Natural Relaxation: Defining Dutch Pleasures and Pictorial Conventions in the Seventeenth-Century Winter Scene

Erik David Harrington

Oakton, Virginia

Bachelor of Arts, The College of William & Mary, 2012

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McIntire Department of Art, Graduate Program in the History of Art and Architecture

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Table of Contents **Page Number**

Introduction

Around 1560, Pieter Bruegel the Elder designed two compositions, a print and a painting, featuring ice skaters. Bruegel was not the first artist to depict men, women, and children finding pleasure on a frozen waterway. However, *Skaters by St. George's Gate in Antwerp* (Figure 0.1),[1] which was engraved by Frans Huys and published by Hieronymus Cock in 1558, and the painting *Winter Landscape with a Bird Trap* (Figure 0.2) from 1565 contributed to Bruegel's reputation as one of the pioneering figures of Western art.[2] These two pieces mark the first instance of winter represented separate from a series of the months or seasons. They also established the winter scene as an autonomous image type, a unique phenomenon in the Netherlands. Both the print and the painting are set in decidedly local Netherlandish settings; immediately outside of Antwerp and a rural Brabantine village. They recall the season through frozen waterways and trees lacking foliage. Both pieces function as panoramas of people of all ages engaging in icy pleasures.[3] Ice skating is the predominant activity as Bruegel illustrates skaters of various skill levels. *Skaters by St. George's Gate in Antwerp* includes people slipping and sliding across the ice. One skater needs to be rescued after falling into a hole and another reveals her legs and buttocks as she trips over the ice, a simultaneously humorous and erotic

[1] For the drawing and engraving for *Skaters by St. George's Gate in Antwerp*, see Manfred Sellink, *Bruegel: The Complete Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Antwerp: Ludion, 2007), 118-119 and Eddy de Jongh's entry in *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genreprints in the Netherlands 1550-1700*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon and Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1997), 49-53. Margaret A. Sullivan called this print "the first clear example of a scene from daily life serving as the sole subject of a work of art." Margaret A. Sullivan, "Bruegel the Elder, Pieter Aertsen, and the Beginnings of Genre," *Art Bulletin* 93 (2011), 127-149.

[2] For *Winter Landscape with a Bird Trap*, see Sellink, *Bruegel*, 212-213. Joseph Leo Koerner stresses the pleasure activities depicted in the painting, "For them [the people depicted], snow and ice are an occasion for pleasure in the wintery world, just as the painted likeness of snow and ice are a pleasure for us…The weather has brought the people from their houses and farms into a communal, open-air celebration of the day itself." He compares the pleasure of viewing with the more sinister function of the trap. Joseph Leo Koerner, *Bosch and Bruegel: From Enemy Painting to Everyday Life* (Princeton and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 332-334.

[3] A number of modern Dutch scholars and museums refer to such scenes as representations of "*ijsvermaak*"; a Dutch word that translates to games or pleasures on the ice. Since I consider it an accurate label for such images, I use the word *ijsvermaak* throughout the dissertation to refer to the leisure and joys represented on the ice.

detail enjoyed by Bruegel's original audience. In addition to skating, Bruegel's wintertime revelers play kolf, a game that involves striking a ball across the ice with a club. Bruegel is also attentive to the children. Even his youngest child is able to enjoy the ice by propelling himself with two rods while sitting on a *prikslee*.

Despite their similarities, *Winter Landscape with a Bird Trap* and *Skaters by St. George's Gate in Antwerp* contain a number of differences. *Skaters by St. George's Gate in Antwerp* is an urban skating scene. It features a row of adults on the shore putting on their skates and the ability of the ice to instigate romance as a skater places his hands on his partner's waste. Bruegel also illustrates a crowd of spectators that snakes its way around the shore and up the bridge leading to St. George's Gate. *Winter Landscape with a Bird Trap*, on the other hand, emphasizes children at play in a rural setting. Instead of an audience watching the games on the ice, the right side of the composition juxtaposes the wintertime revelers with birds around an ominous trap. However, both pieces present various members of society who take to the same patch of ice for primarily leisure activities in a Netherlandish setting. While originating with medieval and Renaissance representations of the months and seasons, autonomous illustrations of winter pleasures were enjoyed by audiences in the Netherlands well after the death of Bruegel in 1569. The winter scene was especially popular in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, which correlates to the modern Kingdom of the Netherlands. While Hendrick Avercamp was one of only a very small handful of Dutch artists to specialize in the winter scene (Figure 0.3), artists from a variety of backgrounds, including the landscapist Jan van Goyen (Figure 0.4), the marine painter Jan van de Cappelle (Figure 0.5), the master of light effects Aert van der Neer (Figure 0.6), the horse specialist Philips Wouwerman (Figure 0.7), the humorous genre scene painter Jan Steen (Figure 0.8), and even Rembrandt (Figure 0.9) all worked with the subject. Winter and its

pleasures appealed to Dutch artists and audiences in a way that other seasons did not, as the winter scene developed as an autonomous pictorial category almost exclusively in the Netherlands. This dissertation explores the associations of winter in the art and culture of the Netherlands to account for the popularity of the winter scene among the Dutch.

Approaches to Dutch Art

While the autonomous winter scene originates with Bruegel in the Southern Netherlands, it became assimilated with and characteristic of the art of the Dutch to the north. As we shall see, the Dutch were associated with ice skating and Dutch tricolored flags are depicted fluttering over the ice from *koek-en-zopie* tents. The winter scene also portrays two of the quintessential hallmarks of seventeenth-century Dutch art by illustrating the locations and people of the Netherlands and in a naturalistic manner. Centuries of scholars have pondered how to approach the quotidian subject matters executed in high degrees of realism preferred by Dutch artists and audiences, especially in a seventeenth century associated with ostentatious, dramatic, and emotionally charged "Baroque" art. Writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries criticized (and occasionally praised) Dutch art for what they perceived as simplicity and naivety as they mischaracterized naturalism as ignorance of classical art theory.[4] While the idea of the Dutch artist unable to create anything other than what is immediately accessible outside the studio

[4] E. John Walford, *Jacob van Ruisdael and the Perception of Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 15 and Lawrence Goedde, "Naturalism as Convention: Subject, Style, and Artistic Self Consciousness in Dutch Landscape," in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, ed. Wayne Franits (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 140. For the history of the reception of Dutch art, see the chapter "Het Ontstaan van de Klassicistische Critiek," in J. A. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de Regels van de Kunst* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1968), 28-62.

window is no longer accepted,[5] its impact is still felt as writers attempt to interpret an art that favors the everyday and naturalism.

Some scholars have applied an iconographic approach inspired by Erwin Panofsky to Dutch art. This is best exemplified by the work of Eddy de Jongh, particularly his idea of naturalism as "seeming realism" in which the objects represented in the images contain deeper allegorical and moralizing meanings now discernable through sources like emblem books.[6] However, this approach fails to take into account why artists felt the need to disguise symbolism from their audience. Especially as most Dutch artists worked for the open market, they likely wanted their pieces to appeal to the greatest number of purchasers, not to limit their audience with hidden meanings. Additionally, the educational and religious backgrounds of the Dutch population were simply too diverse to assume that most beholders had a moralizing Calvinist outlook, which would again limit potential purchasers. While popular emblem books reveal major cultural ideas and associations, they had the specific purpose of instructing readers. This is not always an obvious goal for many winter scenes, which were viewed in a different context. Emblem books tend to associate skating and other ice activities with the transience of life and the

[5] Two textbooks on seventeenth-century Dutch art explicitly challenge this outlook. When discussing Jacob van Ruisdael's paintings of *The Jewish Cemetery*, Seymour Slive in *Dutch Painting 1600-1800* from the Pelican History of Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) stresses that the tombs and ruins come from different sites and highlights the improbability of putting a cemetery next to running water on pages 201-203. Mariët Westermann began *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic 1585-1718* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996) by recalling Jan Steen's painting *In Luxury, Look Out*, where she notes that the characters' dress, choices in pets, and activities are characteristic of a brothel or inn as opposed to the domestic interior in which they are represented on pages 10-15. E. John Walford cites seventeenth-century Dutch writers that describe the need for an artist to depict both nature and how the mind understands things should appear. Walford, *Jacob van Ruisdael and the Perception of Landscape*, 17-18. Lawrence Goedde recalls Ernst H. Gombrich's argument that naturalism in art occurs so infrequently and recently in human history that it cannot be considered the fallback for art at its most basic. Goedde, "Naturalism as Convention," 140.

[6] According to de Jongh, Dutch art had the dual purposes of delighting and instructing. While de Jongh employs this approach throughout his work, he explains "seeming realism" in Eddy de Jongh, "Realism and Seeming Realism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting," in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*, 21-56.

dangers of slipping into sin.[7] Yet there are no overt indications of death or damnation in the many winter scenes that focus on pleasures in a festive and celebratory atmosphere. While some beholders could have brought such an outlook to these winter scenes, it is more likely that these images were appreciated as scenes of wonder and joy. Additionally, the same object could have drastically different interpretations as emblems change depending on their context.[8] An emblematic reading of a winter scene is further challenged by the fact that these images present a variety of details that need to be considered together. Treating details one by one or valuing one over the others undermines the formal and the dramatic unity that the artist achieved in the composition.[9]

Another way to approach Dutch art, as proposed by Svetlana Alpers, is to consider the realism in the works in the same vein as scientific observation.[10] This art of describing–as Alpers titles her book–records a detached and careful observation of the world, much like a scientific drawing from the contemporary Scientific Revolution. However, this approach fails to acknowledge the differences between drawings intended to record information and art created to stir up emotions or to awe with technical skill. After my own investigations of winter scenes, it became apparent that they were not careful records of all that can be seen on the ice. There is a

[7] For examples, see Evert van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot: De Verbeelding van de Winter in de Zestiende en Zeventiende Eeuw in de Nederlanden* (The Hague: Rijkskollekties, 1977), 43-48; Ariane van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time: The Dutch Winter Landscape in the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2001), 16-20; and Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967), 111-113.

[8] A point made by Rosalie L. Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre Theory in the Renaissance*, ed. Barbara K. Lewalski (Berkley: University of California Press, 1973), 48-49.

[9] Goedde, "Naturalism as Convention," 132. In *Jacob van Ruisdael and the Perception of Landscape*, Walford makes the point that a meaning behind every detail is simply not possible in landscapes, as his book argues for the value placed on the variety found in nature.

[10] Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). For criticisms of this approach, see Goedde, "Naturalism as Convention," 142.

pattern to the types of people and activities depicted in these images, as well as noticeable absences of well-known features of winter.

A third approach to Dutch art is that it responds to conventions reflecting cultural ideas as opposed to accurately representing seventeenth-century life or employing realism to mask moralizing details. The conventional nature of Dutch art has been most effectively demonstrated by Eric Jan Sluijter, Wayne Franits, and Lawrence Goedde.[11] Franits, who considers what is excluded from images to satisfy public expectations and market demands, details the conventional nature of genre scenes,[12] while Goedde applies this outlook to landscape and

[11] "The subjects and motifs depicted in non-narrative paintings transmitted meaning to the viewer through adaption to or deviation from pictorial conventions; through stereotypes recognizable to the public for whom they were intended; and through the visualization of simple, accessible metaphors. The viewer or buyer could make these connotations more specific by interpreting them in terms of his own intellectual, social, and religious background." Eric Jan Sluijter, "Didactic and Disguised Meanings?: Several Seventeenth-Century Texts on Painting and the Iconological Approach to Dutch Paintings of This Period," in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*, 86. Sluijter has also described the people illustrated in Gerrit Dou's 1652 painting *The Quacksalver* as, "carefully selected (stereo)types, all of whom have evoked immediate associations" in "In Praise of the Art of Painting: On Paintings by Gerrit Dou and a Treatise by Philips Angel," in *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2000), 258-263. Simon Schama noticed that maids in Dutch art and literature are presented as lustful and deceitful as opposed to serious, diligent and hardworking. Clearly most maids were not like this, or else why would people hire maids? Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Random House, 1997), 460.

[12] See Wayne Franits, "The Pursuit of Love: The Theme of the Hunting Party at Rest in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 61 (1992), 106-115; Wayne Franits, *Paragons of Virtue: Women and Domesticity in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); and Wayne Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting: Its Stylistic and Thematic Evolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004). On hunting party scenes, Franits wrote, "The conventionality of these [hunting party] works attests to their popularity, reflecting widespread attitudes and ideas that dictated their production and even their content. Consequently, the assorted themes of the hunt provide evidence of precisely what contemporary viewers expected to see, what they enjoyed seeing, and what they deemed important to see within a wide range of representational possibilities. These paintings therefore possess intrinsic levels of meaning that reveal much about the underlying cultural attitudes and interests of the public who bought them." Franits, "The Pursuit of Love," 106-107. Walford and Goedde also consider how conventions in Dutch art responded to market demands. Walford, *Jacob van Ruisdael and the Perception of Landscape*, 19; Goedde, "Naturalism as Convention," 130; and Lawrence Goedde, *Tempest and Shipwreck in Dutch and Flemish Art: Convention, Rhetoric, and Interpretation* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989). Anke A. van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven states how images of people celebrating Twelfth Night are crafted to include and exclude certain aspects of the January holiday. Anke A. van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 22 (1993-1994), 91.

marine paintings.[13] Scholarship on landscape has especially underscored the conventional nature of Dutch art as writers such as John Walsh, Simon Schama, and David Freedberg highlight how artists deviated from nature to appeal to cultural norms and aesthetic tastes.[14] Even outside of the Northern Netherlands, Lisa Vergara noticed that Pieter Paul Rubens employed a few meaningful motifs in his landscapes; and Denis E. Cosgrove applied a Marxist outlook to stress how landscapes are subjective and shaped by their creators' economies, histories, and "way of seeing."[15] Yet it is not only modern sources that argue for the conventional nature of Dutch art. On October 31, 1641, the Leiden painter Philips Angel observed the feast day of St. Luke by addressed his colleagues with a speech praising the art of painting.[16] While describing a *Corteguarden* or a guardroom scene, Angel elaborates that "as those who paint guardrooms

[13] See Goedde, *Tempest and Shipwreck in Dutch and Flemish Art* and Lawrence Goedde, "Renaissance Landscapes: Discovering the World and Human Nature," in *A Companion to Renaissance and Baroque Art*, ed. Babette Bohn and James M. Saslow (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 381-401. He also argues that the decision to work with naturalism in the early seventeenth century was a convention, a conscious effort to work in the older style of Bruegel. Goedde, "Naturalism as Convention," 136-143.

[14] John Walsh noted that landscape paintings combine different types of clouds that do not occur together in nature in "Skies and Reality in Dutch Landscape," in *Art in History/History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture*, ed. David Freedberg and Jan de Vries (Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1991), 96. He also compares landscapists to flower painters as they both borrow from a small set of conventions. Ibid., 109-110. Simon Schama suggests treating details in landscapes as stock elements in an essay that debunks the claim that the quotidian landscape subjects in the 1620s and 1630s reflect Dutch painters discovering "realism," the ultimate endgame of western art. Simon Schama, "Dutch Landscapes: Culture as Foreground," in *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, ed. Peter C. Sutton (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 79. David Freedberg also highlights the careful selection, rejection, and composition of motifs in Dutch landscape prints. David Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century* (London: British Museum Publications, 1980), 10. For the conventions inserted into landscapes to indicate foreign locations, see Joaneath Spicer, "A Pictorial Vocabulary of Otherness: Roelandt Saverij, Adam Willarts, and the Representation of Foreign Coasts," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1997, Deel 48: Natuur en Landschap in de Nederlandse Kunst 1500-1850*, ed. Reindert Falkenburg, Jan de Jong, Mark Meadow, Bart Ramakers, Herman Roodenburg, and Frits Scholten (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), 23-51.

[15] Lisa Vergara, *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), 160 and 192 and Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1998). While Cosgrove acknowledges the conventional nature of art, his treatment of seventeenth-century Dutch art favors the scientific influence in depicting the everyday similar to that described by Alpers.

[16] For Angel's speech, see Hessel Miedema's commentary and Michael Hoyle's translation in Philips Angel, "Praise of Painting," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 24 (1996): 227-258. For a commentary on Angel's speech in the context of the work of the Leiden painter Gerrit Dou, see Eric Jan Sluijter, *De Lof der Schilderkunst: Over Schilderijen van Gerrit Dou (1613-1675) en een Traktaat van Philips Angel uit 1642* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1993) or the English translation Sluijter, "In Praise of the Art of Painting."

might observe; to include in their composition here a figure smoking tobacco, there another donning his equipment, and elsewhere people seated throwing dice and playing cards."[17] As opposed to urging the painter to create an actual guardroom, Angel formulaically reveals the cast of characters and incident expected in the type of scene.

Like the *Corteguarden* described by Angel, the winter scene illustrates a selective and limited number of characters, activities, and settings. After investigating hundreds of winter scenes, a type of image emerges consisting of the same young couples, skaters, kolf players, fidgeting children, and men transporting barrels of beer towards taverns on a rural patch of ice. By identifying these motifs that an audience expected in the winter scene, we can discern the appeal of these images.

The expected conventions of the winter scene were reinforced by the demands of the general public. People from all levels of society acquired pictures. An engraving could be bought for a little as a few stuivers, illustrated books could be obtained inexpensively, and even small paintings could be hung on the wall in exchange for only a few guilders.[18] Since most Dutch artists could not rely on court and public ecclesiastical commissions, they worked for the open market, especially as the Dutch boasted a middle class that had both the means and desire to collect paintings.[19] Dutch art theorists such as Karel van Mander, Willem Goeree, and Samuel

[17] Angel, "Praise of Painting," 244. While this translation comes from Hoyle, all translations are mine unless otherwise stated.
[18] Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 318-19.
[19] For the seventeenth-century Dutch art market, see Alan Chong, "The Market for Landscape Painting in Seventeenth-Century Holland," in *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, 104-120; A. T. van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age, Popular Culture, Religion and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, trans. Maarten Ultee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 71-76; and Michael North, "Patronage and the Art Market," in *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age*, trans. Catherine Hill (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 82-105. For a detailed description of the art market in seventeenth-century Delft, see John Michael Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 183-219.

van Hoogstraten advised seeking the opinion of the common man uneducated in art.[20] The ambitious artist had to be commercially savvy and produce images that they knew would be popular.[21] Therefore in order to truly appreciate Dutch art, the scholar needs to be attentive to seventeenth-century popular culture. Additionally, a concern for what artists chose not to include in their pictures is crucial for understanding the meanings of these images and their appeal. Alison McNeil Kettering considered what artists chose to include and exclude in genre scenes depicting men at work to argue that these images reflect ideas on an efficient and productive populace.[22] While winter is presented as miserable and difficult season in other facets of Dutch culture, this outlook is notably lacking from the winter scene.

Purposes of This Project

The primary aims of this project are to explain why the winter scene developed as an autonomous subject in the Netherlands and to account for its popularity in the Dutch Republic. The most effective way to do so is to locate the images in their cultural context, following in the footsteps of Michael Baxandall's "period eye," but on the icy *baan* as opposed to the Florentine quattrocento path. The winter scene reflects appealing seventeenth-century cultural notions of

[20] Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, trans. Beverley Jackson and Lynne Richards (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 202-203 and Karel van Mander, *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-Const*, ed. Hessel Miedema (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1973), 86-87. Franciscus Junius also described ancient artists "calling both artificers and Idiots to assist them." Franciscus Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients* (London: Richard Hodgekinsonne, 1638), 88 and 210.

[21] Sullivan "Bruegel the Elder, Pieter Aertsen, and the Beginnings of Genre," 127-149 and Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting*, 203 both consider how market demands shaped the creations of artists.

[22] Alison McNeil Kettering, "Men at Work in Dutch Art, or Keeping One's Nose to the Grindstone," *Art Bulletin* 89 (2007), 694-714. Even the labors depicted are quite selective. Anne Jensen Adams noticed that scenes of farming are unusual in Dutch landscape paintings and that marine scenes depict ships belonging to the Dutch East India Company as opposed to individual commercial ships. Anne Jensen Adams, "Competing Communities in the 'Great Bog' of Europe': Identity and Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Painting," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 57.

winter that were not shared with other seasons. A necessary step for determining them is to isolate the conventionalized motifs of the winter scene. Once these conventions are identified, there are four aspects to consider. 1) What patterns are shared by these motifs. 2) What known aspects of winter are excluded from the images. 3) Where and how do these motifs appear elsewhere in art. And, 4) how are these winter activities treated in contemporary literature and reading practices. Ultimately, the combination of the lived experience of winter, visual culture, and texts is applied to the conventions of the winter scene to ascertain the appeal of winter to the first men and women to purchase these works. While this dissertation is primarily concerned with visual culture, it requires a multidisciplinary approach since no cultural phenomenon originates in isolation. Hence ideas on science, receptions of classical literature, courtship, holidays and festivals, social commentary, and even emerging national identity must be applied to the winter scene to answer why someone paid for it and put it on their wall.

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Chapter 1. The Winter Scene: Development and Scholarly Approaches

In order to explore the winter scene, we first need to define what exactly constitutes an image of the subject. This chapter surveys winter scenes throughout the seventeenth century to determine what is required for this body of images. Then, it considers the scholarship on the winter scene and related bodies of images as well as what else can be done to best appreciate these images as their original beholders had.

The Development of the Winter Scene

Since the Middle Ages, illustrations of people engaged in seasonally specific work and play were produced in the Labors of the Months series that decorated churches and the calendar pages of books of hours.[23] Such representations of human behavior throughout the cycle of the year tend to depict the winter months with people at leisure, including engaging in icy recreations. Games on the ice also appear in a handful of sixteenth-century biblical paintings, particularly those that portray the birth and infancy of Christ in a snowy Netherlandish village to recall the December and January holidays of Christmas and Epiphany.[24] We have seen in the

[23] These series were also produced in the Renaissance and Baroque periods. In the same year that Pieter Bruegel the Elder painted one of the first autonomous winter scenes *Winter Landscape with a Bird Trap* (Figure 1.2), he produced six paintings of the months for the Antwerp merchant Nicolaes Jonghelinck, including *December/January* (which now goes by the title "*Hunters in the Snow*") that depicts the same hunters, skaters, kolfers, and children playing on a patch of ice that we will soon come to associate with the winter scene. For Bruegel's painted series *The Months*, see Manfred Sellink, *Bruegel: The Complete Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Antwerp: Ludion, 2007), 201-211. For sixteenth and seventeenth-century representations of the seasons and the months, see Chapters 3 and 4 of this dissertation. For a good early study of the Labors of the Months, see James Carson Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University, 1938).

[24] In *The Census at Bethlehem* of 1566, Bruegel painted Mary and Joseph passing skaters, children spinning tops and sledding on the ice, drinkers in a hollow tree trunk-turned-tavern, and a pig slaughter signifying the December setting. For *The Census at Bethlehem*, see Sellink, *Bruegel*, 230-231. Three years earlier, Bruegel situated the Adoration of the Magi in the snowfall of a frosty Netherlandish village with familiar characters to a contemporary beholder, including a child on a *prikslee*. Around the same time, Bruegel painted *The Massacre of the Innocents* in a wintery Netherlandish village. For these paintings, see ibid., 190 and 234-235. Depictions of people enjoying winter in a religious context were produced before Bruegel, as evidenced by the kolfers on the ice in the

Introduction how Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Skaters by St. George's Gate in Antwerp* (Figure 1.1) and *Winter Landscape with a Bird Trap* (Figure 1.2) were groundbreaking for illustrating ice pleasures outside of the cycle of the year and without clear references to Christian events. Stylistically, these earliest autonomous winter scenes (as many of Bruegel's winter settings for events in the Gospels) situate the beholder at a high vantage point. Working in the tradition of the "cosmic" or "world" landscape of Joachim Patinir, Bruegel presents a vast panorama where he appears to catalogue the people and activities scattered across the ice.[25] Bruegel made sure to place his frozen waterways and trees that lost their leaves for the season in prominent positions of his compositions. These images are characterized by decidedly local settings in which people of all ages and social classes ice skate, play kolf, engage in juvenile games, and watch the spectacle before them.

This type of winter scene proved to be more than Bruegel's idiosyncratic personal interest. Attesting to its popularity are over 120 surviving painted copies of *Winter Landscape*

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background of the late fifteenth-century *The Martyrdoms of Saints Crispin and Crispinian* in the National Museum in Warsaw. The RKD-Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis attributes this painting to Aert van den Bossche and dates it to circa 1490-1500.
http://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/record?filters%5Bkunstenaar%5D=Bossche%2C+Aert+van+den&query=&start=1.
For *The Martyrdoms of Saints Crispin and Crispinian*, see Evert van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot: De Verbeelding van de Winter in de Zestiende en Zeventiende Eeuw in de Nederlanden* (The Hague: Rijkskollekties, 1977), 72-73 and Herman Pleij, *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511: Stadscultuur in de Late Middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1988), 232-233.

[25] For the cosmic or world landscape, see Walter S. Gibson, *Mirror of the Earth: The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989). Simon Schama describes these paintings as "encompass[ing]…the alpha and the omega of universal topography" as they speak to both the spiritual and the natural. Simon Schama, "Dutch Landscapes: Culture as Foreground," in *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, ed. Peter C. Sutton (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987), 66. Bruegel's tendency to catalogue has been connected to similar trends in contemporary humanist literature. E. John Walford believes that these high vantage points were intended to depict the variety and beauty of the world, which he highlights as two aspects of nature that were contemplated for religious meaning. E. John Walford, *Jacob van Ruisdael and the Perception of Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 30. Mary Frances Durantini connected Bruegel's *Children's Games* with the encyclopedic recording of games in the writing of François Rabelais. Mary Frances Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 181-185.

with a Bird Trap.[26] Painted copies of *Skaters by St. George's Gate in Antwerp* were also produced.[27] Many members of Bruegel's circle, including Hans Bol and Lucas van Valckenborch, created their own winter scenes in which skaters, drinkers, kolf players, mischievous children, lovers, and spectators are presented on the ice following Bruegel's model.[28] Yet while Bruegel was on his deathbed, a revolt against the Spanish Crown was in its infancy in the Low Countries. The first few decades of the struggle saw many people in the Southern Netherlands displaced, especially when Spanish forces captured Antwerp in 1585.[29] This event ultimately had profound impacts on Dutch art as many artists were among the Flemish émigrés who found new homes in Zeeland and especially Holland.[30] A number of these

[26] Peter van den Brink lists 127 known copies, while Joseph Leo Koerner mentions 128, stressing that there were more that do not survive. Peter van den Brink, *Brueghel Enterprises* (Maastricht: Bonnefantenmuseum and Antwerp: Ludion, 2001), 160 and Joseph Leo Koerner, *Bosch and Bruegel: From Enemy Painting to Everyday Life* (Princeton and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 331.

