certain features were used to represent the wealth and dominance of the patrons.

Previous Literature

The iconography of the labors and its development has been well documented. J. C. Webster, in *The Labors of the Month in Antique and Medieval Art to the end of the Twelfth Century*,[16]traced the development of the labor cycle from its Classical roots in Roman mythology to the twelfth century in France, Italy, and Germany. He demonstrated the shift from the Classical motifs of the months, centered on a single, passive figure with the attribute of the labor mixed with pagan motifs to the slow development in the Middle Ages towards a more active depiction of the months. He looked at the end of the twelfth century and noted the development and differences in the iconographies in France, Italy, Germany, Spain, and England due to climatic differences. His main interest traces the change in iconography from passive to active compositions. Perrine Mane[17] continued this inquiry, looking more carefully at the labor cycles of France and Italy from the twelfth to the thirteenth century. Otto Pächt[18] provided a thorough examination of the influence of Lombard art on French and Flemish illuminators. He traced the changes in bestiaries, herbals, and early calendar art of Italy as a

[16]James Carson Webster, *The Labors of the Month in Antique and Medieval Art to the end of the Twelfth Century* (New York: AMS Press, 1970).
[17] Perrine Mane, *Calendriers et Techniques Agricoles: France-Italie, XIIe-XIIIe Siècles* (Paris: Sycomore, 1983).
[18] Otto Pächt, "Early Italian Nature Studies and the Early Calendar Landscape," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13, no. 1/2 (1950): 13-47.

significant contribution in the development of landscape painting in the North and suggested that calendar landscape images first appeared most definitively in Italian literature, specifically calendar poems.

A compelling new treatment of the subject was developed in a recent MA thesis by Sianne Lauren Shepard.[19] She investigates the earliest examples of Anglo-Saxon calendar illuminations, the Julius Hymnal and the Tiberius Miscellany, and their impacts on the portrayals of medieval labors. She argues that these books were works meant for educational purposes, serving a dual purpose of a computation tool and a martyrology, and that these illuminations served as mnemonic devices for remembering the various saint's and feast days in the calendar year. She also proposes that the month-of-May imagery of the shepherds was derived from early Christian funerary art. This suggestion about mnemonic devices is interesting, although her analysis does not sufficiently flesh out the evidence to support the mnemonic connections or suggest if there were any precedents. However, she raises questions regarding the function of the images in the calendars, which most treatments of the subject do not. In art historical circles, much talk has developed around the themes of the relationship between text and image, most notably in the works of Michael Camille.[20]

A number of scholars have worked on later medieval calendars. Bridget Ann Henisch (her work is described below)[21] and Colum Hourrihane examine both the zodiac and labor features in the calendar. He mentions variations, but concentrates on looking at the overall consistent themes of each month. He provides a catalogue of examples primarily from manuscripts, stone carvings, and some stained glass. Teresa Pérez-Higuera's[22] work bridges this gap as she examines medieval calendars from the Classical period until the calendar

[19]Sianne Lauren Shepard, "Anglo-Saxon Labours of the Months: Representing May--A Case Study" MAthesis (University of Birmingham, 2010) http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/2920/1/Shepherd11MPhil.pdf [accessed Jan. 4, 2012]

[20] Michael Camille, *Images on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992).

[21]Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999)

[22] Teresa Pérez-Higuera, *Medieval Calendars* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1998).

motifs began to fall out of use in the seventeenth century. Her work gives a more general view of the various motifs in the cycles and she touches on some of the subtle variations in scenes like the development of crop rotation and different butchering methods and their effects on the iconography of the calendar. She suggests several reasons for the popularity of the calendars and also notes the impact of copying. Both of these offer many helpful images and acknowledge variations, and in the case of Pérez-Higuera, some analysis of the impacts of these variations on the iconography. However, these books both span long periods of time and do not provide in-depth examinations of the variations on an international scope. The collaboration of Le Goff, Le Fort, and Mane[23] on calendars provides a more in-depth look at the calendar's influence on nature, culture, and art.

More specific works have dealt with the Labors of the Month in the calendar cycle. Wilhelm Hansen[24]presents a social history of the calendar series and looks at the specific depictions of tools and agricultural objects in the images. Bridget Ann Henisch deals primarily with illuminations from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Her work looks at the calendar and the labors of the month as a whole and her treatment of the subject is thorough and descriptive and covers many nuances of medieval society. She structures the book around the seasons and details the work and occupations of the months along with notable variations as well as looking at women and children. She raises several interesting questions about iconographic choice and notes the developments in the cycles like pleasure gardens. She goes into certain variations within the calendar in depth; she presents the world of the calendar as a space that represents a positive and orderly world of peasant life. This view has been contested by Jonathan Alexander,[25] who analyzed the ideological underpinnings of depictions of peasant labor and aristocracy in medieval calendar cycles. He

[23]Jacques Le Goff, Jean Le Fort, and Perrine Mane, ed. *Les calendriers: leurs enjeux dans l'espace dans le temps: Colloque de Cerisy, du 1er au 8 Juillet 2000* (Paris: Somogy, 2002).
[24]Wilhelm Hansen, *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher* (Munich: Callwey, 1984).
[25] Jonathan J.G. Alexander, "Labeur and Paresse: Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labor," *The Art Bulletin* 72, no. 3 (1990): 436-452.

argues that the *Très Riches Heures* marked a shift of attitude toward the peasantry as a result of the economic and social crisis of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century and reflected the personal hostility of the Duke de Berry towards peasants. Alexander underscores that these cycles are not neutral spaces; that ideology is embedded in the works and that "realism" should be considered limited. Finally, Aires A. Nascimento,[26] as part of the catalogue of the exhibition of "Time in European Manuscripts" wrote on the iconography of the months exploring the issue of time in the labors using literature of the period and considering calendars which seem to use different constructions to convey this concept.

Brigitte Buettner's[27] article validates some of these conclusions. She maintains that images made for the secular privileged classes became strategic depictions of the economic, cultural, and affective investments of courtly society. She demonstrates the prominent role that objects of knowledge, power, and pleasure played in the identity formation of the upper ranks. She uses illuminations from the Valois family to substantiate her claims, examining issues of reception of the work, the ramifications of patrons shown in the images, their use as voyeuristic tools of eroticism, and projections of ideals and models of the world around them. She incorporates scholarship on memory, seeing it as an active art, and the power these objects had on owners and other beholders.

The construction of these manuscripts and the development of the art were essential to my work. Christopher de Hamel's[28] and Jonathan J.G. Alexander's[29] books on the medieval craft and business of book production was essential to understanding the process and constraints as well as the nature of the relationship between commissioner and producer.

[26]Aires Nascimento, "The Iconography of the Months in Medieval Calendars," *The Image of Time* (Lisbon:Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2000).
[27]Brigitte Buettner, "Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions: Manuscripts in Late Medieval Courtly Society," *The Art Bulletin* 74, no. 1 (1992): 75-90.
[28] Christopher De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (London: British Museum Press, 1993) and *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*,1st ed. (London: Phaidon, 1997).
[29] Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992)

Particularly important handbooks for the contexts and development of the illumination are the foundation texts in the field of art history, the works of Milliard Mesis[30] and Erwin Panofsky,[31] which examine the contexts of this period and the influence of painting and illumination at the time. Finally, important catalogues discussing the workshops and the issues of dating, attribution, and provenance are Nicole Reynaud and François Avril[32] for the French school and Thomas Kern and Scot McKendrick[33] for the Flemish.

There have been interesting attempts to unite the function of the calendar and the image with the text as well as to show the more complex relationship between peasant and nobility. My study will be based on these attempts and concentrate on the representations of landscape, social aspects, and gender in Books of Hours to offer even more contextualization than has been provided until now.

Primary sources

I chose to look at the large region of France and Flanders as these were the centers of illumination in the Middle Ages, notably Paris, and Ghent and Bruges in Flanders, although there were also many other notable centers in both regions.[34] The time period from which I collected calendars ranged 1400 to 1550, which allowed me to look at the height and end of the labor cycles and to note any transitions in iconography. Books of Hours are both numerous and spread out in libraries and collections across the world. Limited by time and resources, I worked with calendars that have been published or are available on the web through online databases/electronic collections. These resources provided an array of calendars ranging from luxury editions to those made for the mass market. The reception of

[30] Millard Miess, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*, 3 vols. (London: Phaidon; New York: Braziller: 1967-1974)
[31]Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character (*New York: Icon Editions,1971)
[32]François Avril and Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440-1520*(Paris: Flammarion-Bibliotèque nationale de France, 1993).
[33]Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, ed., *Illuminating the Renaissance The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: John J. Getty Museum, 2003).
[34] In France and Flanders artists also worked in other towns, notably Rennes, Tours, Antwerp, Valenciennes, and Utrecht, to name but a few, not to mention artists who worked in other parts of Europe.

most of these calendars was initially restricted to the social elite, but a rise in popularity and advances in production techniques made them affordable to a wider public.

I am interested in how personal choice and the ideologies of a region may have influenced these image cycles, thus, I have chosen to restrict my sample to the calendar cycles from Books of Hours. Although calendar cycles appear in other book types, I chose to focus on Books of Hours as they are more numerous and because they fit the particular context of private devotions. As such, patrons were more inclined to illuminate their books as richly as they were financially able and the images reflect personal preferences. Part of my criteria for choosing these calendars were to find complete or near complete calendars cycles to better understand how various environments were depicted within a calendar itself and among other calendars. I drew on these calendars to make my initial analysis Aside from these calendars, I consulted partial calendars and stand-alone images as well as calendar cycles which preceded and followed my time period to have a better understanding of these cycles.

Methodology

Working with manuscript illuminations and this cycle involves multiple challenges.[35] The manufacture of these manuscripts involved many people to prepare the parchment, rule the pages, and copy the images; typically multiple hands worked on the illuminations of various texts. In Books of Hours, especially luxury books, multiple workshops sometimes worked on the illuminations.[36] At the same time, as is well known, there is scant information on the details of who produced a book and who may have contributed to which sections; colophons with bibliographic information are rare. For this reason, attributing the works is difficult and it is outside the scope of this study to attribute the texts.

[35] For a thorough overview of medieval illumination see Jonathan J. G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) and for a shorter overview of the materials and production see Christopher De Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (London: British Museum Press, 1993).
[36] For example, the illuminations for the *Grimani Breviary* have been identified as the work of four masters and their workshops.

My basis is a database of sixty calendars which I use to assess and identify broad trends and themes within the specific regions. From these general insights, I discuss and compare the larger issues of regionality and gender. The location of the workshop is how I have categorized the calendars, although the patrons and even the artist may have originated from different places. Identifying the location of the workshop is critical; although I have used the most current information regarding the works, new attributions may ultimately affect some of the attributions as research evolves.

There are inconsistencies within the sample I have collected. The sample reflects a higher number of calendars from France (forty) and the majority of Flemish calendars represent only the first half of the sixteenth century. Although the Flemish sample is only half the size of the French calendars they often show almost double the number of people and landscape variations. Many factors may have contributed to this disparity in numbers, but perhaps the greatest is the discrepancy in time. As Thomas Kren has noted, "the new style of illumination transformed both miniature and border. These changes seem to have occurred separately but probably within a few years of each other, perhaps around 1470 but not later than the mid-1470s,"[37] which correlates with the interest in Flemish illumination. Thus, my sample reflects this trend, with the French calendars ranging the fifteenth to the sixteenth century with a few in the first half of the sixteenth century while the Flemish calendars in my sample primarily represent the first half of the sixteenth century with no calendars dated before the 1450. The works of Simon Bening, well regarded for his use of landscape and considered the last great manuscript illuminator, comprises four of the twenty calendars of the Flemish cycle. As he clearly worked from models there may be some skewing of the evidence. However, even though he utilized similar compositions there are specific

[37]Kren, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 122.

variations in the details which are telling. Although this sample is too small for statistical treatment, I believe it points to interesting trends which could be pursued in future studies.

My work is informed by art historical techniques and information, but my approach to this study is based on ideas of visual culture. Stylistic considerations are less pertinent to my study than the way that these images, both consciously and unconsciously, reflected desires of society and how this contrasted with the current knowledge of the time. The Books of Hours themselves were not just devotional tools; they were also objects meant to project devotion, power, and status, I argue that these goals were mirrored in the use of the calendar and showed the patron ideals of the environment, society, and women and their work. The calendar cycle has been a wealth of information and misinformation regarding medieval daily life, but I argue that these images can suggest more than just specific information regarding tools or methods of production. I believe these calendars taken as a whole provide a subtle look at how the privileged classes chose, by using a particular artist and a certain iconography, to reflect their perceptions of the world around them and how these perceptions changed over time and in different areas.

CHAPTER 2: LANDSCAPE AND TOWNSCAPE, OR, FRAMING SPACE AND TIME

Space resists easy definition and holds several meanings. In *The Production of Space,* Henri Lefebvre proposed that space was "both the geographical site of action and the social possibility for engagement in action."[38] Peter Arnade, Martha Howell, and Walter Simmons have written about Lefebvre's ideas and identified three aspects that are in play in the production of space:

- spatial practices pertaining to the quotidian actions that define space, for example, working, and eating;
- representations of space which refer to abstract concepts that organize space like laws and maps;
- and representational and "lived" space.[39]

As Arnade, Howell, and Simmons write, the term 'lived space' refers to the level at which people unconsciously respond and represent space in symbols. Lefebvre's ideas suggest that space is an active agent of change and not merely the recipient of the effects of human actions. These multiple factors play important roles in affecting people's perception of space. The landscape of the Labors of the Months should be seen as "lived" space.

Landscape is a cultural construction; carefully selected segments of the environment are framed and presented to reflect ideas of person and place. Cultural geographers like Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels in *The Iconography of Landscape* have written about the use of iconography as a way to study the variations of cultural products and norms across and in relation to space and place. They suggest that landscape is a cultural construction that represents and symbolizes its society. In this regard "a landscape park is more palpable but no

[38] Henri Lefebvre cited in Peter Arnade, Martha Howell, and Simons Water ed."Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Spaces in Northern Europe." The *Journal of InterdisciplinaryHistory* 32 (2002): 517.
[39]Peter Arnade, Martha Howell, and Simons Water, "Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Spaces in Northern Europe," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32 (2002): 515-548 esp. 517-18.

more real, nor less imaginary, than a landscape painting or poem."[40] The use of iconography is a way to address the implications of landscape within its social, metaphorical, and ideological contexts. Society is affected by the environment; the application of an iconographical interpretation in geography allows for studies of these effects. The landscape of late medieval calendars is not merely a setting for work but a reflection of the changing ideologies of the day copied and recopied into first to validate ideas and then to translate them into art. What do these variations tell about the use of space and its relationship to the viewer? In attempting to answer this question, this chapter analyzes the development of landscapes in the Labors of the Month and how landscape reflected rural, urban, and aristocratic occupations and expressed regional differences.

As books of prestige, by the fifteenth century Books of Hours had become a staple item of elite households,[41] reaching a zenith in the sixteenth century with the Ghent-Bruges school.[42] This shift in popularity and the money poured into their illuminations reflected in the development of the image cycles from small marginal pieces into half-page and even full-page miniatures. This development also influenced the visual representations of the Labors of the Months.

