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Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen, Studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden*, edited by Aton van der Lem (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2020). 592 pp. ISBN 9789087283124 €59.50 (hb).

Johan Huizinga, *Autumntide of the Middle Ages, A Study of Forms of Life and Thought of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries in France and the Low Countries*, translated by Diane Webb, edited by Graeme Small and Anton van der Lem (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2020). 616 pp. ISBN 9789087283131 €62.50 (hb).

No other historian holds a status equal to Johan Huizinga in the Dutch conscience, and while much more limited in extent no other Dutch historian holds an equal status to Huizinga's in the English.<sup>1</sup> His works on early modern Dutch thought and culture (including a study of Erasmus) and his study of the play element of culture, *Homo ludens*, observations on European and North American culture of his own time and several essays on the practice of cultural history have been available in English, but he is best known for his study of the art and culture of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century France and the Netherlands, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, first published in Dutch in 1919. Reflecting and reinforcing its significance in both the Dutch-speaking and English-speaking world, Huizinga's *magnum opus* has been in print in the Netherlands continuously since its first publication, and had previously already been translated into English twice. Modelling an interdisciplinary approach to cultural history combining literary and art historical study with insights from anthropology and sociology, Huizinga built on and responded to the work of Jacob Burckhardt. The resulting study has been foundational to much subsequent research into late medieval culture (particularly, but not exclusively, into chivalry). Huizinga's understanding of late medieval culture shaped the way generations of scholars have formulated their approaches to the transition from the late Middle Ages to the early modern period. Even where later approaches are formulated in disagreement with his central arguments, the *Herfsttij* can often be found to have set the terms of subsequent debate. Further, Huizinga's insistence on seeing late medieval culture principally as growing out of the preceding centuries, rather than foreshadowing the subsequent period, makes eminent chronological sense, but nevertheless still provides a challenge to the writing of early modern cultural history, where there is often a temptation to focus on what is believed to be *new* (or at least a rebirth of something older than medieval), at the expense of attention for what is either continuous or transitional.

The year following the centenary of its original publication, Leiden University Press has prepared the work for another century of readers by the publication of not only a new illustrated Dutch edition of the work, but also a new English translation – the first to be unabridged and without question translated directly from the Dutch. The reception histories of the *Herfsttij* in Dutch and in English have, until now, been largely separate events. This in spite of the first English edition of 1924, titled *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, being prepared in collaboration of the author himself. The 1990s saw new milestones in both the Dutch and the English publication histories, with a revised and fully illustrated Dutch edition, and a new English translation of Huizinga's *magnum opus*, under the title *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*. Technical advances in image reproduction and a new approach to translating Huizinga's prose, however, fully justify the current new edition and translation. Additionally, they have been prepared together by a coherent team benefiting from the expertise of Huizinga specialist Anton van der Lem (also in charge of the 1997 Dutch edition), which has ensured a consistency of purpose between the Dutch and English versions lacking from

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank the students with whom I read *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* in the 'Historical Controversy' module at the University of Sussex in 2012, and Liesbeth Corens whose incisive comments on an early draft of this review have been invaluable.

any previous editions, which inspires hope that they will be able to foster a shared conversation across the North Sea.

The text of the new Dutch edition is meticulously presented by Van der Lem on the basis of text of the 1941 edition, the final authorized by Huizinga, with two errors in that edition corrected, and spellings adjusted to current usage. Dutch has undergone several spelling reforms during and since Huizinga's lifetime, and this edition will with little doubt outlive the currently officially established spelling – and already defies it in the capitalization of 'Middeleeuwen' ('Middle Ages'), following Huizinga's practice,<sup>2</sup> and not Van der Lem's earlier choice in the 1997 edition to use the official uncapitalized spelling.