[27] The Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België in Brussels has a small tondo from 1602 by Abel Grimmer copying Bruegel's composition but with a reduced number of human figures. Reine de Bertier de Sauvigny, *Jacob et Abel Grimmer Catalogue Raisonné* (Waterloo: La Renaissance de Livre, 1991), 52.

[28] For brief overviews of how Bruegel and his followers developed the winter scene, see Yvette Bruijnen's essay "Over de *Twelf Maendekens* en de *Vier Tyden 's Iaers*: De Maanden en Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden circa 1500 tot 1750," in *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, ed. Yvette Bruijnen, Paul Huys Janssen, et al. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002), 51-71 and van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot*, particularly 85-91.

[29] I use the phrase "Southern Netherlands" to refer to the "Spanish Netherlands," which correlates to the modern Kingdom of Belgium, or the parts of the revolting Low Countries of which Spain retained control after the Twelve Years Truce in 1609 and the Treaty of Münster in 1648. This is in contrast with the "Northern Netherlands," or the "Dutch Republic," which received its independence during the revolt. The adjectives for Southern and Northern Netherlandish are Flemish and Dutch respectively.

[30] For the Southern Netherlandish artists active in the Northern Netherlands, see Jan Briels, *Vlaamse Schilders in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in het Begin van de Gouden Eeuw 1585-1630* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1987). Many of those in the Southern Netherlands who settled in the North wanted to live in a society more sympathetic to the Protestants, while others simply wanted to escape the horrors of war. Bol eventually settled and worked in Bergen-op-Zoom, Dordrecht, and Amsterdam, where he died in 1593. David Vinckboons and Karel van Mander are two of the best known Flemish artists who finished their careers in Holland. The celebrated Haarlem portraitist Frans Hals was born in the Southern Netherlands but likely moved to Holland when he was a child. Other Flemish émigrés were the parents of artistically gifted sons, such as Hendrick Avercamp and Adriaen van de Venne, two of the first Dutch artists to work with the winter scene. For van de Venne's family, see Annelies Plokker, *Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne (1589-1662): De Grisailles met Spreukbanden* (Leuven and Amersfoort: Acco, 1984), 13. Even the father of the celebrated Dutch landscapist Jacob van Ruisdael came from a Flemish Mennonite background. Huigen Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View: Haarlem and its Environs in Literature and Art, 15th-17th Century," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1997, Deel 48: Natuur en Landschap in de Nederlandse*

resettled artists, including Bol, David Vinckboons, Gillis van Coninxloo, and Jacob and Roelant Savery, brought Bruegel's winter scene with them when they migrated to the Northern Netherlands.[31]

Most of the earliest seventeenth-century Dutch winter scenes, created by the generation consisting of Hendrick Avercamp, Adriaen van de Venne, Arent Arentsz. called Cabel, and Adam van Breen, follow the pattern set by Bruegel.[32] While some of these works have lower horizons than those used by the Flemish master, they retain Bruegel's encyclopedic panorama of all types of people scattered across the ice. Avercamp was the standard-bearer not only for this first generation of Dutch artists, but for the Dutch winter scene generally as its premier specialist. His winter scene from 1610, now in the Staatliches Museum Schwerin, is representative of both Avercamp's oeuvre and the winter scenes of his generation (Figure 1.3). Avercamp retains Bruegel's panorama across the frozen waterway in a local rural setting.[33] His *koek-en-zopie* (roughly translating to "food and drink") tent, in which tired skaters and sleigh riders stop for an alcoholic beverage by the fire, proudly flies the tricolored flag of the Dutch Republic, which only received de facto independence the previous year with the Twelve Years Truce. Avercamp illustrates people of all ages, from the child on a *prikslee* to the elderly couple quietly greeting a guest. Various social classes are united in relaxation on the ice, from the fashionable and

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Kunst 1500-1850, ed. Reindert Falkenburg, Jan de Jong, Mark Meadow, Bart Ramakers, Herman Roodenburg, and Frits Scholten (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), 101.

[31] Pieter Roelofs suggests that Dutch winter scene painters such as Esaias van de Velde and Adam van Breen visited Vinckboons' workshop in Amsterdam. Pieter Roelofs, "The Paintings: The Dutch on the Ice," in *Hendrick Avercamp: Master of the Ice Scene*, ed. Pieter Roelofs (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2009), 36-37. For the impact of these Flemish artists on the work of the Amsterdam-born and -trained Hendrick Avercamp, see ibid., 31-83. For the popularity of Flemish and Bruegelian works in the Northern Netherlands in the early seventeenth century, including the winter scene, see Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

[32] An exception being the winter scenes created by Esaias van de Velde, who died in 1630, which contain muted colors and the lower horizon associated with later Dutch winter scenes.

[33] Roelofs identifies the narrative details of Hendrick Avercamp's winter scenes originating with Bruegel. Roelofs, "The Paintings," 36.

wealthy young couples to the peasant boy urinating on the tent. While Avercamp retains the kolfers, skaters, spectators, *koek-en-zopie* tents, and crude details from the Flemish model, he also stresses a couple of hallmarks specific to the Dutch winter scene. Young couples skating hand-in-hand remind us that ice skating is a perfect idea for a date. While Avercamp includes the unusual detail of an ice yacht gliding over the ice in the distance, he presents boats frozen into the ice as people stand and move next to them on top of the frozen water. Avercamp also illustrates slapstick and crude acts without judgement. In the same spirit of the fallen skater who reveals a glimpse up her dress in Bruegel's print, Avercamp paints a man and woman coming in close physical contact alone between farmhouses, skaters falling on the ice and even losing their hats before a trio of witnesses, a child with a finger in his mouth, and figures both urinating and defecating. Avercamp also added the unusual inclusion of a group portrait of unidentified individuals in the lower left corner.[34]

While Avercamp was not the only artist to specialize in the winter scene, few other artists did so, and Avercamp receives the lion's share of scholarly attention.[35] Yet the winter scene remained popular, meaning that artists from various backgrounds, including landscape, architectural, genre, marine, and history painting, turned to the subject. Thus the winter scene was receptive to the most current trends in Dutch art. By the middle of the seventeenth century, Dutch winter scene practitioners turned away from Bruegelian and Flemish conventions for recent trends in Dutch painting and their own personal idiosyncrasies and artistic interests.[36]

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[34] Ibid., 58.

[35] Adam van Breen, Aert Aertsz. called Cabel, and Hendrick Avercamp's nephew Barend also specialized in the winter scene.

[36] That is not to suggest that the Bruegelian-Avercamp approach was completely rejected. Barend Avercamp continued to paint winter scenes reminiscent of those of his uncle into the 1670s. Evert Rijnvisch worked on such winter scenes into the 1650s. For artists influenced by Avercamp and his circle, see Roelofs, "The Paintings," 80-83. Avercamp altered his approach away from Bruegel's example later in his career as he lowered the horizon and reduced the number of figures on the ice.

Later winter scenes generally featured lower horizons and a fewer compact vignettes on the ice as opposed to an encyclopedic panorama. Yet the activities and types of people presented remain constant.[37]

Avercamp died in 1634, right as the popularity of "Tonal" or "Monochrome" painting was skyrocketing in the United Provinces.[38] Embraced by painters of various genres during the 1630s and 1640s, this approach is characterized by a loose touch, a reduction of colors, a lower horizon, fewer figures and objects, and simplified compositions. One of the artists most strongly associated with monochrome painting is the landscapist Jan van Goyen. His *Ice View with the Huis te Merwede* (Figure 1.4) from 1638 is not only representative of monochrome painting, but also a watershed work for van Goyen.[39] After painting colorful and visually busy winter scenes in the 1620s similar to those by Avercamp and the Bruegelian tradition, van Goyen did not work with the subject for a few years only to mark his return with this new direction for the winter scene. In the painting from 1638, one of his first monochrome winter scenes, van Goyen exchanged Bruegel's high vantage point for an extraordinarily low horizon. As in his

[37] Anke A. van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven noticed that in the seventeenth century, depictions of Twelfth Night celebrators also shifted to feature more focused scenes with fewer individuals. Anke A. van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 22 (1993-1994), 92.

[38] For Monochrome painting, see Jonathan I. Israel, "Adjusting to Hard Times: Dutch Art During its Period of Crisis and Restructuring (c. 1621-c. 1645)," *Art History* 20 (1997): 449-476. The reasons for the development of tonal painting have been debated. Israel attributes it to the economic hardships resulting from the renewed war with Spain. Lawrence Goedde has argued against economically driven factors while citing technical investigations, the masterful handling of the painting, and the carefully considered compositions and colors. Lawrence Goedde, "Naturalism as Convention: Subject, Style, and Artistic Self Consciousness in Dutch Landscape," in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, ed. Wayne Franits (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 142-143.

[39] For this painting, see Ariane van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time: The Dutch Winter Landscape in the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2001), 102-103 and *Jan van Goyen*, ed. Christiaan Vogelaar (Zwolle: Waanders, 1996), 104-105. This painting is not an isolated case of van Goyen placing ice pleasures before the Huis te Merwede. He also does so in a painting from 1654 illustrated in H. van de Waal, *Jan van Goyen* (Amsterdam: H. J. W. Becht, 1941), 55, another dated 1646 in the Fondation Custodia, Frits Lugt Collection in Vogelaar's *Jan van Goyen*, 122; and a drawing dated 1649. Ibid., 129. Albert Cuyp also situated ice pleasures around the Huis te Merwede in a painting now in England. See ibid., 105.

landscapes, most of the panel is dedicated to the sky. While skaters and sled riders extend far into the distance, our attention is held by a limited number of foreground figures that load, push, and ride sleds and sleighs and a few skaters.[40] A tavern next to a tree missing its leaves appears to the left of the composition opposite a *koek-en-zopie* tent, leaving no question that the frigid weather is conducive to drinking. In the center of the composition the ruins of the Huis te Merwede, a former castle outside of Dordrecht, rise above the ice firmly setting the scene in South Holland. Van Goyen's characters are representative of Dutch peasants and townsfolk. Despite the formal differences from the model Bruegel established, van Goyen presents the same activities illustrated in the earliest winter scenes such as skating, playing kolf, drinking, pushing sleds, and riding in sleighs.

Dutch artists in the 1650s and 1660s turned away from monochrome painting. Their creations tended to be bathed in brilliant light as they focused on changing moments, experimented with atmosphere, and aggrandized nature. Jacob van Ruisdael's dramatic and monumentalizing landscapes are most associated with this Classical phase of Dutch landscape painting. Yet van Ruisdael's representations of winter are of a very different nature from those described in this dissertation (Figure 1.5). Many of them illustrate winter as a brutal and dreary natural force, and they downplay human activity. The few people van Ruisdael illustrated are laboring rather than at leisure, and they look miserable while dwarfed by storm clouds and brooding buildings. Van Ruisdael doesn't even depict the frozen waterway ubiquitous to the winter scene. Instead, we will focus on the winter scenes of van Ruisdael's contemporaries Aert

[40] As part of the shift away from the "cosmic" or "world" landscape, artists were more concerned with depicting familiar Dutch subjects. For this shift, see Schama, "Dutch Landscapes," 67-68. Yvette Bruijnen describes the same trends occurring in the winter scenes of Esaias van de Velde and Jan van Goyen in the 1620s as their work became less Flemish and more Dutch. Bruijnen, "Over de *Twelf Maendekens* en de *Vier Tyden 's Iaers*," 60-61.

van der Neer and Jan van de Cappelle, who brought intense light and subtle atmospheric effects to paintings of people on a frozen canal.[41]

In many of his paintings, van der Neer explored the visual effects of moonlight. So it should not be a surprise that he found the reflections of a sunset off the ice appealing, such as the soft, yellow glow in a winter scene now in Berlin (Figure 1.6)[42] and the cool blue and white ice juxtaposed with billowing grey clouds in *IJsvermaak outside a City Wall* in the Museum Bredius in The Hague (Figure 1.7).[43] While the Rijksmuseum's *River View in Winter* (Figure 1.8),[44] dated around 1655-1660, focuses instead on a soft warm light delivering calm greys, pinks, and blues over clouds and ice, it depicts more people than these other two paintings. Despite its low horizon and attention to atmosphere and light, it retains Avercamp's anecdotal details displayed across the ice before a local city, farmhouses, and leafless trees. Van der Neer illustrates many of the same activities as in Avercamp's paintings, including ice skating, putting on skates, and kolfing. Fishing is a central theme as van der Neer depicts both a fishing basket in the foreground and a fisherman stabbing eels with his spear and presenting his catch on the ice. All ages and social classes gather across the bright ice as both kolf games and sleigh rides are enjoyed by rich and poor. The fact that the day has been given over to leisure and relaxation is indicated by the boats frozen into the ice around which people skate and sled.

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[41] For these mid-century changes, see van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 62 and van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot*, 118-125.

[42] For this painting, see Wolfgang Schulz, *Aert van der Neer*, trans. Kristin Lohse Belkin (Doornspijk: Davaco, 2002), 128 as entry 9 and illustrated as plate 39 and color plate 15.

[43] For *IJsvermaak outside a City Wall*, see Albert Blankert, *Museum Bredius: Catalogus van de Schilderijen en Tekening* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1991), 152, color plate 141; Schulz, *Aert van der Neer*, 132 as entry 22 and illustrated as plate 20; and Fredo Bachmann, *Aert van der Neer 1603/4-1677* (Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag, 1982), 115-116 and illustrated as plate 86. Van der Neer rarely dated his winter scenes. Most scholars date the painting in The Hague in and around the 1650s.

[44] For this painting, see Schulz, *Aert van der Neer*, 125 as entry 3 and illustrated as plate 28 and van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 62-63.

A specialist of ship scenes, van de Cappelle painted a number of winter scenes which are also attentive to light and atmosphere, yet he employs fewer human figures than his fellow Amsterdammer van der Neer.[45] Van de Cappelle's *Winter Scene with Kolf Players* (Figure 1.9),[46] dated 1653 and now in the Collection Frits Lugt, Foundation Custodia illustrates people on the ice before a sunset. He retains the low horizon so that the beholder can observe the dark greys and soft pinks in the cloudy sky. Typical of van de Cappelle's winter scenes, the people are mostly peasants, and local farmhouses and leafless trees are spotted throughout the landscape. A pair of kolfers and their companion stand in the foreground. As well as a handful of skaters, an old man turns towards a woman and away from his sled with a barrel, presumably containing beer. Not surprising given his artistic specialization, van de Cappelle includes boats frozen into the ice sprinkled across his winter scene.

Finally, Philips Wouwerman approached the winter scene from a different tradition of battles, hunting scenes, and other Italianate-inspired compositions which allowed him to depict his celebrated horses. He painted just eleven surviving winter scenes,[47] which although low in quantity, exhibit the high quality of narrative details typical of the artist. One such example, which Brigit Schumacher dates to circa 1665, is now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (Figure 1.10).[48] Wouwerman's winter scene is typical of those from mid-century as he lowers the horizon to focus on a more limited set of foreground vignettes under his partially cloudy sunset

[45] Van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 62-63 and 96-97.
[46] For this painting, see Ariane van Suchtelen's entry in *Holland Frozen in Time*, 96-97 and entry 155 in Margarita Russell, *Jan van de Cappelle 1624/6-1679* (Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis, 1975), 84, illustrated as plate 23.
[47] Brigit Schumacher's monograph on Wouwerman identifies 11 authentic "winter landscapes" by Wouwerman's hand, two doubtful and one rejected. Brigit Schumacher, *Philips Wouwerman (1619-1668): The Horse Painter of the Golden Age* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 2006). Evert van Straaten notes Wouwerman's winter scenes for their elegance. Van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot*, 125.
[48] Schumacher, *Philips Wouwerman (1619-1668)*, volume 1, entry A521 on page 373 and illustrated in volume 2 as plate 481. The text that accompanies the painting in the Alte Pinakothek dates it slightly earlier than Schumacher did: 1655-1660.

of pinks, blues, and whites recalling his Italianate works marked by bold lights and shadows. Yet he still portrays various ages and social classes on the ice. While the horse specialist provides more attention to the equestrian-powered sleighs than his colleagues, the contrasting levels of refinement of the sleighs permit him to highlight the variety of social classes united by the same pleasures. The familiar skaters, *koek-en-zopie* tent crowned by a Dutch flag, lovers, kolfers, drinkers, men pushing sleds with barrels and other goods, and falling skaters also appear in Wouwerman's winter scene. Off in the distance, Wouwerman includes children spinning tops on the ice and a skater whose fall has provided a glimpse up her dress, two motifs persisting from Bruegel's time. As in other winter scenes, Wouwerman's does not present these crude, silly, or frivolous activities in a judgmental or condescending manner. This is a scene of festive joy. Even the chilling detail of the man who has fallen into the ice is mollified by no less than seven heroes who rush to his assistance.

What Constitutes a Winter Scene?

Despite their formal differences, the winter scenes described above depict a remarkably similar cast of characters engaged in the same activities, as David Freedberg observed.[49] My differentiation of van Ruisdael's depictions of winter (Figure 1.5) from typical winter scenes does not seem as arbitrary when it is considered against the conventional codes found in scenes of *ijsvermaak*. While no winter scene includes all of the following and many include details not listed below, this section identifies the motifs that characterize a winter scene.

[49] "In all these works one finds the same jauntily lifted feet, the same tobogganing children, the same low bridges across the frozen rivers and shallow stretches of water. They are popular and constantly recurring motifs that enliven vast numbers of winter landscapes, but particularly those produced at the beginning of the century." David Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century* (London: British Museum Publications, 1980), 36. Ariane van Suchtelen also noticed that the winter scene employs a number of conventions in *Holland Frozen in Time*.

Perhaps due to their potential inclusion in series representing the seasons as we shall see in Chapter 2, most painted winter scenes are not large. This results in an intimate viewing experience for the beholder visually exploring the details scattered across the ice. One requirement for a winter scene is that it includes the frozen water necessary for *ijsvermaak*. John Walsh noticed that these images always depict a canal that is completely frozen, which did not always happen in reality.[50] These canals typically include boats left in the water which have become frozen into the ice and a bridge in the center of the composition, both of which underscore the connection between the winter scene and waterways. Over on land, the season is recalled through leafless trees either placed in the foreground or standing out against the sky from a low horizon. While some winter scenes are set in cities,[51] the vast majority are located either immediately outside of a city wall or more typically in the countryside. The rural setting is heightened by the presence of a farmhouse or a country village and it is not unusual to encounter gallows in the background. Another requirement for these types of winter scenes is that they are located in a decidedly Netherlandish setting. Many times, the local setting is emphasized by a city, church tower, or windmill[52] in the distance. Aside from the winter scenes created by city scene specialists, most of these images do not depict an exact location. However, winter scenes may include a known structure in the Netherlands, such as the Huis te Merwede in van Goyen's painting.[53] The Dutch setting is further emphasized by the tricolored flags placed on many of the

[50] John Walsh, "Skies and Reality in Dutch Landscape," in *Art in History/History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture*, ed. David Freedberg and Jan de Vries (Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1991), 96.

[51] Particularly those by Jan Beerstraaten and Jan van Kessel.

[52] Roelofs claims that the farms and mills in Avercamp's winter scenes gave them a decidedly Northern Netherlandish appearance in contrast with the Southern Netherlandish works that inspired the painter. Roelofs, "The Paintings," 44.

[53] A rural Dutch setting is also recalled through the inclusion of castles, dovecotes, drawbridges, gallows, inns, and taverns. We will see in Chapter 4 how Dutch writers, like artists, turned towards local subjects in a search for national identity immediately after receiving independence from Spain. The winter scene is reflective of this trend.

koek-en-zopie tents erected on the ice. These Dutch flags also occasionally appear on ships and taverns next to the ice.

The winter scene is also characterized by the representation of the variety of types of people in the Netherlands. Rich and poor, man and woman, and adult and child all share the ice. Children receive more autonomy than usual in Dutch art as they are responsible for their own entertainment and transportation, sometimes entirely free from adult supervision. In addition to people, certain animals are expected on the ice. Birds can be included in the sky and suggested by the presence of dovecotes. Yet dogs are the most commonly represented animals in winter scenes. Many of these images also include pack animals, primarily horses. Horses are necessary for pulling the sleighs (*arreslee*, plural *arresleeën*) used for pleasure rides. Artists also employ *arresleeën* to illustrate the variety of social classes united by leisure, as they juxtapose elegantly carved and gilded sleighs with their more rudimentary and simple counterparts. But these are not the only sleds depicted on the ice. People also push sleds containing goods, barrels, or people; and children unable to skate sit on *priksleeën*. These self-operated sleds further recall the socially unifying aspects of the ice as they grant even the youngest child mobility, sometimes in contrast with the adults depicted struggling to stay on their own two feet on the slippery ice.

Riding and operating sleds and sleighs are not the most commonly depicted ice activities. That distinction belongs to skating. In addition to being a pastime equally enjoyed by all social classes and genders, skating also provides the opportunity to watch a person suffer the humiliation of falling regardless of their social rank. While skating accidents were lethal, the danger is downplayed in the images as the falling skater tends to take on a humorous or erotic tone. As a skating accident may result in a woman wearing a dress exposing herself, the pastime was associated by some beholders with romantic and erotic freedoms offered by the ice. Many

winter scenes include couples skating together hand-in-hand, a rare instance of the representation of physical contact between the sexes in public settings. While skating was also associated with the more innocent blossoming of romance as we shall see in Chapters 3 and 6, the reoccurring motif of a man bending over to tie a woman's skate provides another chance for young lovers to come into physical contact. Yet most of the time, a man prominently positioned in the foreground puts on his own skate, indicating the significance of skating for the winter scene. After skating, kolf is the second most depicted game on the ice. While only males are depicted playing, both rich and poor and adult and child are shown with ball and club, the two necessary accoutrements for the game. Unlike kolf, in which we find players mid-stroke, people are usually not represented in the act of drinking.[54] Yet the ice is covered with indications of alcohol consumption. Men pushing barrels on sleds, sometimes towards a tavern, and the *koek-en-zopie* tents suggest that drinking was identified as a winter pleasure. Such tents and taverns are as commonly depicted in the winter scene as farmhouses. Not surprisingly, crude bodily functions such as urination and defecation also have a place on the ice, as in Avercamp's painting in Schwerin.

While the winter scene stresses leisure and relaxation, some labors are represented. Yet many of these tasks are associated with the preparation for pleasure. People tend to horses and *arresleeën*, transport people and goods on sleds, and unload barrels of beer next to taverns. We will see in Chapter 3 how feasting and sitting by the fire were considered wintertime behaviors since Imperial Rome. These relaxations are recalled by the hunters, fishermen, and the people cutting and transporting wood and reeds. Even when these workers are not depicted, they are recalled by a leftover fishing basket, a hole in the ice, or felled logs. While not as common,

[54] Exceptions do exist, as in Wouwerman's winter scene in Munich discussed above.

vendors serving the pleasure-seekers and women watching children or washing clothes are also placed on the ice. However, the vast majority of people do not work. In fact, many of them are stationary. In addition to conversing with friends, people watch the games before them. Spectators are sometimes placed between the picture plane and the ice, implying that we as beholders are also witnesses to the *ijsvermaak*.

The winter scenes on which this dissertation focuses have four defining features. First, they depict a completely frozen waterway that makes their subject of *ijsvermaak* possible. Second, they illustrate a distinctly Dutch setting. While not necessarily an exact location, these images are typically set in the countryside and include farmhouses and structures associated with alcohol consumption. Third, the people represented highlight the range of ages and social classes of the men and women in the Dutch Republic, recalling a unified society. In comparison to other bodies of Dutch images, children are particularly prevalent. Finally, the activities represented on the ice can be narrowed down to skating, playing kolf, conversing, witnessing the seasonal spectacle, riding *arresleeën*, pushing or riding sleds, and a small handful of labors. While the winter scene is primarily a scene of leisure, labors associated with feasting and relaxing such as acquiring and transporting beer and firewood, hunting, fishing, and preparing *arresleeën* are also included.

The basic argument of this dissertation is that the winter scene appealed to most of its original audience by presenting winter as a naturally enforced relaxation. That is not to suggest that winter was the only season in which leisure and games thrived[55] and we have seen that the

[55] For instance, many depictions of spring and especially May depict elegant young lovers strolling through a garden or enjoying a boat ride. Additionally, the "games of the months" cycle had a rich life in medieval illuminated manuscripts. For these series of children and adults at play in various time of the year in fifteenth and sixteenth-century Netherlandish illuminated manuscripts, see Amy Orrock, "Play Time: Picturing Seasonal Games in the Sixteenth Century," in *Spiritual Temporalities in Late-Medieval Europe*, ed. Michael Foster (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 165-196.

winter scene is not without labor. However, the frigid and icy climate and shorter days reduced productivity so people were forced to take a break. But I also refer to a relaxation in the social sense. Many of the recurring motifs of the winter scene, such as amorous couples, drinking, and adults putting themselves into playful situations, are otherwise not depicted in Dutch art or are addressed in a moralizing or mocking manner. Yet they appear on the ice in a neutral or festive tone. This social relaxation comes from two sources. First are the many holidays and observances in winter that were characterized by social inversion, especially Carnival and Twelfth Night. Winter had more holidays than other seasons, and Dutch representations and descriptions of the cycle of the year align winter more than any other season with annual festivals. The second source are Dutch responses to Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes* that describe winter in a celebratory manner. While Horace urged his audience to respond to difficult weather with a festive attitude and a joyful toast of the wineglass, Dutch poets updated these ancient poems to include details specific to the Netherlands.[56] Horace's celebratory winter was familiar to Dutch audiences outside of the circle of erudite literati as his messages were also found in more lowbrow literature such as amorous songbooks.