The calendars display a particular concern with space and landscape conveyed not just in abstract actions of the months, but in their reflections within a space. This included noble and wealthy burghers' movements into the iconography of the Labors. As Panofsky noted, the process of work and the tradition of the Labors became secondary in importance to representing the social milieu of peasants and noblemen.[43] This represents, on one hand, a

[40]Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, ed., *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 1.
[41]This fact has been confirmed frequently; see in particular Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character* Vol. 1(New York: Icon Editions, 1971), 27 who places the beginning trend of Books of Hours into the fourteenth century.
[42]Ibidem, 28 Panofsky suggests that the decay of book illumination was not printing but that manuscript illumination "had begun to commit suicide by converting itself into painting."
[43]Ibidem, 66.

clear division between labor and noble pursuits, yet, on the other hand, comprises a cycle of virtues represented by the appropriate work of peasants. The meeting point between these worlds is determined by those who commissioned and owned the book, the members of the nobility or upper class burghers. They not only wanted to visualize the positive world of the peasants, who represented a kind of morality, but to include themselves and imitate a kind of '*Buon Governo*' in their Books of Hours. Jonathan Alexander emphasized that the "realism" in the calendar is a construct and they are not neutral spaces where the Labors play out, but in fact reveal notions held unconsciously or at least taken for granted by their creators and patrons.[44] As such, they reveal less about the quotidian realities than an idealized version of life and serve to express notions of power and wealth.

RURAL SPACE

The structure of the Labors is led by agricultural work that determines the space of the calendars. It includes fields, private gardens, vineyards, butchering, and domestic space. The tasks depicting the agricultural work are generally appropriate to the months, so June, July, and August take place almost without exception in the fields with mowing hay, reaping and threshing the wheat harvest. September and October interchange depending on the geographical area, collecting and pressing the grape harvest or plowing the fields and broadcasting seed. November is most frequently depicted in the forest as pigs fattening on acorns. The earlier part of the year varies more, thus March and April can represent collecting wood, pruning vines, plowing the fields, shearing and tending sheep, or mending trellises. Interior domestic scenes where feasting, warming, baking or butchering occur bookend the year and vary from commercial, aristocratic to village scenes. The labors thus depict agricultural life created by those and for those who did not participate in this work. But, as Marie Collins and Virginia Davis note, the continued use of country life can be seen "as the

[44]See Alexander, "'Labour' and 'Paresse," *Art Bulletin*, 72: 3 (1990): 436-45, particularly 438.

powerful indication of the close identification, even of the town dwellers, with rural activities throughout the medieval seasons."[45] The idealized rural space and the labors model not just rhythms of work but of a well-balanced world, where the "right work" is done by the "right people" at the "right time" in the "right way" with no crop failures, weather extremes or peasant revolts.

Agricultural work is the central element in the calendar and thus these spaces appear in all the illustrated calendars. However, looking at multiple calendar images striking patterns arise around the depictions of the specificity of place connected to towns and castles. There are three distinct categories of division: agricultural spaces, towns, and castles. What I refer to as agricultural spaces are those images in which all exterior scenes take place in fields and rural environments and do not suggest an emphasis on other social space in their composition. The "purely" agricultural calendars reflect both the traditional form of the calendar and a particular emphasis on the depiction of work,[46] discussed above. The second grouping is the painted environments that include some reference to a town setting and reflect the relationship between town and country. Finally, the last are those in which the castle dominates the landscape, providing an interesting opportunity to look at how images are used to convey information about the owner in these books.

[45]Marie Collins and Virginia Davis, *A Medieval Book of Seasons* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), 35.
[46] When accounting for these divisions I considered the calendar as a whole and not individual months; meaning that although a single calendar may have six months that depict only agricultural landscape, if there were two or three scenes in which a village or castle was present then I identified it as village or castle. See appendix X for specific details.

Figure 2.1. June, mowing, The Dunois Hours Paris 1440-c.1450, British Library Yates Thompson 3

In France, most calendars represent almost solely the agrarian fields with no nods towards town or aristocratic castles or manors. The iconographies of the Labors play out in fields, gardens, and forests and follow the tradition of the calendars closely. As the Dunois Book of Hours typifies (figure 2.1[47]), labor is the central focus of the miniature which is emphasized by the plain handling of the landscape. The attention to the naturalism of the landscape changed throughout the fifteenth century, but what remains noticeable is the lack of representations of towns or aristocratic manors. Although there are exceptions, addressed later in this chapter, the French calendars seem to stay closer to the tradition of portraying the agricultural landscape. This seems to express a clearer notion of the "lived" space of the Labors as tied directly to the land.

Figure 2.2. June, mowing, Book of Hours S. Netherlands 1500-1525

In Flanders, the rural work is also depicted, but more frequently the village remains visible in some way. Most of these manuscripts have two or more months in which the presence of community or town appear either in the background of the picture or within its center (mid-ground and foreground). For example, in a June mowing scene (figure 2.2[48]), two

[47]http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6439&CollID=58&NStart=3 (last accessed April 24,2012)
[48]http://www.kb.nl/manuscripts/show/images_text/10+F+14/page/1 (Last accessed October 17, 2011)

men work along a river in a Book of Hours from a southern Netherlands workshop. Besides their actual "working space" elements of a rural village are more apparent in the background, with a bridge and barns. In most calendar illuminations of the manuscript the amount of space given to the background that is, villages, rivers, and hillsides is more important. Thus, the emphasis can split between the action of mowing and the attention to the river that guides the eye out of the composition.

TOWN AND ARISTOCRATIC SPACE

The impact of cities and their relationship and reliance on rural areas prompts much debate even today. Our understanding of the exchange between rural and urban has shifted over time, and historians of urban space have created numerous models to explain this association. Steven Epstein, in his important work *Town and Country in Europe 1300-1800,* described the development of the models of the town. The classic town-based model centered innovation and industry in urban space while regulating rural space as auxiliary and subservient to its urban core. As Epstein notes, "Towns, which are defined by their commercial elites, are defined as 'advanced' sectors relaying capital, information, technological and institutional to a 'backward' or 'traditional' countryside dominated by a quasi-natural peasant economy."[49] In the 1970s Robert Brenner's theory of agrarian capitalism and Franklin Mendel's proto-industrialization had countered the generally held model of town as 'advanced' and country 'backward.'[50] The urban-rural connections could thus be understood to be parasitic, in which the urban centers drew resources from the rural areas without reciprocating significant benefits.

[49] Steven R. Epstein, *Town and Country in Europe, 1300–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 6.
[50] Ibidem, 7-8.

Martha Howell aptly notes that "the countryside serves to give significance to the city which displaces it."[51] However, this clear expression of the duality of spaces does not address the interaction of rural and urban space. Although town and country serve to reflect each other in opposition, their edges blur and they are often entwined in each other's depiction. The relationship of town and country is thus deeply connected with the other's identity and in day-to-day experience evidenced at the edge of these two spaces. The border reveals the constant rhythm of rural and urban space.

Figure 2.3 March, preparing private garden and chopping wood, Golf Book 1540 British Library Add MS 24098

In the Labors, the reflection of the urban-rural relationship is made visible in multiple ways. The layers of visual evidence provide multiple avenues for understanding the impact of space on those who used and created these images. For example, March (figure 2.3[52]) is represented at the gates of the city wall. A noble or upper class burgher family watches and directs, as laborers begin to turn over their garden property. The city looms before them and the gate beckons entry but they stand outside of it. Even more directly, the relationship of

[51]Martha C. Howell, "The Spaces of Late Medieval Urbanity," in *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe,ed.* Marc Boone and Peter Stabel (Leuven – Apeldoorn: Garant, 2000), 4-5.
[52]http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/ttp/golf/accessible/introduction.html#content (last accessed Oct 23, 2011)

mutuality is clearer in the September scene (figure 2.4[53]), which is a view inside the walls of the town or manor, looking out. The production of wine being made inside the walls is monitored by wealthy merchants. Yet, on the slopes of the hillside, almost indistinguishable from the vines, workers dot the vineyards. In another manuscript made in Bruges (figure 2.5[54]) this shift and the wine production is no longer connected to its agricultural origin, but instead is placed at the heart of town life, the market. Here, the market and the tread-wheel crane, being a symbol of civic pride and wealth, center the composition emphasizing the prestigious elements of the city.

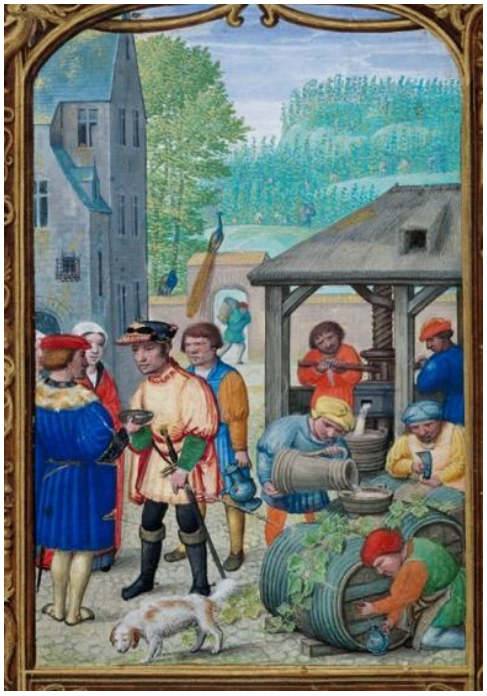

Figure 2.4. September, producing and tasting the vintage, Golf Book, Bruges 1540 British Library Add MS 24098

[53]http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/ttp/golf/accessible/introduction.html#content (last accessed Oct 23, 2011)
[54]Wilhelm Hansen, *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher* (München: Callwey,1984)

Figure 2.5. October, selling the vintage at market, *Flemish Book of Hours Bruges*, Flemish Calendar Munich BayerischeStaatsbibliothek Cod. Lat. 23638

Bruges exemplifies the effects of highly urbanized space influencing the construction of cultural, poltical and economic representations of landscape. Urban and rural relationships had mutual dependence and interaction. In the books from Bruges, especially from the Bening workshop, the rural work is depicted in close relation to the city, witnessed by an increase of depicted urban scenes and urban people. The rural space is used as a relief in which to highlight the urban space. Rural life is thus depicted to expose a specific and definite city. The city cannot be defined without its rural counter part and the rural areas also need the city. Such a relationship between town and country is generally characteristic for the calendars from Flanders.

Figure 2.6. June, mowing, Book of Hours, Paris 1490-1500 Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, KB, 76

Only some of the later French calendars share this characteristic, as a Book of Hours from Paris from the end of the fifteenth century (figure 2.6[55]). In this calendar the central figure mows in the foreground with a thin ribbon of water separating him from the towns in the mid-ground and background of this composition. The blade of the scythe points past the zodiacal lion, misplaced in this June scene, and to the conglomeration of houses and churches by the river bank. This leads further back to the town that rounds out the left hand corner. There is a strong sense of movement from field to town and into further larger towns. The fact that many of these French calendars, which depict towns in their composition are from the second half of the fifteenth century, possibly reflects changes in taste, but these depictions also have a certain distance that seems particular to the French manuscripts. The town hovers in the back, but it is not as dynamically incorporated or used as in the Flemish calendars.

The patron is more clearly represented in the Books of Hours in which the castle becomes a clear character. In these illuminations it is the consistent architectural presence of the castle that orientates one to the landscape. An exceptionally clear example of this is the Flemish Books of Hours of Mary of Burgundy (figures 2.7,[56] 2.8[57], 2.9[58]). The visibility of this feature is prominent; of the twelve labors seven contain some view of the castle. It is not a static view either. As the peasants and nobles tread through the year, the castle moves too, giving various views of its turrets and walls. In contrast to the rural scenes, the castle puts the stamp of the patron and provides another example of his status. Books of Hours, as stated above, indicated status; to have the calendar decorated to include one's property or to allude to authority with the castle, these additional depictions underscore the prestige and strength of the patron. This display of power is strongly connected to noble space. It is this space painted

[55]http://www.kb.nl/manuscripts/show/images_text/76+F+14/page/2 (Last accessed April 23, 2012)
[56]Vienna, Österreichische National bibliothek. *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy.* Facsimile Edition. Commentary Eric Inglis. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1995)
[57]*The Hours of Mary of Burgundy*. Facsimile Edition. Commentary Eric Inglis. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1995)
[58]*The Hours of Mary of Burgundy.* Facsimile Edition. Commentary Eric Inglis. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1995)

in the landscape which will be examined to identify how place is used to accent the position of the patron.

Figure 2.7. April, spinning and herding the sheep,*The Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, c.1475 Flanders Codex Vindobonesis 1857 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

Figure 2. 8 July, mowing, *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, c.1475 Flanders Codex Vindobonesis 1857 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

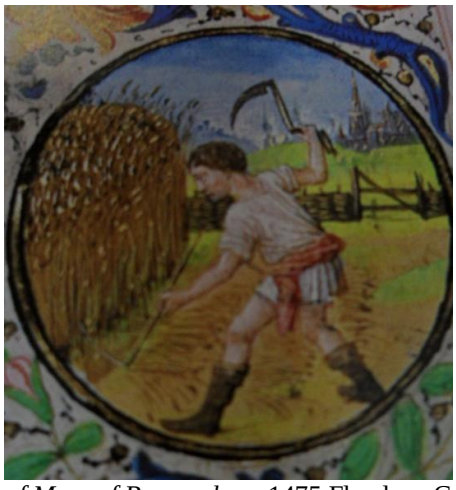

Figure 2.9 August, reaping, *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy* c.1475 Flanders, Codex Vindobonesis 1857 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

In the French manuscripts what has been suggested and seems to be evident is the use of the architecture to denote power. The representation of the castle becomes a stand in for the noble power and acts as visual representation of noble authority.[59] This can be found in the most famed manuscripts such as The Great Hours of Anne of Brittany and the Très Riches Heures. These Books of Hours are known for the exquisiteness of the illuminations and their innovation of the Labors. They also reveal the overpowering effect of the castle or town as the epicenter of all those who fell under its jurisdiction. For instance, figures 2.10[60] and 2.11,[61] show the depictions of March's work from both these calendars. While workers prune, plow and collect sticks the castles stand as dominant presences in the image. The aristocracy are not absent because they are symbolically present through the buildings which preside in the background.

Figure 2.10 March, man pruning and woman carrying bundle of sticks, *The Great Hours of Anne of Bretagne* Tours 1503-1508, Latin 9474, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

[59]Alexander, "'Labour' and Paresse",449-450 where he explicitly suggests this link between space as an arena for ideological placement.
[60]http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=COMP-1&I=11&M=imageseule (Last accessed April 23, 2012)
[61]http://www.flickr.com/photos/28433765@N07/3066504822/in/photostream (Last accessed April ,2012)

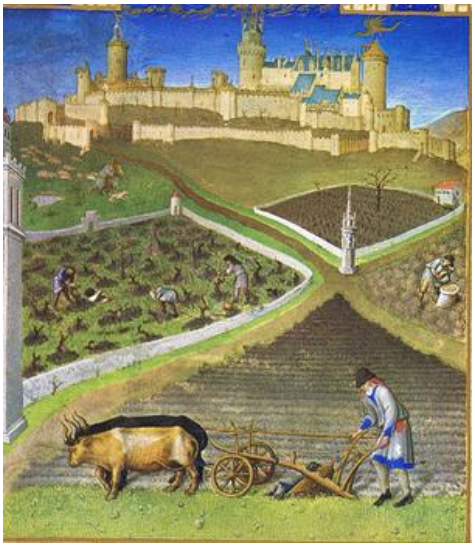

Figure 2.11 March Plowing and Preparing Land *Tres Riches Heures* 1412-1416

SUMMARY

It is clear from my sample that there was a significant shift in the visual representation of the labors: from a traditional depiction of the labors in a rural landscape to the visual representation of an urban or aristocratic presence in context with rural work, which decreases the importance of the latter but increases the visualization of the relevance and power of the noble or urban patrons and their role in society. Thus, the layers of visual evidence provide multiple avenues for understanding the impact of space on those who used and created these images.

