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Cultural History and the World of Johan Huizinga

Anne Midgley

By his own admission and intention, Huizinga was a cultural historian, a man who deliberately brought back into historical study material appropriated by the art historian, the historian of literature, the folklorist, the sociologist; a man who dealt with “culture,” both present and past, in his works; a man whose life and works pose cultural problems of their own.

—R. L. Colie

Poignant and perceptive, Johan Huizinga (1872-1945) displayed an eerie foresight when he wrote the opening and closing lines of the foreword to *Homo Ludens*, his landmark theoretical study of the history of play in June 1938. “A HAPPIER age than ours once made bold to call our species by the name of *Homo Sapiens* . . . I had to write now, or not at all. And I wanted to write.”¹ Perhaps he guessed that far worse days lay ahead and that he would not survive the hell created in Europe by Hitler. However prescient his words may have been, Huizinga’s influence remains very much with the world today and is seen in areas ranging from medieval and cultural history to the design of computer games.²

Heir to the cultural history historiography tradition of Herodotus, Johan Huizinga is an ideal representative of one of the two forms of cultural history that developed in northern Europe during the latter part of the nineteenth century. According to Bentley’s classification of nineteenth century cultural history in “Culture and Kultur,” Huizinga belongs to the camp that sought to comprehend the past “from the history of art and literature as keys to understanding social perception and the limits of a period’s sense of itself.”³ Huizinga follows in the footsteps of the great Swiss historian, Jacob Burckhardt, whose work *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* provides “cross-sections dealing with aspects of the Renaissance environment . . . in a new literature concerned with ‘the daily course of human life.’”⁴ Huizinga’s own landmark work of cultural history, *Herfstij der Middeleeuwen: Studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden*, originally written in

Dutch, has since been published in sixteen languages. Two English translations exist, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, translated by Fritz Hopman and published in 1924, and the more recent *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, translated by Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch, and published in 1996.⁵

This research paper will attempt to trace the historiographical influences that shaped Huizinga's work, to place his writing in the broader tradition of cultural history, and to link Huizinga's work to the New Cultural History movement of the late twentieth century.⁶

Ernst Breisach claims Burckhardt was "the most influential representative of modern cultural history" with Huizinga following in his footsteps and adding substantially to that great "tradition."⁷ Peter Burke places both Burckhardt and Huizinga in the category of "classic" cultural historians. Burke defines the period of classic cultural history as that running from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the mid-point of the twentieth century. Burckhardt, the elder of these two titans of cultural history and known as its "founder," used art as one of the key elements upon which he built his masterpiece, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, as did Huizinga later in *Autumn*. Both men were "amateur artists as well as art lovers and they began their famous books in order to understand certain works by placing them in their historical context."⁸ Burckhardt strove to lay bare the essence of the age of the Italian Renaissance, beginning his study with the brutal, strife-filled world of the tyrants and condottieri of the Italian city-states, describing the murder, betrayal, lust, and mayhem caused by the rapid rise and speedier fall of these despots. Like his successor, Huizinga, Burckhardt's prose sweeps across the daily life of both the exalted and the lowly, touching on morality, religion, literature, art, festivals and carnivals, witches and poets. Certain of Burckhardt's points of emphasis reappear in Huizinga's *Autumn* in an eerily similar fashion. Take, for example, this instance of religious fervor provided by Burckhardt, "The concluding sermon is a general benediction . . . throngs of hearers accompany the preacher to the next city, and there listen for a second time to the whole course of sermons"⁹ compared to Huizinga's description of the power that itinerant preachers held over the people "When he informed his audience after his tenth sermon that it would have to be his last . . . a large number . . . leave the city...and spend the night out in the fields in order to secure good places [to listen

again to his sermon].”¹⁰

Henri Pirenne, the Belgian economic and social historian, also played an influential role in shaping Huizinga’s view of the Burgundian late medieval period. Pirenne saw the origins of Belgium “in the Middle Ages when, long before political unification, a cultural and social unity emerged which justified a ‘history of a civilisation’ such as the *Histoire de Belgique*.”¹¹ Their similar interests in the impact of the Dukes of Burgundy on the development of the Low Countries led to a long-term, often strained, professional relationship, but Huizinga saw Pirenne as a role model until the end of his life.¹²