The celebratory, carnivalesque, and relaxing nature of the winter scene is evident when compared to images of Carnival and other public festivals such as the *kermis* (annual village

[56] Seventeenth-century English poems inspired by Horace also present winter as an opportunity for celebration and revelry, such as Henry Vaughn's "To his Retired Friend, and Invitation to Brecknock." Joanna Martindale describes this and other seventeenth-century English poems with a "sense of presence of the Soracte Ode [Horace's Ninth Ode of Book I], it is based on the same idea of cold weather outside 'dissolved' by fire and wine and cheer within." Richard Lovelace's "The Grasshopper" also employs "the same elements as Horace in *Odes* 1.9 to combat winter weather: fire, wine, company and an act of the mind to abandon care." Joanna Martindale, "The Best Master of Virtue and Wisdom: The Horace of Ben Jonson and His Heirs," in *Horace Made New: Horatian Influences on British Writings from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Charles Martindale and David Hopkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 71-74. Leopoldine Prosperetti identifies Horace's *rus* in Netherlandish landscapes and rural scenes in the chapter "*Pingere rura* (Depicting fields)" in *Landscape and Philosophy in the Art of Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625)* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 97-127.

fair).[57] Such works, including Jan Steen's *Peasants Making Merry Outside an Inn* (called "*The Fair at Warmond*") from around 1676 (Figure 1.11),[58] are likewise set in local, typically rural, settings. They also present all types of people regardless of age and gender engaging in pleasures.[59] While Steen's painting focuses on the peasantry, it features a wealthy urban family interacting with the country folk around them. In addition to the carnivalesque idea of the dissolution of social hierarchy, these character types reflect familiar Dutch people, which makes it easier for the beholder to mentally engage with the pleasures. Another key feature of *kermis* scenes, as well as Carnival as we shall see in Chapter 5, is that spectators are necessary to make the social inversions public. As displayed in Steen's painting, *kermis* scenes feature public drinking, intimacy, and crude bodily functions, just like the winter scene. As the festive *kermis* scene centers around dancing and the tavern, the winter scene is characterized by skating and the *koek-en-zopie* tent. Yet in comparison to these representations of rowdy and cartoonish celebration, the winter scene appears mild and cleaner, highlighting that these pleasures are generally accessible and made permissible by the season.

Previous Scholarship on the Winter Scene

Even though the winter scene is a rather formulaic type of image, it has proven to be a difficult to discuss. As it combines the human narrative of genre scenes with representations of natural conditions associated with landscape, it does not neatly align within the academic pictorial categories inherited by the art historian. Because of this, I fear that outside of questions

[57] The association of winter pleasures with Carnival excesses is underscored by the fact that the rules of the Haarlem Latin School dating from 1576 forbid skating. Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View," 94.
[58] For this painting, see entry 67 in Ronni Baer, *Class Distinctions: Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2016), 258 and a description on 248-249.
[59] Leeflang noted that the festive *kermises* in both art and literature are characterized by a mix of social classes. For *kermises*, see Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View," 91-94.

of an individual artist's oeuvre, the winter scene remains understudied as scholars are not sure how to approach it.

However, that does not mean that the winter scene has been neglected. It prominently features in Wolfgang Stechow's article "The Winter Landscape in the History of Art" from 1960.[60] Concerned mainly with stylistic and formal developments, Stechow recounts how the genre originating with the medieval Labors of the Months and religious scenes was secularized by Dutch artists in the seventeenth century who moved it away from medieval ideologies. Throughout the article, Stechow connects images with music and literature. However, these comparisons are primarily based on the moods shared between works as opposed to an investigation of the cultural ideas behind them. A few years later, Stechow gave the winter scene an entire chapter in his seminal book *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*.[61] This book frames the winter scene in terms of landscape as Stechow is primarily concerned with formal questions rather than how the images functioned in society. The meaning of winter in Dutch culture was addressed in the catalogues of two exhibitions on the winter scene. *Koud tot op het Bot: De Verbeelding van de Winter in de Zestiende en Zeventiende Eeuw in de Nederlanden* ("Cold to the Bone: The Representation of Winter in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries in the Netherlands") was exhibited by the Rijksmuseum in 1977 and *Holland Frozen in Time: The Dutch Winter Landscape in the Golden Age* about twenty-five years later in the Mauritshuis.[62] Both catalogues trace the development of the winter scene by Dutch and Flemish artists and detail the cultural associations of winter and the ice activities depicted in the images.

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[60] Wolfgang Stechow, "The Winter Landscape in the History of Art" *Criticism* 2 (1960): 175-189.
[61] "Winter" in Wolfgang Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Phaidon, 1968), 82-100.
[62] Van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot* and van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*. For another account of the development of the winter scene in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see B. Haak, *Sneeuw en IJs*, (Amsterdam: The Rijksmuseum, 1957).

Evert van Straaten dedicated an entire chapter of *Koud tot op het Bot* to winter holidays, which in large part informed my carnivalesque approach to the winter scene. In the United States, as Cincinnati prepared to host the World Figure Skating Championships in 1987, the Taft Museum exhibited *Skating in the Arts of 17th Century Holland*. In the catalogue, Laurinda S. Dixon focused on the cultural meanings behind depictions of skaters.[63] However, she favors interpreting hidden meanings and allegorical messages in the winter scene while I aim to determine how the skaters respond to cultural notions of winter. Additionally, the winter scene received scholarly attention in a few Avercamp exhibitions[64] and was well represented in the 2011 exhibition *Wintermärchen: Winter-Darstellungen in der Europäischen Kunst von Bruegel bis Beuys* ("Winter Tale: Representations of Winter in European Art from Bruegel to Beuys") at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and the Kunsthaus Zürich, which investigated representations of the season in 500 years of European art.[65] The treatment of all four seasons in Dutch and Flemish art was the subject of *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750* ("The Four Seasons in the Art of the Netherlands 1500-1750") in the Noordbrabants Museum in 's-Hertogenbosch and the Stedelijk Museum vander Kelen-Merten in Leuven in 2002.[66] Its catalogue thoroughly details the development of representations of the seasons and brings attention to a wide range of art objects, including metal marriage chests and almanac calendar illustrations, that portray human behavior throughout the cycle of the year.

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[63] Laurinda Dixon, *Skating in the Arts of 17th Century Holland* (Cincinnati: The Taft Museum, 1987).
[64] See the catalogues Albert Blankert, Doortje Hensbroek-van der Poel, George Keyes, Rudolph Krudop, and William van de Watering, *Hendrick Avercamp 1585-1634: Barent Avercamp 1612-1679: Frozen Silence: Paintings from Museums and Private Collections*, trans. Ina Rike (Amsterdam: K. & V. Waterman, 1982) and *Hendrick Avercamp: Master of the Ice Scene*, ed. Pieter Roelofs (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2009).
[65] *Wintermärchen: Winter-Darstellungen in der Europäischen Kunst von Bruegel bis Beuys*, ed. Sabine Haag, Ronald de Leeuw, and Christoph Becker (Vienna and Zurich: Kunsthistorisches Museum and Kunsthaus Zürich, 2011).
[66] *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, ed. Yvette Bruijnen, Paul Huys Janssen, et al. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002).

However, more attention can be brought to the subject, including a reframing of how the winter scene is discussed. While a number of scholars have considered the people and activities depicted on the ice,[67] many texts refer to these representations of winter as a subcategory of landscape. We have seen how Stechow gave the winter scene its own chapter in *Dutch Landscape Painting in the Seventeenth Century*.[68] Eddy de Jongh focused primarily on a winter scene by Esaias van de Velde in the landscape section of his influential essay "Realism and Seeming Realism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting."[69] Winter scenes are also included in the landscape chapter of Seymour Slive's *Dutch Painting 1600-1800* from *The Pelican History of Art*[70] and are well represented in Peter Sutton's 1987 exhibition *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*.[71] However, as we will see in Chapter 2, the winter scene was not discussed

[67] Bianca M. de Mortier wrote on the costumes worn by Avercamp's skaters in "Aspects of Costume. A Showcase of Early 17th-Century Dress," in *Hendrick Avercamp: Master of the Ice Scene*, 141-163. In the same catalogue, Roelofs wrote that the figures in Avercamp's later work "have become the key players. We can consequently no longer describe them as staffage." Roelofs, "The Paintings," 48. Pages 58-77 of the same essay are dedicated to Avercamp's figures. The catalogues *Koud tot op het Bot*, *Holland Frozen in Time*, *Hendrick Avercamp*, and *Hendrick Avercamp: Master of the Ice Scene* describe the cultural associations of winter activities and write of the winter scene as a blending of genres. Van Suchtelen notes that, "the genre element is so strong in the work of some winter painters that their works are really genre scenes set in snow." Van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 59. Similarly, Laurinda Dixon notes that, "Skating scenes…often combined the categories of landscape and genre subjects…" Dixon, *Skating in the Arts of 17th Century Holland*, 4. Laurens J. Bol wrote, "[Adriaen] van de Venne's attractive interpretations of the winter landscape [is such that]–one could call them winter scenes" in *Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne: Painter and Draughtsman*, trans. Jennifer M. Kilian and Marjorie E. Wieseman (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1989), 20. Wolfgang Stechow considers Bruegel's winter painting as "really a synthesis of landscape and genre painting." Stechow, "The Winter Landscape in the History of Art," 179.

[68] Yet Stechow does not take a rigid view of genres. He identifies some winter paintings by Nicolaes Berchem as "showy genre pieces" and describes another Berchem winter scene as having "the genre scene" take precedence over "nature and winter." Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*, 91. Elsewhere, Stechow included a chapter titled "The Town," which he begins by acknowledging that it can be tricky to draw the line between landscape and cityscape and he connected landscapes and genre paintings in his introduction.

[69] Yet he does connect the painting with the passing of the seasons and the similarities between the natural cycle and human life. The essay was originally published in the catalogue *Rembrandt en Zijn Tijd* in 1971. Eddy de Jongh, "Realism and Seeming Realism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting," in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art*, 27.

[70] Winter scenes by Avercamp, van der Neer, and van Ruisdael feature in the chapter "Landscape" in Seymour Slive, *Dutch Painting 1600-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 177-212.

[71] Sutton, *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987). The catalogue includes winter paintings by Avercamp, van de Venne, Esaias van de Velde, van Goyen, van der Neer, Isack van Ostade, Salomon van Ruysdael, Aelbert Cuyp, Rembrandt, van Ruisdael, van de Cappelle, and Adriaen van de Velde. Many of these artists who worked with the winter scene are also included as landscapists in

primarily in terms of landscape in the seventeenth century as it developed from the tradition of the Labors of the Months illustrating human behaviors throughout the cycle of the year. Even Avercamp's and Adriaen van de Venne's winter drawings focus on the types of people on the ice as opposed to natural features of the season.[72] This dissertation does not use the term "winter landscape" inasmuch as its implicit identification of the winter scene as a subcategory of landscape encourages us to overlook the human actions essential to it. Indeed, in the seventeenth century, artists in a number of genres found the winter scene an appealing subject. Isack van Ostade specialized in tavern scenes. Jan van de Cappelle created marine paintings. Aert van der Neer was fascinated by light effects and Philips Wouwerman established himself as an artist of horse and battle scenes.

My efforts to remove the winter scene from the limitations of being considered primarily in terms of landscape does not mean that I am calling for a rejection of popular ideas on pictorial categories. Rather, I ask that scholars keep an open mind as these categories are not always applicable to certain traditions. It is not until we acknowledge the winter scene as its own genre, a "winter" that blends and borrows from other pictorial categories as it developed from representations of the seasons and months, that we can ultimately find a more accurate interpretation. Bob Haak recognized the fluidity of pictorial categories with respect to the winter scene in his very brief book *Sneeuw en IJs* ("Snow and Ice"), which is part of a series on objects

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Alan Chong's essay in the catalogue, which identifies Avercamp as one of the "native Dutch landscapists." Chong works from a wide-ranging definition of landscape, accepting marine scenes and city views as landscapes. Chong, "The Market for Landscape Painting in Seventeenth-Century Holland," 106. Elsewhere, Freedberg praised Avercamp as "a landscape pioneer." Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century*, 36.

[72] Including a number of the drawings in van de Venne's album in the British Museum. For this album, see Martin Royalton-Kisch, *Adriaen van de Venne's Album in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum Publications, 1988). The genre qualities of winter scenes are also noted in Christian Tico Seifert, "On Slippery Ground: *Kolf* in the Art of the Dutch Golden Age," in *The Art of Golf* (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 2012), 23.

in the Rijksmuseum's collection. Haak consciously used the terms "*winterlandschap*/winter landscape," "*ijsvermaak*/skating scene," and "*wintergezichten*/winter view" depending on the artist.[73] The pictorial autonomy of representations of the seasons, as well as the winter scene's place within this tradition, was effectively presented in the 2002 multimedia exhibition *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*.[74] Recent exhibitions have further considered the winter scene outside of the context of landscapes. In 2018, *Water, Wind, and Waves: Marine Paintings from the Dutch Golden Age* in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC associated scenes of *ijsvermaak* with illustrations of seafaring and the Dutch on water.[75] Yet the winter scene has also been used to explore questions of class and civic notions. *Class Distinctions: Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer*, which was exhibited in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City, included a winter scene by Avercamp from the Los Angeles Country Museum of Art to highlight the interaction of social classes on the ice.[76] Meanwhile across the Atlantic, *Portrait Gallery of the Golden Age* in the Hermitage Amsterdam puts a pair of winter scenes in the unexpected context of portraiture as an indication of daily life in Amsterdam, a "portrait" of those who could not afford one.[77]

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[73] For example, Bruegel and van Ruisdael are presented as landscapists that worked with winter subjects while Avercamp and van der Neer focused more on *ijsvermaak* and human activities. The book, written in both English and Dutch, contains 19 paintings of winter; 14 of which come from the seventeenth century. Haak, *Sneeuw en IJs*.

[74] See note 66.

[75] https://www.nga.gov/exhibitions/2018/water-wind-and-waves.html.

[76] Baer, *Class Distinctions: Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2016), 252 notes that Avercamp's ice depicts "the meeting of insiders and outsiders on common ground."

[77] The winter scenes included in the exhibition were Arent Arentsz. Cabel's *Frolicking on the Ice, on the IJ in Front of Amsterdam* from c. 1621 and Hendrick Dubbel's *The Blockhouses in the River Amstel in Winter* from c. 1651. Both paintings belong to the Amsterdam Museum. The exhibition also used landscapes, marine scenes, interior genre scenes, sculptures, and city views to explore civic notions. The city views bear a striking resemblance to winter scenes. A few of the views onto major civic squares, especially Abraham Storck's *Dam Square* from 1675 and *Dam Square with the City Hall under Construction* from c. 1656 and attributed to Jacob van der Ulft, both now part of the Amsterdam Museum's collection, depict a panoramic vista of human activity from all social classes in

Scholarly Intentions of This Dissertation

Like Stechow, I have wondered why depictions of winter as opposed to any other season developed into a considerable subject of Dutch art.[78] While the connections between the winter scene and Dutch cultural practices and literature that could answer this question have been made, most scholarship on the winter scene focuses on the formal qualities of the images. In this dissertation, I expand upon van Straaten's and van Suchtelen's cultural investigations of winter in relation to the winter scene to offer the overlooked interpretation of a naturally enforced relaxation. To my knowledge, no one has yet classified the winter scene as a carnivalesque body of images. The only connection between Netherlandish illustrations of winter and Horace I have found comes from Anouk Janssen's scholarship on depictions of the elderly in prints. While she identifies the allegorical representation of winter as an old man feasting by the fire with Horace's poems,[79] I propose that scenes of *ijsvermaak* also echo Horace's urge to relax and celebrate through adverse winter weather.

Literature accounts for a major source for my exploration of winter in Dutch culture. In the preface of *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt: Themes and Ideas*, Maria A. Schenkeveld laments that, "Anyone interested in Dutch culture in the Golden Age, whether his emphasis is on painting, politics, religion or even economics…should therefore be concerned

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the square. The activities depicted recall many of those in the winter scene, including horse-drawn sleighs transporting barrels or people on a pleasure ride, unloading and transporting goods, vendors, children, and dogs–some of which defecate, conversations, and elegant couples strolling together. For the catalogue, see Maarten Hell, Emma Los, and Norbert Middelkoop, *Portrait Gallery of the Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Hermitage, 2014).

[78] Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*, 9.

[79] Anouk Janssen, *Grijsaards in Zwart-Wit: De Verbeelding van de Ouderdom in de Nederlandse Prentkunst (1550-1650)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2007), 87.

with literature as well. However, this happens all too rarely."[80] I hope that my research rectifies this as I join the increasing number of scholars turning towards literature to interpret images. The winter scene has been connected with contemporary poems, dramas, and printed songbooks.[81] I build upon this approach of considering text and image together to recognize the overarching cultural notions to which they both respond, as well as introducing a wider range of textual materials in dialogue with the winter scene. David Freedberg and Huigen Leeflang connected Dutch landscapes with contemporary poets' efforts to transfer the themes and ideals of ancient literature to their local countryside.[82] Dutch receptions of Roman poetry and classical culture are also vital for my interpretation of the winter scene. I am similarly indebted to Catherine Levesque's and E. John Walford's uses of literature to interpret landscapes.[83] H. Rodney Nevitt, Jr. employed romantic songbooks to the appreciation of Dutch art.[84] I extend his connections between the literature of courtship and visual culture onto the winter ice. Yet my literary investigations do not rely on text alone as I join the growing number of scholars turning towards the history of the book. Identifying how texts were used as objects not only answers to

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[80] Maria A. Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt: Themes and Ideas* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991), viii. Schenkeveld includes an entire chapter on the connections between literature and art. Ibid., 115-135.

[81] For instance, van Straaten writes of the character of winter scenes changing in the 1650s and 1660s along with literature, aligning Gerbrand Adriaenszoon Bredero's play *Moortje* with Avercamp's anecdotal details and Aert van der Neer with Jan Six van Chandelier's poem "*'s Amsterdammers Winter*" with their shared attention to nature. Van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot*, 121.

[82] Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century* and Huigen Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View: Haarlem and its Environs in Literature and Art, 15th-17th Century," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1997, Deel 48: Natuur en Landschap in de Nederlandse Kunst 1500-1850*, 52-115.

[83] Levesque also considers the people who populate these scenes, another major feature of my approach to the winter scene. See Catherine Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994); Catherine Levesque, "Landscape, Politics, and the Prosperous Peace," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1997, Deel 48: Natuur en Landschap in de Nederlandse Kunst 1500-1850*, 223-257; and Walford, *Jacob van Ruisdael and the Perception of Landscape*.

[84] See H. Rodney Nevitt, "Rembrandt's Hidden Lovers," in in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1997, Deel 48: Natuur en Landschap in de Nederlandse Kunst 1500-1850*, 163-191 and H. Rodney Nevitt, *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

whom pictures appealed and why, but also how winter scenes were enjoyed in a similar manner to the books that recount seasonal pleasures.

Despite my attention to cultural history and especially literature, visual culture forms the basis of my study. In addition to identifying and detailing the conventions of the winter scene, I consider how these same actions and behaviors are presented elsewhere in Dutch art. But my research is not limited to the seventeenth century. Representations of winter and literary accounts of the season from the Middle Ages and Renaissance are also necessary for determining why the winter scene flourished in the seventeenth century. The balance between texts and visual culture has been demonstrated in the scholarship of Walford and Wayne Franits.[85] These scholars both aim to approach Dutch art as its original beholders did, which includes investigating both popular literature and images while being mindful of the conventional nature of Dutch art. I bring their approach to the winter scene, a type of image that borrows elements from both the landscapes treated by Walford and the genre scenes studied by Franits.

Far too often the human figures are overlooked in landscapes or types of images identified as such as the people that the artist chose to include are dismissed as "mere staffage."[86] Yet scholars of Netherlandish art have recognized the primacy of people in landscapes.[87] Lawrence Goedde especially calls attention to these people when he reframes landscapes to be about human relations and ideas.[88] Key to the appreciation of the winter scene, Lisa Vergara

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[85] See Walford, *Jacob van Ruisdael and the Perception of Landscape*; Wayne Franits, "The Pursuit of Love: The Theme of the Hunting Party at Rest in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 61 (1992), 106-115; and Wayne Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting: Its Stylistic and Thematic Evolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

[86] In an essay in the catalogue for *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, Simon Schama criticizes Stechow's *Dutch Landscape Painting in the Seventeenth Century* for overlooking the human figures. Schama, "Dutch Landscapes," 71.

[87] Including Freedberg, Levesque, and Reindert Falkenburg, who noted how the beholder can "travel" vicariously with the individuals depicted in paint or ink.

[88] "These images…are structured to invite the viewer to explore in the imagination humanity's place in these pictorial worlds. Landscapes in the Renaissance and Baroque periods are not primarily about nature but about

stresses the connection between the human and the natural world in Pieter Paul Rubens' landscapes.[89] Simon Schama argues that the idea of downplaying people in landscapes as "staffage" is only as old as the late nineteenth century.[90] As we are about to see, contrasting ideas of winter coexisted in seventeenth-century Dutch culture. Only through an inspection of the human figures primarily in relaxation while they avoid many of the unpleasant aspects of the season can we determine which of these ideas the winter scene most responds.

Plurality of Responses to Winter Scenes

Winter had different and even contradictory associations in the seventeenth century. The same amorous songbook that contains "May Songs" celebrating the end of winter and the return of love also includes songs recounting the festive romance between young ice skaters and sleigh riders. While winter was connected with the last of the four human ages and death, the season was also associated with celebrations and the opportunity to rest.[91] Even the relation of winter to old age is ambiguous as the ends of life and the year recall rejuvenation as the cycles start

human nature and human values, ideas, pleasures, anxieties, and goals." Lawrence Goedde, "Renaissance Landscapes: Discovering the World and Human Nature," in *A Companion to Renaissance and Baroque Art*, ed. Babette Bohn and James M. Saslow (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 381.

[89] "Without these figures the landscapes would be reduced to scenery–of however magnificent a kind–and their power would be unintelligible. Instead, figures and setting truly unite in Rubens' landscapes, expressing themes as closely connected with man's feelings and fate as any that the visual arts ever were asked to convey." Lisa Vergara, *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), 71. Elsewhere, Vergara rejects the idea of "pure landscapes" that offer nothing more than a simple representation of the natural world devoid of any meaning. Ibid., 20.

[90] "The axiom that such figures are mere 'staffage' belies their crucial importance in giving both tone and feeling to the composition and, more urgently, overlooks the crucial fact that these miséreables are deliberately stripped of any of the 'picturesque' qualities deemed proper for landscape in the southern [Netherlandish] tradition…And so far from being a gratuitous accessory to those landscapes, they were to be an intrinsic and important feature." Schama, "Dutch Landscapes," 71-72. Schama also identifies cultural associations with the people and buildings in landscapes in the tonal generation that reference the nascent Dutch Republic.

[91] In her interpretation of printed allegories of winter, Anouk Janssen combines the sadness of old age with the pleasures of feasting on all that has been saved and a period of rest. Janssen, *Grijsaards in Zwart-Wit*, 308.

again.[92] Clearly, there were too many contrasting associations with winter to offer a single "correct" interpretation of the winter scene.

Efforts to determine the appeal of the winter scene are further complicated by the large and varied audience for these images. The majority of winter scenes were produced for the open market, so we cannot be certain of the types of people who purchased them. Additionally, the Dutch population boasted a variety of educational, religious, and cultural outlooks due to the relative religious tolerance of the commercially prosperous Dutch Republic. While paintings could be costly, winter scenes appear to have been affordable to vast segments of the population. John Michael Montias and Alan Chong demonstrated that "landscapes," a category in which they both include winter scenes, were inexpensive and prevalent in Dutch households. Chong identified the average price of a winter scene to be 35.17 fl. While higher than his average prices of all attributed (23.03) and unattributed (11.23) landscapes, it is below his average cost of attributed marine paintings (45.02), attributed Italianate landscapes (58.14), attributed landscapes with mythological figures (58.22), waterfalls (35.73), and battle scenes (37.12). Chong also revealed that the work of Wouwerman was popular among various social classes and that pieces by monochrome painters, many of whom worked with the winter scene, tended to be

[92] Janus with two faces, sometimes of contrasting ages, was used to represent winter and January since he looks both forwards and backwards. Ariane van Suchtelen assigned a similar interpretation to Crispijn de Passe's engraving of winter as Boreas and Orithya, where the older male turns his back to the beholder as the young female positions herself to face us. Adriaen van de Venne's illustrations for Jacob Cats' *Houwelick* ("Marriage") also recalls the dual nature of winter as an ending and a beginning. An elderly couple standing before people of all ages on the ice is accompanied by the inscription; "Harsh winter draws nigh, rime hangs from the trees, Frost gnaws at the greenery and binds the speeding streams; The plants are lifeless, or so it seems, Yet a day will come when they bud anew (*De strenge winter naeckt, de rijm hangt aen de boomen, De vorst verslint het groen, en bint de snelle stroomen; Men siet, gelijck het schijnt, geen leven in het kruyt, Daer komt nochtans een dag, wanneer het weder spruyt*)." Translation from van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 33-34.

inexpensive.[93] Similarly, winter scenes are typically relatively small and thus could be placed on the walls of any sized house.