The seasonal rhythms depict the traditional work and the communities to which they belong. The grain is harvested and in the background the shape of the town or castle implies a developing interest in depicting the power center. It is not just action that reflects meaning; the Labor cycle is no longer a soliloquy but a story with elements that suggest a web of associations. This reflects the interesting nature of the book and the role of the cycle itself which is specific to the manuscript depictions of the labors.

CHAPTER 3: FRAMING PEOPLE IN THEIR SPACES

Landscape provides insight into those who made and used the Books of Hours and reflects a sense of the important aspects of environment that patron or artist strove to underline. Time and the origins of the patron and workshop influenced these images of the environment and allowed variations in the depiction of these spaces. Similar situations with regards to the representation of people also affect the landscape. The rural presence is a key element in all the calendars. The model of the peasants in art and literature reveals stereotypes, both positive and negative, held by society. This chapter considers the representations utilized to characterize the Labors and what they signify about the attitudes towards the peasant. Other aspects to be considered are the activities and representations of other social strata in the Labors, which served to reinforce their status, and to examine the intersection of the peasant and these other strata, and how the representations strictly enforced hierarchical roles. What do they represent, what kind of reality are they reproducing and what meaning do they hold?

Actions following the progression of the months typically find the peasant at the center of the action and the composition. In contrast to many overtly negative associations with peasants, which came mainly out of the urban centers in literature,[62] the Books of Hours provide a generally positive model of peasants at work. Among these different representations of the peasants and their labors there is evidence of the varied attitudes other social groups held toward the peasant. This analysis looks at the aspects of the peasants that reflect divergent attitudes within the society around them. Ultimately these questions will lead to an examination of how the books were created; especially pertinent will be the role of

62 See Herman Pleij, "'Wisdom,' Remodeling the Nobility, and Caricaturing the Peasant: Urban Literature in the Late Medieval Low Countries," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32 no. 4, (2002): 689-704, esp.695-6 for a specific use of the peasant as a foil to urban qualities.

the patron and the artist in the construction of the scenes. This will contextualize what is reflected in the Labors and what is implied by their use.

RURAL DEPICTION IN THE HOURS

Attitudes towards peasants and the laboring classes in the Middle Ages were complex and are still reflected in our attitudes today. How peasants perceived themselves is difficult to piece together as direct textual sources by and about the peasantry are rare.[63] What is left is a bounty of textual and visual sources which range from sermons to the bawdy *fabliaux* that reflect interpretations of the peasant from the viewpoints of various segments of medieval society like aristocracy and church members. Thus, depending on the context of the audience and the message being expressed, the peasant could range from bestial and comic to a model of Christian spirituality.[64] As Paul Freedman's *Image of the Medieval Peasant* compellingly argues, these diverse images of the peasantry do not demonstrate a static perception of the peasant. In fact, they convey a shifting attitude that swung around three poles, which he identifies as "'unfavorable alterity', 'similarity', and 'favorable dissimilarity'" and whose vocabulary, he notes, shifts between "bestiality and childlike simplicity, stupidity and cleverness, intractability and pliant patience."[65] The actions and representations of peasants oscillated between recognition of their contributions to society and the spiritual merit represented by the toil of their work and being portrayed as barely human members of society: base, stupid, and ill-mannered.

Peasants represented in the Labors demonstrate this shifting vocabulary. The peasants who work in the fields are presented as clean and healthy although somewhat coarser than

63Duccio Balestracci, *The Renaissance in the Fields: A Family Memoir of a Fifteenth Century Tuscan Peasant*, trans. Paolo Sqatriti and Betsy Meredith (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999). The private ledger books analyzed here are an exceptional case in which the records of a fifteenth-century peasant survived and reflected some ideas of a "typical" peasant.

64Paul Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999). He gives a thorough breakdown of these positive and negative elements, see especially chapters 6 (133-156) and 9 (204-235).

65Ibidem, 302

their aristocratic others. Their clothes, while not luxurious, are often presented intact and appropriate to the work they are performing.[66] These are not the wild beasts which are sometimes described in the works of Chretien de Troyes. They take breaks and occasionally can be found gossiping,[67] but in general they are presented as diligent and focused on the assigned work of the month. Michael Camille, in his masterful book on the Luttrell Psalter, raises the fact that these illuminations were aesthetic and ideal depictions and thus do not provide an accurate depiction of everyday life because they were altered to create scenes that were sumptuous in color and could reflect a nostalgia for the past.[68] The work unfolds without an overseer; peasants work with purpose, seemingly in their own world.

This overall positive characteristic of the peasant is bound up in a certain general discourse. Freedman distinguishes various types of positive models, including peasants as "clever," "virtuous", "noble," "simple," and emphasizing the "spiritual benefits of peasant life."[69] These ideas function within a framework of divine labor and sacrifice that can be found within the bible and within the framework of the three orders of society. They represent, for the aristocratic and burgher families who could afford these calendars, an example of simple piety demonstrated in model work done by model peasants.

[66] There are, of course, instances where peasants are depicted in clothes with holes and tatters; see most famously the December hunt scene in the *Très Riches Heures.*
[67] See the Koning calendar December, Talbot-master, Ghent Bruges, 1510-20.
[68] Michael Camille, *Mirror in the Parchment* (London: Reaktion Books,1998),185.Camille notes various statutes that had been passed which restricted English peasant laborers to coarse fabrics that were significantly different from the brightly colored clothes depicted in the Labors. He also (192)discusses these images as: "not a product reflecting its time but…a nostalgic version of an earlier 'golden age' of feudal order at a time of actual crisis and change in the agricultural and social system."
[69]Freedman, *Images*, 204-235,esp. 229-30 for a summary of these divisions.

Figure 3.1 Satirical calendar in which nobles, here with long curly hair, leggings, and pointed footwear, take on the work of the peasant see footnote 9, Vienna c. 1475, MS cod. 3085

However, the calendars are not completely free of the oscillating viewpoint of the peasant. Although not presented as drunk, silly, or stupid in the majority of calendars,[70] they are presented as coarse and simple compared to their noble counterparts. In the later calendars, as initially expressed in *The Très Riches Heures*, there are some signs of negative aspects of the peasants, emphasized by their boorish and crude physical traits. The representation of peasants in the calendar is generally positive, although they subtly reflect their status within the society and the subservience of their position.

The passage of the liturgical year and the seasonal year is meshed in these pages and thus the peasant is presented as a model of virtuous work in both. However, I argue that this oscillation of the peasant type became more evident as the calendars themselves became more developed and began to move from the small miniatures found in the margins to half page and to full page miniatures. He likens the calendar to a gothic portal[71] with the Zodiac and Labors which served as a gateway from everyday reality into the world of prayer, bringing the reader closer to God. Wieck believes that medieval people would have found full-page calendars distracting and inappropriate and that the shift only began in the sixteenth

[70] Some calendars are satirical, presenting peasants dressed as noblemen in the role of laborers presenting a world turned upside down, demonstrating the wrong people doing the right actions as in the Vienna calendars see figure 3.1http://tethys.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline/images/7008617.JPG

[71]Roger Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 45-46. For a nice overview of the Zodiac and Labor in portals and some examples of their use in England, France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland see the website Sacred Destinations, http://www.sacred-destinations.com/reference/zodiacs-and-labors-of-months.htm (Last accessed April 23, 2012)

century when large-scale calendars became more usual.[72] The use of full page miniatures for the calendars originated in the *Très Riches Heures* and was taken up by the Flemish workshops at the end of the fifteenth century. The changes in layout provide insight into the increased interest in depicting the ideal here and now as the occupations of the nobles rise into these scenes.

ELITES AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS

The rural people and their labors are the central elements in the composition of the labors; however, in some cases the scenes of the Labors began to develop and repeat more elaborate treatments of larger segments of society. As the theme of the Labors of the Months developed in the fifteenth and peaked in the sixteenth century, they also began to reflect more elements of society. Attendants who had to do with the court, towns-people, and merchants began to appear in the more richly illuminated books, especially those coming from Flanders. The addition of the city and castles also introduced opportunities to show various segments of the population. The Labors of the Months began to include not just the seasonal labors, but aristocratic and burgher pursuits leading, as Bridgette Ann Henisch notes, to the alternative and more accurate label for the labors: the occupations of the months.[73] Traditionally in the depths of winter, January and February, and at the height of spring, April and May, leisure was the dominant occupation which was performed by the upper classes. Initially, these figures were not so characteristically aristocratic, but with the development of the calendars the pursuits of "leisure" were more elaborately depicted. This "leisure" grew into more explicit divisions of social position. The typical pursuits of the higher strata of society are depicted in Table 3.1. Feasting, courting, and hunting are the two emblematic occupations

[72]Wieck, *Time Sanctified*, 45-46.
[73]Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year* (University Park:Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999),7.

associated with the noble class. A "typical" example is figure 3.2[74], in which an unmistakably elite man, symbolized by his fine and fashionable clothes, reclines by a fire, the remnants of a large meal still on the table and his attendant waiting.

Country	Total calendar	Work in private gardens	Courting -music, boating	Buying Wine	Process-ion	Games/ Tourna-ment	Hunting	Total Scenes
France	40	0	3	0	5	4	3	12
Flanders	20	4	12	3	0	1	6	21
Total	60	4	15	3	5	5	9	

Table 3.1 Noble Pursuits in the Books of Hours

The feasts and warmth-seeking of January have a rural counterpart: peasants who warm themselves by the fire as in figure 3.3[75]. These peasant scenes of keeping warm occur in the context of a community scene in which exterior and interior are visible and where work occurs. Those by the fire are warming themselves, but generally someone works, as in this case the woman spinning with the drop spindle. Similarly, the exterior scenes show people at work: chopping wood, collecting sticks, leading animals, etc.

Figure 3.2 January, feasting and keeping warm. Liege 1500-25, Koninklijke Bibliotheek KB, 133 D. 11

[74]http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=COMP-1&I=11&M=imageseule (Last accessed April 23, 2012)
[75]http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=COMP-1&I=11&M=imageseule (Last accessed April 23, 2012)

Figure 3.3 February, chopping wood and spinning by the fire, Liege 1500-1525, Koninklijke Bibliohteek KB, 133 D 11.

Figure 3.4.May, holding a branch. *The Book of Hours of Anne of Brittany*,1503-1508, Latin 9474, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Figure 3.5. April, a man bearing a branch, *The Hours of René d'Anjou*Central France, Paris; c.1410 Egerton 1070

The April and May's pursuits, which originally depicted a youth carrying a branch (see figure 3.4[76] and 3.5[77]), a sign of spring and renewal, developed into large parties of

[76]http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8486&CollID=28&NStart=1070 (Last accessed April 23, 2012)

merry makers who go boating, make wreaths, play music, and go hawking. In most of these scenes, the rural population is not shown, but occasionally they appear as small background figures, depicted going about tasks in their world. For instance, in figure 3.6[78], a boating party carries young merrymakers with branches and musical instruments while a woman carries jugs to the river to retrieve water (figure 3.7[79]).

Figure 3.6. April, boating group, *The Golf Book* Ghent-Bruges, 1540, The British Library Add MS 24098

Figure 3.7. April, detail women retrieving water, *The Golf Book* Ghent-Bruges, 1540, The British Library Add MS 24098

[77]http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=COMP-1&I=11&M=imageseule (Last accessed April 23, 2012)
[78]http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/ttp/golf/accessible/introduction.html#content (Last accessed October 23,2011)
[79]http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/ttp/golf/accessible/introduction.html#content (Last accessed October 23,2011)

Courtship is also a distinctly noble action that is not ascribed to peasants. Freedman identifies in matters of love and courtship that "The rustic is also unlikely to experience more than a torpid sexual desire… peasants as a rule one supposed to be incapable of the passionate spiritual energy that drives chivalric male desire."[80] These courtship scenes define the months of April and of May (figure 3.8[81] and 3.9[82]) and feature couples singing and courting each other. Although there are also representations of shepherding and sheep shearing interwoven in these months, there is usually at least one courtship scene, as it is one of these most consistent motif in the Labors in both the French and Flemish calendars.

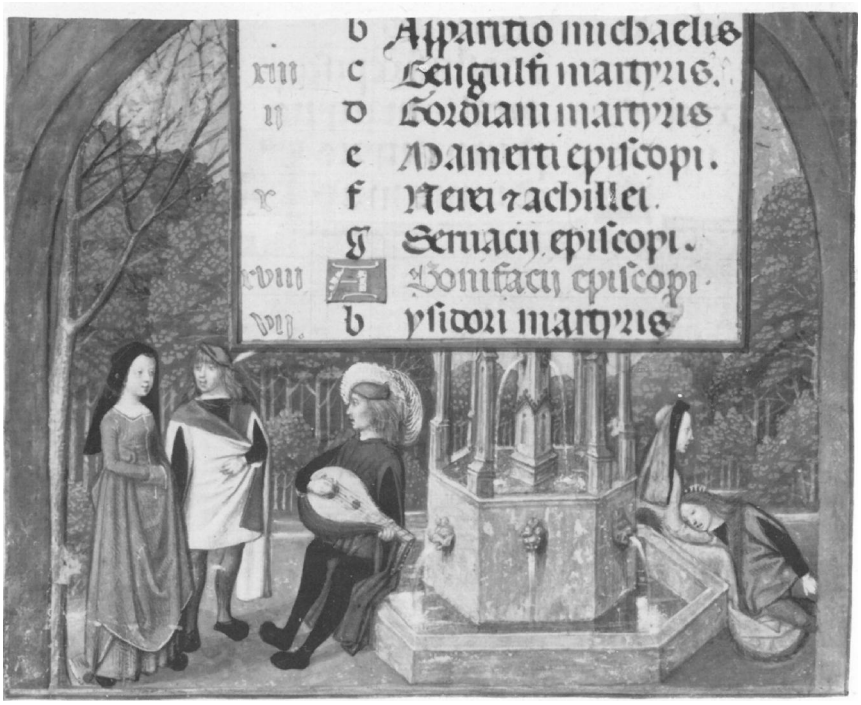

Figure 3.8 April, courting scene, Flanders 1501-1515 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Inv.-Nr. Cod.lat. 28 345

[80]Freedmen, *Images*, 159. See the full chapter for a discussion on the differences in representation and expectation between male and female peasants and their noble counterparts.
[81]Wilhelm Hansen, *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher* (München: Callwey,1984).
[82]ibidem.

Figure 3.9 April, detail in courting scene, Flanders 1501-1515 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Inv.-Nr. Cod.lat. 28 345

Aristocratic scenes also began to become items of interest for other months in the calendar, these additional scenes becoming more frequent by the end of the fifteenth century and certainly by the sixteenth century.[83] Additional themes in the calendar: hunting, tournaments, and "leisure" in private gardens- reflect a desire for the patron's world to be prominently displayed. The Books of Hours were then clearly not only instruments for personal piety, but also self-performance, which served as one of the important markers that divided the nobility from other classes of society. Jean Wilson identified three ways in which the nobility distinguished themselves: blood ties which could be demonstrated, service to the military, land rights, and *vivre noblement*.[84] This *vivre noblement*(to live nobly) placed high importance on the nobility's ability to both have leisure and to demonstrate this through the ability to provide lavish entertainments and pursue expensive hobbies, give gifts, and display their wealth with the finest things, including extravagant Books of Hours.