Burckhardt’s writings undoubtedly played a tremendous role in the development of Huizinga as an historian; “Huizinga was in a real sense Burckhardt’s first great pupil.”¹³ Huizinga refers to his predecessor a number of times in *Autumn*. In these references, it is clear that Burckhardt needs no introduction to Huizinga’s intended audience; it is presumed that the reader knows Burckhardt and his work. While admiring Burckhardt, Huizinga also gently criticizes his predecessor’s position on the Middle Ages, as Huizinga strives to support his own thesis that the late medieval period was not so different a period from Burckhardt’s Renaissance. Huizinga defends the emphasis of Burgundians on “personal honor and fame . . . [as a] characteristic quality of Renaissance man” and states “Burckhardt has judged the distance between medieval and Renaissance times and between western Europe and Italy to be too great.”¹⁴ Huizinga specifically cites Burckhardt in a number of instances within *Autumn*, including pages 15, 43, 73-74, 173-174 and indirectly refers to Burckhardt’s theories and Huizinga’s counter-point position in many additional places, including pages 39-41 and 43. Interestingly, Huizinga also disagrees with Burckhardt over the latter’s views expressed about the “contest” as a key element in life. Burckhardt, whose early writing focused on classical Greece, confined agonistic man to the ancient Greeks, while Huizinga saw the “contest” as a form of “play,” and “play” as older than civilization itself and found in all aspects of the life of man.¹⁵

Cultural history did not begin with Burckhardt. Cultural history’s roots can be traced back to Herodotus, with his broad-ranging inquiry and focus on peoples beyond the Greek and the great. Burke asserts that cultural history was found in Germany in the eighteenth century, while Bentley claims it essentially began with the German journal *Zeitschrift für deutsche Kulturgeschichte* in 1856. Burke and Bentley, however, both see Burckhardt as a monumental cultural

historian, though one whose influence did not at once make its mark. Huizinga carried Burckhardt's standard, and similar to his predecessor, Huizinga's influence was primarily felt by later cultural historians, much more so than those of his own day. In a sense, both Burckhardt and Huizinga foreshadowed the New Cultural History movement, as each retreated to it as a "spiritual refuge" in reaction to social upheavals: Burckhardt reacting to the revolutions in Europe during 1848, Huizinga to the immense catastrophe of the Great War.¹⁶

Huizinga himself provided a succinct description of cultural history through his essay "The Task of the Cultural Historian." He states that "Cultural history is distinct from political and economic history in that it is worthy of the name only to the extent that it concentrates on deeper, general themes. . . . Only when the scholar turns to determining the patterns of life, art, and thought taken all together can there actually be a question of cultural history."¹⁷

Before tracing the impacts that Huizinga has had on later generations of historians, it is worthwhile to explore the forces that shaped his world view and historical thought. Professor Huizinga was himself the son of a university professor. He attended the University of Groningen, studied literature, history, and comparative philology, and attained his doctoral degree in 1897, having completed his dissertation on a Sanskrit drama. "Philology taught him a very important lesson: that the history of language . . . was not the record of stages of individual words, but one record, in vocabulary and syntax, of social life."¹⁸ As a young man, Huizinga experienced a number of events which shaped his later fascination with the art of the Van Eycks and the late medieval period, among them, his "memory of the ambitious pageant staged at Groningen commemorating the entry of Edzard, count of East Friesland into Groningen in 1506," great exhibits of early "Netherlandish" works of art, and his interest in the idea of a Northern Renaissance.¹⁹ Huizinga traveled abroad and knew the great Italian Renaissance works of art firsthand. He spent several years reading famous court chroniclers, including Chastellain, Monstrelet, and Froissart, as well as the poet Deschamps, and he relied extensively on their writings to interpret the late medieval "spirit of the age."²⁰ His early focus on Indian literature and culture gave way to a greater emphasis on the history of the Low Countries and a fascination with America, which included publishing a study on American culture prior to the publication of his great *Autumn* in 1919. In 1905, he "was called to the chair of Netherlands history at the University of Groningen" and later went to the University of Leiden,

where he remained until the university “closed its doors in protest against the dismissal of its Jewish professors” following the German occupation of 1940.²¹ He resigned from Leiden in 1942, was arrested for insubordination by the Germans, sent to a detention camp and later released. Huizinga wrote his autobiography during the war years and died in “the ravaging Dutch winter of 1944-45 when no food could be found.”²²