Schama ends his essay "Dutch Landscapes: Culture as Foreground" with a reminder that, despite the differences between the work of van Goyen and Aelbert Cuyp, they were simultaneously popular in the middle of the seventeenth century.[94] Similarly, various tastes concerning the winter scene coexisted and a binary either/or attitude towards its meaning is regressive. Not everyone purchased a winter scene because they found a naturally enforced relaxation appealing. Skating had moralizing associations in Dutch culture. Slipping on the ice was equated to slipping into sin as skating was likened to the travails of living righteously.[95] Links between skating and moral danger have been identified in Netherlandish art.[96] Bruegel's

[93] See John Michael Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) and Chong, "The Market for Landscape Painting in Seventeenth-Century Holland," especially pages 116-117 for the table of prices of landscapes. John Michael Montias also used inventories in Amsterdam to determine the prices of paintings. He found that the average price for a painting by van Goyen in inventories from 1650-1679 was 12.3 guilders. Van der Neer's average price was 11 guilders. While other winter scene practitioners commanded higher prices for their paintings, this prolific duo for winter scenes had an average price much lower than most of the painters that Montias included in his chart. John Michael Montias, "Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: An Analysis of Subjects and Attributions," in *Art in History History in Art*, 366-368.

[94] Schama, "Dutch Landscapes," 82.

[95] For the slipperiness of human life interpretation to winter games, see Linda and George Bauer, "The Winter Landscape with Skaters and Bird Trap by Pieter Bruegel the Elder," *Art Bulletin* 66 (1984): 145-150; Pleij, *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511*, 63-73; and Royalton-Kisch, *Adriaen van de Venne's Album in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, 107 and 344. The association of the slippery dangers of the ice is especially strong in emblem books in early modern Europe. These books used the ice as a warning of the uncertainty of appearances and fates as well as an urge to proceed cautiously through life. For examples, see Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967), 111-113.

[96] Especially by D. Bax in the work of Hieronymus Bosch, particularly in the skating avian demon in the left panel of the *Temptation of St. Anthony* triptych in Lisbon, which Bax identifies in a spiritually precarious position stemming from Carnival revelry. Bax writes of Netherlandish sayings that recall the dangers of ice and skating to describe perilous situations and everything going wrong. D. Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch: His Picture-Writing Deciphered*, trans. M. A. Bax-Botha (Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema, 1979), 18. Bosch also used ice skating to represent the eternal punishments in hell. See ibid., 363. Many scholars also assigned a moralizing meaning to the bird trap in Bruegel's *Winter Landscape with a Bird Trap*, most notably Bauer, "The Winter Landscape with Skaters and Bird Trap by Pieter Bruegel the Elder." Yet Ariane van Suchtelen underscores the value of Bruegel's painting as the first stand-alone winter scene when she writes that the bird trap "looks more like a stock element in scenes of this kind, alluding as it does to the need to lay in food for the winter. The main subject of the picture, which is not thought to be part of a series of the months or seasons, is people enjoying themselves on the ice in a naturalistic village."

Skaters by St. George's Gate in Antwerp was reprinted by Johannes Galle with the moralizing inscription:

> "See how they skate on the ice in Antwerp, outside the city. One this way, the other that, watched from every side. One stumbles, another falls, that one stands proud and tall. Oh learn from this scene how we proceed through the world, Slithering as we go, one foolish, the other wise On this impermanence, far brittler than ice."[97]

Even though I do not identify moralizing messages in most winter scenes, there is no reason why two viewers could not bring different interpretations to the same image. Like Margaret A. Sullivan in her work on Bruegel's paintings of peasants, I offer *a* way, not *the* way, to read a winter scene.[98]

However, I believe that the joys of a naturally enforced relaxation are applicable to most winter scenes and to the greatest number of beholders. In addition to the details expected in the

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Van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 41. Annelies Plokker recalls moralizing proverbs to explain the skates on a pair of owls in a grisaille painting by Adriaen van de Venne. Plokker, *Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne (1589-1662)*, 120-122. For more proverbs and sayings that underscore the dangerous nature of ice, see Pleij, *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511*, 71; A. M. Meijerman, *Hollandse Winters* (Antwerp and Hilversum: W. de Haan and Standaard Boekhandel, 1967); 52-53, 66-67, and 89-90; and Royalton-Kisch, *Adriaen van de Venne's Album in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, 338.

[97] Quoted from van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 16. For moralizing uses of ice in Dutch literature, see Ibid., 17-19.

[98] "The circumstances in which they [Bruegel's *Peasant Dance* and *Peasant Wedding Banquet*] are seen, the perspective of each individual viewer, recent events, the shared interest and values of a group of viewers, make every encounter with a work of art a unique event producing a singular pattern of associations. Even when a study is closely circumscribed in terms of time and place, as it is here, it does not yield an interpretation valid for every viewer in the Low Countries in the middle of the sixteenth century. The enjoyment of some viewers might be limited to the recognition of a proverb, or laughter at the kissing peasants, drunken faces, and clumsy feet, whereas for others the *Peasant Dance* or *Peasant Wedding Banquet* provided a stimulating opportunity to bring the wisdom of the ancients to bear on the problems of the present." Margaret A. Sullivan, *Bruegel's Peasants: Art and Audience in the Northern Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 127. Like Sullivan, I also ask many of the same questions about the viewer's reception and Netherlandish ideas on classical antiquity. Goedde also highlights the numerous interpretations that writers have brought to van Ruisdael's *Windmill at Wijk bij Duurstede* while commenting that the painting seems not to exclude, but welcomes, them. Goedde, "Naturalism as Convention," 133. Walford acknowledges that a seventeenth-century beholder may have experienced the simple joy of viewing a landscapes instead of approaching the work through the religious matters that he identified throughout his book. Walford, *Jacob van Ruisdael and the Perception of Landscape*.

winter scene which overwhelmingly recall relaxation, the winter scene finds a textual match with the poems and songs that celebrate games and social liberties on the ice. Yet even if one were not familiar with the poems of Horace and his followers, the winter scene also appeals to the relaxations of Carnival and other popular winter festivals, thus the "relaxation" stems from a wide range of sources. Such an appeal of the winter scene is also suggested by its inclusion in landscape print series which were produced for the pleasure of their beholders, as noted on their title pages.[99] Of all of the ideas on winter in the seventeenth century, the winter scene most closely aligns with that expressed by the Delft-born writer Hugo Grotius; "Believe me,…the cold also has something to offer to him who is open to love, there are also pleasures that winter provides us."[100]

The Winter Scene and Climate Change

Finally, this project relates to a crisis that the planet is currently facing; climate change. From the late Middle Ages into the industrial period, the Northern Hemisphere experienced drastically cooler temperatures in a period now referred to as the Little Ice Age. Since the winter scene originated in this period of extended cold, modern scholars have explicitly linked the genre with climate change when they consider the Little Ice Age a major factor in its development.[101]

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[99] For such series, see Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland*.

[100] I used Dr. B. L. Meulenbroek's Dutch translation "*Geloof mij, Pottey, ook de kou heeft hem die voor de liefde openstaat, we wat te bieden, er zijn ook geneugten die de winter ons verschaft."* The Latin original is "*Crede mihi, Pottei, prodest et frigus amanti:/Sunt quoque quæ nobis commode præstet hyems…*" *De Dichtwerken van Hugo Grotius: Oorspronkelijke Dichtwerken, Tweede Deel, Pars 2*, trans. Dr. B. L. Meulenbroek (Assen: Van Gorcum, & Comp., 1977), 90-91.

[101] For instance, The National Gallery of Art in Washington DC and the Rijksmuseum organized an Avercamp exhibition in 2010 titled "Hendrick Avercamp: The Little Ice Age." Adriaan M. J. de Kraker contributed the essay "The Little Ice Age. Harsh Winters between 1550 and 1650" to *Hendrick Avercamp: Master of the Ice Scene*, 23-29. Many of the catalogues on the winter scene entertain the idea of the connection between the Little Ice Age and the development of the winter scene, while van Straaten and van Suchtelen also show some reservations. See van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot*, 10-11; Dixon, *Skating in the Arts of 17th Century Holland*, 6; and van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 12-15. Lawrence Goedde downplays the direct connection between colder winters and

After all, severe weather had a much stronger impact on human life in the early modern period and must have effected how a seventeenth-century beholder approached a winter scene.[102] Most effectively, Reindert Falkenburg relied on meteorological records to attribute a lack of winter scenes produced by van Goyen and Salomon van Ruysdael in the 1620s to more mild winters in that decade.[103] However, I am cautious about claiming a direct relationship between the Little Ice Age and the production of the winter scene. Many of the winter scene's elements can be understood as having originated from Dutch artistic conventions and cultural concerns. That is not to say that climate change had no impact on the production and popularity of the winter scene. Rather, it is difficult to certainly identify the rise of a subject with a microclimatic shift. This task is made trickier by the fact that many natural phenomena that we know occurred in the seventeenth century are rarely or never depicted in Dutch art. Finding a link between climate change and the winter scene is even more challenging since the autonomous winter scene is a uniquely Netherlandish–and particularly Dutch–development while the Little Ice Age impacted all of Europe. While possibly inspired by the Little Ice Age, the winter scene presents a conventionalized and selectively reimagined representation of winter. These images exclude many of the consequences of the Little Ice Age as they reflect something unique in Dutch culture.

The winter scene took on various appearances as it was guided from Bruegel's model imported by resettled Flemish artists to the most current trends in Dutch painting and the personal interests and styles of its practitioners. Yet it always relied on a handful of activities

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the production of winter scenes in Lawrence Goedde, "Bethlehem in the Snow and Holland on Ice: Climatic Change and the Invention of the Winter Landscape," in *Kulturelle Konsequenzen der 'Kleinen Eiszeit'*, edited by Wolfgang Behringer, Hartmut Lehmann, and Christian Pfister (Göttigen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 311-322.

[102] A point made by van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 12.

[103] See Reindert Falkenburg, "'Schilderachtig Weer' bij Jan van Goyen," in *Jan van Goyen*, ed. Christiaan Vogelaar (Zwolle: Waanders, 1996), 60-69.

centered on and around a frozen waterway that recall relaxation from labor and of social standards. These conventionalized details make the winter scene a carnivalesque and Horatian body of images consistent with contemporary ideas on winter. This dissertation brings attention to overlooked sources, primarily these selective details that reappear in the winter scene and the contents and uses of texts describing winter pleasures, to consider the winter scene in a new light that explains its likely appeal to its original purchasers. But first, we must consider how the Dutch discussed their pictures, including attention to the human figures in natural scenes and a looser idea of pictorial categories than that of the modern art historian, to determine how representations of winter pleasures were valued.

Chapter 2. *Een Lantschap* or *Een Winter*?: How the Dutch Discussed Their Pictures

The obvious starting point in our efforts to consider the winter scene in its cultural context is Dutch texts and documents that describe painting. In comparison to their Italian contemporaries, the Dutch wrote frustratingly little about art theory. While the few Dutch art treatises that survive exhibit a distinctly Italian influence, the differences between Netherlandish and Italian art treatises are striking and reveal certain features that were valued in the specifically Dutch genre of the winter scene. Inventories, which are more readily available than art treatises, show how someone outside of the art world described pictures. Both sources suggest that the winter scene was appreciated in a manner quite different from that acknowledged by modern-day art historians. Most notably, they underscore the anachronistic inaccuracies of referring to scenes of *ijsvermaak* as "winter landscapes." In addition to recalling the problematic notion of "pure landscape" diminishing the value of human presence in nature, the term forces the winter scene into a limited and hierarchically inferior pictorial category identified by French academic and classicizing art lovers. Instead, it is more accurate to consider the winter scene with a more fluid approach to pictorial categories: as a representation of natural and human activity in *a season*.

The tendency to identify the winter scene with a lowly category of landscape has its origins in the Italian Renaissance. In an effort to elevate the social standing of the painter, Italian authors identified painting as a liberal art separated from craft due to its use of geometry and the ability to present virtuous episodes from history. While using classical poetics and rhetoric as a guide, Leon Battista Alberti awarded the most praise for *istoria* paintings, in which he stressed the human figure and narrative. Alberti cautioned the painter not to be overly ambitious and illustrate everything in the scene, a criticism later leveled against Netherlandish painting by

Michelangelo as recounted through Francisco de Holanda.[104] Florentine and Roman writers championed drawing and the study of ancient sculptures as critical to artistic training, as they valued history paintings in which the positions of human bodies reveal the invention of the painter. Other categories of paintings were looked down upon as mere imitations of nature by artists either too stubborn or too simple to study the example of the ancients. J. A. Emmens showed how these ideas did not carry substantial weight in the Netherlands until the second half of the seventeenth century with the increasing popularity of French academic art, which embraced these classicizing ideas on the hierarchy of genres.[105] Thus the winter scene was developed by artists who did not subscribe to such ideas on genre. Instead, they wished to display their mastery with the brush and diligent study of nature by depicting all of the conditions of a winter day.

[104] Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 29-30 and Celeste Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion: The Art and Writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 5-6 and 8. Celeste Brusati notes that Alberti's value of the painter's imagination over the work of a craftsman was not as prevalent in the Netherlands. David Summers mentions that Alberti seems to have used the word *istoria* to refer to painting generally. David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 103. In Francisco de Holanda's first Roman dialogue, he considered Flemish painting to focus on external appearances and emotional appeal as opposed to intellectual substance. See ibid., 286, 289, and 332 and Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, trans. Beverley Jackson and Lynne Richards (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 243. For rankings and hierarchy in Italian art, see Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, 324-325.

[105] See J. A. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de Regels van de Kunst* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1968), especially the chapter "Het Ontstaan van de Klassicistische Critiek," 28-62, which tracks when classical and French critiques entered the discourse of Dutch art theory through the seventeenth century. See also ibid., 119 and 138. Emmens argues that the rhetorical and poetic approach to painting was absent from Netherlandish art treatises before the mid-century, with the exception of Franciscus Junius, whose influence Emmens significantly downplays until the middle of the century. Ibid., 105-110. He considers the writing of Jan de Bisschop and the French translation of Leonardo da Vinci's *Trattato della Pittura* from 1651 to have been instrumental for the application of the hierarchy of genres to Dutch art. For the art-loving Dutch shifting their attention from Italy to France in the seventeenth century, see Weststeijn, *The Visible World*, 48.

Concepts of Genre in Modern Theory and Criticism

As the winter scene developed before rigidly defined academic pictorial categories were widely established in Europe, it reflects the more fluid approach to genres as practiced in the Netherlands. As opposed to the limiting concept of "landscape," the winter scene equally values the natural and the manmade as it illustrates human responses to the cycle of the seasons. But the winter scene is not unique in Netherlandish art for blending classicizing genres.[106] While Dutch artists are famous for specializing in certain type of scenes, their works commonly transcended these boundaries. The collaboration between two artists of different specialties in the same picture was a common practice in the Netherlands.[107] But even paintings produced by a single artist suggest a fluid approach to pictorial categories. We saw in Chapter 1 how Pieter Bruegel the Elder combined history paintings and the winter scene in his episodes from the

[106] I consider the art from the Northern and Southern Netherlands–which correlate to the modern Kingdom of the Netherlands and Kingdom of Belgium–to be of the same tradition, in opposition to the decades of scholars who have differentiated between a Catholic, aristocratic, and "Baroque" Flemish tradition and a Protestant, middle class, quotidian, and restrained Dutch tradition. Thus I apply visual and literary evidence from the Southern Netherlands to my arguments for the art of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. For the divide between the Northern and Southern Netherlands being driven by military, political, and geographic as opposed to cultural factors, see Pieter Geyl, *The Revolt of the Netherlands (1555-1609)* (London: E. Benn, 1966). For the argument of the shared origin of the two artistic traditions, see Hans Vlieghe, "Flemish Art, Does it Really Exist," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 23 (1998): 187-200. Notably, the exhibition *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, which was hosted by both a museum in Belgium and in the Kingdom of the Netherlands, placed depictions of the seasons from both the Northern and Southern Netherlands together.

[107] Collaboration among artists or studios on the same painting was an especially common practice in Antwerp. One such collaborative partnership was that of Pieter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder, which was the main focus of the exhibition *Rubens and Brueghel: A Working Friendship*, ed. Anne T. Woollett and Ariane van Suchtelen (Los Angles: The J. Paul Getty Trust, 2006). This collaborative practice also occurred in the Dutch Republic. Adriaen van de Velde provided the figures in landscapes by Jacob van Ruisdael in examples now in St. Petersburg and Dresden. E. John Walford, *Jacob van Ruisdael and the Perception of Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 145. Nicolaes Berchem also painted the people in van Ruysdael's paintings and Pieter de Grebber supplied the figures in Cornelis Vroom's four paintings destined for Stadholder Frederik Hendrik's Honselaersdijk in 1639. Pieter Biesboer, "Nicolaes Pietersz Berchem, Master Painter of Haarlem," in *Nicolaes Berchem: In the Light of Italy* (Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum and Ludion Publishers, 2006), 18 and 25 and Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *Hard-Won Unity*, trans. Myra Heerspink Scholz (Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2004), 517. For collaboration in fish still lifes in seventeenth-century Utrecht, see Fred G. Meijer, "Fish Still Lifes in Holland and Flanders," in *Fish: Still Lifes by Dutch and Flemish Masters 1550-1700*, ed. Liesbeth M. Helmus (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2004), 47.

infancy of Christ. Many of the earliest examples of academic pictorial categories in the Netherlands are actually combinations of classically defined genres. Joachim Patinir's early "landscapes" feature small biblical episodes associated with history painting; and the pioneering kitchen "still lifes" of Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Beuckelaer often blend the modern categories of still life, genre, and history painting. Portraits reveal a creative mixing of categories as the sitter could pose as a famous individual from the past in a historiated portrait, playing off the conventions of both history painting and portraiture. Group portraits especially proved effective for blending pictorial categories, as evidenced by Rembrandt's use of the conventions of history painting in *The Night Watch*.[108]

Efforts to reconsider rigid definitions of genre are not only a challenge for the art historian. Historians, critics, and theorists of literature have also grappled with the nature of such categories. Tzvetan Todorov implied a flexible view of genres when he wrote that genres originate "from other genres. A new genre is always the transformation of one or several old genres: by inversion, by displacement, by combination."[109] Most effectively, Rosalie L. Colie identified the reworking of "kinds" (her preferred term for genres) as the hallmark of Renaissance literature.[110] While she believed that the Renaissance had strongly delineated literary kinds, she understood there to be more kinds than those recognized in the present. Some

[108] For the blending of pictorial categories in *The Night Watch*, see Mariët Westermann, *Rembrandt* (London: Phaidon, 2007), 161-174. Westermann describes *The Night Watch* as a "fusion of portrait, allegory and history" on page 174. Cynthia P. Schneider wrote of Rembrandt combining aspects of history painting in his landscapes in *Rembrandt's Landscapes* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990).

[109] He also mentions that cultures and eras contain series of genres unique to their own conditions. Tzvetan Todorov, "The Origin of Genres," trans. Richard M. Berrong, *New Literary History* 8 (1976): 161 and 163.

[110] She employs a rather broad definition of "Renaissance," locating Petrarch and Jonathan Swift at either end of the period. Rosalie L. Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre Theory in the Renaissance*, ed. Barbara K. Lewalski (Berkley: University of California Press, 1973), 3.

writers approached the parameters of kinds in an intentionally fluid manner, mixing their models and consciously experimenting with the rules.[111]

Colie's idea that boundaries between kinds can be blended and toyed with to create stronger meanings is also applicable to visual art, as noted by scholars of seventeenth-century Dutch art.[112] Even in his effort to identify the origins of a number of pictorial genres in *Landscape Portrait Still-Life: Their Origin and Development*, Max J. Friedländer suggests a flexible approach to his categories.[113] While Friedländer seems to consider the winter scene a type of landscape,[114] he connects its practitioners like Hendrick Avercamp, Philips Wouwerman, and Adriaen van de Velde with their contemporaries who painted city scenes, church interiors, and animals as they "peopled these spaces with a profusion of genre-like figures."[115] Specific to the Netherlands, Lydia de Pauw-de Veen critiques the use of modern pictorial categories to

[111] Such as François Rabelais, who Colie writes of combining medieval, modern, ancient, and folk models in *Gargantua et Pantagruel*, and the epigrams and sonnets of William Shakespeare and his English contemporaries, which Colie notes blend epigram, lyric, and sonnet conventions and frameworks to allow for a more psychological and introspective approach. Charles Platter also describes Greek dramas blending and mixing genres in *Aristophanes and the Carnival of Genres* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007). Andrew Laird writes of Horace encouraging breaking the rules of genres in, "The *Ars Poetica*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, ed. Stephen Harrison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 140. Lowell Edmunds also adopts an open approach towards genres in Roman poetry in *Intertextuality and the Reading of Roman Poetry* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 148-149.

[112] Colie recalled seventeenth-century Dutch literature when describing a shift from writers following the framework of one ancient model to authors blending two or more in the same piece. She evoked Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft from the early seventeenth century as an example of the former while she presented his younger contemporary Constantijn Huygens combining frameworks of kinds in the middle of the century. Colie, *The Resources of Kind*, 12.

[113] The fifteenth-century works that Friedländer treats as the ancestors of his pictorial categories are themselves blends of genres as landscapes, still life, and genre elements coexisted in biblical and devotional scenes. See Max J. Friedländer, *Landscape Portrait Still-Life: Their Origin and Development*, trans. R. F. C. Hull (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950). Friedländer addresses Rembrandt's religious scenes that recall genre paintings and describes Johannes Vermeer as an artist who "observes the living as a still life painter." Ibid., 181 for Rembrandt and 193 for Vermeer. It is also worth mentioning that Friedländer implies a similar blending of pictorial categories in his treatment of portraiture (see page 240) and notes the effect of landscape in the religious paintings in the Ghent Altarpiece (see page 267).

[114] Even though Friedländer never singles out the winter scene, he describes ice skaters and Bruegel's interest in snowfall in his chapter on landscape and calls Hendrick Avercamp, along with Pieter de Molijn and Jan van Goyen, a practitioner of the "first and purest phase of Dutch landscape painting." Ibid., 89.

[115] Ibid., 199. Friedländer also described the medieval Labors of the Months from which the winter scene developed as the precursors of genre scenes. Ibid., 157.

describe seventeenth-century images. Relying on Karel van Mander's early seventeenth-century writings on art and on actual inventories of collections, she demonstrates that the Dutch used specific labels to describe bodies of images. For instance, they preferred terms such as "kitchen," "breakfast," "flowers," "fruit," "vanitas," and "banquet" to the generic "still life." De Pauw-de Veen argues that while modern art historians use some of the same terms as a seventeenth-century viewer, they do so in a much more restrictive way.[116] More recent art historians continue to challenge the rigidity of the pictorial categories in Dutch art.[117] Two of the most commonly used textbooks in surveys of seventeenth-century Dutch art, Seymour Slive's *Dutch Painting 1600-1800* from the *Pelican History of Art* and Mariët Westermann's *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic 1585-1718,* both handle categories with a warning. Echoing de Pauw-de Veen, they remind their readers that in many cases the Dutch would have simply referred to

[116] De Pau-de Veen did not describe the winter scene, but she recalled the four seasons as an example of allegories described in terms of what they depict. Interestingly, she turned the academic hierarchy of genres on its head when she claimed that images of battles, hunts, and even the quotidian scenes that we now identify as "genre scenes" fit the description of the academic art theorist's most celebrated history paintings as they also are concerned with the human figure. Lydia de Pauw-de Veen, *De Begrippen 'Schilder', 'Schilderij' en 'Schilderen' in de Zeventiende Eeuw* (Brussels: De Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunst van België, 1969). David R. Smith also characterized Dutch art of the seventeenth century as relatively independent of the classical hierarchy of genres. He acknowledged the plurality of terms used to describe genre scenes, interpreting this through a Mikhail Bakhtin-inspired approach that appreciates behavior specific to the time and place in which it is described or depicted. David R. Smith, "Realism and the Boundaries of Genre in Dutch Art," *Art History* 32 (2009), 78-114.

[117] E. John Walford describes Jacques de Gheyn's etching from about 1603, *Milking Scene before a Farmhouse*, as "a hybrid of genre and landscape" where humans work alongside their natural setting to present a moralizing reminder of death. Walford, *Jacob van Ruisdael and the Perception of Landscape*, 36-37. Huigen Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View: Haarlem and its Environs in Literature and Art, 15th-17th Century," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1997, Deel 48: Natuur en Landschap in de Nederlandse Kunst 1500-1850*, ed. Reindert Falkenburg, Jan de Jong, Mark Meadow, Bart Ramakers, Herman Roodenburg, and Frits Scholten (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), 53 notes that "one might wonder whether [Jacob van] Ruisdael's panoramas [of Haarlem] should be regarded as landscapes or city views. It is a distinction that is often hard to make when dealing with Netherlandish paintings, drawings, and prints." Anke A. van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven argues that depictions of people celebrating the January holiday of Twelfth Night should be treated as their own genre, even putting forth guidelines for the types of images that comprise this category. Anke van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 22 (1993-1994), 65. Even for the academic or classically-minded theorist, a reliance on rigid pictorial categories can be detrimental. While describing Samuel van Hoogstraten tripartite hierarchical ranking of painting types, Thijs Weststeijn warns against applying our notion of pictorial categories as it is "a system that by its very nature is foreign to the epideictic, undogmatic character of Van Hoogstraten's treatise." Weststeijn, *The Visible World*, 193.

these works by what they depicted, as some categories could be divided into subcategories. Yet they still seem to consider the winter scene a subcategory of landscape. Winter scenes appear in Slive's chapter on landscape and Westermann described a winter scene by Avercamp as both a type of landscape and a genre unto itself.[118]

Particularly, Westermann and David R. Smith have offered effective approaches sympathetic to the fluid nature of pictorial categories in Dutch art. In the introduction to *The Amusements of Jan Steen: Comic Painting in the Seventeenth-Century*, Westermann states,

> "A genre can be more fruitfully seen as a cultural process and product itself, a form that is given its vague outlines in practice at least as much as in theory. Many characteristics of a genre are never articulated and may never be subject to conscious choice (although numerous seventeenth-century genres were constructed with fair deliberation). Genres are probably best handled with care, not with straightjackets but as elastic and permeable frameworks that enable cultural production and exchanges."[119]

One of the central contributions of Westermann's study of Jan Steen is that the artist applied new meanings to his work and solidified his identity as a comic painter by cunningly introducing the conventions of one category into another.[120] Similarly, Smith, inspired by Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas of the *chronotope*, considers genre scenes to blend aspects from

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[118] Slive begins Chapter 7, "Genre," with a reminder that a Dutch viewer would simply refer to what was depicted in such scenes. He states that the use of the term "still life" only began in the middle of the seventeenth century. Seymour Slive, *Dutch Painting 1600-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), for "Chapter 7 Genre Painting," 123-176; for "Chapter 8 Landscape," 177-212; for the introduction to still life, 277. In the first chapter of *A Worldly Art*, Mariët Westermann repeated Slive's warning that the a seventeenth-century beholder would have identified these works by what they specifically saw in the scene instead of using a later term like "genre painting." Mariët Westermann, *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic 1585-1718* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), 39-40. For Avercamp's painting, see ibid., 106.