[83] Thomas Kren, " Revolution and Transformation: Paintings in Devotional Manuscripts 1467-1485" in *Illuminating the Renaissance. The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles: John J Getty Museum, 2003), 121-122. Kren notes that there was a shift in Flemish painting in regard to their more sensitive handling of miniatures and naturalistic borders around 1470. Although he does not remark on the iconography, I believe these changes also included additional scenes that reflected the patrons world.
[84] Jean C Wilson,*Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages: Studies in Society and Visual Culture* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), 25.

ELITES AND PEASANTS PICTURED TOGETHER: INTERACTION OR DISCONNECTION

The domain of the labor cycles primarily covered peasant labors, with an increasing number of upper class occupations added as time passed, especially in the Flemish calendars. The interaction of these two spheres of society was limited (table 3.2). These depictions served to distinguish the clear division in societal roles.

Country	Total calendar	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
France	40	13	2	1	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	24
Flanders	20	7	1	4	4	7	2	1	1	2	3	4	3	39
Total	60	20	3	5	4	9	3	2	2	2	3	4	6	

Table 3.2. Nobles and Peasant Sharing Pictorial Space

The table indicates a larger number of these representations of peasants and nobles sharing pictorial space occur in the Flemish calendars. I argue that these depictions can be categorized in two ways: interactions or disconnection. Interactions would encompass scenes in which there is a direct communication of these two classes of society, Like in scenes of explicit control. In the previous chapter, it could also be shown that the landscape and the architecture depicted within it could become a personification of the nobility itself as a watchful presence over the labors and leisure being depicted. Such scenes are direct moments of communication between the *elite classes* and those that work among them. The term "disconnection" refers to the images in which peasant and noble exist together in the same pictorial space but do not interact with one another. There, non-interaction emphasizes and displays a clear separation of the nobility and the peasants.

Figure 3.10 March, preparing a private garden, The Golf Book Ghent-Bruges, 1540 The British Library Add MS 24098

The Books of Hours from Flanders, especially from the workshop of Simon Bening, have a visual vocabulary that makes a clear distinction between the urban elite and the rural laborers yet creates situations in which these two realms interact. Where these worlds intersect two distinct visual vocabularies are created which can be seen more clearly in figure 3.10[85], in which workers meet their Lords and Lady in a private garden. In this image from the Golf Book, both the lady and the lord have separate and personal interactions with the rustic workers. One can see the clear difference in the depiction of the two classes. The lady and her attendant wear sumptuous clothes, lined with fur. Their dresses hang appropriately past their ankles, forcing the lady to pick up her skirt so as not dirty the hem. She carries a small animal as a pet in contrast to food that a rustic woman would carry to the field. The rustic man is portrayed as more coarse, although in brighter clothes than what peasants would wear for work. The important things to note are the gestures that underscore the social distinctions as they interact. Both the lady and the lord gesture to the ground, in reference to

[85]http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/ttp/golf/accessible/introduction.html#content (last accessed Oct 23, 2011)

the work being done. Their roles as supervisors of the land, made clear by their attire, are simply conveyed with these motions. These kinds of depictions can be found in the private gardens of the manor or castle, which provide a situation where the aristocratic members of society interact with their rural workers.

Figure 3.11 March, pruning and maintaining a vineyard. Hours of Henry VIII, 1500 France Pierpont Morgan Library MS H 8

Typically, the month of March depicts pruning vines or turning earth. These rural depictions often show the peasants, unsupervised, on large tracts of land (figure 3.11[86]). For this month the French calendars generally depict vast fields and not private gardens attached to the manor or house. Private gardens or walled settings appear more frequently in April and May in the courting scenes.

Figure 3.12. June, mowing hay and courting, *Book of Hours*, Nantes MS. Lat. 33 Bibliothèque de Genève

[86] Roger Wieck, William M. Voelkle, K. and Michelle Hearne, *The Hours of Henry the VIII: a Renaissance masterpiece by Jean Poyet* (NewYork: G. Braziller, 2000)

The illumination from a Book of Hours for the diocese of Nantes, made in the Parisian style (figure 3.12[87]), shows a more suggestive scene. In a June mowing scene, a month generally reserved exclusively for peasants, a peasant woman rakes the newly mowed hay while her companions mow and sharpen their blade. Directly in the center of the action of the composition, where the peasant woman rakes and a peasant man swings his scythe, an either noble couple or a peasant one who wants to change their status to the better (the richly clad woman also holds a fork!) have an amorous encounter in the field[88]. The woman wears a rich red dress in contrast to the peasant women yet she holds a rake which symbolizes peasant status. The courtly young man embraces the woman and suggestively cups her genitals. His clothes, puffed sleeves and pointed shoes, suggest that he is a noble youth or at least affiliated with the nobility. This blatant embrace does not fit with the courtly ideal of love but does mirror stories in which women are enticing figures to be seduced. The direct gesture of hand to genitals suggests a satirical approach that follows throughout this book, which caricatures the responsibilities of peasant, noble, and even priest (figure 3.13[89]). Interestingly, although the interaction between the couple in figure 3.12 happens amidst the work, the other figures in the scene continue this work as if the couple were not there. Is it the transgressive nature of this romantic act which they must ignore or is it that these peasants are contrasting models?

[87]http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bge/lat0033 (Last accessed April 23, 2012)
[88]See footnote 9 and figure 3.1 for examples of other calendars in which the wrong people do the right work.
[89]http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bge/lat0033 (Last accessed April 23, 2012)

Figure 3.13. Miniature of monk and young women following the month of December. *Book of Hours*, Nantes MS. Lat. 33 Bibliothèque de Genève

The separate spheres of different social groups are presented in the calendars more frequently than interactions. These settings epitomize the idea of the right work being done by the right people and in the right manner, which inherently emphasizes the separation of these two distinct social hierarchies. In a Book of Hours from Simon Bening's workshop (figure 3.14[90]), a November scene exemplifies this model. Here the noble man is the central focus of the labor as he returns from the hunt, a deer draped over his ornately adorned horse. A small parade of hunting dogs and attendants accentuate his wealth and position. The hunting party ambles in the foreground of the picture and takes up half the space of the miniature. In the background the work of November takes place, a bit late perhaps, as men thresh the wheat with flails and a woman feeds pigs at a trough and, in the far background, a lone man gathers sticks while the castle looms above. In this scene the procession neither acknowledges the village that they pass and the villagers neither look nor make any gesture to indicate they see this large party parading past them. The hierarchies of society seem painted clearly in this image; juxtaposing these images of the nobility and the peasants served to clarify their rank and their duties in the medieval world. As objects of display, the books

[90]Wilhelm Hansen, *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher (* München: Callwey, 1984)

confirmed the wealth and authority of the owner and these representations move further to show this authority and division.

Figure 3.14.November, hunting, *Flemish Book Of Hours* (Simon Bening Workshop) 1540 Cod latin MS Clm 2363 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek,

SUMMARY

This chapter has surveyed the portrayal of society displayed in the Labors of the Months. The calendars generally served as a template for a model society that cycled through the seasons of the year. They depict two polarities of society, peasants and elites, as a schematic statement for the regulation of society: the right work must be done by the right people; just as the saints' days and feasts must be followed and celebrated correctly. The calendars, as secondary illuminations in contrast with other illumination cycles made for the Book of Hours, become a litmus test of the changing fashions of those who could afford to have them made.

The stereotype of the peasant was used dramatically in literature to represent both positive and, more frequently, negative conceptions of the peasantry. The labors which depict an idealized context portray the positive aspects of the peasant, diligent work and subordination; however, even these images can still hint at negative aspects of peasants. The increasing portrayal of nobles in the Labors of the Months indicates the importance and interest of including elements of the patron into the calendar cycle which serve to highlight rank by displaying leisure activities. These hierarchies are more clearly depicted in scenes when the upper class and the peasants are portrayed together. There is a clear demonstration of power and social order, although depicted and manifested, as I argue, in two different manners of interaction or disconnection. The following chapter will look more closely at women in the labors and objects used to demarcate these differences.

CHAPTER 4: FRAMING WOMEN: THEIR OBJECTS AND WORK IN THE LABORS OF THE MONTHS

Women appeared in the Labors of the Months in slowly growing numbers that began to increase in the middle of the fifteenth century. The Labors of the Months thus served as a pictorial source from which to gather clues to the daily life of women. However, as Martha W. Driver notes, these illuminations have parallels to 1950's consumer ads and movies which presented a sanitized and ideal view of reality[91] and as such must be viewed carefully. She adds, "Instead, an illumination or miniature refracts reality becoming a mirror, whether a fun-house distortion or a real-seeming reflection, of the culture producing it."[92] This chapter looks at the work ascribed to women and the objects that are used to portray the desired attributes of both peasant and upper class women. By looking more closely at these elements, another picture is created for understanding how feminine roles are defined pictorially by these material objects and for considering the way women also function as objects in the Labors. Throughout this investigation of women and their objects, similarities and differences between the calendars coming from Flanders and those from France will be assessed and, perhaps even more significantly, the increase in the numbers of women in the calendars over the progression of decades from the beginning of the fifteenth century to their more dominant appearance from the mid-fifteenth century to the mid- sixteenth century.

WOMEN IN THE CALENDAR

Women appear in calendar scenes and with greater frequency in the later decades of the fifteenth century (see Table 4.1). Women are also present in calendars before this period, in illuminations, glass, and stone, a woman in the role of wife first appeared in the Labors of the

[91] Martha W. Driver, "Mirrors of a Collective Past: Reconsidering Images of Women," in *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, ed.Jane Taylor and Lesley Smith (London: The British Library Press, 1996), 78.
[92]Ibidem, 78.

Months in the cycle found in Perugia's Fontana Maggiore, made around 1278;[93] but they are by far less common than their male counterparts.[94] The table demonstrates that even a little over half of the calendars from the first half of the fifteenth century do not have any representations of women while almost all those from the second half of the fifteenth century into the first half of the sixteenth century have at least one representation of women in their calendars. In the ten calendars from Flanders and the twenty-one calendars from France examined here the total number of depicted women is almost equal. Thus, women seem to have been more commonly portrayed in the Flemish scenes than their French counterparts. More data with a more consistent time frame would provide more conclusive information. Multiple factors may have contributed to the steady increase of women represented in the Hours, including an interest in representing "naturalistic" interiors and landscapes.As Jonathan Alexander notes, the development of illumination in the fifteenth century shows an increasing incorporation of direct visual observation and an increased repertoire of interiors and exteriors and material details like clothing and furniture.[95]

This increased attention included representing a diversity of women in their domestic space, as assistants in agricultural work, and as partners and targets of attraction in noble pursuits. Women represented in the calendars fall into either the elite or peasant categories and Table 4.1 shows that the months and patterns of the appearance of the aristocratic women and the peasants are consistent. April and May in both areas are aristocratic months which commanded great numbers of aristocratic women. The months of the harvest and December are the clear domain of rural women, particularly in Flanders. The following sub-sections will look more closely at the objects and spaces of work and leisure of the women depicted in calendars and compare more closely the representation of these figures in the artistic centers of France and Flanders.

[93]Chiara Frugoni, "The Imagined Women," in *A History ofWomen of the West,* Vol. 2:*Silences of the Middle Ages.* Trans. Clarissa Botsford and ed. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992), 393.
[94]Bridget Ann Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year,* 168-172.
[95]Jonathan J. G Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators,* 143-149, especially 143 and148.

Country/city-region	Date	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Totals
France														
MS lat. 10 095	15th ce	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MS n.a.lat.309	c.1409	5	1	0	1	4	5	1	1	0	0	3	4	25
MS Latin 919	1409-1409	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
MS Egerton 1070)	1410-1410	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
MS 65	1412-1416	0	2	0	3	4	2	1	2	2	0	0	0	16
Ms. 33 (24), 15941	1426-1450	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MS Latin 1156 B	1426-1426	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MS Inv Ms. 34, 15 942	1435 -1455	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0

Table 4.1.Women in Books of Hours

Notes to Table: The color coding is intended to show visually the appearances of women in calendars. Purple refers to upper class women, green peasant women, blue to calendars where they occur together and grey to indicate missing sections of the calendar.

Country/city-region	Date	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Totals
France														
Yates Thompson 3	1440-1450	0	0	0	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
MS Cod. lat. 10103	1453-1456	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	0	**0**	**0**	**0**	0
MS. Lat.33	1450-1475	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	1	1	2	13
Lat. 3191	1455-1460	0	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	2	**0**	**0**	**0**	6
Harley 1892	1475-1500						1							1
E 125	1485-1499	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	5
MS Lat 10092	1486-1500				**0**	**1**		**0**		**0**				1
MS no.fu00210	1490-1492	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
MS KB, 76 F 14	1490-1500	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3

Country/city-region	Date	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Totals
France														
MS H 8	1500-1500	1	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	6	0	0	1	12
Felton 1	1468-1482	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
MSLatin 9474	1503-1508	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	6
Paris Incunuabla	1510-1510	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	5
Harley 5049	1510-1520											0		0
MSMMW, 10 F 33	1524-1524	1	1	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	7
Vitr.24.3	1500?	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	2	2	0	0		10
Ms. Lewis E III	Late 15c 14	0		0	0	?	0		0	0	0	0	0	0
Ms. Lewis E 86	1500	0	0		0	3		0	0		0	0	0	3

Country/city-region	Date	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Totals
France														
Ms.M.117	1500	0		0	0	0	0		0		0	0		0
Ms.M.452	1530-1535	1		0	0	2		0	1			0		4
Ms. M.85	1510-1520	0	0	0	2	1	0	0		0	0	0		3
Ms.M.64	1430	0		0	4	0	0			0		1		5
Ms. Garret 56	1490-1500	0	0		1	1		0	0		0	0	0	2
Ms. Taylor 7	1490-1500	0	0	0	0	0				0		0	0	0
Ms. Lewis E 113	early 16c		0	0		0	0	0	0			0	0	0
Ms.M.677	1470-1480		0	0		1		0		0			1	2
Ms.M.1003	1465				0	0		0	0		0	0	0	0
LA 135	15th ce	6	3	6	17	7	1	9	4	1	3	0	2	59
LA 217	1550	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
cod.ser.nov.2615…244	1430	0	0	0	0	0			0	0			0	0
ms.lat.886	end of 15th ce		0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
ms.lat.1362	1450-1460	6	8	9	6			5	0	0	6	7	4	51
Total by month		23	19	19	51	35	23	27	11	16	12	12	31	

Country/city-region	Date	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Totals
Flanders														
MS1857	1470-1470	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
MS Cod. Lat. 205	1500-1500								0	0	0	0	1	1
MS RMMW 10 F 14	1500-1525	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	6
MS KB, 133 D 11	1500-1525	**0**	1	**0**	**0**	**1**	1	1	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	1	5
MS Typ 0443	1500-1599	3	0	0	2	1	2	2	0	2	1	2	1	16
Book of Hours (Bruges)	1500-1600	**3**	**0**	**4**	**2**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**8**	28
MS.lat. 28 345	1501-1515		1	0	4	2	2	1	1	3	1	1	3	19
Book of Hours Bruges	1510-1520	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	6
Book of Hours (Bruges) (koning)	1510-1510	0	2	0	5	4	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	16

Country/city-region	Date	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Totals
Flanders														
Add MS 24098	1510-1515	1				0		0						1
Ms.S.7	1540-1540	5	3	2	4	4	2	1	2	0	1	1	1	26
MS 399	1490	3	0	1	3	3	1	0	0	0	0		2	13
ms. 28 345	1515	1	0	1	3		0	2	1	0	1	1	2	12
Add MS 24098	1531						0	0	1	0	1	1	1	4
ms. 28 345	1500	2	1	0	3	2	0	0	1	2	1	1	1	14
Inv.Nr.1fol	1st half 16th ce	3	0	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	4	2	20
cod.2706	1510-1520	2	0		2	4	0	3	2	0		2	3	18
cod.1862	1510		0	0	1	1	0	0				0		2
cod.1858	15thce		2	0		1	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	6
cod.lat.23 346	1500	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	6
MS Kings 9	1500	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	2	14
Total women by month		26	13	11	36	30	15	19	14	11	9	17	34	

Table 4.1.Women in Books of Hours

Notes to Table: The color coding is intended to show visually the appearances of women in calendars. Purple refers to upper class women, green peasant women, blue to calendars where they occur together and grey to indicate missing sections of the calendar.