Beyond Burckhardt and Pirenne, a remarkable list of historians, sociologists, philosophers, poets and literary critics, including Karl Lamprecht, Alexis de Tocqueville, Karl Mannheim, Max Weber, Willem Kloos, Emile Mâle, and Karl Voll influenced Huizinga.²³ Later in his life, Huizinga became friends with Marc Bloch, and Bloch and his partner Lucien Febvre invited him to contribute to the *Annales*, in response to Huizinga’s reversing his life-long aversion to politics and taking a stand against an anti-Semitic historian, Johannes von Leers by prohibiting von Leers access to the University of Leiden.²⁴

Huizinga’s celebrated works include the previously mentioned *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* and *Homo Ludens*, as well as *Erasmus* and *Dutch Culture in the Seventeenth Century*. Other works include *Man and Mass in America*, *American Living and Thinking*, “The Task of Cultural History,” *In the Shadow of Tomorrow: A Diagnosis of the Spiritual Ills of Our Time*, *The World in Ruins: A Consideration of the Chances of Restoring Our Civilization*, and, at his wife’s request, “My Way to History.”²⁵ From their titles alone, it is easy to place *In the Shadow of Tomorrow* and *The World in Ruins* as works flowing from the gathering storm and its aftermath in Europe following the rise of the National Socialist Party in Germany. Huizinga, who by inclination, training, and experience was a broad-based intellectual, responded to the growing darkness of his own times by becoming a cultural critic, a departure from his earlier persona of cultural historian. It is through this transition, coupled with his outstanding international reputation as a cultural historian, that he made his legacy.²⁶

Huizinga’s most well-known work, *Autumn*, argued that the culture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in France and the Netherlands was not “announcing the Renaissance, but [were] as the end of the Middle Ages, as the age of medieval thought in its last phase of life, as a tree with overripe fruits, fully unfolded and developed.”²⁷ He defines much that has been attributed to the Renaissance to in fact be characteristic of the medieval period. Huizinga’s examples range from an analysis of the work of Jan van Eyck, concluding that van

Eyck's art, while often regarded as "announcing the arrival of the Renaissance, should rather be regarded as the complete unfolding of the medieval spirit"²⁸ to a discussion of the rise of Humanism, claiming that Petrarch, the "first modern man of letters" was rather a scholar still firmly based in the "medieval spirit."²⁹ Huizinga's prose immerses the reader in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of northern Europe. He freely draws upon the court chroniclers, most frequently Jean Froissart, Olivier de la Marche, Georges Chastellain, and Enguerrand de Monstrelet. He paints a world vastly different than that of the early twentieth century with his opening "When the world was half a thousand years younger all events had much sharper outlines . . . all things in life had about them something glitteringly and cruelly public."³⁰ Huizinga is at his strongest as he builds sights, sounds, smells, color, and emotion into the portrait he paints of the age. The reader is swept away.

Huizinga, who strongly opposed the practices of positivist historians, cautions historians in several places within *Autumn* against relying on official records alone to construct the past, as in doing so the historian will fail to appreciate "the unrestrained extravagance and inflammability of the medieval heart" as "the documents tell us little about the difference in tone that separates us from those times."³¹ Huizinga admits that the



Figure 1. *The Annunciation*. Jan van Eyck. Oil on canvas transferred from panel. 1434-1436. National Gallery of Art.

official documents contain the most reliable information for the history of the period, though they do little to portray the tenor of the times.³² Huizinga clearly illustrates the value that cultural history provides to the understanding of an age in this amusing passage:

But the history of culture has just as much to do with dreams of beauty and the illusions of a noble life as with population figures and statistics. A more recent scholar, having studied today's society in terms of the growth of banks and traffic, of political and military conflicts, would be able to state at the end of his studies: "I have noticed very little about music, which obviously had little meaning for this culture."³³

Responses to *Autumn* and Huizinga's other works have varied greatly from the time of their publication to the present day. *Autumn* did not please adherents of the positivist view. Critics, including R. L. Colie, Pieter Geyl, Th. J. G. Locher, and Jan Romein felt that *Autumn* lacked political history. Of *Autumn*, Locher stated, "Oh, yes, it is wonderful, but of course, it isn't history."³⁴ *Autumn* did have a significant influence on several younger intellectuals of his day, including Ernst Kantorowicz, "whose own intellectual and artistic development . . . oddly parallels that of Huizinga" and Norbert Elias.³⁵ Elias, a disciple of Max Weber, "produced . . . *The Civilizing Process* (1939), which is essentially a cultural history."³⁶ Burke claims that Elias built upon Huizinga's constructs and methods in his study of table manners in Western Europe.³⁷ *Autumn* reflects Huizinga's prejudices and biases, frequently in a manner that would be seen as unfitting for a twenty-first century historian. *Autumn* contains frequent passages that underscore its author's strong Protestant background; Huizinga was the "descendant of a long line of Mennonite pastors."³⁸ Examples of Huizinga's prose reflecting his Protestant prejudice of Catholic countries and cultures include "In a primitive culture—I have for example, the Irish in mind," to "In our own time the same differences in temperament separates the Latin peoples from their northern neighbors; those in the south accept contradictions more readily."³⁹

Surprisingly, while the interests of Huizinga and those of the *Annales* founders, Bloch and Febvre, were quite similar, their interaction appears to have been fairly limited and not fruitful to the work of either Huizinga or the *Annales* founders.⁴⁰

Huizinga's star ascended in the mid-1960s "by the venerations expressed by Karl Joachim Weintraub" a University of Chicago professor of cultural history,

and teacher of a Western Civilization course so popular with students that they camped out in the university quad to ensure themselves of a place in his class.⁴¹ With the rediscovery of the power of cultural history in the latter part of the twentieth century, Huizinga's star reached its apogee. The long list of luminaries claiming Huizinga as an innovator of cultural history includes Gerd Althoff, Georges Duby, Jacques Le Goff, and Peter Burke.⁴²

Adherents of the New Cultural History (NCH) movement and those who subscribed to the "anthropological turn" found new insights from the study of symbolism, which had been a key focus within Huizinga's *Autumn*. New emphasis arose, however, including the cultural history of women, which is only dimly felt in Huizinga's work, but clearly articulated in NCH works, such as those of Caroline Bynum's *Holy Feast and Holy Fast* (1987).⁴³

Other more recent currents in cultural history echo Huizinga in other ways as well. The focus on folklore found in the history of popular culture had glimpses of what was to be in *Autumn*. What Burke referred to as the "visual turn" has extremely strong precedents in Huizinga's *Autumn*, with Huizinga's focus on the art of van Eyck as depicting a rich view into the full life of the Burgundians.⁴⁴ Huizinga's *Autumn* uses an emphasis on the quality and texture of sound to provide historical insight; "One sound rose ceaselessly above the noises of busy life and lifted all things unto a sphere of order and serenity: the sound of bells. The bells were in daily life like good spirits . . . they were known by their names . . . everyone knew the difference in meaning of the various ways of ringing."⁴⁵ This emphasis, too, has found more recent disciples in those that explore the "cultural history of perception" such as historian Simon Schama, as he describes sights, smells, and sounds in *Rembrandt's Eyes* (1999).⁴⁶