The new edition and English translation are presented opulently illustrated, and presented with valuable additions – some adopted from the earlier editions, and some prepared specifically for the new edition and translation. In addition to the main text, the books include a genealogical table of the House of Burgundy, a chronology, an index, and a bibliography – the latter a very welcome addition, which had surprisingly been lacking from all previous Dutch editions. It is based on one included at the request of the publisher in the English edition of 1924, with addition of titles found in the notes to the Dutch editions, enriched with shelf mark references to the specific volumes in the university libraries of Groningen and Leiden known to have been consulted by Huizinga in his research for the *Herfsttij*. The Dutch edition further includes a survey by Anton van der Lem of the genesis, publication history and translations of the *Herfsttij* during Huizinga's lifetime. The English translation, instead, has an essay by Graeme Small covering some of the same ground, but focusing more centrally on Huizinga's intentions with the work and a contextualization of its historical method, and a convincingly positive answer to the question, 'can *Herfsttij* continue to stimulate research in 2020?' (p. 558) Finally, an extensive translator's note provides a fascinating insight into Huizinga's language and Diane Webb's fealty to it.

It is particularly appropriate for an author who took such meticulous care in his language to finally have been provided a translator with equally meticulous care in her treatment of it. The first English translation, Frederik (Frits) Hopman's *The Waning of the Middle Ages* of 1924, is still in press today as mass market paperback. It was, in Huizinga's own words, 'not a simple translation of the original Dutch, but the result of a work of adaptation, reduction and consolidation under the author's directions' (p. 7): abbreviated by a third from the Dutch, omitting particularly its more theoretical passages as well as any footnotes. A new, complete English translation arrived in 1996, titled *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, by Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch, who based themselves on the second Dutch edition of 1921 (rather than Huizinga's final authorized fourth edition) but tacitly relied at least in part on the German translation of 1923 instead.<sup>3</sup> *The Autumn* did present a more complete text than *The Waning*, but did not bring English readers much closer to Huizinga's intentions, particularly as these intentions were expressed by his very deliberate linguistic choices. In the *Autumntide of the Middle Ages*, as attested by the chosen title which for the first time reproduces in English Huizinga's effective and meaningful, yet at the same time jarring Dutch neologism 'herfsttij', Webb has admirably sought, and succeeded, to amend this situation. The intricately nuanced (if barely intelligible) word is significant. One of the charges waged against the *Herfsttij* by English critics, perhaps misled by their reading of the title as either 'waning' or

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<sup>2</sup> Uncapitalized spelling is stipulated in the Taalunie spelling (<https://woordenlijst.org/#/?q=middeleeuwen>), the spelling rules established by law for use in education and public administration in the Netherlands and Belgium; the alternative spelling proposed by the Genootschap Onze Taal allows for either capitalized or uncapitalized spelling, and asserts that the capitalized spelling is common in academic publications (<https://spelling.prisma.nl/?id=1022639>).

<sup>3</sup> See Wessel Krul, 'In the Mirror of van Eyck: Johan Huizinga's *Autumn of the Middle Ages*', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27 (1997), 353–84 (at 354); further examples are the translation's title, which is closer to the German than the Dutch, and the inclusion of a translation of the foreword to the German edition, pp. xxi–xxii.

‘autumn’,<sup>4</sup> has been that Huizinga’s chosen metaphor presents too static a view.<sup>5</sup> By restoring ‘tide’ in the title, Webb refocuses it on the dynamic image presented by Huizinga’s original. Huizinga famously adopted the expressive style of the ‘Tachtigers’, a Dutch impressionist literary movement of authors who insisted on the unity of content and style, which was well-suited to Huizinga’s historiographical convictions. Thus, for example, among his various linguistic eccentricities, Webb discusses in particular Huizinga’s abundant use of the historical present, which is closely linked to his desire to arouse historical sensation in his readers:<sup>6</sup> the choice for historical present serves Huizinga’s attempt to provide his readers with access to the historical moment, and as such it is a stylistic representation of the content of his historiography – it is therefore absolutely right that Webb has maintained it in her translation. Through such choices, she has succeeded in producing a beautiful, and beautifully legible translation that, for the first time, is truly faithful to Huizinga’s original, both in form and in intent. Huizinga’s determined stylistic choices challenge the historian to reflectively find their voice – and therefore Webb’s explicit reflection on her choices is especially welcome.