[119] Mariët Westermann, *The Amusements of Jan Steen: Comic Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1997), 13-14.

[120] Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlöf similarly writes of Johannes Vermeer letting elements from different genres coexist in *The Girl with the Wine Glass*. Margaretha Rossholm Lagerlöf, "A Painting without Genre: Meaning in Jan Vermeer's *The Girl with the Wine Glass*," *Konsthistorisk tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 78 (2009): 77-91.

different categories to produce at times ironic mixes or parodies of genres.[121] Both Westermann's and Smith's approaches to pictorial categories are useful for approaching the winter scene which, while its own subject, relies on conventions from other pictorial categories to reflect wider cultural ideas on the seasons.

Seventeenth-Century Art Theorists

Even though the winter scene developed from the tradition of the Labors of the Months, it contains undeniable landscape elements. The notion of "landscape" occupied a unique position in Netherlandish art. Italian writers described it as a specialty of Northern artists and the term is found remarkably early in Northern European sources.[122] The oldest known reference to "landscape" in painting in the Netherlands comes from a contract in Haarlem from 1485. While specifying what to depict on various panels for an altarpiece for St. Bavo's Church, the contract specified that biblical scenes and figures are to be placed in a "landscape (*landscap*)."

> "…the first panel where the angel announces to the shepherds this must happen in a landscape […] the third panel where Our Lord is presented with gifts from the three holy kings must be set in a house in Bethlehem in a landscape […] The fifth panel where Herod has the innocents massacred, this one will make in a landscape. And where Mary travels to Egypt that too must be placed in a landscape of a similar manner […] And where Saint John baptizes Our Lord the air and landscape must be made according to

[121] Smith, "Realism and the Boundaries of Genre in Dutch Art."
[122] For the history of the use of the word "landscape" in German, see Charles Talbot, "Topography as Landscape in Early Printed Books," in *The Early Illustrated Book: Essays in Honor of Lessing J. Rosenwald*, ed. Sandra Hindman (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1982), 105-116.

fashion. This fashion of making houses and stories one can find [already] in the altarpiece of the shipbuilders, which we think is the best example."[123]

By setting "houses and stories" in a landscape, this contract not only challenges the notion of "pure landscape" as a glimpse into nature devoid of meaning or human presence, but also combines landscape and history painting on the same panel. This fluid approach to pictorial categories lived on in the writings of art theorists active when the winter scene enjoyed the peak of its popularity.

1. Karel van Mander

While art historians have expressed frustration at the modest number of art treatises written in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, it is through no fault of Karel van Mander. Initially from Flanders, van Mander was part of the wave of Southern Netherlanders that fled north after Spanish successes in Brabant against the revolt. He eventually settled in Haarlem, where he worked alongside his fellow Italianate artists Hendrick Goltzius and Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem. Yet he is best remembered as the author of *Het Schilder-Boeck* ("The

[123] Quoted from Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View," 83. For the original Dutch, see A. W. Weissman, "Gegevens Omtrent Bouw en Inrichting van de Sint Bavokerk te Haarlem," *Oud Holland* 33 (1915), 69-70. "*Om te maken die parcken na proporcy als dat behoeren sal dat is te weten : Dat eerste parck daer die engel die hardenendie boetscap bracht dat moet wesen in een landscap ende, om die story te bet te verstaen soe sal men daer bi maecken een rol, dat segghende syn die harderen transeamus usque Betlehem et videamus hoc verbum quod dictum et nobis, so als dat evangely inhoudende es. Ende dat andere parck daer onse Heer besneden wort dat moet wesen in een tempel ende dat suverlic nae Snyder eyssche. Ende dat derde parck daer onse Heer gheoffert wort van die heylighe dry coninge dat moet ghemaket wesen in een huus tot Betlehem in een landscap. Ende dat vierde parck daer onse Heer geoffert wort in den temple daer sal men maken een manier als een tempel om die story te vervollen als dat behoert. Dat vyfde parck daer Herodes laet doeden die kinderen, dat sal men maken in een landscap. Ende daer Maria naer Egiptelant trock dat moet oock wesen in een landscap nae dat manier. Ende daer onse Heer sit in dat midden van doctoren dat moet wesen cierlic gemaket in een tempel. En daer Sinte Johannes onsen Heer doept dat moet wesen in die lucht ende landscap als die manier es. En dese manier sal men vinden van husen en story in de sceepmakers tafel daer ons off dunct dat beste te wesen."* Thirty-three years later in Basel, Hans Herbst was asked in a contract to paint an altarpiece with "two saints on the stationary wings and the background must [be painted] with sky and landscape (*hymel und landschaft*)." Talbot, "Topography as Landscape in Early Printed Books," 109.

Painter-Book") of 1604.[124] While also including a commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the biographies of ancient and contemporary artists, *Het Schilder-Boeck* begins with *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-const* ("The Foundation of the Noble and Free Art of Painting," referred to as "*Den Grondt*"). These fourteen chapters written in verse advise the young painter and praise his craft. While *Den Grondt* makes no effort to mask its Italian and classical influences, van Mander defines artistic goals differently from those of Italian traditions.[125]

Throughout *Den Grondt*, van Mander stresses two characteristics of the elite painter. First is that the artist learns to reproduce the variety found in the natural world. Van Mander states that nature is beautiful because of its diversity ("*Door verscheydenheyt is natuere schoone*") as he revels in the many things to see outside of the studio window.[126] The idea of the variety of nature as a source of joy thrived in Dutch culture. E. John Walford describes how seventeenth-century Dutch literature and art theory celebrated natural variety as he applies a contemplative religious interpretation to landscapes that allowed audiences to marvel at the breadth and mutable nature of God's creation.[127] Even a riddle book published in Deventer in

[124] Van Mander's book was thoroughly disseminated and read, as evidenced by its inclusion in inventories and the influence that it had on subsequent Dutch art theorists. For the seventeenth-century authors that referenced van Mander and/or *Het Schilder-Boeck*, see Emmens, *Rembrandt en de Regels van de Kunst*, 99-100. Even the school teacher David Beck read *Het Schilder-Boeck* and lent it to a friend. Jeroen Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Dutch Diaries*, trans. Beverley Jackson (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 79, 93, and 97.

[125] Hessel Miedema translated *Den Grondt* into modern Dutch and provided a commentary. Unless stated otherwise, this is the version of *Den Grondt* which I cite. Karel van Mander, *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-Const*, ed. Hessel Miedema (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1973). For a commentary on *Den Grondt*, see Walter S. Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon: Karel van Mander's Schilder-Boeck*. (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1991).

[126] Van Mander, *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-Const*, 112-113 and 132-133. For the role of variety in van Mander's chapter on compositions, see Miedema's commentary in ibid., 459-460. Previously in Italy, Leon Battista Alberti praised *copia* and *varietà* in history painting, claiming that both variety and novelty are more pleasing to view. See Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, 166.

[127] He also identifies variety as a key component for animal paintings, flower paintings, and still lifes. Walford, *Jacob van Ruisdael and the Perception of Landscape*, 30. For Jan van Goyen presenting variety in his landscapes, see Eric J. Sluijter, "Jan van Goyen als Marktleider, Virtuoos, en Vernieuwer," in *Jan van Goyen*, ed. Christiaan Vogelaar (Zwolle: Waanders, 1996), 49. For van Goyen's ability to show the variety through human figures in his winter scenes, see ibid., 50.

1653 described "Comedian" by stressing the diversity of character types that the performer plays to entertain his audience.[128] Related to this appreciation of *varietas*, van Mander also considers the ideal artist to be a universal master capable of painting everything that nature has to offer. As noted by Walter S. Melion, van Mander privileges history painting not for the opportunity to depict the human form and heroic deeds exemplifying virtue as Italian art theorists did, but for its capacity to depict all aspects of the world.[129]

While van Mander acknowledges the superiority of history painting, he accepts that it is not suitable for every artist. Echoing Horace's advice for poets in *Ars Poetica*,[130] van Mander proposes that if a student does not possess the necessary skills to succeed as a history painter, then he or she should find another aspect of painting in which to excel. He writes, "if one cannot achieve perfection in figures and history pieces, then one can paint animals, kitchens, fruits, flowers, landscapes, architectures, perspectives, cartouches, grotesques, nights, fires, depictions

[128] Jan van der Veen, *Raadtselen uyt gebeelt met Zin-Rijke uyt leggingen* (Deventer: Jan Colomp, 1653), 17-18 and 137-138.

[129] As we saw with Francisco de Holanda's complaint that the "Flemings" try to excel in too many fields, the stress on universality was identified as a hallmark of Netherlandish painting by foreign beholders. See Ernst H. Gombrich, "The Renaissance Theory of Art and the Rise of Landscape," in *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon Press, 1966), 115. Melion finds this same attitude celebrating the all-encompassing nature of history painting in the Life of Karel van Mander written by an anonymous author in the 1618 edition of *Het Schilder-Boeck*. When describing a now lost *Crossing of the River Jordan* by van Mander, the writer includes an ekphrasis that Melion considers giving equal attention to the portrait heads, landscape, seashells, and "*werckelijcke beweginghe*," which Melion defines as "effective actions." See Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 1-4. Van Mander's admiration for history painting requiring the artist to be a universal master is also noted in Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion*, 7-8. J. A. Emmens writes that van Mander favored history painting for its demand on the artist to combine *kunstdelen*, or artistic types. He claims that Rembrandt was considered a universal master by the standards of the first half of the seventeenth century before classicizing influences entered the Netherlands via France due to the painter's refusal to separate genres in his work. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de Regels van de Kunst*, 114 and 122. Lawrence Goedde also stated that van Mander's admiration for a painter who mastered a variety of subjects differentiates him from Italian writers. Lawrence Goedde, "Renaissance Landscapes: Discovering the World and Human Nature," in *A Companion to Renaissance and Baroque Art*, ed. Babette Bohn and James M. Saslow (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 390.

[130] As translated by Ben Johnson in 1640, "Take therefore, you that write a subject fit/Unto your strength, and long be turning it:/Prove what your shoulders will, or will not beare,/His choise, who's matter to his power doth reare." Horace, *His Art of* Poetry, trans. Ben Johnson (London: J. Okes, 1640, facsimile ed., Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1974), 3.

from life, seas and ships, or anything else of that sort."[131] This list reads to a modern scholar more like a collection of specific details in paintings than subjects.[132] The passage suggests not only the wide-ranging implications of van Mander's variety in nature, but also the remarkable number of pictorial categories that he acknowledged.

As a testament to van Mander's expansive attitude towards pictorial categories, Hessel Miedema proposed that van Mander did not consider the phrase "landscape" descriptive of an independent genre. Rather, it referred to an outdoor location that could constitute a part or the entirety of a painting, as suggested by the contract for the altarpiece in St. Bavo's Church from 1485.[133] Yet it is important not to forget that human figures and ideas about the natural world were vital components of landscape according to van Mander. In the beginning of *Den Grondt*'s chapter on landscape, van Mander instructs the young painter to visually explore the outdoors as he details all that can be seen, including people.[134] He even states where in the landscape composition to include the figures and the types of people and activities that should be depicted,

[131] Miedema's modern Dutch reads, "*Is het niet de perfectie in figuren en historiestukken dan kan het zijn: dierstukken, keukenstukken, fruitstillevens, bloemstukken, landschappen, architectuurstukken, perspectiefstukken, cartouches, grotesken, nachtstukken, branden, afbeeldingen naar het leven, zee- en scheepsstukken, of iets anders van dien aard te schilderen*." Van Mander's original Dutch does not include the word "pieces (*stukken*)" in his list ("*…Beesten, Keuckenen, Fruyten, Bloemen, Landtschappen…"*). Van Mander, *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-Const*, 46-47.

[132] As noted in Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion*, 7-8 and Emmens, *Rembrandt en de Regels van de Kunst*, 117-118.

[133] Van Mander, *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-Const*, 536 and 539. For the importance that van Mander places on landscapes in history painting, see Melion, *Shaping the Netherlandish Canon*, 7. Melion believes that van Mander celebrates the importance of landscape because his main concern as a writer was to justify the Netherlandish tradition of painting. Since Italian theorists associated Netherlandish painters with what they perceived to be the lowly genre of landscape, van Mander highlights its presence in history paintings and how landscapes and history scenes are composed in similar ways. Ibid., 11-12 and 97-98. David Freedberg also believes that van Mander considered landscape primarily as a setting for other types of paintings, yet he still commends van Mander for providing landscape with considerable attention, including an entire chapter in *Den Grondt*. David Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century* (London: British Museum Publications, 1980), 51. Walford also believes that van Mander viewed landscapes as a setting for a figure painting while acknowledging the attention that the Haarlem writer provides to humans in landscapes. Walford, *Jacob van Ruisdael and the Perception of Landscape*, 27.

[134] Van Mander, *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-Const*, 204-205. For the attention that Jan van Goyen gave to the human figures in his landscapes, see Sluijter, "Jan van Goyen als Marktleider, Virtuoos, en Vernieuwer," 48-49.

mostly rural labors and pastoral relaxations.[135] The importance of human activity in landscapes is further underscored by "Landscape Painter Song," a poem by P. C. Ketel included in *Den Grondt*, which mentioned the animals, buildings, and even the hunters and dogs that the student observes.[136] The idea that an early modern beholder simultaneously observed both the human and the natural is recalled in Guillaume du Bartas' *La Sepmaine ou Création du Monde* ("The Week or Creation of the World"). This sixteenth-century poem popular in the Dutch Republic compares God on the seventh day of creation to a tired painter marveling at the landscape (*un divers paysage*) that he just finished. In addition to domesticated animals and buildings, du Bartas also described a hunter (*l'arquebusier*) firing his gun and a singing shepherdess (*la pastorelle*) in the landscape.[137]

While van Mander does not specifically discuss the winter scene in *Den Grondt*, he still reveals what he would have valued in such images. Van Mander came to the Northern Netherlands in the 1580s and published the *Schilder-Boeck* thirty years before Avercamp died, so his life overlapped with the flourishing of the Bruegelian winter scene. These panoramic views signify that their creators are able to depict a variety of people on the ice, as all ages, genders,

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[135] "*Het is wel goed als je van te voren het geschiedenisje kent [dat je er in aan gaat brengen] – volgens de Schrift of uit de 'poëten', al naar het je belieft – om je landschap daar beter naar te [kunnen] schikken. Maar vergeet toch vooral niet, kleine figuren bij grote bomen te zetten. Zet je kleine schepsels hier aan het ploegen, daar aan het maaien; [laat ze] ginder de vracht op de wagen [laden] en elders vissen, varen, vogels vangen en jagen. Laat hier boeremeisjeshanden de melkfonteintjes ontspannen langs de groene oevers, [laat] daar Tityrus met zijn fluitje Amaryllis vermaken, zijn liefste van de vrouwen, in rust zittend onder de beukeboom, en [laat hem zo] met aangenaam geluid zijn kudde verlustigen. Maak je land, je stad en je water vol bedrijvigheid, je huizen bewoond en je wegen bewandeld*." Van Mander continues by describing the landscapes, including the people depicted in them, created by Ludius. Van Mander, *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-Const*, 216-219.

[136] Ibid., 64-65.

[137] Guillaume du Bartas, *La Sepmaine ou Création du Monde*, ed. Victor Bol (Arles: Actes Sud, 1988), 181-182. Lisa Vergara connected du Bartas to Netherlandish art, comparing his cataloging to the cosmic landscapes of Joachim Patinir and Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Lisa Vergara, *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), 47.

and social classes are represented in addition to various winter activities.[138] But depictions of winter offered the artist additional opportunities to display his or her mastery over all that nature has to offer. In his chapter on landscape, van Mander encourages his reader to depict natural phenomena. In addition to thunder, lightening, and storm clouds, van Mander urges the painter to,

> "Try to depict in paint: snow, hail, gusts of rain, sleet frosty and dreary, and the vision-obstructing fog. All these things are necessary for depicting a somber winter day, as sometimes the eye cannot see the towers and houses of cities and towns beyond where one can throw a stone."[139]

By accurately depicting a wintery atmosphere, the artist is demonstrating his or her command over the diversity of nature and highlighting their credentials as a universal master. This statement is more applicable if winter scenes are only a small fraction of the artist's total output, such as the case of Philips Wouwerman, who only has about ten surviving winter scenes, or Rembrandt and Jan Steen with their one each. This declaration of artistic skill is further underscored by the few Netherlandish painters, including Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Lucas van Valckenborch, and Aert van der Neer, who embraced the challenge of depicting snowfall.

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[138] The variety in Bruegelian seasonal scenes has been noted by other scholars, such as Stefaan Hautekeete in his introduction to the Holstein edition on Hans Bol. *The New Holstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700 Hans Bol*, ed. Ger Luijten (Ouderkerk aan den Ijssel: Sound & Vision Publishers, 2015), LXXV.

[139] "*Met verf moet men ook proberen uit te beelden: sneeuw, hagel en regenvlagen, ijzel, rijp en droevige, het gezicht belemmerende mist. Al deze dingen zijn nodig om sombere winterse dagen uit te beelden, als het gezichtsvermogen soms – om torens en huizen in steden en dorpen te zien – niet verder reikt dan men een steen zou kunnen gooien*." Van Mander, *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-Const*, 206-209.

2. Philips Angel

Roughly four decades after van Mander wrote *Den Grondt*, Philips Angel addressed his fellow painters in Leiden with a speech on St. Luke's Day. His speech was published by Willem Christiaens in 1642, the same year that Rembrandt finished his *Night Watch*. In addition to tracing the history of painting, praising its powers, and outlining its victory in a few *paragoni*, Angel instructs how a painter can ascend to greatness. This section of the speech reveals the qualities that he valued in a painting. Angel is primarily concerned with proper technical execution instead of academic notions of clearly defined and hierarchical categories. While his points are mostly relevant to history painters, Angel challenges rigid academic pictorial categories when he offers the same advice to those who work with a plurality of categories. For instance, he addresses "battle painters (*Bataelje-Schilders*)" and "history painters (*History-Schilders*)" together as opposed to discussing battle scenes as a subset of history painting.[140] The smoking soldier described in the Introduction is part of a composition for "*Corteguarden*," or guardroom scenes, which Angel also treats as an autonomous category. Even when discussing the origins of painting, Angel lauds painterly skill instead of defining and ranking categories. He

[140] Angel also advises both "battle painters" and "marine painters (*Zee-Schilders*)" on the depiction of smoke. Philips Angel, "Praise of Painting," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 24 (1996), 244 and Philips Angel, *Lof der Schilder-konst* (Amsterdam: Kunsthistorisch Instituut, 1972), 40-42. Eric Jan Sluijter stresses Angel's wide range of types of scenes to argue that Angel viewed them more or less equally while not giving superiority to history painting. Eric Jan Sluijter, "Didactic and Disguised Meanings?: Several Seventeenth-Century Texts on Painting and the Iconological Approach to Dutch Paintings of This Period," in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, ed. Wayne Franits (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 83 and Eric Jan Sluijter, *De Lof der Schilderkunst: Over Schilderijen van Gerrit Dou (1613-1675) en een Traktaat van Philips Angel uit 1642* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 1993), 9. For the English translation of the latter, see Eric Jan Sluijter, "In Praise of the Art of Painting: On Paintings by Gerrit Dou and a Treatise by Philips Angel of 1642," in *Seductress of Sight: Studies in the Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), 199-263. Sluijter also highlights how Angel's contemporary in Leiden Jan Orlers used similar language and paid attention to painters of various specializations, which he identifies as Orlers' egalitarian treatment of pictorial categories as opposed to the hierarchy developed by classicists. Sluijter, "In Praise of the Art of Painting," 203-204 and Eric Jan Sluijter, "Jan van Goyen als Marktleider, Virtuoos en Vernieuwer," in *Jan van Goyen*, ed. Christiaan Vogelaar (Zwolle: Waanders, 1996), 39. Hessel Miedema also noticed that Angel was more concerned with the everyday experiences of the painter than a hierarchy of genres. Angel, "Praise of Painting," 256.

celebrates ancient artists for pioneering monochrome portraits, painting on stone, differentiating between male and female forms, foreshortening, mastering drapery, and discovering beauty.[141]

Angel also echoes van Mander when he treats virtuoso depictions of natural effects as their own categories and as evidence of a talented painter able to depict the diversity found in nature.[142] Angel argues for the superiority of painting over sculpture as it can capture a wider range of natural phenomena, such as "a rainbow, rain, thunder, lightening, clouds, vapor, light, reflection, and more of such things, like the rising of the sun, early morning, the decline of the sun, evening, the moon illuminating the night, with her attendant companions, the stars, reflections in the water,…"[143] These comments are significant for painters such as Aert van der Neer, who specialized in moonlight scenes and the cloudy atmosphere of a frosty day, which usually includes reflections on a watery surface. Tonal painters such as Salomon van Ruysdael and Jan van Goyen depicted carefully crafted clouds, and the classic-phase landscapist Jacob van Ruisdael embraced the play of shadow and light over the Dutch countryside.[144] Egbert van der Poel was keen on painting destructive conflagrations blazing against a dark setting. Van der Poel's artistic ambition is evident in the riddle book cited earlier, which was printed nine years

[141] Angel, "Praise of Painting," 235 and Angel, *Lof der Schilder-konst*, 12. Van Mander compiled a similar list of ancient artist's specialties. Joachim von Sandrart produced an updated version for the seventeenth century, where the ancient artists are substituted by Italian, Netherlandish, and German counterparts. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de Regels van de Kunst*, 118. When describing van Mander's use of a similar list aligning ancient painters with their specialties, Emmens highlighted that these specializations would now be considered a mix of genres and aesthetic elements. Emmens argued that the earlier division between types of paintings was not grounded in aesthetic hierarchy but in an individual's skill or ability to combine various aspects of painting, a view promoted by van Mander. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de Regels van de Kunst*, 119-122.

[142] At one point, Angel acknowledges that he cites van Mander and his "great, praiseworthy work (*groote loff-waerde werck*)" frequently. Angel, *Lof der Schilder-konst*, 22. Sluijter noticed Angel's borrowings from van Mander as part of his effort to impress his listeners with his erudition. Sluijter, "In Praise of the Art of Painting," 209. However, Sluijter argues that Angel's views differed considerably with those of van Mander, especially Angel's lack of attention to the didactic and intellectual capacities of painting and the similarities between literary and artistic invention, as well as the absence of the hierarchy of categories. Sluijter, *De Lof der Schilderkunst*, 9.

[143] Angel, "Praise of Painting," 239.

[144] For van Goyen's weather effects, including in his winter scenes, see R. L. Falkenburg, "'Schilderachtig Weer' bij Jan van Goyen," in *Jan van Goyen*, 60-69.

before the painter died, in which the riddle for "Fire" boasts that no one is able to properly paint it.[145] By forcing the technical ability of van der Neer's moonlit scene or van der Poel's flames into an academic pictorial category, and especially one that was not highly esteemed in the academic tradition, we overlook these artists' efforts to demonstrate their mastery of meteorological and atmospheric effects, which were the major purposes of their paintings.

Financial gain was one of the primary motives Angel cites for a painter to use technical skills to entice a purchaser in the open market.[146] The winter scene showcases the painter's diligent study of nature by responding to the challenge of depicting a frosty atmosphere and the visual effects of ice. Thus it could separate an artist from his or her rivals by signaling that they are capable of working as a universal master. This was likely van der Neer's rationale for specializing in moonlight and winter scenes that display his ability to depict specific natural and optical phenomena. He even strove to capture the effects of gusts of wind in a winter scene featuring snowfall. Van der Neer's oeuvre presents an ambitious and elite painter not through his adherence to the elevated genre of history painting, but for his manual and intellectual efforts to capture diverse natural phenomena in the winter scene.[147]

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[145] "*De Schilder-kunst met voor my daelen,/Want niemandt can my recht af-maelen*." Van der Veen, *Raadtselen uyt gebeelt met Zin-Rijke uyt leggingen*, 89.

[146] Sluijter argued that competition in the open market encouraged artists to improve the quality of their own paintings, in Eric Jan Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals: History Painting in Amsterdam 1630-1650* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2015).

[147] Seventeenth-century Flemish paintings of cabinets of art collectors indicate that painting winter and its effects was considered part of universal mastery, as many of these paintings present illustrations of winter alongside those of other seasons, fire, or natural optical effects. However, most of their winter pictures do not contain individuals on the ice, an exception being Willem van Haecht's *The Cabinet of Cornelis van der Geest with the Visiting Archduke and Archduchess*. A painting of *A Painter in his Studio* in the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford also includes a scene of *ijsvermaak*. It likely represents a universal master since it depicts a painter at work in his studio surrounded by paintings of various subjects, including a portrait, allegories, devotional scenes, a still life, a church interior, and animal studies. For cabinet paintings, see S. Speth-Holterhoff, *Les Peintres Flamands de Cabinets d'Amateurs au XVIIe Siècle* (Brussels: Elsevier, 1957), especially plate 32 for van Haecht's painting and plate 43 for *A Painter in his Studio*. For paintings of cabinets and art collections, see Zirka Zaremba Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp 1550-1700* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987).