More so than his emphasis on art, folklore, perception through physical senses or symbolism, though, Huizinga returns time and again throughout *Autumn* to a need to understand the Burgundian late Middle Ages "spirit of the age" through a focus on emotions. His sources, from the chroniclers, to the poets, to the art of the age are all used to better understand "The Passionate Intensity of Life" best displayed through his first chapter of *Autumn* of the same name. Treating emotions in history is not as common as some, particularly Barbara H. Rosenwein, might hope. Rosenwein's fascinating essay "Worrying about Emotions in History," traces the historiography of emotions in history. Rosenwein references both Huizinga and Febvre as early proponents of study of history

through a focus on emotions. Surprisingly, Rosenwein believes that Febvre's call for a focus on the study of emotions was in fact, a criticism of Huizinga's *Autumn*, as Febvre objected that Huizinga did not put enough stress on the violent, passionate nature of emotions in life. However, the focus on emotions in history has since been subject to much greater emphasis and study. Norbert Elias focused on the cultural history of emotions, using Huizinga's work as his stepping stone. Carol and Peter Stearns "have published a manifesto for historical 'emotionology,'" while William Reddy, in *The Navigation of Feeling* (2001), draws on both anthropology and psychology to examine emotions in history.⁴⁷

Jay Winter speaks of the "affective turn" in recent cultural history, claiming that in recent years "scholars have been more open to developing historical interpretations with the benefit of insights derived from literary studies, anthropology, psychology, and the history of art and music."⁴⁸ How very Huizinga-esque!

Not only did Johan Huizinga benefit from the influences of some of the great historiographical masters of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but his cultural history blended key influences from anthropology, art history, linguistics, philosophy, psychology, and sociology. The historiographical influences that shaped Huizinga's work continue to be felt in the broader tradition of cultural history, and clearly link Huizinga's work to the New Cultural History movement of the late twentieth century and today. In rediscovering the merits of cultural history in the 1970s, historians were reacting "against earlier approaches to the past which left out something at once elusive and important."⁴⁹ As Huizinga clearly showed in *Autumn*, there is a vast divide between the present of his day and today to the late medieval period. To understand that period better, one must gain an emotional sense of the time, to understand, for instance, as Huizinga describes, that the "modern city hardly knows pure darkness or true silence anymore, nor does it know the effect of a single small light or that lonely distant shout."⁵⁰ It is this power to evoke the past that Huizinga mastered so well, and that cultural historians of today seek to provide.

Notes

1. Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (1950; repr., Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955), xvi-xvii. Huizinga's quote "A HAPPIER age than ours once made bold to call our species by the name of *Homo Sapiens* . . . I had to write now, or not at all" reflected the dark days in Europe of 1938 and his observation that *Homo Sapiens*—"wise man"—no longer seemed to be an appropriate name for the modern human species.
2. Robert Anchor, "History and Play: Johan Huizinga and His Critics," *History and Theory* 17, no. 1 (February 1978): 63, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2504901> (Accessed May 11, 2011); COMP 590: *Serious Games*, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, http://www.unc.edu/search/index.htm?cx=014532668884084418890%3Ajyc_iub1byy&cof=FORID%3A10&ie=UTF-8&q=Huizinga#1019 (Accessed June 18, 2011).
3. Michael Bentley, *Modern Historiography: An Introduction* (1999; repr., New York: Routledge, 2010), 53.
4. *Ibid.*, 55.
5. WorldCat Identities, "Most widely held works by Johan Huizinga," <http://www.worldcat.org/identities/lccn-n50-34372> (accessed May 3, 2011); Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and The Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, trans. F. Hopman (1924; repr., New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984); Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996).
6. Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern* 3rd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), 425.
7. *Ibid.*
8. Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* 2nd ed. (2008; repr., Malden, MA: Polity, 2010), 7; Martina Sitt, "Jacob Burckhardt as Architect of a New Art History," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57, (1994): 227-242, www.jstor.org/stable/751471 (Accessed June 24, 2011).
9. Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (London: MacMillan and Co., 1904), 471.
10. Huizinga, *Autumn*, 5.
11. Jo Tollebeek, "At the crossroads of nationalism: Huizinga, Pirenne and the Low Countries in Europe," *European Review of History – Revue européenne d'histoire* 17, no. 2 (April 2010): 188.
12. *Ibid.*, 187-215.
13. Colie, "Huizinga," 611.
14. Huizinga, *Autumn*, 74.
15. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 71-74.
16. Breisach, *Historiography*, 18, 304; Burke, *Cultural History*, 6; Bentley, *Historiography*, 53; Huizinga, *Homo Ludens*, 71; Peter Burke, "Huizinga, Prophet of 'Blood and Roses'" *History Today* (November 1986): 25.