In his opening chapters, Huizinga provides a sketch of the general mood – ‘Life’s Fierceness’ – which he detects in the culture he describes, the fourteenth and fifteenth century in France and the Netherlands. Diane Webb beautifully captures Huizinga’s meticulously wrought prose: ‘When the world was five centuries younger, all the affairs of life had much sharper outward forms than they do now. Between grief and gladness, between calamity and good fortune, the distance seemed greater than it does to us; everything one experienced had that high degree of immediacy and absoluteness that joy and sorrow still have in the minds of children. Every event, every action was surrounded by emphatic and explicit forms, was raised to the dignity of a strict, rigidly prescribed style of life.’ (p. 9) Simultaneously, in these opening chapters Huizinga provides a justification of his own historical method: he notes that the passion which is central to the culture is largely absent from documentary evidence, and for this reason he chose to make evidence from the chronicles central to his analysis.

Chapter 3 addresses the hierarchical organization of society, including the three estates, which is followed in chapters 4–7 by a focus on aspects of the culture of chivalry. He successively treats knighthood’s yearning for honour (in which Huizinga sees a parallel, rather than a break, with the Renaissance as described by Burckhardt), its ideal of heroism and love, and chivalric orders and vows, to conclude with a discussion of its significance in warfare and statecraft, addressing the uneasy fit between the chivalric ideal and actual warfare, and, notably, the adoption of chivalric and noble culture by burghers.

Chapters 8–10 treat of love, its stylization into an elegant game, with established forms, tokens and tropes of honourable lovemaking, and how from the tension between the chivalric ideal and the inherently false courtly life arose the imagined alternative of pastoral simplicity. In chapter 11, three responses to death are discussed: the *memento mori* (reminding of the transience of human beauty and worldly glory), *contemptus mundi* (the disgust of the body and its inevitable decay), and the *dance macabre* (reminding of every person’s equality in death).

Chapters 12–14 treat religion: the visualisation of holiness; the role of piety and devotion in daily life, including the combination of worldliness and piety and its flip side, criticism of clergy; concluding with a description of the Devotio Moderna as a religious movement seeking to reconcile worldly sensuality with religious devotion.

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<sup>4</sup> As Margaret Aston’s corrective, ‘Huizinga’s Harvest: England and *The Waning of the Middle Ages*’, *Medievalia et humanistica* n.s. 9 (1979), 1–24 (at 1–2) itself misread the title, due to reliance on the German edition which uses ‘Herbst’.

<sup>5</sup> William J. Bouwsma, ‘*The Waning of the Middle Ages* by Johan Huizinga’, *Daedalus* 103 (1974), 35–43 (at 41).

<sup>6</sup> Joanna E. Ziegler, ‘Scholarship and/as Performance: The Case of Johan Huizinga and His Concept of “Historical Sensation”’, in: Bruce T. Morrill, Joanna E. Ziegler and Susan Rodgers (eds), *Practicing Catholic: Ritual, Body, and Contestation in Catholic Faith* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 247–55.

In chapters 15–17, the central roles of symbolism, realism and personification are presented as the three predominant modes of late medieval thought. Huizinga argues that the medieval drive to see everything in its relation to God led to ‘eternal enumeration’ (p. 317) in classification and hierarchies of thought, ‘the way a child plays with blocks.’ (p. 333)

In chapters 18–21, Huizinga arrives at his destination: an understanding of the visual arts of the period, in relation to the wider culture described in the previous chapters. Seeking to explain the contrast between the image of the Middle Ages arising from political history –bleak, cruel, passionate–, with that arising from the visual arts –serious, peaceful, and serene–, Huizinga asks: how can a literature characterized by elaborate enumeration and visual arts apparently ruled by serenity be the product of the same mentality? The answer lies, he argues, in the all-pervasive desire to depict every object’s elaborate detail – the result of which differs in the two forms: in literature (with the possible exception of satire), it translated into a ‘tiresome and tedious’ literature, ‘[e]ndlessly spun-out allegories’ (p. 416), ‘unbridled elaboration’ (p. 418), while in visual arts, overabundance of details still leaves a harmonious impression, and ‘it is precisely in the detail that the painter is completely free’ (p. 421) – unrestrained by the demands of the representation of the sacred subject, with its strict conventions.