3. Cornelis de Bie

About twenty years after Angel delivered his speech, Cornelis de Bie's *Het gulden cabinet van de edel vry schilderconst* ("The golden cabinet of the noble and free art of painting," referred to as "*Het gulden cabinet*") was published in Spanish-controlled Antwerp.[148] Even though the collection of artists' biographies and laudatory poems was written in the Southern Netherlands, its discussion of painting is consistent with contemporary Dutch sources. De Bie describes the same plurality of genres, including many not acknowledged in academic art theory. He introduces artists as "battle painter,"[149] "sea painter,"[150] "landscape painter,"[151] and even "conversation-painter."[152] This tendency is echoed in the accompanying poem "Miscellaneous Lines on the Variety of the Art of Painting (*Mengelrije op de verscheydentheydt der Schilder-Const*)." Written by an unidentified author, the poem celebrates the flourishing of the arts once bellicose years had ended and artists were able to replace soldiers in the Netherlands.[153] In his list of artists, the poet cites categories of painting as precise as battles (*Batalien*), rich

[148] *Het gulden cabinet* was originally published in 1662. Cornelis de Bie, *Het gulden cabinet van de edel vry schilderconst* (Soest: Davaco, 1971).
[149] Palamedes Palamedesz. "*Batalie Schilder in Hollandt*." Ibid., 102 and Pieter Snayers. "*Batali-Schilder van Antwerpen, oudt 68. jaeren*." Ibid., 220.
[150] Jan Porcellis. "*Zee-Schilder van Hollandt*." Ibid., 126.
[151] Jan Wildens. "*Landtschap Schilder van Antwerpen*." Ibid., 126.
[152] Chritstoffel Jacobsz. van der Laemen is referred to as a "*Conversatie-Schilder van Antwerpen*." Ibid., 159. *Het gulden cabinet* also serves as a reminder that the wider concept of "still life" was generally not used in the seventeenth-century Netherlands. Jan Davidsz. de Heem and Jacob van Es are "fruit painters." Ibid., 216 and 226. Pieter Boel is an "animal-painter from Antwerp (*Beest-Schilder van Antwerpen, oudt 36. jaeren Anno 1661*)" with the French caption below his portrait praising his "animals, flowers, fruits, etc. ("*Paintre tres-bien estimé animaux, fleurs fruicts ect…*)." Ibid., 362-363. The caption below Joris van Son's portrait celebrates him as the "excellent painter in fruits, flowers, etc. (*Peintre Excellent en Fruicts, Fleurs, &c. qu'il demeure à Anuers ou fut nè en l'an 1622*)." Ibid., 403.
[153] The poem ends with the letters "Bb." For the poem, see ibid., 200-201. The theme of the arts flourishing in a peaceful society was a common theme in Netherlandish art and literature celebrating peace. See Catherine Levesque, "Landscape, Politics, and the Prosperous Peace," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1997, Deel 48: Natuur en Landschap in de Nederlandse Kunst 1500-1850*, 223-257.

compositions (*Ordonnanti Rijck*), peasants (*Boeren*), lighting (*Verlichtery*), masonry (*Metselry*), fire (*seer aerdich inden brant*), landscape (*Landtschap*), "small crawling animals" (*cleyn cruypende beeste*), portraiture (*pourtret*), kitchens (*keucken*), perspectives (*Prospecten*) and marine painting (*Zee-const*).[154]

This plurality of pictorial categories also reflects how de Bie values the ability of painting to capture the variety found in the world. His poems celebrating the church interior painters Pieter Saenredam and Pieter Neefs refer to the many types of buildings that the artists portray.[155] De Bie also challenges the notions of "pure" landscape in his poem praising Nicolaes Berchem (de Bie calls him "Cornelis van Berchom") when he writes of the artist's "landscapes, little animals and little figures."[156] While de Bie had no reservations about using the term "landscape," he also employed a number of descriptions of the work of landscapists, such as "forest," "mountains," "lands," "ground," "views," and "fields."[157] De Bie curiously omits the word "landscape" in his poem on Joos de Momper, who creates "paintings of ruins, rocky cliffs, waterfalls, and grounds."[158] In addition to detailing the objects that one would find in de

[154] The poet divides architectural painting into "masonry" and "perspectives." Interestingly, the poet does not use the term "history painting." Instead, he honors Peter Paul Rubens, Anthony van Dyck, Jacob Jordaens, Jan Boeckhorst ("*Lange Jan*"), Cornelis Schut, Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, and others as "figure painters (*fraey Schilders in Figueren*)." Additionally, the poet does not identify still lifes as a wider category, but describes them in more specific terms. Frans Snyders paints "hunts (*jacht me op-ghespannen netten*)," while other painters produce "banquets (*bancketten*)" and "flowers (*bloemen*)."

[155] "…paintings of perspectives, churches, rooms, galleries, buildings, and other things from the inside and outside." (…*shilderen van perspectiven/kercken/saelen/galderijen/ghebouwen/en andere dinghen soo van buyten als van binnen*…)" Ibid., 246. For Neefs, see Ibid., 155. For Saenredam, see ibid., 246.

[156] "*…Als Berchom ons verthoont, soo in stilstaende dinghen/Als Landtschap, Beestjens en Figeurkens voort te bringhen/Daer t'puyck der wetenschap niet hoogher vlieghen can/Om te verheffen al de deughdt van eenich Man*." Ibid., 385.

[157] De Bie ends his poem on Lucas van Uden, "…*Jn Landschappen en Waranden/Jn verschieten, Berghen, Landen/Jn Velden, Wout en Bosch/Wat hy doet t'staet even los*." He typically capitalizes the words "art," "nature," "painter," "painting," and any pictorial category, which he does for the natural features depicted in the works. Ibid., 241. He also writes about Herman Saftleven painting "*Landtschap, Bosch, en Landouwen*." Ibid., 276.

[158] "*Ten selven tijde heft oock gheweest eenen Ioss de Momper die seer ervaren en wonder uytstekende was in't Schilderen der Ruinen/Steenrotsen/Watervallen en gronden*." Ibid., 90-91.

Momper's work, de Bie recalled how Brueghel would populate de Momper's paintings with specific buildings, people, and animals.[159] Such details indicate that the beholder of a landscape was encouraged to visually explore the parts of the work and revel in the variety of nature and the people that occupy it. Similarly, de Bie lauded Herman Saftleven by writing that the Dutch painter surpasses life not only in his mountains, rocks, and waterfalls, but also in his depictions of cattle and rural stables.[160]

De Bie, who was the son of a painter but not an artist himself, rarely mentions winter scenes. In his poem celebrating Denis van Alsloot (de Bie calls him "Daniel van Alsloot"), de Bie writes of the artist producing "landscapes and views,"[161] even though van Alsloot painted a number of winter scenes in Brussels during the first half of the seventeenth century. But de Bie mentions the pleasure of viewing such paintings ("*Een Landtschap daer m' in siet een groot vermaeck voor d'ooghen*"), suggesting the recreational and joyful purpose of such works. One of the few instances of de Bie describing an artist depicting winter effects occurs in his poem on the Antwerp artist Lucas van Uden, where the author suggests that the artist be observant through the cycle of the seasons.[162] He praised van Uden's ability to depict natural phenomena such as

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[159] "*…Besonderlijck wanneer hy toetsten de panneelen/Uyt eenen cloecken aert met sijne gout pinceelen/En dat sijn Conste was van Brueghel ghestoffeert/Met kleyne Boetsery oft Ruyterkens te Peert/Met Muylen hier en daer, met Schaepkens inde weyden/Met Pellegrims beschelpt en huysken tussen beyden/En blauwlijvighe locht, daer 't Sonnen licht door straelt/Dat uyt een lichte wolck op Mompers berghen daelt;/Dat is het uytersten dat ons Pictur' can gheven/Soo wonder schijnt des' Const te wesen 't tweed eleven…*" Ibid., 90.

[160] "*…Die het leven overtreft/En als t'leven sich verheft/In berg hen rots in water-vallen/In alle Vee en Boeren stallen…*" Ibid., 276.

[161] "*…besonder in het kleyn met Pinceel eenighe Lantschappen en ghesichten uyt te werken…*" and "*Een Landtschap daer m' in siet een groot vermaeck voor d'ooghen/Kost ons Van Alsloot naer nateur en leven thooghen/Seer net in het gheboompt en licht op sijnen dach/Soo dat sijn Const bewijst al wat den aert vermach*." Ibid., 168.

[162] "*…CERES met haer rijpe aren/OPS met al haer groene haeren/TELLVS oock soo vlijtich pronckt/En het Schilders oogh belonckt…*" Ibid., 240. While van Uden produces "landscapes," the poem ends with a recognition of his "mountains (*Berghen*)," "lands (*Landen*)," and "fields (*Velden*)," which are used alongside the term "*Landtschappen*." De Bie's degree of detail in recognizing painting types is so remarkable that he provides two synonyms for "forest" (*Wout* and *Bosch*). "*…Die haer eel Pinceel ghelijcken/Rots en Bergh, oock Heuvels Dijcken/Huysen, Steden oft Casteel/Wort gheschildert van Pinceel/Als van UDEN can bethoonen/En door sijne Const*

rain, thunder, mist, lightening, heat, cold, and snow. Through his stress on capturing all that can be seen in nature, de Bie reminds us that "landscape" was one of a number of terms applied to scenes of the outdoors and a much more inclusive term in the seventeenth century. All types of natural phenomena, as well as human figures and their marks on the land, were part of this variety to be enjoyed by the viewer.[163]

4. Samuel van Hoogstraten

Early in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the Rembrandt pupil and international court painter Samuel van Hoogstraten wrote the *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst: Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt* ("Introduction to the High School of the Art of Painting: Or the Visible World," referred to as "the *Inleyding*") months before his death in 1678.[164] The Dordrecht-born artist, who was also active in Austria and England, intended for the *Inleyding* to function as an "academy" for one keen on becoming a painter. Scholars have pointed to the *Inleyding* as an example of the Dutch embracing French academic influences in the second half of the seventeenth century.[165] However, van Hoogstraten shared van Mander's

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verschoonen/Want al t'gen' Natuer vermach/Brenght van VDEN voor den dach/Jn Landtschappen en Waranden/Jn verschieten, Berghen, Landen/Jnde Velden, Wout en Bosch/Wat hy doet t'staet even los." Ibid., 241.

[163] While discussing the "Landscape etcher from Paris" Gabriel Perelle, de Bie expresses what he looks for in the Frenchman's work. Forests, ruins, valleys, lambs, sheep, and fishing shepherds are included among things that he put in a landscape. "…*Veer gheleghen fraey ghesichten/Die den gheest in't sien vrelichten/Bosch, Ruien en schoon valley/Oft een gras bewassen wey,/Daer de Lammeren en Schapen/Gaen hun voetsaem costjen rapen/Oft daer water-vyvers staen/En daer Herders visschen gaen/En meer dierghelijkcke saecken/Daer men Landtschap af can maecken/Etst PERELLE op de plaet/T'gen' ghelijck het leven staet*…" Ibid., 509.

[164] Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1969). For commentaries, see Celeste Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion: The Art and Writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995) and Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, trans. Beverley Jackson and Lynne Richards (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008).

[165] Celeste Brusati challenges this by identifying the Netherlandish influences in van Hoogstraten's literary magnum opus. Throughout *Artifice and Illusion*, she argues that van Hoogstraten used the *Inleyding* to endorse his own work and native artistic tradition by employing classical and academic concepts to elevate notions of craftsmanship and the ability to deceive the beholder.

admiration for the universal master and the variety found in nature.[166] As opposed to studying in Rome, van Hoogstraten urged the aspiring artist to stay home and learn from the "riches of nature (*de rijke natuer*)," which are too great to depict in one lifetime.[167] Van Hoogstraten also echoes van Mander's reverence for the universal master in his preference for history painting. In the third book, van Hoogstraten encourages the history painter to skillfully depict everything that appears in the scene, not only the human form. An overreliance on this one skill can be detrimental, as he reminds his reader of Dionysius, a classical painter who was dubbed Anthropographus, or "painter of men (*menschschilder*)," because he was incapable of portraying anything else.[168] Van Hoogstraten mentions the seasons as an example of the variety seen in

[166] See Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion*, 7 and Weststeijn, *The Visible World*, 86.

[167] "Learn first to imitate the riches of nature and what is in it. The Sky, the earth, the sea, the animals, and good and common people, all serve for our practice. The flat fields, hills, streams and trees provide us with works enough. The towns, the markets, the churches, and thousands of riches in nature call us, and say: come, you who are eager to learn, observe and imitate us. You will find in our own land so much pleasure, so much sweetness and so much dignity that, once you had tasted it, you would judge your life too short to depict it all. And in the least of objects one can learn to apply all the fundamental rules that belong to the most glorious things." For this quote from van Hoogstraten, see Weststeijn, *The Visible World*, 88 and Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion*, 226-227, who describes a similar version of it in a letter responding to van Hoogstraten's artistically inclined brother with a desire to go study the art of Rome. The translation above comes from Weststeijn, who cites it from page 18 of van Hoogstraten's *Inleyding*. "*Leer vooreerst de rijke nateur volgen, en wat'er in is, naebootsen. De Hemel, d'aerde, de zee, 't gedierte, en goede en booze menschen, dienen tot onze oeffening. De vlakke velden, heuvelen, beeken en geboomten, verschaffen werx genoeg. De steeden, de marten, de Kerken, en duizent rijkdommen in de Nateur, roepen ons, en zeggen: kom leergierige, beschouw ons, en volg ons nae. Gy zult in't vaderlant zoo veel aerdicheit, zoo veel zoeticheit, en zoo veel waerdicheit vinden, dat, als gy 't eens wel gesmaekt had, gy uw leeven te kort zoud keuren, om alles uit te beelden. En in deze minste voorwerpen kan men al de grontregels leeren in't werk te stellen, die tot de alderheerlijkste dingen behoren.*"

[168] Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 69-73 and Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion*, 9. Van Mander also describes Dionysius and his limitation in the beginning of his chapter on depicting animals. Van Mander, *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-Const*, 218-219. For van Hoogstraten's preference for history painting, see Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion*, 8 and 237-242. It is worth noting that Brusati likens Hoogstraten's encouragement to study all that nature has to offer to *copia*, but makes the distinction that this is more than "pleasant ornament added to a picture." Instead, it is a vital aspect for making the painting as truthful to nature as possible. The connection between landscape and the variety of a universal master in the *Inleyding* is also described in Weststeijn, *The Visible World*, 243. Brusati noticed the universal outlook of van Hoogstraten as an artist when she recalled a passage written by his pupil Arnold Houbraken, where he described his master as an ambitious painter of "Buildings, landscapes, restless seas, still waters, animals, flowers, fruit, and still lifes (which he painted so naturally that many were deceived by them), whatever it might be, he knew how to pursue it and make it his own (*Gebouwen, Landschappen, onstiuimige Zee, stille Wateren, Dieren, Bloemen, Fruit, en Stilleven (dat thy zoo natuurlyk schilderde dat hy 'er velen door bedroog) en wat het ook wezen mogt, daar wist hy zig na te zetten en 't zig eigen te maken*)." Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion*, 4-5. Houbraken's quote reveals that in the eighteenth century, when Dutch

nature of which a painter should be attentive.[169] A painter seeking the highest accolades should accept the challenge of reproducing icy conditions and a chilly atmosphere. But they can also display the all-encompassing command of their brush by including a prominent building or a horse pulling a sleigh, proving their worth as an architectural or animal painter. The human figures are a vital to this universality. Not only does their presence elevate the status of the painting in van Hoogstraten's eyes, but they also offer the chance to incorporate the desirable *varietas* as all classes and ages of people are depicted in a range of seasonal activities on the ice.

While van Hoogstraten abided by a hierarchy of categories with ranked subcategories, these divisions could be quite fluid. Celeste Brusati demonstrated the challenge to a hierarchy of pictorial categories presented by van Hoogstraten's *trompe l'oeil* still lifes that, despite being one of the lowest ranking genres, won him prestigious court commissions.[170] Ambiguous attitudes towards ranking pictorial categories can also be discerned in van Hoogstraten's writing. He described three *graden* of painting based on pictorial category. Yet a painting of a lower ranking subject could surpass that of a higher ranking one if better executed.[171] The plurality of genres accepted by van Hoogstraten's audience is also evident when he concluded his description of the lowest ranking images by describing the objects found in still lifes before summarizing, "and what we understand to come under the name still life." As late as the 1670s, van Hoogstraten

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artists and collectors were increasingly under the spell of French classicism, the Dutch still claimed a remarkably fluid view of pictorial categories and continued labeling types of paintings by what they specifically depict.

[169] Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 123-125.

[170] Van Hoogstraten's writings praise such still lifes for their supreme ability to deceive the eye. Brusati also noted the blending of architectural painting and portraits in some of van Hoogstraten's English paintings. Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion*, 102-103, 162.

[171] Ibid., 239 and Weststeijn, *The Visible World*, 193. Weststeijn argues that the ability to depict human feelings is the most important factor for inclusion in van Hoogstraten's highest of the three categories. Emmens attributes van Hoogstraten's hierarchical triad as a major step towards modern notions of a ranking of well-defined genres. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de Regels van de Kunst*, 119-122.

still felt the need to define the term "still life."[172] Elsewhere van Hoogstraten seems to straddle between traditional Netherlandish and academic ideas on categories. He begins his chapter on landscapes in the fourth book by addressing both "landscapes and views out in history paintings (*landschappen en uitzichten geeven aen de Historyen*)."[173] This implies that "landscapes" are something separate from history paintings, yet participate in the category beloved by academic theorists, thus overlapping higher and lower-ranking categories. Van Hoogstraten considers human figures part of the landscape, as recalled in his description of the work of the ancient painter Ludius.[174]

While van Hoogstraten does not say much about the winter scene, he opens his fourth book by encouraging the pupil to go outside and investigate the world in all of its variety, including all four seasons, in order to bring veracity to history paintings. His description of winter includes some aspects found in the winter scene, such as trees without leaves ("*maer laet het Bosch bladerlos en met rijp en sneeuw beladen zijn*"), frozen waterways ("*de bevrore beek*"), and references to fire and woodcutting ("*alle schoorsteenen rooken*" and "*steek dan den houtkliever vry in een warmen dos*").[175] Yet Rembrandt's pupil primarily mentions details too

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[172] "*HEt eerste gilde komt met Lippus hervonde vond van grotissen te voorschijn, of met zwierige festoons, vlecht bloemkranssen, en stelt veelverwige ruikers in potten en vazen; en wijntroffen en schoone Pers en Abrikoos, of Meloen en Citroen, en een helderen Wijnroomer op een zwangeren Dis; met witte en geverfde Papeljoentjes, Roomsche Haegdis, en Kalabrische Tarantel, of Muyzijkboek en Vanitas in der eeuwicheit. Of zy bestellen keukens met allerley kost, van Vlees en Visch, en bekoorlijk Wiltbraet, en al wat onder den naem van stil leven begreepen is*." Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 75.

[173] Ibid., 135.

[174] Ibid., 136-140. Weststeijn wrote that van Hoogstraten considered the lowly genre of landscape according to academic art theory to be a vital aspect for the work of the revered universal master. Weststeijn, *The Visible World*, 243.

[175] "*Maer lust u de bevrooze Satyr te bert te brengen, en hem heet en kout uit eenen mond te doen blazen, steek dan den houtkliever vry in een warmen dos, maer laet het Bosch bladerloos en met rijp en sneeuw beladen zijn, en de bevrore beek, schoon de zwaen in de bijt zwemme, den huisman tot een brug strekken: Laet de locht dyzich zijn, en alle schoorsteenen rooken, den steeling vry de neus druipen, en zijn hair en baert vol yskegels hangen, wanneer hy de snippige noordewindt te gemoet treet*." Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 124.

miniscule to be included in the works, like visible breaths, dripping noses, and icicles hanging from beards and hair, or completely lacking such as the "frozen satyr (*bevoorze Satyr*)." Instead of describing the visual Dutch winter scene, van Hoogstraten relies on traditional literary associations with the seasons.[176] His seasonal descriptions focus on the natural world and human behavior throughout the cycle of the year. Thus the notions of living in harmony with the cycle of the seasons, as described in Chapter 3, was still pertinent in the 1670s and applicable to the winter scene.

5. Willem Goeree

Willem Goeree, a slightly younger contemporary of van Hoogstraten originally from Middelburg, wrote around the time that van der Neer and Wouwerman were completing their final works.[177] His *Inleyding tot de Praktyk der Algemeene Schilderkonst* ("Introduction to the Practice of the General Art of Painting"), expresses ideas sympathetic to van Mander and van Hoogstraten to the point that scholars tend to overlook Goeree as they accuse him of parroting claims made by previous writers as opposed to expressing original ideas.[178] However, Goeree's work indicates how widespread these ideas were in the Dutch Republic. They were familiar to a draftsman and bookseller in Zeeland, after all.

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[176] Both van Hoogstraten and the poem he includes by Silvius portray spring as a joyful, blooming season with references to fields and animals. Summer is the blazing season of the harvest and autumn that of wine production, all of which is typical in Dutch literature. Silvius' description of winter includes the equally common motif of a freezing old grey man combating the cold by sitting over the fire. Ibid., 125. Van Hoogstraten seems to have never created a winter scene. There are no winter scenes by him in either the RKD's website or the list of Hoogstraten's paintings and drawings in *Artifice and Illusion*.

[177] Goeree lived from 1635-1711. His work that receives the majority of my attention is the *Inleyding tot de Praktyk der Algemeene Schilderkonst*, first edition 1670. I used the fourth edition from 1704, which was overseen by Goeree. Willem Goeree, *Inleyding tot de Praktyk der Algemeene Schilderkonst* (Amsterdam: Andries van Damme, 1704). See also Michael W. Kwakkelstein, "Willem Goeree and Leonardo's Theories on Painting," in *Achademia Leonardi Vinci: Journal of Leonardo Studies & Bibliography of Vinciana*, volume 10, ed. Carlo Pedretti, (Florence: Giunti, 1997), 134-140.

[178] Kwakkelstein, "Willem Goeree and Leonardo's Theories on Painting," 134-136.

Goeree repeats the desire to see a painter follow nature, which he praised for its diversity, including "so many thousands of people, animals, and plants."[179] His belief that painting can improve upon nature but should not deviate too much at the risk of creating something monstrous argues for the conventional nature of Dutch art. We saw in the previous chapter and will further see in Chapter 5 how the winter scene improves upon the actual winter experience by excluding many of the season's banalities and hardships. Goeree also desires universality in painting and laments how frequently he encounters work by painters who lack this "*algemeenheid*." Goeree specifically uses the term "*universeel*."[180] While the first edition of Goeree's *Inleyding tot de Praktyk der Algemeene Schilderkonst* was published in Middelburg in 1670, the fourth edition was published in the first years of the eighteenth century. Thus praises of *varietas* and a painter's ability to work as a universal master were printed and read throughout the seventeenth century.

6. Gerard de Lairesse

The writings of Gerard de Lairesse, a former painter whose blindness forced him to exchange the brush for the pen, exemplify French academic influences in Dutch art in the late

[179] *"…De natuur is onnaspeurlijk rijk in menigerley van yder soort voort te brengen, waar van wy een Exempel hebben aan soo veel duisend Menschen, Dieren, en Gewassen: die, alhoewel sy van een geslachte zijn, echters malkander niet juist gelijkstaltig zijn: hier in kan de konst gezeid worden deselve volmaaktheid te besitten, voor soo veel sy in 't navolgen soo menigerley vorm alsze wil, voorbrengt. Ja sy kan dingen voortbrengen die de natuur onmogelijk schijnen, ten opstigt van dingen die wy noyt soodanig van de natuur hebben sien ter Weereld komen…"* Goeree, *Inleyding tot de Praktyk der Algemeene Schilderkonst*, 20-21. For Goeree's praise for the painter able to capture the multiplicity of forms, see Weststeijn, *The Visible World*, 106-107. Weststeijn also described how Goeree considered the variety of human faces to be a testament to the greatness of God. Ibid., 255.

[180] He recalls figure painters who are unable to provide a suitable landscape setting in their history scenes. *"…Men kan geen weg, die daar op uitloopt, nader praktiseeren, dan te arbeiden om zig Universeel in de Konst te maken, en gelijk men zeid, over al 't huis te zijn; invoegen men alle en een ygelijk mag voldoen. Hoe menigmaal sietmen door gebrek van dese algemeenheid…"* Goeree, *Inleyding tot de Praktyk der Algemeene Schilderkonst*, 99. In the following pages, Goeree critiqued artists collaborating in a single painting as an alternative to becoming a universal master. Kwakkelstein also noticed Goeree's attention to the universal painter. Kwakkelstein, "Willem Goeree and Leonardo's Theories on Painting," 135.

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yet his *Groot Schilderboek* ("Great Painting Book") hints at how winter scenes were viewed in the seventeenth-century Netherlands.[181] Even though de Lairesse subscribed to a hierarchy of genres with clear boundaries between them, his notion of genres can be rather fluid. He assigns autonomy to "flowers" as a type of painting and finds connections between the elevated history painting with landscapes, seascapes, and architectural paintings. Most importantly for this study, de Lairesse implies that the winter scene is its own genre. He refers to painters like Bruegel as "winter painters (*Winterschilders*)" when he laments that these artists make a habit of using improper colors and reflections. He supposes this to be why there are so few winter painters.[182] While depicting the proper atmosphere in a winter scene is a major concern for de Lairesse, he also advises on the people and manmade objects characteristic of the season. De Lairesse dedicates nearly an entire page to the poses of a person reacting to the winter cold.[183]

De Lairesse characterizes winter as a miserable and unpleasant season.[184] Yet his explanation for the pleasures of viewing a landscape offers support for the winter scene as a vehicle for experiencing the joys of the season. De Lairesse writes of landscapes permitting one to go out into the world, from America to the Elysian fields, without the dangers and discomforts of travel. Landscapes allow their beholder to experience the delights and wonders of the world

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[181] Gerard de Lairesse, *Groot Schilderboek* (Amsterdam: Henri Desbordes, 1712).