PEASANT WOMEN: OBJECTS AND PLACES

The work of rural women was centered in two major spheres: domestic duties and assistance in seasonal agricultural work. Women's main responsibilities fell in this domestic sphere and included a clear division of space and labor between men and women. Women's domestic sphere included the house, personal garden, caring for livestock, and tasks like cleaning, tending the garden, milling grain, making bread, brewing beer, milking, and makingcheese.[96]Christine De Pizan frames her advice to the "simple wives of village workers"[97] in the *Mirror of Honor (Le Livre des TroisVertus)* in context of the collaboration of women with their husbands. Her work implies a partnership between the husband and the wife as she advises women to be watchful of their husband's work and to encourage honesty in all matters She also directly addresses these women and equally reminds them to be helpful to their husbands by moderating their own behavior that they should not "break down hedges nor allow children to; not stealing grapes, fruit, vegetables…not putting animals to graze in aneighbor's seeded fields or meadows…"[98] This affirms feminine space, hedges, gardens, and animal pasture and at the same time makes the division from male space clear. In the advice to elite women she also mentions tasks regulated to servant women, like maintaining gardens and herbs, preparing wool that the noble ladies themselves may weave. Other work also occupied the rural woman inside the domestic realm. The production and spinning of wool and flax was an important feminine occupation that also generally included all aspects of

[96]Cf. Claudia Opitz, "Life in the Late Middle Ages," in*History ofWomen of the Wes*t, Vol. 2,*Silences of the Middle Ages*, trans. Deborah Lucas Schneider and ed. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992)267-318. (294-5) makes special note that cleaning, cooking meals, and child rearing were subordinate tasks and ShulamithShahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages*, trans. ChayaGalai (London: Routledge, 1993), 239-241 includes them in daily work.
[97]Christine de Pizan, *The Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor: The Treasury of the City of Ladies*,trans. CharityCannon Willard and ed. Madeleine PeinerCosman (New York: Bard Hall Press and Persea Books, 1989), 219-221
[98]Ibidem, 221.

Objects	French	Flemish
Drop spindles	2	4
Rake	8	14
Mending	0	2
Hand sickles	3	6
Lunch refreshments	4	5
Jugs of water	1	13
Pan for blood/singing brush	7	12
Fruit HarvestBasket	18	11
Washing	0	1
Bundles of sticks	2	12
Shears	5	0
Preparing Fiber	0	3
Bundles of wheat	2	15
Milking/Making Butter	0	4

Table 4.2. Objects and Activities of Rural Women in the Books of Hours

preparation including fulling, the cleaning and thickening of wool, and dying,[99] provided extra income for the household and, importantly, could be done in the confines of the home. Selling home-produced products like vegetables, milk, and cheese provided extra income for the family as well.

Despite the importance and cultural associations of rural women with the hearth, women were also involved in field work. Certain tasks were solely male work, such as

[99]Shahar,*The Fourth Estate*, 240.

chopping wood and mowing hay, but many agricultural jobs were not strictly gendered and women could help at most stages of agricultural development. Thus, women could also be found outside of the domestic sphere assisting in the field.

Figure 4.1 .April, sheep shearing, France,W. (Rouen?) c.1475-1525British Library Harley 1892

Labors of the Month depict both aspects of the rural work of women. In either realm of work, women are frequently subordinate to the men and are rarely depicted alone as the sole focus of the composition (figure 4.1[100]). Each type of work is demonstrated with certain tools that identify the status and role of the women in the image. Most of the labor cycle unfolds in fields, and slaughterhouses and the time represented in the domestic space of the home is short. Generally, January or February, the months represented as time for keeping warm, (figure 3.2) take place around the fire of a peasant home. In this example, the gendered work is clearly shown as the man chops the wood and the woman spins wool in front of the fire. She is framed by the house, the domain of her work. Another February

[100] http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6644&CollID=8&NStart=1892 (Last accessed April 23, 2012)

warming scene, from the Grimani Breviary (figure 4.2[101]), shows a woman in domestic space, her needle rising as she mends clothes, while the distaff is in the back, a symbol of her work. The intimate family space is underscored by the man who watches her and the small boy who urinates out the door onto the snow. Another woman warms her hands as she walks back to the house, perhaps coming from looking at the sheep who lie in an open-air structure. The domestic scene and the woman at the fire are the center of the composition; however, the male presence is still represented and frames the space, from the shared interior space in the foreground to the distance, where a man drives a donkey into town.

Figure 4.2 February, warming by the fire Breviarium Grimani, Library of San Marco in Venice, c. 1510

[101]Michael Neumann, *Die Freuden des Jahres* (Brunswick: Westermann, 1966)

Figure 4.3 October, broadcasting seed and spinning wool, *Book of Hours*, Nantes MS. Lat. 33 Bibliothèque de Genève

When objects of domestic space are transferred by women out of the house (figure 4.3[102]), this still can be seen as a sign signaling that proper work is being done. In this October scene the two women depicted both carry symbols of their domestic work. One woman brings a jug and bread to the man laboring in the field. She does not actively take part in the field work in this scene but instead nourishes. The other woman more actively works in the scene; as sheep graze behind her she sits in the field spinning with her drop spindle. The object of the spindle connects her to the proper work being done, although not quite in the proper place. This is pushed even farther in a common scene for November (figure 4.4[103]) of beating acorns for the pigs. The woman follows her, presumably husband or male relative, into the forest. The drop spindle atypically shown in use in the middle of the forest is used accurately as an object, but also as a symbol to validate her presence in the scene and to demonstrate her ability to contribute as a member of her rural community.

[102]http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bge/lat0033 (Last accessed April 23, 2012)
[103]http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bge/lat0033 (Last accessed April 23, 2012)

Figure 4.4 November, feeding acorns to pigs and spinning, *Book of Hours*, Nantes MS. Lat. 33 Bibliothèque de Genève

More frequently, as Table 4.1 demonstrates, rural women are to be found in the fields working alongside their male companions. Here the tools of women are often gendered. Women are never shown mowing using scythes, but participate by following alongside, raking behind the mowers (figure 4.5[104]). Large straw hats indicate the peasant status of their work. They are shown using a long-handled rake or sometimes a two-pronged pitchfork, like in figure 3.8, to fork the hay material into stacks. In the grain harvest they participate: either harvesting with hand sickles (Figure 4.6[105]) or collecting and bundling the wheat. The rake and the sickle are used by both genders, but the sickle is associated less with female work than the rake.

[104] Roger Wieck, William M. Voelkle K. and Michelle Hearne, *The Hours of Henry the VIII: a Renaissance Masterpiece by Jean Poyet* (NewYork: G. Braziller, 2000)
[105]http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=COMP-1&I=15&M=imageseule (Last accessed April 23, 2012)

Figure 4.5 June, mowing and raking, *Hours of Henry VIII,* 1500 France Pierpont Morgan Library MS H 8

Another object of importance for women in the Labors is the long-handled pan in which to collect the blood from butchering. Women appear frequently, more often than other male partners, as helpers in the butchering process. Here the man is often shown either just after slitting the pig's throat or minutes before, raising the implement with which to strike the beast. Women are nearly always present with the pan or standing by with a jug of water. Like here, also in all other aspects of the Labors, despite a few notable jobs, as mowing and chopping wood, rural women were depicted as part of the routine in specific roles as assistants to their male companions.

Figure 4.6 July, harvesting the wheat, *The Hours of Anne de Brittany* France, Tours C 1503-1508 BNF Latin 9474

4.7 July, Gathering Sheaves, Ghent or Bruges 1500-1599 MS Typ 0443, Houghton Library, Harvard University

The tools associated with women reflect their active participation in agricultural life. Table 4.2 shows the frequency of these objects used by women in the labors of the months divided by region. In hand tools of the harvest, the frequency of the rake used by women is represented evenly in the French and Flemish calendars, but women participating in more physically demanding work like harvesting grain with hand sickles (Figure 4.6) and gathering

the sheaves of grain (figure 4.7[106]) are represented in greater numbers in the Flemish calendars. Interestingly, grape harvest scenes differ somewhat between France and Flanders. The women in the French calendars are present more often in these Labors than their Flemish counterparts (figures 4.8[107] and 4.9).

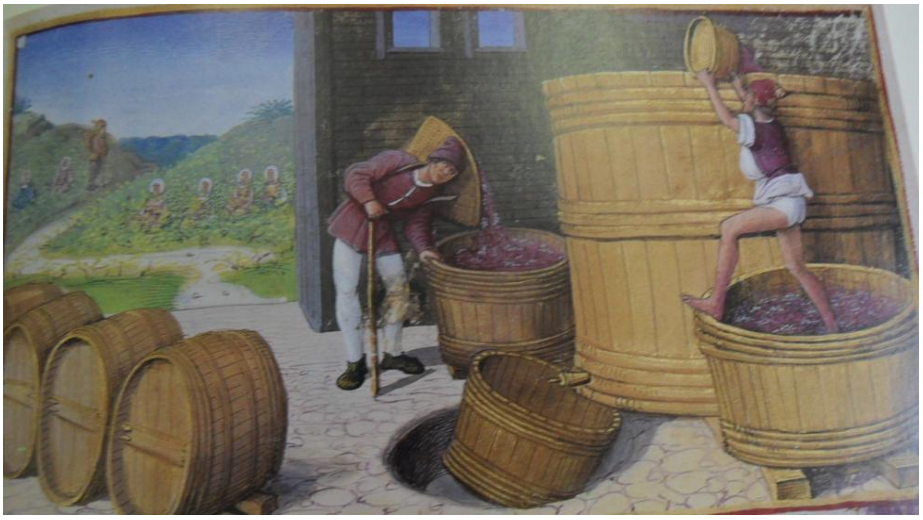

Figure 4.8 September, picking and pressing the grapes, *Hours of Henry VIII*, 1500 France Pierpont Morgan Library MS H 8

Figure 4.9 September, detail of women picking grapes, *Hours of Henry VIII*, 1500 France Pierpont Morgan Library MS H 8

As seen in the illustration, they are regulated almost to dots in the fields, only identifiable by their white headdresses, which is in stark contrast to the central image of the

[106]http://app.cul.columbia.edu:8080/exist/scriptorium/individual/MH-H-159.xml??querytype=advanced&order=lo&field1=any&term1=labor&stringtype1=all&operator1=and&field2=any&term2=&strin (Last accessed April 15,2012)

[107] Roger Wieck, William M. Voelkle, K. and Michelle Hearne, *The Hours of Henry the VIII: a Renaissance Masterpiece by Jean Poyet* (NewYork: G. Braziller, 2000)

two men man pressing grapes and emptying the juice into a large vat. Another interesting difference is the representation of women as helpers with sheep. In the sample used here no women in the Flemish calendars are shown shearing the sheep while in the French calendar (figure 4.1) at least four scenes show women shearing. Women in both calendars are present with flocks (figures 4.3 and 4.10[108]) and although woman do spin while watching their flock, in this liminal space the distaff becomes an important link to their domestic space and a sign of their work and respectability.[109]

Figure 4.10 June, Courting with music, *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, c.1475 Flanders Codex 1857 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek.

In the idyllic world of the Labors rural women are thus present and represented as positive contributors alongside their male counterparts. The objects that they work with are gendered and signal the correct work they can contribute and at the same time connect them to the domestic sphere of the household. Women are thus portrayed in ways that tie them to

[108]*The Hours of Mary of Burgundy*.Facsimile Edition.Commentary Eric Inglis. (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1995)

[109] Barbara A. Hanawalt,"Medieval English Women in Rural and Urban Domestic Space," *Dumbarton Oaks Paper* 52(1998): 21-22 notes the risk women took in leaving their domestic sphere and notes how in the trial of Joan of Arc the inquisitors suggested that she herded sheep and thus put her virginity at risk.

the work of the field without the stigma and dangers associated to these areas outside of the home.

UPPER-CLASS WOMEN: OBJECTS AND PLACE

The depiction of rural women in the calendars, although idealized, presents them in a variety of roles in domestic, field, and cottage industry spheres. This is in stark contrast to the way women of the elite classes are represented in the calendars. The data suggests that in the Flemish Hours there is an emphasis on depicting women of both high and low segments of society. As Table 4.1 demonstrates, upper-class women are regulated most frequently to the spring months of April and May and appear sporadically through the months in the earlier part of the year. These months typically depict courtship and spring time renewal, and so women's roles are thus depicted (3.5, 3.7,3.8, and 4.10) in contexts of couples or large groups boating, gathering flowers, playing music, hawking, and riding. Upper class women become markers, much like the branches held by a youth in earlier calendars (figure 3.4), that symbolize spring. As stated before, the display of leisure was an important criteria of courtly life and was made explicit in the whimsical scenes of spring.

The objects devoted to noble women include flowers and spring branches to emphasize the new growth of the season. Objects and activities associated with the occupations of these months include musical instruments, hawking, and horseback riding alone or with male partners. These tools and activities were elements of the skills required for the courtly life that well-bred women led.[110] The calendars, much like courtly literature,[111] provide an image of women that emphasizes their leisure activities and does not focus on their roles of leadership or management.

[110]Shahar, *The Fourth Estate*, 152-153
[111]Ibidem, 152Shahar notes that courtly literature focuses on romantic seduction and leisure pursuits and not on their roles as managers of estates.

The emphasis on leisure, however, is countered in some of the Flemish calendars in the March scenes (figure 2.3), as the mistress makes her rounds in the house. This is more in keeping with the advice of Christine de Pisan that women who hold a certain rank "must be highly knowledgeable about government….The knowledge of a baroness must be so comprehensive that she can understand everything…so the lady, his companion, must represent him at home during his absences." [112] She has similar advice for women of high rank who live outside of town, encouraging them to be highly involved with their estates and management of these places, to be a watchful and guiding eye over farm work and the collecting of taxes.[113] Christine also notes that, "in the lowlands women take pride in their skill of household management. No matter how important her status, the most diligent woman is the proudest and most highly praised."[114] The comparison with the women of the Lowlands implies a contrast to the French court, for whom she was writing. The emphasis and credit she places on women from the Lowlands is especially telling of the social constructs that surrounded women as managers of their domestic space. This distinction is subtly evoked in the scenes of March in the Flemish calendar, where a woman oversees the work being done in the private garden.

[112]Pizan, *Mirror of Honor*,169.
[113]Ibidem, 170-174. This section goes into specifics especially concerning farming techniques and managing laborers as well as dictating and managing the work of women and servants inside the home.
[114]Ibidem, 173.

Figure 4.11. December, butchering, *Book of Hours*, Nantes, last half fifteenth century MS. Lat. 33 Bibliothèque de Genève

Not all French calendars were devoid of women managing their estates. For example, the calendar from Nantes (figure 4.11[115]) takes December as its month to place noble women at the center of the bloody work of butchering to monitor the developments. Her hands cross over her waist as she watches diligently as one man begins the process of portioning out the cuts of meat of the pig. Here a double function occurs as there is also a peasant woman aiding the butchers, as is typical and a more atypical representation of the Lady of the house monitoring. It is clear from the size of her representation and the central location in the composition that she is both more powerful than those working around her and maintains order in the household. However, such depictions are not common in the calendars in general and appear only in their late development. Traditional themes were the standard more than innovations, as seen in the slow development and changes to the iconography of the Labors.[116] They maintained the codified and mirrored social roles in the seasonal unfolding of the Labors of the Month.