Chapter 22, ‘The Coming of the New Form’, is an epilogue on Humanism, and its ambiguous relation with medieval thought and form – Huizinga’s conclusion that it’s often either new wine in old casks, or old wine in new casks, rings true.

The inspiration for the project that culminated in the *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* was visual – a visit to an exhibition of ‘Flemish Primitives’ in Bruges in 1902, where he was particularly struck by works of the brothers Van Eyck. In subsequent years he developed the wish to explain their art in the context of the broader Burgundian culture from which it stemmed; as has been noted the *Herfsttij*, consequently, became the first major historical study to have been inspired by visual sources.<sup>7</sup> Huizinga chose to use literary sources in particular to answer an in essence art-historical question.

In spite of the inspiration for the work being visual, however, illustrations were never part of Huizinga’s plan for the book: the first and second editions had none. At the publisher’s urging fourteen illustrations were added for the German edition of 1924, selected with the aid of art historian Willem Vogelsang. The same were included in the third Dutch edition; a new selection of twenty illustrations was made by art historian Willem Rudolf Juynboll for the fourth Dutch edition of 1935. Posthumously, the 1969 jubilee edition included a more extensive selection of illustrations by medieval historian Johanna Maria van Winter. However, only the revised Dutch edition of 1997, the first delivered by Anton van der Lem, was systematically illustrated, aiming to show as many of the works of art mentioned by Huizinga as possible. This edition also gave account of the history of illustrating the *Herfsttij*, and a rationale for the chosen illustrations; such an account and rationale is surprisingly missing from the current edition, which does not justify the choice to include illustrations, nor the selection of the chosen images. In number of illustrations, close to 300, the new edition has expanded on the 1997 edition by a mere handful, but in quality of reproductions it greatly surpasses it. Moreover, the many images that were reproduced black and white in the older edition are now almost all presented in full colour. (In a number of copies of the Dutch edition, including the copy received by this reviewer, images were unfortunately printed darker than they should, leading to a small number of darker images, including most prominently the Arnolfini portrait (18.23) and the *Geboorte* by Geertgen tot Sint Jans (20.13) losing much of their detail. The publisher has reassured that this production issue has not impacted the English translation.)

Some choices are puzzling: the seventeenth-century engraving of the Oude Beursplein in Bruges (fig. 1.2), for example, referred to in the text as illustrating Huizinga’s observation that in

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<sup>7</sup> Francis Haskell, ‘Art and History: The Legacy of Johan Huizinga’, in *History and Images: Towards a New Iconology* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), 3–17 (at 10).

the late medieval town, ‘it was the churches – massive, towering structures – that continued to dominate the townscape’ (p. 9), appears to illustrate the opposite, as it does not include a single church, but several impressive civic buildings. Image 5.5, which was reproduced in mirror-image in the 1997 edition, is now corrected (5.4), but confusingly the next image, which was correct in 1997, is now mirrored (5.6). This reviewer liked the many full-page reproductions of manuscript pages in the 1997 edition which have been replaced by cropped miniatures in the new; particularly the page from the *Très riches heures du Duc de Berry* (4.1) is a regrettable and unnecessary loss. These slight grumbles, however, are more than compensated for by the brilliant new reproductions of the *Glorification of the Virgin* and *Crucifixion* by Geertgen tot Sint Jans (14.10), the *Crucifixion Retable* in Dijon (18.9–10) and the *Portrait of a Man* by Jan van Eyck (18.13). Overall, the images not only enliven, but also greatly enrich Huizinga’s text, and significantly elucidate it – as such, they are a very welcome aid to the reader.

In the early Dutch editions, no translation of medieval French and German citations were given, as Huizinga expected his readers to be able to read them in their original language. This changed in the English edition, where translations were given in footnotes; translations were then also provided in subsequent Dutch editions, in an appendix. In the *Autumn* and the 1997 Dutch edition translations were given after each citation. In the new Dutch edition, the original texts are given in burgundy, followed by Dutch translation in black; in the English translation, unconventionally, the translation is given priority, provided first, with the citation in the original language following in smaller type. These are interesting choices – the presentation in the Dutch edition makes it easy to skip the original citation while still highlighting the presence of the original language, while the English edition relegates the original to an afterthought, perhaps most honest in terms of modern readers’ practices, but most remote from Huizinga’s original project. This reviewer would have liked to see the choices rationalized.