[182] *"'t Is derhalven geen wonder, dat'er zo weinige Winterschilders gevonden worden. Ik heb Winters van Bruegel verbeeld gezien, die zo warm gekoloreerd waren als in 't midden van de zomer, ja het ys en sneeuw als gloeijend; daar nochtans in de winter alles licht gereflexeerd en byna zonder schaduwe is, de slagschaduwen heel helder en blaauw: en echter heeft het zyne diepte en wyking: hoewel in tegendeel zommige hunne voorwerpen in 't verschiet zo gloeijend van schaduwe maaken, als voor*." Ibid., 279.

[183] Ibid., 163.

[184] *"Wy sluiten de Winter uit; oordeelende zulk een vertooning oneigen, en meer verdrietig in 't aanschouwen als vermaakelyk: behalven dat men haar niet dan straffe en gebrekkelyke zinnen kan toepassen, als honger, armoede, en diergelyke, die dit getyde des Jaars mede brengt*." Ibid, 263. Elsewhere, de Lairesse describes winter as "*naare* (unpleasant)." Ibid., 36.

without having to encounter "the heat of the sun and the cold and other discomforts of winter."[185] With this comment, de Lairesse acknowledges that winter has its pleasures and suggests that the winter scene is a tool by which one can enjoy them in a comfortable manner.[186]

Inventories

While art treatises offer insight to how the Dutch valued and described their pictures, one could object that these treatises are more reflective of the ideas of the art community than the everyday person. Van Mander, Angel, van Hoogstraten, and de Lairesse were painters who possessed a deeper knowledge and a more self-aware appreciation for their art than most of the men and women who bought and displayed their works. Their texts are also closely connected with Italian, classicizing art theory, suggesting a highly educated and well-read circle of authors and readers within the art world. Yet the work of several successful Dutch artists and the collecting practices of their patrons do not align with the ideas espoused in classical and academic texts.[187] How can we measure the theorists' ideas against those of the wider population living in the Netherlands–the people that shaped the winter scene through market demands?

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[185] "*Wat kan een mensch meer vergenoegen, dan dat hy, zonder een voet uit zyne kamer te zetten, de geheele waereld doorwandelt, en in een oogenblik tydts van Asia in Africa, en van daar weder in America, ja tot in de Eliseesche velden toe, alle de wonderen kan bezichtigen, zonder in het minste gevaar te vervallen, bevryd van de hitte der zon, of koude en alle andere ongemakken des winters, en de moeijelyke bejeegeningen die onze ligchaamen treffen*?" Ibid., 344.

[186] The pleasure that comes from witnessing wintertime activities is also suggested by Jan van de Velde designing a scene of *ijsvermaak* in his print series titled "Pleasant Landscapes and Enjoyable Views (*Playsante lantschappen ende vermakelijcke gesichten*)." It was common for Dutch artists to design a scene of ice pleasures in such series of pleasant landscape views. For this print, see Irene de Groot, *Landscape: Etchings by the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1979), number 75.

[187] For the difference between collecting practices in the Dutch Republic and the ideas in academic treatises, see Alan Chong, "The Market for Landscape Painting in Seventeenth-Century Holland," in Peter C. Sutton, *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, 113.

Luckily inventories recording the contents of private homes were more numerous than art treatises and survive in large numbers. These legal documents appraising furnishings and goods were typically produced after a death or before a marriage where both parties wished to record their assets separately. Some inventories are quite detailed, as the notary or his clerk recorded room by room the objects that he found and their valuations. While painters occasionally served as appraisers,[188] notaries and their clerks were not artists for the most part and lacked an insider's familiarity with the art world, yet were tasked with describing works of art in their appraisals. Thus inventories are useful for determining how seventeenth-century beholders described the works displayed in their houses. The importance of the scholarship of John Michael Montias for employing inventories to determine Dutch collecting and display practices cannot be overstated.[189] In addition to his analysis, I also used the copies of seventeenth-century inventories associated with Dutch artists collected by Abraham Bredius[190] and the sixteenth and seventeenth-century inventories from Antwerp compiled by J. Denucé and Erik Duverger.[191]

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[188] For examples in Delft, see John Michael Montias, *Arts and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 23.

[189] See Montias, *Arts and Artisans in Delft*; John Michael Montias, "Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam: An Analysis of Subjects and Attributions," in *Art in History History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture*, ed. David Freedberg and Jan de Vries *(*Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1991), 331-372; John Michael Montias, *Art and Auction in 17th Century Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002); and John Michael Montias, "How Notaries and Other Scribes Recorded Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Sales and Inventories," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 30 (2003): 217-235. Inventories have not only assisted the art historian. Scholars of the history of the book such as Margaret Spufford have also employed inventories in their research, and Abbott Lowell Cummings focused on inventories in his research on colonial New England in *Rural Household Inventories: Establishing the Names, Uses and Furnishings of Rooms in the Colonial New England Home* (Boston: The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1964).

[190] Abraham Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare: Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten, und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1915). Bredius published only the inventories of painters and the most wealthy and was prone to omitting entries. For critiques of Bredius, see Montias, "Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam," 333, and Michael North, "Patronage and the Art Market," in *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age*, trans. Catherine Hill (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 107.

[191] J. Denucé, *Inventare von Kunstsammlungen zu Antwerpen im 16. u 17. Jahrhundert* (Antwerp: Verslag "De Sikkel," 1932) and Erik Duverger, ed., *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw* (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunst van België, 1985).

Montias acknowledged the difficulties of relying on inventories in his efforts to ascertain the proportional representation of pictorial subjects displayed in Dutch houses and how it changed over the seventeenth century.[192] He encountered certain descriptions that do not neatly fit within his pictorial categories and others that locate paintings in more than one category.[193] Montias also noted how clerks used abstract terms, such as "perspective" or "modern piece," making the work difficult to categorize. He identified "season" as one such abstract term, while elsewhere considers it a subcategory of landscape.[194] Yet as opposed to being frustratingly vague, terms such as "seasons" and "months" indicate how fluid and fractured Dutch notions of pictorial categories were in comparison with the academic ones inherited by the modern art historian. This is most evident by notaries' and scribes' discussions of the winter scene.

The term *landschap* or *lantschap*, along with its various suffixes, was employed ubiquitously throughout seventeenth-century inventories.[195] Yet notaries and clerks frequently included a few words on the painting's size or what is included in the landscape. The fact that they indicate that a landscape contains animals (*beesten* or *beesjes*), figures (*beelden*), or specific

[192] In addition to inventories and sales records from Amsterdam and Delft, Montias also considers those from Antwerp and a handful from Haarlem in "How Notaries and Other Scribes Recorded Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Sales and Inventories," *Simiolus* 30 (2003): 217-235.

[193] Such as "kitchens," combining still life details and people while possibly containing religious meaning and "perspectives," which illustrate either the inside or the outside of buildings. Montias considers the latter landscapes "for want of a better pigeonhole." Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*, 240-241. In *Art and Auction in 17th Century Amsterdam*, he divides history paintings into types while including genres as specific as "animals," "political portraits," and "seascapes." Yet he still uses the overarching terms "landscape" and "genre" but acknowledges the plurality of genres. For paintings that blend genres, Montias assigns them to the first genre the inventory mentions. Montias' categories do not leave any room for winter scenes unless they belong in "landscapes not otherwise specified." See chart 9.1 in Montias, *Art and Auction in 17th Century Amsterdam*, 87-88.

[194] His Table 1 factors depictions of seasons and months with landscapes as he calculates what percentage of total recorded landscapes these scenes represent. In a footnote, Montias clarifies, "I assume that seasons and months were all landscapes, although some of them probably were not." Montias, "How Notaries and Other Scribes Recorded Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Sales and Inventories," 220-221.

[195] It is common in inventories to encounter the word "landscape" with a diminutive suffix (-gen, -ken, -ie). Reindert Falkenburg believes that such a suffix indicates the scribe's familiarity with the type of scene or how frequently he encounters it as opposed to its size, with which Montias agrees. Montias, "How Notaries and Other Scribes Recorded Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Sales and Inventories," 218.

types of buildings suggests that a seventeenth-century beholder noticed and gave considerable attention to the people included in such paintings. Challenging the dichotomy of higher and lower academic pictorial categories, sometimes a classical or biblical story or characters were identified as part of a "landscape."[196] The word "winter," however, is rarely used in inventories in conjunction with the term "landscape." Notaries preferred the term "a winter" (*een winter*; additionally, Dutch inventories used the diminutive *wintergen* and Flemish ones *winterken*) for a winter scene.[197] While the majority of inventories from the Southern Netherlands I have investigated were written in Dutch, those written in French and Italian also differentiate between "winter" and "landscape."[198] It is common to encounter "a winter" listed only a few entries apart from, or even next to, "a landscape." Jeremias Wildens' inventory from the Spanish Netherlands dated December 30, 1653 even differentiated between "landscapes" and "winters" created by the

[196] Such as "A small landscape on canvas with the Flight into Egypt of Our Lord (*Een cleijn Lantschapken op doeck van de Vluchtinge van Ons Heer naer Egipten*)" in a Flemish inventory from 1646. *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw*, volume 5, 317 and a "Landscape with Adam and Eve (*Noch een Lantschapken van Adam ende Eva*)." Ibid., 434.

[197] The only instances where I have seen the word "landscape" used to describe an image of winter are all in Flemish inventories. One from December of 1644 included a "winter landscape (*Een Landtschapken van den Winter*)" recorded immediately under a "summer landscape (*Een Lantschapken van den Somer in swerte lysten*)." *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw*, volume 5, 192. Around 14 months later, Clara Cornelissen's inventory listed "a large Landscape on canvas, depicting a Winter (*Een groot Landtschap op doeck wesende eenen Winter*)." However, the same inventory included "four paintings of the four seasons… (*Vier schilderyen van de Vier Tyden des Jaers…*)." Ibid., 296. Even Bruegel's earliest autonomous winter scenes were considered "winters." In 1572, only three years after Bruegel died, the Master of the Antwerp Mint Jean Noirot was recorded to have owned "a winter scene" by the recently deceased master. In the seventeenth century, when Peeter Stevens of Antwerp annotated his copy of van Mander's *Schilder-boeck*, he noted a number of paintings that he had seen which he believes to have been by Bruegel, including "Winter," a "small painting in which it is snowing," and a "Landscape with the Sleeping Sower." Dominique Allart, "Did Pieter Brueghel the Younger See his Father's Paintings? Some Methodological and Critical Reflections," in *Brueghel Enterprises*, ed. Peter van den Brink (Maastricht: Bonnefantenmuseum and Antwerp: Ludion, 2001), 48-49.

[198] In late 1642, Sibilla van Perone's French inventory included "A winter by Brueghel (*Un Hyver par Brueghel*)" while using the word "landscape (*paysage*)" to describe other works. *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw*, volume 5, 56-62. Giacomo Ghisberti's 1611 inventory written in Italian also included a few *paesaggij*, yet concluded with a "winter" by Jan Brueghel (*Una pintura in tavola del Inverno con cornise doppie fatta da Giovanni Bruegel*)." *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw*, volume 1, 234-235.

same artist and displayed in the same room.[199] Montias suggests similar tendencies in the Dutch inventories he analyzed. He did not associate the word "landscape" with the name Avercamp, only "(little) winter." While most notaries did not volunteer what is depicted in a "winter," the term likely applied to the definition of the winter scene established in Chapter 1. When a notary attributes a "winter" to an artist, the name usually matches one known for paintings of *ijsvermaak*. "Winters" in Dutch inventories are most commonly attributed to Esaias van de Velde, Jan van de Cappelle, Jan Beerstraten, Avercamp, and van der Neer.[200]

The fact that notaries and clerks overwhelmingly identified paintings as "winters" or discussed them in terms of the seasons when they were comfortable using the term "landscape" suggests an autonomy to the winter scene as a pictorial category.[201] The winter scene is further treated as a genre by its ability to hold a suffix. Adding a *–ken*, *–gen*, or *-ie* to the end of the

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[199] The inventory lists both a "*winterken*" and a "*Lantschapken*" by "*Ouden Wildens*." Denucé, *Inventare von Kunstsammlungen zu Antwerpen im 16. u 17. Jahrhundert*, 165.

[200] Dutch inventories also assign "winters" to "Old Brueghel" (presumably Pieter Bruegel the Elder) "Elder Savery," Jacques Savery, "Momper" (presumably Frans de Momper), David Vinckboons (called "Vingbooms"), Pieter (van) Santvoort, Nicolaes Berchem (called "Berghem"), Everdingen (presumably Allaert, who produced winter scenes, but Caesar painted an allegory of winter now in the Rijksmuseum), Jan van Goyen, Willem Schellinks ("called Schellincx"), Hendrick Dubbels, Jacob van Ruisdael, Gerrit van Battem, and Klaes Molenaer. Bredius' inventories also attribute "winters" to artists' whose work I am less familiar or do not associate with winter scenes, including "young Heeremans," Dirick Barentsz, Jeronimus van der Helst, François Hillegaert, Lodewyck Rem, and "Carel van Manderen." Flemish inventories also list "winters" by "old Wildens," Mostaert (presumably Gillis), Cornelis de Wael, Brueg(h)el–including both Pieter Brueghel the Younger and Jan Brueghel, and a collaboration between de Momper and Brueghel. While we differentiate between the spellings of the names of Pieter Bruegel the Elder and his sons Pieter and Jan Brueghel with an 'h' after the 'g,' that was not standard in the seventeenth century. Unless the notary refers to Pieter the Younger or Jan Brueghel by one of their nicknames (such as an inventory that identifies a *winterken* painted by "helschen Bruegel," thus Pieter "Hell" Brueghel the Younger, Denucé, *Inventare von Kunstsammlungen zu Antwerpen im 16. u 17. Jahrhundert*, 344), or mentions a collaborator that one of the sons is known to have worked with, it is not easy to determine if a winter scene was painted by Pieter Bruegel the Elder or which of his two sons.

[201] A similar trend seems to occur in the English-speaking world. In 1647 in Scotland, John Clerk of Penicuik was recorded to have imported "1 hiver de Brugl in an eben bordeur." The Duke of Hamilton was recorded in 1704 to have been in possession of a "Winter-piece with men goeing with sketts on the Ice." For these references, see Christian Tico Seifert, "On Slippery Ground: *Kolf* in the Art of the Dutch Golden Age," in *The Art of Golf* (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 2012), 27. Across the Atlantic Ocean in colonial New England, the 1769 inventory of Abiah Holbrook mentions "Twelve pictures of the months" and "four pictures of the seasons." Three years earlier, Robert Oliver is noted to have possessed "16 Landskip Pictures Glaz'd .wth. the Camera Obscura Glass." Cummings, *Rural Household Inventories*, xxxvi and 194.

word "*winter*" transforms it into "a little winter." Some inventories, such as that of Susanna Willemsens in Antwerp from 1657, include both a "*Winter*" and a "*Winterken*," suggesting that even the "winter" label was not always sufficient.[202] Montias noticed that the word "snow" is very rarely used when describing a winter scene.[203] Similarly, he found references to ice in documents from Antwerp, but not Amsterdam. The fact that notaries and scribes tended not to specify what is represented in a winter scene indicates that it was a well-known image type in the seventeenth century.[204] However, some inventories reveal what the clerk saw depicted in "*een winter*." Hendrick Meyeringh's inventory from 1677 lists "a winter by the Amstel by Albert Meyerinck (*Een winter synde de Amstel, van Albert Meyerinck*),"[205] stressing the local setting for a scene of *ijsvermaak*. An inventory from Meyeringh's contemporary Barent Cornelisz. Kleeneknecht includes "a little winter with a tent in a black frame (*Een winterge met een tent in swarte lijst*)"[206] and that of Dirck Dalens records "a winter with several skaters (*Een winter met verscheijde schaetsryders*)."[207] These notes confirm that the ice pleasures of skating and visiting *koek-en-zopie* tents were included in images considered "winters."

While very unusual, there are a handful of instances where the notary or clerk did not use the word "winter" to identify a winter scene. In the Spanish Netherlands, "*ysganc/k*" (roughly translated to people out on the ice) is occasionally used, including for paintings attributed to "my

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[202] Denucé, *Inventare von Kunstsammlungen zu Antwerpen im 16. u 17. Jahrhundert*, 201.
[203] He only found one instance where the notary described snowfall; an inventory form Antwerp from 1670 included "a winter scene with snowflakes (*een winter met sneeuw flodden*)." Montias, "How Notaries and Other Scribes Recorded Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Sales and Inventories," 224.
[204] Montias wonders if the attribution of a winter scene to a certain artist signified a presumed familiarity with that artist's work and thus no need to specify the scene beyond "winter." Ibid., 235. I am hesitant to accept this as it presumes a very strong familiarity with the work of individual artists on the part of the notary or scribe. I have also seen many unattributed "winters" in inventories, thus suggesting a type of scene.
[205] Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare Urkunden zur Geschichte der Holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten, und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*, 334 (volume 1).
[206] Ibid, 352 (volume 1).
[207] Ibid, 1406 (volume 1).

Lord Rubens (*myn Heer Rubbens*)"[208] and "Wauwermans," presumably Philips Wouwerman.[209] This term is entirely suggestive of the human action depicted, thus underscoring the importance of the figures for the appreciation of the winter scene.[210] A few creative notaries found ways to describe winter scenes without using either the words "winter" or "*ysgank*." Jacomo da la Chiesa's 1608 inventory from Antwerp includes a painting on panel featuring figures "riding a sled on the ice and others (*Een shilderye op panneel figure van een versaem op slede rydende op d'ys ende anders*)."[211] Joan Carlo Gillebert's 1689 inventory lists "a painting, depicting a masquerade on the ice by the fortifications of Antwerp, painted by Wouters Apts (*een schilderye, verbeldende een mascarade opt ys opde vesten van Antwerpen, geschildert door Wouters Apts*)."[212] The people depicted on the ice are most likely Carnival revelers, as implied by the word "masquerade." Not only does the description recall the association between Carnival and the winter scene, further discussed in Chapter 5, but it also presents festive winter pleasures in a decidedly local setting immediately outside of Antwerp.

As suggested by their treatment of winter scenes, inventories echo art theorists in their open and fluid approach to pictorial categories. The 1664 inventory of Cornelis de Bie, an Amsterdam painter who happened to share a name with the Southern Netherlandish author cited above, not only differentiates winter scenes based on size ("*een winter van J. v. d. Cappelle*" and "*een winterje van de Bie*") and from the "*lantschap*" entries, but also shows how divided a

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[208] In the inventory of Joannes Philippus Happart from 1686. Denucé, *Inventare von Kunstsammlungen zu Antwerpen im 16. u 17. Jahrhundert*, 334. While Rubens did not paint any surviving *ijsvermaak* scenes or works featuring skaters, he did paint a few depictions of winter.

[209] "*Een stucxken Ysganc, van Wauwermans*", ibid., 338.

[210] Volcxken Diericx's inventory from March 1, 1601 included "Twenty sheets of people going on the ice (*Twintig bladeren van den Ysganck*)." The same inventory includes "Winters." *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw*, volume 1, 23. Montias found no mention of "*ijsgangh*" in Amsterdam; all five instances came from Antwerp. See Table 2 in Montias, "How Notaries and Other Scribes Recorded Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Sales and Inventories," 222.

[211] *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw*, volume 1, 196.

[212] Denucé, *Inventare von Kunstsammlungen zu Antwerpen im 16. u 17. Jahrhundert*, 334.

category such as marine scenes can be. The inventory lists terms as specific as "sea-beach (*zeestrant*)," "a sea harbor with figures by de Bie (*een zeehaven met beelden van de Bie*)," and "a little sea with ships by Willem van de Velde (*een zeetie met schepen van Willem v. d. Velde*)."[213] Many inventories identify still lifes by the objects they represent[214] and, while the term "history" was occasionally used, it often appears in conjunction with who or what is depicted or possibly when the notary could not identify the scene.[215] Notaries and clerks often described paintings with phrases as precise as "banquet," "forest," "ships," "landscape with sheep," "dunes," "beach," "waterfall," or "winter." Inventories also corroborate art theorists' claims that virtuoso optical effects and natural phenomena were marveled at as the primary subjects of paintings as they record depictions of "a storm," "difficult weather (*een hard weer*)" and "a little moonshine (*maneschyntje*)."[216] The uses of such terms suggest that the winter scene was primarily

[213] For this inventory, see Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare Urkunden zur Geschichte der Holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten, und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*, 89-93 (volume 1).

[214] Netherlandish notaries and clerks often employed terms such as "flower pot" or "fruits." The term "still life (*stilleven*)" appears in some Dutch inventories in the last few years of the seventeenth century and first few of the eighteenth century, as in Adriaen de Waert's from 1695 and Justus van Huysum's from 1701. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare Urkunden zur Geschichte der Holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten, und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*, volume 1, 1196 and 1238. Montias found the earliest use of the term in a Delft inventory dated to 1639 and has identified a few other instances of its use in the middle of the seventeenth century. Montias, "How Notaries and Other Scribes Recorded Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Sales and Inventories," 225.

[215] For instance, "A history of the Triumph of David by Gerrit de Wet (*Een history van de Triomph van David door Gerrit de Wet*)." Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare Urkunden zur Geschichte der Holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten, und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*, 335 (volume 1). In his investigation of inventories from Delft, Montias describes how, while terms like "history" or "allegory" were used, ones such as "biblical scene" were not. He noticed that, as opposed to biblical scenes, notaries and clerks tend to describe mythological scenes with much vaguer language. Montias, *Arts and Artisans in Delft*, 231-232.

[216] An inventory in the middle of the seventeenth century from Antwerp lists "A Storm (*Een Storm*)." *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw*, volume 5, 410. In the inventory of Cornelis Doek from 1664, Bredius translates "*een hard weer*" to "stormy weather (*stürmische wetter*)" and assumes that the notary was looking at a marine scene. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare Urkunden zur Geschichte der Holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten, und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*, 110 (volume 1). The inventory of Johannes Harmensz. Borsman attributes "a moonshine" to Emanuel de Wit as early as 1658. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare Urkunden zur Geschichte der Holländischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten, und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*, 1243 (volume 2). While Cornelis Ferdinandus' inventory from 1674 records a "little moonshine" (page 2071, volume 2), many of Bredius' examples come from the last years of the seventeenth century and the first years of the eighteenth century. Cornelis de Bie's inventory cited above also features a few "moonshines." Most of the *maneschyntjen* are attributed to van der Neer. However, the word "landscape" can be employed along with "moonshine," as evidenced in Philips van Valckenisse's inventory from the Spanish Netherlands in 1614 ("*Een maneschynken met lantschap*…). J. Denucé,

appreciated as a set type of representation of human behaviors and natural effects specific to the season.

Inventories also reveal that the winter scene was frequently displayed as part of a set of images. Notaries and clerks often referred to "a summer and a winter (*Een somer en een winter*)" together as a pair.[217] A winter scene was also likely on the wall when an inventory records the "four seasons (*vier getyden van 't/'s Jaer*, *4 Tyden des Jaers*, *De Vier Tyden*, *Vier schildereyen van de Tyt*, *Vier Tyten van d'Jaer*, etc.)" and "twelve months." These series appear in inventories that also record "landscapes," indicating that seasonal imagery was treated as its own iconographic category as opposed to a subcategory of landscape.[218] The fact that representations of the seasons were frequently displayed together also highlights the popularity of the theme of human actions performed throughout the cycles of the year.[219] Since four, five, or twelve separate works were recorded as one entry, the period audience appreciated such series as a single group. It is also remarkable that, while "a summer" can occasionally appear listed by itself, "a spring" or "an autumn" are very rarely, if ever, identified outside of a series.[220] "Winters" also appear much more frequently than "summers" in these documents and have an

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Inventare von Kunstsammlungen zu Antwerpen im 16. u 17. Jahrhundert, 14-27 and *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw*, volume 1, 299-311.

[217] Sometimes "a summer and a winter" are one numbered entry while other times they are two separate entries listed next to each other.

[218] One example from the Southern Netherlands comes from Dirk I. Smout's inventory from 1643, which lists "a winter and a summer by van Uden on panel without frames (*Den Winter ende Somer op peneel van Van Uden sonder leyste*)." Not only are a number of "landscapes" recorded in the same room, but the notary was very specific in describing some of them, such as "a landscape with shepherds and a temple painted in the middle (*Een Lantschap met Schaepherdere ende in 't midden eenen temple geschildert*)" and "Two landscapes: one with plundering soldiers and the other with a banquet, both with golden frames (*Noch twee Lantschappen: d'een een Plunderinge van Soldaten ende d'andere een Banquet beyde met vergilden leyste*)." *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw*, volume 5, 96-99.

[219] Series of the five senses (*Vyff Sinnekens*) and the four elements (*Vier Elementen*) were also commonly recorded in inventories, especially those from Antwerp.

[220] Montias, "How Notaries and Other Scribes Recorded Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Sales and Inventories," 220.

autonomy from such series not shared by any other season. There was something appealing specifically about winter in Dutch culture for it to find autonomy from the established series of the months and seasons.

Conclusion

An exploration of seventeenth-century documents detailing painting, whether poetic praises and instructions for the art lover or the notary's appraisal, reveals how the Dutch would have discussed and appreciated winter scenes. The more limited audience of specialists marveled at the variety to be found in nature and held the painter able to capture all of it in the highest esteem. A feature of such universal masters was that they could combine various pictorial categories in a single composition. The winter scene allowed an artist to differentiate himself or herself from competitors in the market by proving that its creator was a universal master able to combine human narrative, views of the natural world, buildings, animals, and especially optical effects of natural conditions such as snowfall and reflections off the ice. From legal documents, we see that the winter scene was referred to as "a winter" and belonged more to the tradition of representations of the times of the year than it did to landscape. All of these seventeenth-century documents corroborate the increasing determination of recent scholars to take a more fluid approach towards genres and types. Treatises and inventories show that the Dutch identified their pictures by what they specifically depict as opposed to the anachronistic and limiting academic idea of pictorial categories used in the present. The Dutch even recognized categories outside of the classicizing genres, such as fires and moonshines. The winter scene is one such category. It was considered a representation of human and natural

activities in a specific season as opposed to a landscape of an icy countryside.[221] And this outlook on winter was more desirable on Dutch walls than representations of any other season. In order to understand this fascination with the season, we need to consider how winter was presented in contemporary art and literature.