[115]http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bge/lat0033 (Last accessed April 23, 2012)
[116]Henisch, *The Medieval Calendar Year*, 86-87discusses the slow development of sheep and sheep herding in the calendar cycle despite their significance for rural life.

SUMMARY

The presence of women in the calendars steadily increased from the second part of the fifteenth century onwards. The increase in the depictions of women may have been the result of a number of factors, including a focus on more "naturalistic" paintings, enlarging compositions to include a diverse array of people, a standardization of the models used for Books of Hours, and perhaps a response to wishes of the patron. The Flemish Hours represent more numerous depictions of both peasant and upper class women in the calendars of the Hours.

The work of women and the representation of their work in the Labors is tied to traditional notions of women and their labor. Both tools and activities clearly display both status and gender roles. Peasant women are represented in the domestic space or with references to the domestic space. They are also presented as day laborers alongside their partners and are shown as assisting in large agricultural tasks like mowing, raking, and harvesting grapes. In these field duties, the work and tools of women have restrictions. Women are never shown with a scythe, but in raking hay, harvesting with a sickle, binding up sheaves of grain, and assisting in the butchering of animals. It is interesting to compare the frequency of certain tools and work for women in the iconography of the Labors in the two areas. The French calendars show women shearing sheep much more frequently than the Flemish calendars, however, the Flemish calendars more frequently show women actively harvesting with a sickle. The representation of lower class men and women working together is apparent, while in the representations of the nobility there is no allusion to this kind of relationship in elite households. Although the work of some writers alerts one to the numerous responsibilities held by aristocratic women, the Labors, much like courtly literature, paints images of women at leisure. Women, associated with the months of April and May, stand for the pleasures of spring. The Flemish calendars deviate a bit from this by

presenting March scenes in which the lady of the house is presented as an overseer in her dominion of the private garden. Generally, the “use” of women in the calendars and the developments of their activities are thus an important aspect to understand subtle differences in the dominion and work of women better.

CHAPTER 5. FRAMING THE PATRON IN THE IMAGES

The idealized reality presented in the calendars, with its depiction of landscape, gender, and activities, is a fictional world that presents a keyhole view into the attitudes of the patron. Books of Hours came in many forms depending on the patrons and their needs. Some books were specially commissioned luxury books for the nobility, their court, and those rising in social importance; they expressed devotion, authority, and power.[117] Other types, like the streamlined books made for the market and incunabula, answered the rising demand for these books. What can one really understand from these calendars, which use "well-trodden" motifs, copied from workshop to workshop, made for an international art market? How do these image cycles, generally of secondary importance in Books of Hours, give insight into the communities which produced and used these pieces?

An Italian breviary provides a clear example of how the activities, landscape, and gender offer specific clues to the patrons and how their ideals and concerns could alter the standard images to reflect their own community. The quiet scene of nun's work may seem innocuous, but in the tradition of the occupations it is a surprising example of the community of the patron placed in the calendar, in this case emphasizing women and their work. As snow falls outside, a nun glances out of the window and surveys the January scene, distaff in hand, as her sisters warm their hands and set a meager table (figure 5.1[118]). This January page is in a breviary commissioned for the Poor Clares at Santa Chiara in Siena during the late fifteenth century.[119]Jeryldene Wood argues that these commissioned displays of art highlighted rather than conflicted with their vows[120] as a visual way to spread and share their teachings to their

[117]Thomas Kren, "Revolution and Transformation: Paintings in Devotional Manuscripts 1467-1485," in *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, ed. Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, (Los Angeles: John J Getty Museum, 2003), 121 "Luxury devotional books were simultaneously a means to communion with God, physical evidence of personal piety, and testaments to the wealth and tastes of the Patron."

[118]http://www.bildindex.de/dokumente/html/obj07932565(Last accessed April 27, 2012)

[119] Jeryldene M. Wood, "Breaking the Silence: The Poor Clares and the Visual Arts in Fifteenth-Century Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 48, no.2 (1995): 262-268.

[120] Ibidem, 284.

communities. The illuminations of the breviary can be interpreted as supporting this claim because its unusual visual program places their community of women at the center and the emphasis is on providing visual models for its users. This idealized reality thus is a double model: a model of an idealized passage of the seasons and an example of the proper moral monastic life for the sisters.

Figure 5.1 January, nuns warming and spinning,*Breviary for the Poor Clares of Saint Chiara*c1470, Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. X. IV.2

These nuns represent the standard actions associated with the month of January: keeping warm and feasting. The most prominent nun in the composition stands in front of the window with her distaff and spindle as small white dots fill the arched window. Her gaze suggests the contemplation of spiritual matters as she looks upwards instead of straight out into a silent winter scene. The central message of piety through work is made explicit by the size and position of the nuns. The nun with the distaff is both larger and more detailed than the other two women. Perhaps in correlation with good work, her eyes and spindle both point upward to an unseen spiritual force. The distaff and spindle, as has been discussed, are significant tools which represent female space. It is rare to find women working alone in the calendars and more typically women work alongside men in shared work or as marginal figures in domestic space.

The patron's monastic environment changed the calendar scene into female work space, which was necessary and desirable to show models of proper work. This is a significant departure from the tradition of Labors of the Month and unusual because although Books of Hours were often owned by female patrons they did not insert themselves in this way. This image of January uses some of the iconography of the occupations but deviates in telling ways such as its emphasis on poverty. The sparseness of the monastic setting is reflected in the meagerness of the meal and simplicity of the room. January's feast is thus not a mirror image but one which reflects the monastic setting.

Monastic space is used to underscore the separation of the nuns. A cross-section of the room allows the viewer visual access to the scene but it is not a simple matter to reach the subjects. The room which contains them is within the confines of another space: the nuns are deep within the cloister. In March (figure 5.2[121]) in the same calendar the nuns pray within the walls of their cloister as a man prunes the vines outside their cloister walls. The separation of their monastic community from the lay community underscores ideas of chastity and sacrifice. Pruning the vines, a standard motif in traditional iconography of the months, is used, but the unique nature of the community inserts itself into this motif. The context is critical to understanding the unusual use of nuns in the labor cycle and its interpretation. Their depiction is a strong message of proper devotion to their community. Unlike many calendars, where individual patrons do not appear, this calendar places the community at the center and promotes a clear instructional schema.

[121] http://www.bildindex.de/dokumente/html/obj07932565[(Last accessed April 27,2012)

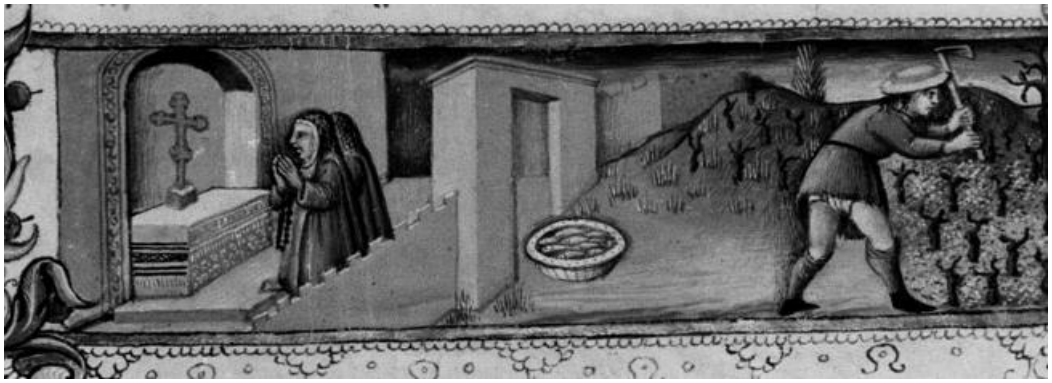

Figure 5.2 March, man tending the vines while nuns pray, *Breviary for the Poor Clares of Saint Chiara*c1470, Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. X. IV.2

Much like the *Très Riches Heures*, which explicitly placed the patron, his court, and his holdings within its pages, this breviary demonstrates how the iconography of calendars could be shaped to reflect the needs and environments of the patrons in the labor cycle. Situated in a monastic setting, this Italian example makes clear the ways the calendar could assert the patron's notions of idealized reality. While many of the French and Flemish calendars do not specifically place their patrons at the center as in the above examples, these calendars do reflect a propensity towards certain features within the calendar which exposes the needs and concerns of the patrons.

PATRONS' CONCERNS IN THE CALENDARS

Who commissioned these books and for whom raises many interesting issues and questions. Initially confined to upper class ownership, by the fifteenth century, with the advent of printing, these books began to diffuse into other strata of society.[122] Men and women used and bought these devotional books, yet there seems to have been a special link to women as owners, commissioners, and receivers of these books.[123] Books of Hours were often commissioned as gifts, especially for weddings, or were inherited or bought from

[122] Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Woman Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs* 7, no. 4 (1982): 742-768 see 747-8.

[123] Penketh, "Women and Books of Hours," 270-271 notes this association and cites the dissertation of Susan Cavanaugh, who examined book owners in England. She found that of the 1000 private book owners she investigated, fifty-three were women; however, of the remaining male owners only twenty-eight are listed as having a Book of Hours while of the fifty-three women thirty are noted to have possessed one.

booksellers. Although the Books of Hours had standard components and traditional iconographies, these parts could and were altered depending on the patron.[124] Even books created for the art market had the potential to be altered and shaped to their clientele.[125]

Typically, Books of Hours frequently and conspicuously express the patron in donor portraits or coats of arms. The *Très Riches Heures*, *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy*, and *The Hours of Jeanne D'Évreux* are famous examples of Hours famed for portraits of their owner. These portraits can occur in many areas within a Book of Hours, but it is less common to have the donor within the calendar itself. The Duc de Berry and the representation of the nuns of St Clare represent an apogee in the general function of the calendars which promoted an idealized quotidian experience reflecting the ideals of the patron's environment and social milieu.

The art within the Books of Hours was collaborative.[126] Ranging from exquisite to rudimentary, the composition and iconography were negotiated prior to any ink or tempera touching the parchment. As Jill Caskey notes "The relationship between patron and artist was not symmetrical, oppositional, and merely economic, but also potentially about both participants gaining distinction, access to other artists/patrons, intellectual camaraderie and soon on.[127]" Although the degree of involvement between workshop and patron varied, it is clear that the patron commissioned work from an artist or workshop based on previous

[124]Charity Scott-Stokes, "Introduction," in *Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England: Selected Texts Translated from Latin, Anglo-Norman French and Middle English with an Introduction and Interpretive Essay* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2006), 17, notes that "like the supplementary texts the decoration of the book could give a highly individual character."

[125]Saskia van Bergen, "The Production of Flemish Books of Hours for the English Market: Standardization and Workshop Practices," in *Manuscripts in Transition: Recycling Manuscripts, Texts and Images; Proceedings of the International Congress held at Brussels (5 - 9 November 2002),*ed. Brigitte Dekeyzer (Paris: Peeters, 2005):271-284. She argues that even though the construction of these books was standardized during this time, they were still flexible enough to cater to the needs of the patron.

[126] Jill Caskey notes that since the 1970s agency has been made more complex by studies which have emphasized: "webs of interaction that led to the creation of medieval art;" "Whodunnit? Patronage, the Canon and Problematics of Agency in Romanesque and Gothic Art," in *A Companion to Medieval Art Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 198.

[127]Ibidem, 198-199.

models and selection.[128] As Christopher De Hamel has underlined, unfinished books provide clear evidence that many of the decisions about the form and content of the book were: "all settled and irrevocable long before the illuminator was subcontracted into the operation."[129] The choice of artist and motifs set the parameters of the work and resulted in calendars that were tailored to the interests of the patrons and what they what they deemed important.

KNOWN PATRONAGE

While the first owners in the provenance of many Hours may be unknown, there are many books of which the owners and even the producers are known.[130] Probably best known are the books made for the nobility and other high-status patrons as they can more easily be identified by their coats of arms, donor portraits, and sources concerning their construction such as contracts and wills. Of course, the first owner of the Book of Hours may not have been the original commissioner, as they were often given as gifts;[131] however, the subjects chosen are a conscious choice and indicate the contexts where the calendars were expected to fit. For example, the *Da Costa Hours* was made for a Portuguese patron, depicted a Flemish landscape, and was praised for the mastery of the natural world. The emphasis was not on mirroring the world of the specific landscape of the patron but a naturalism infused with an idealized version. In this way, it was not a concern to present the landscape neutrally. For Bening, representing this natural landscape involved depicting the city and countryside in

[128] Jonathan Alexander provides eight examples of contracts made for books of all types. Especially notable documents that demonstrate the extent of control the patron had are number 3 (180), which states: "it [the Hours of the Virgin] will be copied from an exemplar furnished by Guillaume [the commissioner of the book]…There will be six other images of saints for suffrages as Guillaume wishes and will specify," and 5 (180-181) that says: "Each miniature is to be well drawn and with gold, blue, and pink similar in form and figures to a specimen shown him on the Bishop's part." Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 179-183

[129] Christopher De Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen: Scribes and Illuminators* (London: British Library Press, 1992), 48.

[130] This is subject to changes as new information and technology allow more insight into the Hours. For example, as Thomas Krem notes in *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 475, through family history the Da Costa Hours was known to have been made for the de Sà family (possibly João Rodrigues de Sà) and then given to Don Alvaro da Costa, chamberlain of Manuel I of Portugal, soon thereafter.

[131] Caskey, "Whodunnit?" 201, notes that gift giving is an important consideration as many books were given as gifts, often to serve abstract political motives, and that: "gifts are ambiguous as they range from concretizations of a givers desires, idealizations, and assumptions to reasonable fulfillment of the needs, tastes, desires, or wishes of the recipient."

which he lived, thus figure 5.3[132] depicts not merely a rural house but a range of activities of men and woman. In a similar way, another calendar, the Munich-Montserrat Hours, created by Bening and his workshop and possibly owned by Alonso de Idiaquez, emphasized a particular kind of landscape. Kren notes that: "The cycle presents image after highly detailed image of a prosperous and vibrant civilization, a flattering portrait of Flanders."[133]

Figure 5.3. April farmyard scene, *Da Costa Hours*,c.1515 Pierpont Morgan Library

An interest in naturalism also appears in the *The Hours of Anne of Brittany*, especially in the botanic images on the verso of main calendar scenes (figure 5.4[134]).The calendar also uses imposing architectural elements (figures 5.5,[135] 5.6[136] 5.7[137]) to suggest the wealth of Anne and her kingdom and the extent of her dominions. Particularly in the walled garden

[132] Pierpont Morgan Library http://www.flickriver.com/photos/renzodionigi/3666992435/ (last accessed April 30, 2012)
[133]Kren, *Illuminating the Renaissance,* 475
[134]http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=COMP-1&I=11&M=imageseule (Last accessed April 23, 2012)
[135]http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=COMP-1&I=11&M=imageseule (Last accessed April 23, 2012)
[136]http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=COMP-1&I=11&M=imageseule (Last accessed April 23, 2012)
[137]http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=COMP-1&I=11&M=imageseule (Last accessed April 23, 2012)

scene, the strong representation of a city-scape is also an important aspect of Mary of Burgundy's Book of Hours. In all nine scenes which take place outdoors, only two Labors[138] do not have any version of the town, either seen from a distance or quite close, in the background. Not all luxury Books of Hours have this element. For example, the ornately illuminated Nantes manuscript has no scenes which depict any type of urban center or castle and the emphasis is on the actions of the people rather than the landscapes that they inhabit. In less luxurious Books of Hours, the architectural element is less frequently emphasized; for example, the *Flemish Book of Hours* (figures 5.8[139] and 5.9[140]) held at the Széchényi Library in Budapest is a small[141] book of hours made for the mass market. Rather rough in character, the emphasis is on the action and although December's labor (figure 5.9) sets butchering within the walls of a village or manor, the emphasis is on generic actions and focus and not on specific landscape and town elements. This is in contrast to commissioned books, where the patron's impact on the book, from providing the material and choice in the motifs, played a significant role in supporting and advancing the development of the calendars.