The appearance of these new versions of the *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* raise the question of the present relevance of the work – a question posed explicitly in Graeme Small’s essay. Initial responses to *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, the first English translation of the *Herfsttij*, of 1924, had been measuredly enthusiastic, but clear about one thing: Huizinga’s work on the Burgundian lands could not serve as a model for research on English culture: ‘It may be doubted’, wrote Charles Lethbridge Kingsford in the *English Historical Review*, ‘whether any study of fifteenth-century England on similar lines could be equally profitable, since England neither in art nor in literature has anything of equivalent value.’<sup>8</sup> At the appearance of *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* in 1996, it was noted with some optimism that ‘the history of *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* may well be very different from that of *The Waning of the Middle Ages*,’<sup>9</sup> inspiring new research.

Graeme Small’s answer to the question of Huizinga’s enduring capacity to inspire new research, in this reviewer’s opinion, is if anything perhaps too limited in its specificity. Small notes the *Herfsttij*’s function as a model for research into visual culture and into play particularly in the context of chivalry, and for psychological approaches to history. To judge the potential of the book to point in new directions, however, it may be worth contemplating the wide range of fields Huizinga’s work in hindsight has been seen to be foundational, or at least anticipatory, to: the social importance of structured ritual in court and popular culture; an interest in hair, in sports, in clothing, in daily life; anthropological approaches to history; openness to ethnology, sociology, religious psychology;<sup>10</sup> the cultural turn in history, and to an extent the linguistic turn, too: Huizinga is said to have played a ‘central role in creating a kind of cultural history that transformed the

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<sup>8</sup> C.L. Kingsford, review of *The Waning of the Middle Ages* by Johan Huizinga, *English Historical Review* 40 (1925), 273–5 (at 274).

<sup>9</sup> David Gary Shaw, ‘Huizinga’s Timeliness’, review of *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* by Johan Huizinga, *History and Theory* 37 (1998), 245–58 (at 247).

<sup>10</sup> See Shaw, ‘Huizinga’s Timeliness’, Aston, ‘Huizinga’s Harvest’, and Edward Peters and Walter P. Simons, ‘The New Huizinga and the Old Middle Ages’, *Speculum* 74 (1999), 587–620.

interaction of academic disciplines'.<sup>11</sup> To these can be added the history of emotions, the history of eroticism, and literary history's focus on satire. His emphasis on sensation was new, and will be inspirational to any historian currently working on issues of sound, scent, touch, and taste.<sup>12</sup> This is not to say that in all these fields, the direction taken by Huizinga has proven to be the most judicious, and in many respects Huizinga's approach is obviously dated, and overtaken by more recent developments in scholarship. It is true, for example, that he showed some interest in gender and in women's history, but he appears strikingly out of his depth even when raising them, such as in his discussions of Christine de Pizan (pp. 174–9; 201–3), where he simply seems to lack an analytical framework. Some of his negative assessments of over-ritualization, over-visualization and over-familiarization in late medieval religion raise the suspicion that his judgment was not untouched by his Protestantism.