17. Anchor, "History and Play," 65.
18. Colie, "Huizinga," 611-12.
19. Edward Peters and Walter P. Simons, "The New Huizinga and the Old Middle Ages," *Speculum* 74 (1999): 596-597, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2886762> (Accessed May 3, 2011).
20. Peters and Simons, "The New Huizinga," 596-597; Bentley, *Historiography*, 61; Burke, "Huizinga," 24.
21. Peters and Simons, "The New Huizinga," 597; Colie, "Huizinga," 610.
22. Bentley, *Historiography*, 61.
23. Edward Peters and Walter P. Simons, "The New Huizinga," 597, 600, 602; Colie, "Huizinga," 608, 620.
24. Colie, "Huizinga," 619; Tollebeek, "At the crossroads of nationalism," 199.
25. Colie, "Huizinga," 609, 611, 613; H. L. Wesseling, "From cultural historian to cultural critic: Johan Huizinga and the spirit of the 1930s," *European Review*, 10, no. 4 (2002): 485 – 499, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy1.apus.edu/docview/217354157?accountid=8289> (Accessed July 2, 2011).
26. Colie, "Huizinga," 613; Wesseling, "From cultural historian to cultural critic," 485.
27. Huizinga, *Autumn*, xix.
28. *Ibid.*, 319.
29. Francis Petrarch, "Letter to Cicero," *Hanover Historical Texts Project*, (1995-96), <http://history.hanover.edu/courses/excerpts/111pet2.html> (accessed June 1, 2011); Huizinga, *Autumn*, 1.
30. Huizinga, *Autumn*, 1.
31. *Ibid.*, 8-15; Edward Peters and Walter P. Simons, "The New Huizinga," 601.
32. Huizinga, *Autumn*, 15.
33. Huizinga, *Autumn*, 103.
34. Colie, "Huizinga," 614.
35. Edward Peters and Walter P. Simons, "The New Huizinga," 614.
36. Burke, *Cultural History*, 10.
37. *Ibid.*, 10-11.
37. Edward Peters and Walter P. Simons, "The New Huizinga," 596.
39. Huizinga, *Autumn*, 56, 203.

40. Wesseling, "From cultural historian to cultural critic," 490.

41. Edward Peters and Walter P. Simons, "The New Huizinga," 601; Karl Joachim Weintraub, The University of Chicago News Office, March 24, 2004, <http://www-news.uchicago.edu/releases/04/040326.weintraub.shtml> (Accessed July 2, 2011).

42. Edward Peters and Walter P. Simons, "The New Huizinga," 616-617.

43. Breisach, *Historiography*, 425; Burke, *Cultural History*, 41, 49-50.

44. Peter Burke, "History and Folklore: A Historiographical Survey," *Folklore*, 115, no. 2 (August 2004): 135, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy2.apus.edu/docview/202751693?accountid=8289> (Accessed July 2, 2011); Peter Burke, "Picturing history," *History Today*, 51, no. 4 (April 2001): 22-23, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy2.apus.edu/docview/202815330?accountid=8289> (Accessed July 2, 2011).

45. Huizinga, *Waning*, 2.

46. Burke, *Cultural History*, 112.

47. Huizinga, *Autumn*, 1-29; Barbara J. Rosenwein, "Worrying about Emotions in History," *The American Historical Review*, 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 823, 821-845, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/532498> (Accessed May 28, 2011); Burke, *Cultural History*, 110-111.

48. Jay Winter, Reviewed work(s): *On the Battlefield of Memory: The First World War and American Remembrance, 1919-1941* by Steven Trout and *The "Good War" in American Memory* by John Bodnar, *The American Historical Review*, 116, no. 3 (June 2011): 755-758, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/ahr.116.3.755> (Accessed July 2, 2011).

49. Burke, *Cultural History*, 1.

50. Huizinga, *Autumn*, 2.

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