Figure 5.4 October, detail of Chamomile on verso, *The Book of Hours of Anne of Brittany*, 1503-1508, Latin 9474, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

[138] May and September do not show an image of the walled town, but in the zodiac sign for May the town can be seen in the background.
[139] *The Flemish Book of Hours*, Cod.Lat.205 Széchényi Library Budapest: Corvina-Helikon Kiadó,1989.
[140] *The Flemish Book of Hours*, Cod.Lat.205 Széchényi Library Budapest: Corvina-Helikon Kiadó,1989.
[141] The exact size is 15 cm x 8 cm; *The Flemish Book of Hours*, facsimile ed., commentary Cod. Lat. 205, Széchényi Library (Budapest: Corvina-Helikon Kiadó,1989)

Figure 5.5 April, women making breathes in a walled garden, *The Book of Hours of Anne of Brittany*, 1503-1508, Latin 9474, Bibliotèque Nationale de France

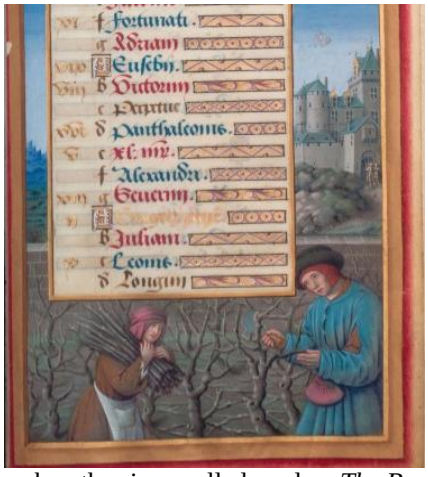

Figure 5.6 April, women making breathes in a walled garden, *The Book of Hours of Anne of Brittany*, 1503-1508, Latin 9474, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Figure 5.7March and April, details of architecture, *The Book of Hours of Anne of Brittany*, 1503-1508, Latin 9474, Bibliotèque Nationale de France

Figure 5.8 September, broadcasting seed, *The Flemish Book of Hours* 1500 Cod.Lat.205 Széchényi Library Budapest

Figure 5.9 December, butchering a pig, *The Flemish Book of Hours* 1500 Cod.Lat.205 Széchényi Library Budapest

UNKNOWN PATRONAGE

The calendar from the diocese of Nantes from a workshop in the west of France, dated around the third quarter of the fifteenth century, is an example of a calendar for which the commissioner and first user are unknown.[142] However, the images suggest a strong impact of the owner of the work; one catalogue notes that while it is extremely rich in decoration, "it is missing in sobriety and sometimes taste."[143] The calendar strongly reflects the personality of the owner, as the artist used and adapted the iconography of the months to great comic affect.

[142]Bibliothèque de Genève, *Book of Hours*, Ms.lat.33, for a general and thorough description of the manuscript refer to http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/bge/lat0033. (last accessed April 29, 2012). The provenance of the manuscript states that it was part of the collection of the Petau family father, Paul Petau, d. 1614, and son, Alexandre, d. 1672, but it is unknown if they were the first owners. However, AubertHippolyte postulates that it may have belonged to a magistrate due to the prayer to St. Ives and the whimsy of the illuminations, "Notices sur les manuscrits Petau conserves à la bibliothèque de Genève (fonds Ami Lullin)"in *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes 70:70:*(1909): 247-302 http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/bec_0373-6237_1909_num_70_1_448361 (last accessed April 29, 2012).

[143]"Maisellemanque de sobriété et parfois du goût,"AubertHippolyte, "Notices sur les manuscritsPetau," 265.

Women play a central role, reflecting positive and negative stereotypes and attitudes toward them. While other calendars incorporate elements of play, a certain bawdiness is characteristic of this calendar.

The calendar begins with January's typical feasting scene, where a lord and lady are represented at a table, but February (figure 5.10[144]) introduces a narrative, perhaps an instructive commentary, on the household infidelities and power dynamics. A large group of five people are shown warming themselves by the fire, a number that is untypical for this month. The lord is represented as an older man and two female servants attend him; one, a very young girl, helps take off his shoes and another servant woman lifts a cloth to dry him. Behind him, his wife, dries his hair with a towel[145] as a younger man puts his arm around her shoulder. This is followed by a scene of seduction in the month of April (see figure 5.11[146]). when a young noble man, wearing fashionable pointed shoes and a cap with a feather, looks to have just arrived in an upper-class woman's private room bearing flowers. The woman is presented in an ambiguous state, in which she is either in the process of lacing or unlacing her dress. In an intimate space, the bed becomes a prominent feature and the pillows seem to vibrate suggestively. Although she may in fact be dressing, there is a suggestion of licentiousness in this composition that is surprising to find in a Book of Hours. This scene differs considerably from the May scene (figure 5.12[147]), in which a more traditional and less ambiguously suggestive motif of courtship is presented in a traditional motif of presenting spring branches.

[144]http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bge/lat0033 (Last accessed April 23, 2012).
[145] The intimate nature of drying appears to me as a task a wife would do as opposed to a servant. Shulamith Shahar noted that: "Women deloused one another, their lovers, sons and husbands. This was a task not to be trusted to a maid servant. It was a ceremony!" *The Fourth Estate*,153.
[146]http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bge/lat0033 (Last accessed April 23, 2012).
[147]http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bge/lat0033 (Last accessed April 23, 2012).

Figure 5.10 February, warming by the fire, *Book of Hours*, Nantes c.1450-1475 MS. Lat. 33 Bibliothèque de Genève

Figure 5.11 April, presentation of flower, *Book of Hours*, Nantes c.1450-1475 MS. Lat. 33 Bibliothèque de Genève http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bge/lat0033 (Last accessed April 23, 2012)

Figure 5.12 May, courtship with branch, *Book of Hours*, Nantes c.1450-1475 MS. Lat. 33 Bibliothèque de Genève

The presence of the April woman, active and dominant, is similar to the lady of the house in December. The December scene (figure 4.9) places an upper-class woman manager at the center of the composition, with watchful eyes that monitor and control the work being done, as two men and a woman go about the butchering process. Butchering scenes themselves are quite common for the month of December, but incorporating the mistress into the operation is not. A message is surely being conveyed by the owner of the book, but it is difficult to interpret exactly how the calendar functioned. Was it meant as a satirical commentary or a warning of feminine dominance or was it perhaps merely more comical inclusions of daily life? This calendar, more bluntly profane, demonstrates how these themes were bent and combined to reveal certain contexts of the patrons.

SUMMARY

The calendar is an area where the temporal world meets the spiritual. The degree to which this profane space is used reflects the attitude of the patron and presents another way to look at calendar images. Questions of patronage are critical in understanding and interpreting the choices used in any specific calendar. When taken as a group, the development of some of

the imagery and its acceptance by other patrons can help trace new interests in the calendar. Although the choices of illuminations had contributing factors like the cost and perhaps the involvement of other members of a court, they still can provide an understanding of things that were considered standard and what they projected as important through the choice of artists and subjects to reflect their interests.

The calendars can represent specific instances of the patron inserted into the images, like the *Très Riches Heures* or the breviary for the Poor Clares of Saint Chiara. The patron is placed in the idealized space and the elements of the calendar have a more direct relationship to what the patron was trying to project in terms of status, devotion, and power. Luxury Books of Hours, as objects of display, implicitly reveal more of the personal projections that the commissioner of the book wanted to reflect. These images thus provide clues to what elements of landscape, gestures, and objects were essential to the patron. Where patronage is known there is an opportunity for further analysis. A closer look at what elements are used to represent and populate the idealized world of the calendar can reveal attitudes towards people, places, and things. In books where the patronage is unknown, like the Nantes calendar, the calendars can provide general trends and themes that patrons used for display and can raise interesting questions about the variations on these themes. These questions complicate the reading of calendars and emphasize the fact that although they follow a tradition, the differences can provide unique insight into their owners. How they correspond to or differ from what one expects are telling not just of the patrons but also what they are choosing to show as their courtly understanding of the world.

CONCLUSION

This thesis was undertaken to understand how representations of agricultural work and noble leisure can provide insight into perceptions of medieval daily life and the changing dynamics of these representations based on place. I created a database of French and Flemish calendars that spanned the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. As multiple workshops could work on a shared manuscript and as copying and borrowing of compositions and sharing of models were standard practice in workshops, I did not focus on particular masters themselves. I was more concerned about findings for complete or nearly complete cycles of the twelve months so I could see how these developed within their cycles and compare them to other complete cycles. I analyzed the landscape and architecture, the people and their work and looked even more closely at how women were portrayed in these images. Seeing what elements were added or subtracted, exposes conscious and unconscious interests of the patrons and commissioners of this work.

A close examination of the components of the calendars provided insight into how idealized images paint a picture of the conditions of the times. By focusing on the social aspects, use of landscape, and gender more contextualization can be given than has been provided thus far. Taken as group, the Labors of the Month present an opportunity to observe the change in trends such as the increase in the representation of nobility and their occupations in the Labors, the increase of women, and how the environment was constructed to emphasize rural space, manor or town. These trends allow consideration of the wider implications of these pictorial decisions which reflect class issues and the effects of the patron on the landscape and the landscape on the patron. They allow one to trace the similarities and dissimilarities of women's work which perhaps reflect regional differences regarding female labor.

The fields, forests, and gardens as well as the castles, villages, and towns reflect two different emphases in the calendars of France and Flanders. The accentuation of rural and town scenes is more clearly developed in the calendars of Flemish origin. While French calendars do depict urban scenes they are less numerous than in the Flemish counterparts. The French calendars tended to maintain traditional agrarian models for the use of land. Another important element was the presentation of castles. These structures in the calendars depict and define hierarchies that are noticeable in both countries in the calendars of nobility. These hierarchies are depicted even more clearly through the people who populate the calendar. The increase of noble activities and, most telling, n depictions where peasant and upper class member meet illustrate differing notions of hierarchy in rural and elite contexts.

When considering the depictions of women there are many similarities but also some interesting differences. The emphasis on specific types of women's work provided insight into the kind of labor that was acceptable for women. While the calendars of both countries show women working, certain tasks are more frequently represented. Thus, in my sample, women are represented with the flock in both areas, but in France women are shown shearing sheep, while in in Flanders they are never represented in this task. While women in both countries are shown harvesting with a sickle, there is by far a greater number in Flanders doing this type of work than in France The different perceptions of women's work becomes more evident seen in this broader context and amongst other contemporaneous images.

Finally this leads to the patrons and their effects on calendars. Known patronage can give insights on how the calendar was used; some calendars place the patron directly into the calendar, but there are more cases where the patron is known but not shown. This suggests a great deal about what the commissioner was trying to convey about him/herself. Even unknown patronage provides interesting variations which raise questions about the user of the calendar. This study establishes the importance of a closer scrutiny of these images beyond

gaining insight into everyday life. They also show the ideologies of the commissioners and artists of each region. Just as the current-day fascination with agriculture and its practitioners has romanticized the image of the farmer in a parade of articles and books that reflect certain desires of the larger community, these medieval idealizations of labor, locality, and landscape can also reveal more about those who generated the ideal than the dirty and sweaty reality of what they picture. I have demonstrated how analysis of the visual culture provides another way to look at these images in order to reveal how the environment, objects, and people assert the ideologies of their commissioners and reinforced the social hierarchy.

This study is a starting point from which future work on perceptions of labor, landscape, and gender can follow. I can envision many other possible avenues of research that would elucidate the questions regarding perception and use of the Labors of the Month. This study has looked broadly at the two largest centers of manuscript production, France and Flanders; further information could be sought regarding areas both outside and within these boundaries, either by expanding the scope to other regions of Europe or by focusing on one country and looking at the differences in production there, which would shed light on differences and similarities in a larger European context and/or within a country. A larger database of images could be made to examine the statistical trends that develop in order to make more definitive conclusions about the elements therein, which I believe would contribute to the knowledge of both modern and medieval perceptions of daily life. Further interdisciplinary research into the images of women's work in literature and various other records would provide interesting data for comparing how the images relate to non-visual sources.

An image of a pipe may not be a pipe; however, the existence of the image informs us of ideas surrounding its creation. As outsiders of the medieval period, the material evidence gives us tangible ways to experience the past, but it must be examined critically. The Labors

of the Months continue to be an exciting area of research that provides avenues for exploring a multitude of topics involving the environment, gender, labor, and life of the Middle Ages. They reflect not so much the "reality" of the Middle Ages but a projection of idealized reality. By putting this genre into context one can better understand how these images functioned and developed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

The following are a list of the primary sources I used for this thesis which I have organized by the cultural institutions which hold the manuscripts. These images were gained through facsimiles, image collections, and electronic databases held by various cultural institutions which I have included in brackets.

Budapest,Széchényi Library:

Flemish Book of Hours,Flanders *c.*1520-30,Cod.Lat.205[from the facsimile edition: *A Flemish Book of Hours*, Budapest: Corvina-HelikonKiadó,1989].

Cambridge, MA: Harvard Houghton Library:

Book of Hours, Ghent Bruges 1485-90 MS. Typ 0443 [from http://app.cul.columbia.edu:8080/exist/scriptorium/individual/MH-H-159.xml??querytype=advanced&order=lo&field1=any&term1=labor&stringtype1=all&operator1=and&field2=any&term2=&string type2=all&operator2=and&field3=any&term3=&stringtype3=all&begin=&end=&single=&DatedOrNot=&Document=&figure=&country=any&repository_code=any&howmany=30(Last accessed May 14, 2012)].

Chantilly: Museé Condé:

Très Riches Heures, c.1412-16, MS.65 [from http://webmuseum.meulie.net/wm/rh/1.html (last accessed May 14, 2012)].

Heures de Adelaide de Savoie, Paris 1450-1460, France MS.lat.1362 [from Hansen, Wilhelm. Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher. Munich: Callwey, 1984].

Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève:

Book of Hours, Nantes third quarter 15th century, MS. Lat. 33 [from http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/bge/lat0033 (Last accessed April 23, 2012)].

The Hague,KoninklijkeBibliotheek:

Book of Hours, S. Netherlands c.1500-1525, MS. RMMW10F14 [from http://www.kb.nl/manuscripts/show/manuscript/10+F+1. (Last accessed 31 October 2011)].

Book of Hours, Liège c.1500-1525, MS KB 133 D 11 [from http://www.kb.nl/ manuscripts /show/manuscript/133+D+11 (32Last accessed October 31 2011)].

Book of Hours, Paris c.1524, MS. MMW, 10 F 33 (from http://www.kb.nl/ manuscripts /show/images_text/10+F+33 (Last accessed October 31,2011)].

Book of Hours, Paris? c.1490-1500, MS. 76 F 14 [from http://www.kb.nl/ manuscripts /show/images_text/76+F+14 (Last accessed October 31,2011)].