Huizinga's reaching for cultural history beyond administrative and political history, his insistence on using sources which were previously looked at as too 'literary' for historical enquiry yet too mundane for literary appraisal, and the multi- and interdisciplinary approach which this choice necessitated (furthermore crossing linguistic boundaries as well as those of traditional periodization), however, are themselves still today potentially fruitful starting-points for many an unexplored historiographical itinerary. Protestations that '[e]ssentially [...] his path to historical truth or understanding is one that only he or few can tread' are based on the misguided assumption that 'Huizinga was a very special person' in ways that other historians are not.<sup>13</sup> Yet we are all very special people. As Huizinga himself put it: 'all historical knowledge of one and the same subject [...] has a different appearance in A's mind than in B's, even if both of them have read everything that is to be read.'<sup>14</sup> For this reason alone, Huizinga's work can still serve both as an inspiration and as a model for historians to practice history not *only* as a sincere pursuit of 'an absolute conviction that what is described must have been that way',<sup>15</sup> but also 'as a form of knowledge with power to fill the imagination';<sup>16</sup> history, as he formulated it most succinctly, as 'the strictest of all muses',<sup>17</sup> even as many will justifiably cringe at Huizinga's rather uncritical use of generalizing, synthesizing concepts such as 'civilization', 'forms of life', and, yes, 'culture' itself. Reaching for a definition of history, he concluded: 'History is the intellectual form in which a civilization renders account to itself of its past.'<sup>18</sup> Considering the otherwise problematic active agency ascribed to the concept of 'civilization', this definition of history has to be read as implicitly calling for reflexive historiography, historical writing that accounts for its own practice, with regards to the formulation of the questions the historian seeks to answer, the methods by which they set about answering them, and the means through which they communicate their findings to their audience(s). Thus,

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<sup>11</sup> Peters and Simons, 'The New Huizinga', 617.

<sup>12</sup> Bouwsma, 'The Waning', 39.

<sup>13</sup> Bryce Lyon, 'Was Johan Huizinga Interdisciplinary?', *Handelingen van de Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde Gent* 38 (1984), 181–8 (at 184); cf. the marginalizing treatment of Huizinga as 'outrider' (albeit with some highlighting of the value of marginality) in Norman Cantor, *Inventing the Middle Ages: Lives, Works and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the 20th Century* (New York: William Morrow, 1991), 377–81; likewise, in Donald R. Kelley, *Fortunes of History: Historical Inquiry from Herder to Huizinga* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), while included in the title, unlike the other historians in the chapter 'New Histories', who are treated in groups or schools, Huizinga receives his own separate section, 'Huizinga and Cultural History' (322–7); Bouwsma, 'The Waning' asserts that Huizinga was an 'outsider' (40) both to his discipline and to the culture of his time; see further Margaret Aston's assertion ('Huizinga's Harvest', 5) that the *Herfttij* 'does not lend itself to imitation any more than its author was disposed to found a school of historians.'

<sup>14</sup> Johan Huizinga, 'The Task of Cultural History', in his *Men and Ideas: History, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance*, translated by James S. Holmes and Hans van Marle (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 17–76 (at 21).

<sup>15</sup> Huizinga, 'The Task', 49.

<sup>16</sup> Johan Huizinga, 'History Changing Form', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 4 (1943), 217–23 (at 218).

<sup>17</sup> Johan Huizinga, 'My Path to History', in his *Dutch Civilization in the Seventeenth Century and Other Essays*, ed. Pieter Geyl and F.W.N. Hugenholtz, trans. Arnold J. Pomerans (London: Collins, 1968), 262–75 (at 273).

<sup>18</sup> Johan Huizinga, 'A definition of the Concept of History', 1929, in: Raymond Klibansky and H.J. Paton (eds), *Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), 1–10 (at 9).

Huizinga provides a model for historians to embrace the distinction between events ('the past') and their narration ('history').<sup>19</sup>

'Unreadable history is no history at all', Huizinga wrote,<sup>20</sup> insisting on the necessity of aesthetic form in the presentation of the results of historical research. The team responsible for delivering these beautiful volumes have certainly taken this to heart. There are few books of history as inspired and as inspirational as the *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, and the new edition and translation do it real justice, importantly paving the way for new conversations across disciplines and in combination also across national academic traditions. The work is beautifully presented, and the price more than justified considering the opulent presentation and the great number of high quality reproductions. The hefty 2.3 kg weight, almost twice that of the *Herfsttij's* first edition, however, does not make for a handy book. The text of the 1997 Dutch edition delivered by Van der Lem was additionally published without images in mass market paperback which is still in print; it is very much to be wished that the same will be done with this excellent and impressive new English translation by Diane Webb, which deserves to be widely read in addition to being looked at.

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<sup>19</sup> Bouwsma, *The Waning*, 329: 'Huizinga, by his own example was exhorting the historian to make creative use of his unavoidable subjectivity and his dependence on the culture of his time.'

<sup>20</sup> Huizinga, 'History Changing Form', 218.