Lisbon: CalousteGulbenkian Foundation:

Book of Hours, c.1450-60, MS. LA 135 [from *Libro de Horas de Gulbenkian* Madrid: Aynediciones, 2007]

Book of Hours, France, 1550, MS. LA 217 [From Nascimento, Aires A., "The Iconography of the Months in Medieval Calendars." *The Image of Time.* Lisbon:CalousteGulbenkian Foundation, 2000.

London, The British Library:

The Golf Book, Bruges-Ghentc.1540, Add MS. 24098. http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery /golf/accessible/introduction.html#content. Last accessed 31 October 2011].

Dunois Hours, c.1440-1450, MS. Yates Thompson 3 [from http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/ illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6439&CollID=58&NStart=3 (last accessed May 8,2012)].

Hours of René d'Anjou, Paris c. 1410, MS. Egerton 1070[from http://www.bl.uk/catalogues /illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8486&CollID=28&NStart=1070(last accessed May 5,2012)].

Book of Hours. S. Netherlands (Bruges) c.1510-1515, MS. Egerton 1147 http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=2158 Egerton 1147 (Last accessed May 5, 2012).

Book of Hours, France (Rouen?) c.1510-1520, MS. Harley 1892 [From illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=19730 (Last accessed May 14, 2012)].

Book of Hours, Tours c.1510-1520 Tours MS. Harley 5049 [From http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/ILLUMIN.ASP?Size=mid&IllID=15723 (Last Accessed May 14, 2012)].

Madrid, Biblioteca National:

Book of Hours of Charles V, 1520,MS. Vitr. 24.3 [from facsimile:MuntadaTorrellas, Anna. *Libro de Horas de Carlos V*. Madrid: Club Bibliofilo verso, 1999).

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibiothek:

Book of Hours France 1401-1500, Cod.lat. 10095. http://www.bildindex.de/dokumente /html/obj00044502 (Last accessed October 31, 2011)]

Book of Hours, France c 1486-1500, Cod. lat. 10092, [from http://www.bildindex.de /dokumente/html/obj00044499 (Last accessed October 31, 2011)]

Book of Hours, Flanders 1501-1515,Cod.lat. 28345 [from http://www.bildindex.de /dokumente/html/obj00013769 (Last accessed May 5, 2012)]

Book of Hours France 1453-1456, Cod. lat. 10103 **[**from http://www.bildindex.de /dokumente/html/obj00044505 (Last accessed May 10, 2012)**]**

New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library:

Book of Hours, France, 1500, MS.M.117 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Book of Hours, France, 1530-35, MS.M.452 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Book of Hours, France, 1510-20, MS.M.85 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Book of Hours, France, 1430, MS.M.64 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Book of Hours, France, 1470-80, MS.M.677 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Book of Hours, France, 1465, MS.M.1003 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Book of Hours, France, 1485-1490, MS.M.348 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Books of Hours. 1490, MS..S.7 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Da Costa Hours, 1515, MS. M..399 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Book of Hours, 1531, MS. M. 451 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Hours of Henry VIII, 1500, Tours, MS. H 8 [from Roger Wieck, William M. Voelkle, K. and Michelle Hearne, *The Hours of Henry the VIII: a Renaissance Masterpiece by Jean Poyet*. NewYork: G. Braziller, 2000].

Paris, BibliothèqueNationale de France:

Claraevaliensis, Bernardus, *Horae ad UsumPictaviensem*, c.1455-1460, MS. NAL 3191 (from,http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000442d/f15.image.r=heures+calendrier.langFR. Last accessed 31 October 2011).

Grandes Heures d' Anne de Bretagne, c.1503-1508, MS. Latin 9474[fromhttp://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur?Destination=Mandragore.(Last accessed 31 October 2011)].

Heures de Marguerite d'Orléans, c. 1426, MS. Latin 1156B [from http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/CadresFenetre?O=COMP-2&I=5&M=imageseule (last accessed may 5, 2012)].

Grandes Heures de Jean de Berry c. 1426, MS. Latin 919 [from http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiseur? Destination=Mandragore].

Book of Hours Tours, end of fifteenthcentury, MS.Lat.886 [from Hansen, Wilhelm. *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher.* Munich: Callwey, 1984].

Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia Rare Book Department:

Book of Hours, c.1485-1499, MS Lewis E125. [from *Department.* http://app.cul.columbia.edu:8080/exist/scriptorium/individual/PP-RB-33.xml?showLightbox=yes.(Last accessed 31 October 2011)].

Book of Hours, France, sixteenth century?, MS. Lewis E113 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Book of Hours, France, late fifteenth century, MS. Lewis E111 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Book of Hours, France, 1500, MS. Lewis E86 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Book of Hours, France, late fifteenth century, MS. Lewis E111 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Library

Book of Hours, France, 1490-1500, MS. Garret 56 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Book of Hours, France, 1490-1500, MS.Taylor 7 [from Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian ArtIndex of Christian Art Resources 3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007].

Rennes, BibliothèqueMunicipale:

Hours de Francoise de Dinan, Rennes, c.1435-1455, MS. 34, 15942 [From http://www.bildindex.de/dokumente/html/obj15000014 (Last accessed May 10, 2012)]

Hours of the D'Epinay Family, Normandy, c.1426-1450, MS. 33 (24), 15941.[From http://www. bildindex.de/dokumente/html/obj15000013 (Last accessed May 10, 2012]

Sibiu, BrukenthalMuseum:

Book of Hours, Flanders, 1st half of 16th century. Inv. Nr.1 fol [from Hansen, Wilhelm. Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher. Munich: Callwey, 1984].

Siena, Biblioteca Communale:

Breviarium Fratrum Minorum cum psalterio et kalendrio, c.1401-1500,cod. X. IV 2. [from http://www.bildindex.de/dokumente/html/obj07932565 (Last accessed October 31, 2011)]

UnknownLocation:

Book of Hours Amiens no.fu00210 1490-1492, **[**from http://www.bildindex.de /dokumente /html/obj20411457 (LastaccessedMay 10, 2012)]

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana:

Breviarium Grimani, c. 1510, MS. Lat. I 99 [from*Die Freuden des Jahres.* Brunswick: Westermann, 1966].

Victoria, National Gallery of Victoria:

Wharncliffe Hours, France, MS.S Felton 1 (1072/3) [from facsimile edition, *Wharncliffe Hours.* commentary Manion Margret M.Kassel: Stauda,1981].

Vienna, ÖsterreichischeNationalbibliothek:

The Hours of Mary of Burgundy, c.1470, MS. 1857 [from Facsimile Edition *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy* Commentary Eric Inglis. London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1995)].

Book of Hours, Flanders c. 1510-1520, MS.2706 [from Hansen, Wilhelm. *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher.* Munich: Callwey, 1984].

Book of Hours, Flanders c. 1500, MS.23 346 [from Hansen, Wilhelm. *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher*. Munich: Callwey, 1984].

Book of Hours, Vienna c. 1475, MS.3085 [from Hansen, Wilhelm. *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher*. Munich: Callwey, 1984].

Book of Hours, Flanders fifteenth century, MS.1858 [from Hansen, Wilhelm. *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher.* Munich: Callwey, 1984].

Book of Hours, Flanders c. 1510, MS. 1862 [from Hansen, Wilhelm. *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher.* Munich: Callwey, 1984].

Book of Hours, France c.1430, MS. ser.nov.2615 [fromHansen, Wilhelm. *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher.* Munich: Callwey, 1984].

Book of Hours, Paris 1510,Im.mort.37[from Hansen, Wilhelm. *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher.* München: Callwey, 1984].

Pizan, Christine de. *The Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor: The Treasury of the City of Ladies*. Trans.CharityCannon Willard and ed. Madeleine Peiner Cosman. New York: Bard Hall Press and Persea Books, 1989.

Secondary Sources

Alexander, Jonathan J. G. "'Labour' and 'Paresse': Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labour." *Art Bulletin* 72, no. 3 (1990): 436-452.

_____.*Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992)

Andrews, Malcom. *Landscape and Western Art.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Arnade, Peter, Martha Howell, and WalterSimons, ed. "Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Spaces in Northern Europe." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32 (2002): 515-48.

Avril, François, and Nicole Reynaud, *Les manuscrits àpeintures en France* 1440-1520. Paris: Flammarion-Bibliotèque nationale de France,1993.

Baumgartner,Fredric J. *France in the Sixteenth Century.* London: Macmillan, 1995.

Bell, Susan Groag. "Medieval Woman Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture." *Signs* 7, no. 4 (1982):742-768.

Blackhouse, Janet. *Books of Hours.* London: British Library Board: 1986.

Buettner, Brigitte. "Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions: Manuscripts in Late Medieval Courtly Society." *The Art Bulletin* 74 (1992): 75-90.

Calkins, Robert G."Sacred Image and Illusion in late Flemish Manuscripts." *Essays in Medieval Studies* 6 (1989): 1-18.

Camille, Michael. *Images on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*. London: Reaktion Books, 1992.

_____. *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England*. London: Reaktion Books, 1998.

Cherubini, Giovanni. "The Peasant and Agriculture." In *The Medieval World.*Ed. Jaques Le Goff. Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, 113-137.London:Collins & Brown,1990.

Collins, Marie, and Virginia Davis. *A Medieval Book of Seasons.* New York: Harper Collins, 1992.

Cosgrove, Denis, and Stephen Daniels, ed. *The Iconography of Landscape.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

De Hamel, Christopher. *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*.1st ed. London: Phaidon, 1997.

_____. "Books of Hours: "Imaging" the Word." In *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition.* Ed. John L. Sharpe III and Kimberly Van Kampen, 137-143. London: British Library, 1998.

_____.*Scribes and Illuminators* (London: British Museum Press, 1993).

Dinzelbacher, Peter, ed. *Fauna and Flora in the Middle Ages.*Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2007.

Duby, Georges. *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

_____. *Rural Economy and Country Life in the Medieval West*. University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.

Fellner, Laurent, Perrine Mane, and Francois Piponnier, ed. *Le village médiévalet son environment*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998.

Fossier, Robert. *Peasant Life in the Medieval West.*Trans. Juliet Vale. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988.

Hanawalt, Barbara A. "Medieval English Women in Rural and Urban Domestic Space." *Dumbarton Oaks Paper* 52 (1998):19-26.

Hansen, Wilhelm. *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher.* Munich: Callwey, 1984.

Harley, JB. "Maps, Knowledge, and Power." *The Iconography of Landscape*. Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Harthan, Jonathan P. *The Book of Hours with a Historical Survey and Commentary.* New York: Cromwell, 1977.

Hartmann, Sieglinde, ed. *Fauna and Flora in the Middle Ages: Studies of the Medieval Environment and its Impact on the Human Mind.* Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2007.

Hearne, Michelle K., William M. Voelkle, and Roger S.Wieck. *The Hours of Henry the VIII.* New York:George Braziller, 2000.

Henisch, Bridget Ann. *The Medieval Calendar Year*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999.

_____. "In Due Season: Farm Work in the Medieval Calendar Tradition." In *Agriculture in the Middle Ages: Technology, Practice, and Representation.* Ed. Del Sweeney, 309-336. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Howell, Martha C. "The Spaces of Late Medieval Urbanity." In *Shaping Urban Identity in Late Medieval Europe*. Ed. Marc Boone and Peter Stabel, [pages] Leuven: Garant, 2000.

Hourihane, Colum, ed. *Time in the Medieval World: Occupations of the Months and Signs of the Zodiac in the Index of Christian Art*. Index of Christian Art Resources 3. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta, and Virginia Roehrig Kaufmann. "The Sanctification of Nature: Observations on the Origins of *Trompe l'oeil* in Netherlandish Book Painting of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries." *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 19 (1991): 43-64.

Klapisch-Zuber, Christiane, ed. *A History ofWomen of the West.*Vol.2, *Silences of the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992.

Koslin, Désirée G., and Janet Ellen Snyder. *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images*. The New Middle Ages. New York: Palgrave Macmillan,2002.

Kren, Thomas, and Scot McKendrick, ed. *Illuminating the Renaissance. The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe.* Los Angeles: John J. Getty Museum,2003.

Laszlovszky, Josef and Peter Szabo, ed. *People and Nature in Historical Perspective.* Budapest: Central European University, 2003.

Le Goff, Jaques. *Time, Work, & Culture in the Middle Ages.* Trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

_____, Jean Le Fort, and Perrine Mane, ed.*Les calendriers: leurs enjeux dans l'espace et dans le temps: Colloque de Cerisy, du 1er au 8 Juillet 2000*. Paris: Somogy, 2002.

Mane,Perrine. *Calendriers et techniques agricoles: France-Italie, XIIe-XIIIesiècles.* Paris: Sycomore, 1983.

_____. "Iconographie et travail paysan." In *Le travail au MoyenÂge: uneapprocheinterdisciplinaire.* Ed. Jacqueline Hamesse and ColetteMuraille-Samaran,251-262. Louvain-La-Neuve: UniversitéCatholique de Louvain,1990.

Meiss, Millard. *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry.*3 vols. London: Phaidon, 1967-1974.

Meyers, Maurits S. *Flemish Miniatures: From the 8th-16th Century: The Medieval World on Parchment.* Leuven:Brepols, 1999.

Mitchell, W.T.J., ed. *Landscape and Power*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Modrakova, Renata. *Time has Laid its Tire Aside: Fashion in Manuscripts from the 11th-16th Centuries*. Prague: National Library of the Czech Republic, 2008.

Nascimento, Aires A. "The Iconography of the Months in Medieval Calendars." *The Image of Time.* Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2000.

Pächt, Otto. "Early Italian Nature Studies and the Early Calendar Landscape." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13, no. 1/2 (1950): 13-47.

Panofsky, Erwin. *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character*. New York: Icon Editions,1971.

Perkinson, Stephen. "Likeness, Loyalty, and the Life of the Court Artist: Portraiture in the Calendar Scenes of the *Très Riches Heures*." *Quaerendo* 38, No. 2/3 (2008): 142-174.

Pérez-Higuera, Teresa. *Medieval Calendars.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1998.

Piponnier, Françoise and Perrine Mane. *Dress in the Middle Ages*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.

Pleij, Herman. "'Wisdom,' Remodeling the Nobility, and Caricaturing the Peasant: Urban Literature in the Late Medieval Low Countries." The *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 4 (2002): 689-704.

Shahar, Shulamith. *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages*. Trans. ChayaGalai. London: Routledge, 1993.

Shepard, Sianne Lauren. "Anglo-Saxon Labours of the Months: Representing May – a Case Study." Master's Thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010. In eThesis Repository, http://etheses.bham.ac.uk/2920/1/Shepherd11MPhil.pdf [accessed Jan. 4, 2012].

Smith, Katheryn A. *Art, Identity, and Devotion in Fourteenth-century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours.* London: British Library, 2003.

Taylor Jane and Lesley Smith. *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*. London: The British Library Press, 1996.

Unwin, Tim. *Wine and the Vine: AHistorical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade.* New York: Routledge,1991.

Vardi, Liana."Imagining the Harvest in Early Modern Europe." *American Historical Review* 101, no. 5 (1996): 1357-1397.

Webster, James Carson. *The Labors of the Month in Antique and Medieval Art to the End of the Twelfth Century*. New York: AMS Press,1970.

Wieck, Roger. *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life.* London: Sotheby's Publication, 1988.

Wilson, Jean C. *Painting in Bruges at the Close of the Middle Ages: Studies in Society and Visual Culture.* University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998.

Wood, Jeryldene M. "Breaking the Silence: The Poor Clares and the Visual Arts in Fifteenth-Century Italy." *Renaissance Quarterly*, 48, no.2 (1995): 262-268.