[221] Ernst H. Gombrich, who claims that the term "landscape" was much more common in Italy than in Northern Europe, described a 1535 letter from Nicola Maffei to Isabella d'Este, where the count recorded Federico Gonzaga possessing "Twenty [Flemish paintings] which represent nothing but landscapes on fire which seem to burn one's hands if one goes near to touch them." Gombrich, "The Renaissance Theory of Art and the Rise of Landscape," 109. The phrase in Italian, "*paesi di foco che pare che brusino le mane approximandosi per toccargli*," is reproduced in Guido Rebecchini, *Private Collections in Mantua 1500-1630* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2002), 59. Even before van Mander and other Netherlandish theorists wrote of "fires" as their own pictorial category, an Italian writer considered them a sort of landscape.

Chapter 3. Living in Accordance with Cosmic Cycles: Winter's Annual Rest in Art and Literature

Inventories reveal that many "winters" were originally displayed alongside a "summer" or in series of the four seasons, which is not always evident to the modern museum visitor that enjoys representations of a frozen canal in isolation.[222] This display practice underscores the importance assigned to winter–and human responses to it–as part of the regular harmonious cycle of the year which would have been inseparable even from a winter scene displayed by itself. As early modern cosmological ideas aligned the seasons with human life as the microcosm reflects the macrocosm, proper human behaviors throughout the year were a popular motif in art and literature. This chapter investigates winter's role in this theme, which is also prevalent in Virgil's popular poem the *Georgics* and in the Dutch *hofdichten*, or country house poems, that it influenced. These poems present winter as the period in which the plow, scythe, and field are exchanged for a glass of wine, friends, and the fireside. The same relaxing and celebratory winter devoid of labor is illustrated in Netherlandish print series of the seasons. A contemporary beholder's knowledge of science, art, and literature would have encouraged them to bring an attitude of winter as a naturally enforced and celebratory relaxation to the winter scene.

Early Modern Cosmological Understanding of the Seasons

In the early modern period, humanity and the natural world were connected through the belief that the human body is a microcosm, or little world, mirroring the larger macrocosm. Thus human behavior must be aligned with natural cycles such as the seasons. This concept

[222] Many smaller images now identified as "pastoral landscapes," "merry companies," "outdoor banquets," and depictions of ferries may have well originally been "summers" meant to be paired with winter scenes.

originated in antiquity but flourished through the Middle Ages and Renaissance.[223] Central to this outlook was the notion that everything is comprised of the four elements of earth, air, water, and fire. Each element is governed by two of the four qualities of hot, cold, moist, and dry. Each quality can combine with two others, but is completely incompatible with a fourth. Hot and cold, like moist and dry, cannot coexist in the same element. Since every element is antithetical with another, they need to be balanced in a dynamic relationship of conflict and cooperation.[224] This was identified in antiquity as the love and strife of the four elements. Early modern Europeans comprehended the natural world through analogies and understood many objects, cycles, and phenomena as microcosms that reflect in miniature the composition of the macrocosm. The four elements and their dominant qualities were identified in natural groups of four, such as the four humors, the four human ages, the four winds, and the four seasons.[225] Each member of such tetrads claimed the same qualities as its corresponding element and thus

[223] For the macrocosm and microcosm, see George M. A. Hanfmann, *The Seasons Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951); S. K. Heninger, Jr., *A Handbook of Renaissance Meteorology* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1960); and S. K. Heninger Jr., *The Cosmological Glass: Renaissance Diagrams of the Universe* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library Press, 1977); and Lawrence Goedde, *Tempest and Shipwreck in Dutch and Flemish Art* (University Park, PA and London: The Pennsylvania University Press, 1989), 31-35.

[224] Heninger, *The Cosmological Glass*, 99-105; Harry Bober, "The Zodiacal Miniature of the Très Riches Heures of the Duke of Berry: Its Sources and Meaning," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 11 (1948): 8; and Goedde, *Tempest and Shipwreck in Dutch and Flemish Art*, 31-35.

[225] See Nils Erik Enkvist, *The Seasons of the Year: Chapters on a Motif from Beowulf to the Shepherd's Calendar* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1957), 41-44; Heninger, *The Cosmological Glass*, 107; Benjamin B. Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before Rock 'N' Roll: Youth Culture and Masculinity during Holland's Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 19; and, especially for the context of the properties assigned to the element water, Eddy de Jongh, "The Symbolism of Fish, Fisherman, Fishing Gear and the Catch," in *Fish: Still Lifes by Dutch and Flemish Masters 1550-1700*, ed. Liesbeth M. Helmus (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2004), 81-82. For a description on the "fourfold scheme (*Viererschema*)" and its role on seventeenth and eighteenth-century medicine, especially the debate concerning the effect of the qualities of coffee on the on the human body, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants*, trans. David Jacobson (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992), 45-46. For the impact of the qualities and balance of the seasons on human life and health, see page 72 in the introduction of H. L. Spiegel, *Hert-spiegel*, ed. F. Veenstra (Hilversum: Verloren, 1992) and Christian Klemm's essay "Weltdeutung—Allegorien und Symbole in Stilleben" in *Stilleben in Europa*, ed. Uta Bernsmeier, Christian Klemm, Joseph Lammers, Gerhard Langemeyer, and Gisela Luther (Münster and Baden-Baden: Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte and Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1979), 140-217, especially 153-161 for the seasons.

required the harmonious balance with its counterparts. Associated with Pythagoras and his followers, these groups of four became known as Pythagorean tetrads.[226] In *Première sepmaine ou la création du monde* ("First Week, or the Creation of the World"), a poem popular among seventeenth-century Dutch readers and writers,[227] Guillaume du Bartas stressed the relationship between the microcosm and macrocosm through the balance of the four elements and their Pythagorean tetrad counterparts.[228] Josuah Sylvester, who translated the account of the week of creation that begins the book of Genesis into English in 1605, writes,

> "Feeling the fower Winds, that with divers blast;
> From the fower corners of the World doo hast;
> In their effects I finde fower Tempraments,
> Foure Times, foure Ages, and foure Elements.
> Th'*East-wind* in working, followes properly
> Fire, Choller, Summer, and soft Infancie:
> That, which dries-up wild *Affrick* with his wing,
> Resembles Aire, Bloud, Youth, and lively Spring:
> That, which blowes moistly from the *Westerne* stage,
> Like Water, Phlegme, Winter, and heavie Age:

[226] George M. A. Hanfmann attributes the early Pythagoreans as influential for popularizing the idea that there are four seasons. Hanfmann, *The Seasons Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, 89.

[227] Maria A. Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt: Themes and Ideas* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991), 143 and Lisa Vergara, *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982), 20. Karel van Mander referred to du Bartas as "the light of the French language." A Flemish edition of du Bartas was published in 1609. Reinder P. Meijer notes du Bartas' influence on Joost van den Vondel, who also tried translating Bartas' *Semaines*. Reinder P. Meijer, *Literature of the Low Countries: A Short History of Dutch Literature in the Netherlands and Belgium* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1971), 128-129.

[228] Guillaume du Bartas, *La Sepmaine ou Création du Monde*, ed. Victor Bol (Arles: Actes Sud, 1988), 41-71. For a seventeenth-century English translation loyal to the original, see Josuah Sylvester's; Guillaume du Bartas, *The Divine Weeks and Works of Guillaume de Saluste Sieur du Bartas*, trans. Josuah Sylvester and ed. Susan Snyder (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979). Du Bartas generally associates winter with old age and decrepit states.

That, which comes shiv'ring from cold Climates soly,

Earth, withered Eld, Autumne, and Melancholy.

Not, but that Men have long yer this found-out

More then these foure Winds *East, West, North* and *South*:…"[229]

As Sylvester identifies, winter and the other seasons were directed by the same qualities and balance of the elements in the macrocosm. Winter's dominant qualities are moist and cold, aligning it with the elemental water, the humor phlegm, the melancholy temperament, old age, and the west wind.[230]

The same order of the universe that governed the seasons was also read in the human body.[231] Sylvester highlights this in his translation of du Bartas when he writes,

"Thear is no Theame more plentifull to scanne,

Then is the glorious goodly frame of MAN:

For in Man's self is Fire, Aire, Earth, and Sea,

Man's (in a word) the World's Epitome,

Or a little Map, which heere my Muse doth trie

By the grand Patterne to exemplifie."[232]

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[229] Du Bartas, *The Divine Weeks and Works of Guillaume de Saluste Sieur du Bartas*, 152.

[230] Evert van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot: De Verbeelding van de Winter in de Zestiende en Zeventiende Eeuw in de Nederlanden* (The Hague: Rijkskollekties, 1977), 33; Ilja M. Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck: Cosmo-Astrological Allegory in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Prints," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 11 (1980), 170; and Anouk Janssen, *Grijsaards in Zwart-Wit: De Verbeelding van de Ouderdom in de Nederlandse Prentkunst (1550-1650)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2007), 308.

[231] Even though Michelangelo's focus as an artist was on the human body, it can be argued that he was a universal master since the idea of the human body as a microcosm flourished in Michelangelo's Italy. David Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 286, 291, 293. Influenced by Ernst Cassirer, Don Parry Norford considers the Renaissance to be an important moment in literature when the idea of the human body as a microcosm shifted from unity with nature and the cosmos to a separation from it; a distinction between subject and object. Don Parry Norford, "Microcosm and Macrocosm in Seventeenth-Century Literature," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 38 (1977), 209-428.

[232] Du Bartas, *The Divine Weeks and Works of Guillaume de Saluste Sieur du Bartas*, 274.

The Pythagorean tetrad of the four humors of black bile, yellow bile, blood, and phlegm was identified inside the human body. A person's temperament as melancholic, choleric, sanguine, or phlegmatic depended on which humor predominated in their body. Even though it was believed that a perfect balance of temperaments was disrupted after Adam and Eve bit the forbidden fruit, it was still desirable to have the humors balanced as closely as possible in the body.[233] It was considered a grave health risk to have one humor too dominant over the others. The idea of the human body as a miniature world underscores the necessity to live in accord with the cycle of the seasons. The changing of the seasons was explained through the struggle between the elements and their properties.[234] But the elements also formed a balance. Du Bartas underscored the harmony of this balance by comparing the cycle and movement of these qualities to individuals dancing hand-in-hand.[235] Given the desired physical composition of the human body, it was considered optimal and healthy to live in accordance with the balance of the seasons.

Winter played a vital role in the harmony of the natural world also found in the human body. Just as there is no day without all four times and no human life that presents the four ages

[233] For the impact of the Fall for human temperaments, especially in the context of Albrecht Dürer's engraving *Adam and Eve*, see Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 85, 143, 157-158, and 234-235. For an explanation of how the properties of foods, primarily fish, impacted humans through their humors, including during various seasons, see Johanna Maria van Winter, "Fish Recipes in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Cookbooks," in *Fish: Still Lifes by Dutch and Flemish Masters 1550-1700*, 139-153, especially 142.

[234] For a Renaissance description of the elemental conflict, see du Bartas*, La Sepmaine ou Creation du Monde*, 48-49. In his translation, Sylvester writes "Now the chiefe Motive of these Accidents,/Is the dire discord of our Elements:/ Truce-hating Twinnes, where Brother eateth Brother/By turnes, and turne them one into another:/Like Ice and Water, that beget each other,/And still the Daughter bringeth-forth the Mother./But each of these having two qualities;/One bearing Rule, another that obayes,/Those, whose effects doo wholy contradict,/Longer and stronger strive in their Conflict./…With tooth and naile as deadly Foes they fight./…And so in combat they have lesse to doo,/For'*t's easier farre, to conquer one then two*." Du Bartas, *The Divine Weeks and Works of Guillaume de Saluste Sieur du Bartas*, 142.

[235] Du Bartas*, La Sepmaine*, 50 and du Bartas, *The Divine Weeks and Works of Guillaume de Saluste Sieur du Bartas*, 144. The balance is also stressed in Bartas*, La Sepmaine*, 112-113 and du Bartas, *The Divine Weeks and Works of Guillaume de Saluste Sieur du Bartas*, 218.

out of order, there can be no year lacking a season in its proper time and place. Winter and all that came with it must be embraced with behavior appropriate to the season.[236] This is the message of a late medieval Carnival production *Een Abel Spel vanden Winter ende vanden Somer* ("A Play Presenting Winter against Summer").[237] Written in Dutch, it presents an argument over superiority between winter and summer that turns so ugly that the seasons decide that one of them needs to die. They appeal to Venus to settle the dispute, who rules that neither season should perish as both are necessary for the balance of the cosmos. Venus cites astrological bodies when she appeals to the combatants to cooperate, just as other opposites specifically created by God, and to become "eternal brothers (*Ende ewelijc ghebroeders sijn*)."

Despite the budding of the Scientific Revolution, this outlook was widely accepted in the seventeenth century.[238] Thomas Browne and John Donne wrote of the human body as a microcosm as they connected knowledge of nature with knowledge of the self.[239] The relation

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[236] In 1485, Bartholomaeus Anglicus in *De proprietatibus rerum* presents a circular diagram lining up the Labors of the Months with the zodiac, stressing the importance of human life following the cycles of nature. Heninger notes that the two-half circles in the center that depict a young woman surrounded by the blooming plants of summer and an older man sitting amongst the fire and bare trees typical of winter. He states that this illustration depicts how such opposites are necessarily to complete the circle. Heninger, *The Cosmological Glass*, 110-113.

[237] The surviving text is now housed in Brussels. For the production, see Rob Antonissen, *Een Abel Spel vanden Winter ende vanden Somer, naar het Hulthemsche Handschrift uitgegeven, ingeleid en verklaard* (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1946).

[238] Sylvester dismissed the idea of the heliocentric solar system, "Arm'd with these reasons, 't were superfluous/T'assaile the reasons of *Copernicus*,/…/But sithens heere, nor time nor place doth sute,/His *Paradox* at length to prosecute:" Du Bartas, *The Divine Weeks and Works of Guillaume de Saluste Sieur du Bartas*, 211. While writing on Renaissance ideas of nature, S. K. Heninger, Jr. used diagrams produced in the seventeenth century. Heninger, *The Cosmological Glass*, 95-96, 116. Alessandro Arcangeli claimed that humoral theory "still provided by and large the predominant medical paradigm" in early modern Europe. Alessandro Arcangeli, *Recreation in the Renaissance: Attitudes towards Leisure and Pastimes in European Culture, c. 1425-1675* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 18-19. Janssen noted that the old manner of understanding the natural world through analogies and the most cutting edge breakthroughs in cartography co-existed in seventeenth-century Dutch maps containing personifications of the four seasons. Janssen, *Grijsaards in Zwart-Wit*, 81-82.

[239] Norford, "Microcosm and Macrocosm in Seventeenth-Century Literature," 410, 416, and 420. Norford believes that seventeenth-century writers approached the infinite aspects of the microcosm more zealously than their predecessors because of their period's strife in the social, political, and religious arenas. Even Antonio de Eslava's *Noches de Invierno* (Winter Nights), which was translated into German in the seventeenth century and included in inventories from seventeenth-century Spanish Netherlands, takes the concept of Pythagorean tetrads for granted. At one point, Albanio declares that earthquakes occur in winter because the season is characterized by the

between the balance of the seasons and human life was remarkably present in the Netherlandish art world. Many of the art theorists described in Chapter 2 understood the world through analogies of Pythagorean tetrads.[240] The emblem book *Horatii Emblemata* by Otto van Veen, first printed in 1607, makes the connection between human life and the seasons explicit. With the emblem *Volat irrevocabile tempvs* ("Time flies on"), the Leiden-born teacher of Pieter Paul Rubens pairs inscriptions likening human aging with the cycle of the seasons with an illustration of four individuals simultaneously personifying the four ages of man and the four seasons as they walk one behind the other in chronological order (Figure 3.1).[241] The cosmology of the seasons also factors into the decorative program of the new Amsterdam town hall, where the seasons join the signs of the zodiac and the elements to praise the government of Amsterdam's control by likening it to the cosmic order.[242] Even outside of the art world, the connection between the cycle of the seasons and human aging remained prevalent. The poet Philibert van Borsselen celebrated country life in Jacob Snouckaert's manor in *Den Binckhorst, ofte Het Lof des Gelucsalighen ende Gherustmoedighen Land-levens; aen Jonck-heer Jacob Snouckaert, heere van den Binckhorst* ("Den Binckhorst, or the Praise of the Blessed and the Tranquil Country

property of wetness. For de Eslava's book and background, see Luis M. Gonzales Palencia's Prologue in Antonio de Eslava, *Noches de Invierno* (Madrid: Editorial Saeta, 1942).

[240] Hessel Miedema noted Karel van Mander's attention to the human connection with the macrocosm in his commentary on *Den Grondt*. Karel van Mander, *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-Const*, ed. Hessel Miedema (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1973), 351, 442, 459, and 557. It has been suggested that Samuel van Hoogstraten modeled the *Inleyding* on the four humors and the influence of the nine planetary bodies. See Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, trans. Beverley Jackson and Lynne Richards (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), especially 63. Joachim von Sandrart assigns winter with the color black, as well as the element earth and the melancholy complexion. He reminds us of the cosmological outlook on which this science is based by stating that black is the color associated with the planet Saturn. Joachim von Sandrart, *L'Academia todesca della architectura, scultura & pittura: oder Teutsche Academie der edelen Bau- Bild- und Mahlereykünst...*, (Nuremberg: Johann-Philipp Miltenberger, 1675), 88.

[241] A child is followed by a young man with the grains of summer, who walks in front of a bearded man with grapes of the Autumn harvest. An old man with a warmer concludes the procession.

[242] Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *Hard-Won Unity*, trans. Myra Heerspink Scholz (Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2004), 445.

Life; Dedicated to Sir Jacob Snouckaert, Lord of den Binckhorst" referred to as "*Den Binckhorst*"). He wrote in his *hofdicht*, "the young child, the hot and strong youth…the cool, mature man, and the cold, shivering old man; spring, summer, autumn, and winter are just like life."[243] Popular songbooks and riddle books also assumed that their readers were familiar with natural sets of four.[244] We saw in Chapter 2 how seventeenth-century art collectors were fascinated by the balance shared by the microcosm and the macrocosm as series of the four seasons, twelve months, and seven planets are regularly found in Netherlandish inventories.[245] This interest continued into the eighteenth century, as evidenced by the allegorical paintings that decorated the mansions of Amsterdam.[246]

As we have seen, winter was associated with the last of the four ages of man, a popular theme that could be enjoyed by the masses in the sixteenth century through print series and

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[243] *"…dat t'jonge teere Kind,/De heete stercke Ieught (die ghy schier t'eynde bint)/De coele rijpe Man, end s'couden Grijsaerds beven,/De Lente, Somer, Herfst, ende Winter zijn van t'leven:...*" Philibert van Borsselen, *Den Binckhorst, ofte Het Lof des Gelucsalighen ende Gherustmoedighen Land-levens; aen Jonck-heer Jacob Snouckaert, heere van den Binckhorst* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz., 1613), 7. On page 15, van Borsselen recalls the literary convention of associating youth and warmth against old age and winter cold. A couple years earlier, van Borsselen detailed the four elements in *Strande, oft Ghedichte van de Schelpen/Kinck-hornen/ende andere wonderlicke Zee Schepselen tot lof van den Schepper aller dingen* (Haarlem: Adriaen Rooman, 1611), 6.

[244] For example, *Apollo of Ghesangh der Musen* contains songs referencing the four elements. *Apollo of Ghesangh der Musen* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz., 1615. Reprinted Deventer: Sub Rosa, 1985), 46. The riddle and answer for "Earthen Pot" in Jan van der Veen's riddle book stressed the four elements which played a role in the the object's creation. Jan van der Veen, *Raadtselen uyt gebeelt met Zin-Rijke uyt leggingen* (Deventer: Jan Colomp, 1653), 82 and 204. Daniël Heinsius also referenced the four elements in *Nederduytsche Poemata* from 1616. Ed. Barbara Becker-Cantarino (Bern and Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1983).

[245] The same fascination with natural sets also occurs in European colonies overseas. In 1666 in Ipswich, Massachusetts, Thomas Wells bequeathed to his son "the new pictures, viz. of the Kinge and Queene & of the five senccees." Over a century later, Andrew Belcher owned "13 Flower Pieces of the Seasons." Abbott Lowell Cummings, *Rural Household Inventories: Establishing the Names, Uses and Furnishings of Rooms in the Colonial New England Home* (Boston: The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1964), xxi and xxxvi.

[246] As late as 1718, Jacob de Wit created a program for Jacob Cromhout's house which included the four seasons, the signs of the zodiac, the seven planets, and the four elements. For such series, see Yvette Bruijnen, "Over de *Twelf Maendekens* en de *Vier Tyden 's Iaers: De Maanden en Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden circa 1500 tot 1750*," 63-64 and Marc de Beyer 's essay "De Vier Jaargetijden in de Noord-Nederlandse Decoratieve Schilderkunst 1660-1750," 93-101, both of which are in the catalogue *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, ed. Yvette Bruijnen, Paul Huys Janssen, et al. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002).

Ommegang floats.[247] Dutch writers, like their colleagues elsewhere in Europe, likened old age to the season when plants do not bloom.[248] The stages of life and cycle of the seasons are also connected by expectations of human behavior. Just as each stage of life demands its own set of behaviors, each season requires one to live in a manner only applicable to that time of the year. The proper manner by which to respond to winter is to embrace relaxations, both from work and social standards, that are inappropriate, and even lethal, when performed in any other seasons.

The *Georgics*

Despite writing roughly a millennium and a half before Netherlandish painters decorated canvases and panels with skaters and kolfers, Virgil was one of the most celebrated authors among Europe's humanist circles. The author of Augustan epics also produced the *Georgics*, a cycle of didactic poems celebrating rural life, agriculture, and nature.[249] A central theme of the poems is the farmer's appropriate actions throughout the course of the year. Virgil's work was

[247] For the connection between the ages of man in the *rederijkers'* floats and in print series, see Walter S. Gibson, "Artists and Rederijkers in the Age of Bruegel," *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 434.

[248] In "*Elegie, ofte Nacht-klachte*" from *Nederduytsche Poemata*, Daniël Heinsius describes "the grey-beard of winter covering the entire earth with hail and snow." ("*Elck dinck heeft zijnen tijdt, naer dat de koude daegen/Sijn lang by ons geweest, en d'ongetemde vlaegen/Van haegel en van sneeuw, en dat den grijsen baerdt/Des winters voor een tijdt bedeckt heeft gans de aerdt,…*"). Heinsius, *Nederduytsche Poemata*, 45. In another *hofdicht*, Petrus Hondius writes of the "wintery face (*winterlick ghelaat*)" of old age. ("*Als de outheyt comt ghecroopen,/Met haer winterlick ghelaat*.") Petrus Hondius, *Dapes inemptae of De Moufe-Schans, dat is de soeticheyt des buyten-levens vergheselschapt* (Leiden: Daniel Roels/Joris Abrahamsz van der Marsce, 1621), 297. As we have seen in *Horatii Emblemata*, emblem books linked with human ages with the progression of the seasons. See Heninger, *The Cosmological Glass*, 149-150 and Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967), 48-49. William Shakespeare also employed imagery of frost when discussing old age. Heninger, *A Handbook of Renaissance Meteorology*, 60 and 71. The connection of winter with old age and death is also present in the poems for "February," "November," and "December" in Edmund Spenser, *Shepheardes* Calendar (London: Hugh Singleton, 1579).

[249] When quoting the *Georgics*, I use the Loeb Classical Library's edition unless otherwise stated. Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid: Books 1-6*, trans. Trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, rev. G. P. Goold, and ed. Jeffery Henderson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999). In addition to the Loeb Classical Library, I consulted two other translations; Arthur S. Way, *The Georgics of Virgil in English Verse* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1912) and Virgil, *The Georgics*, trans. John Dryden with notes by Alistair Elliot (Ashington, Northumberland: The Mid Northumberland Arts Group, 1981). For background on the *Georgics* and Virgil, see the introductions of Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid: Books 1-6*, 1-22 and Alistair Elliot's in *The Georgics*, 9-17.

widely read in the Netherlands and influenced many writers as a Dutch reader had ample access to the *Georgics*. From the later sixteenth century through the seventeenth century, the Netherlands was a major center for commentaries on Virgil. At least 95 versions of Virgil's works were printed in the Netherlands between 1469 and 1700.[250] Even if a Dutch reader had a limited command of Latin, they could read the *Georgics* in their native tongue. Karel van Mander's translation of the *Georgics*, with illustrations by Hendrick Goltzius, was printed in 1597.[251] Nearly fifty years later, the *Georgics* was again translated into Dutch by Joost van den Vondel.[252] As synchronizing human actions with the cycle of the year is central to appreciating winter as a period of naturally enforced relaxation, the *Georgics* and the Dutch poems that it inspired were very likely instrumental for many seventeenth-century beholders' appreciation of the winter scene.

The hero of Virgil's poems is the farmer who happily lives off the land away from human affairs and the frustrating complications of urban life. Living in accord with the cycles of nature

[250] This was due in large part to the activity of Daniël and Nicolaus Heinsius and how Virgil's poems served an educational purpose in the Renaissance. Craig Kallendorf, *A Bibliography of the Early Printed Editions of Virgil 1469-1850* (New Castle, Delaware: Oak Knoll Press, 2012), 16-17. Kallendorf found seven versions of the *Georgics* alone printed in Leuven, Deventer, and Antwerp between 1475 and 1511. For cities in the Netherlands that printed Virgil's works in Latin, I counted Leiden, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Leeuwarden, Rotterdam, and Utrecht. Ibid., 1-48 and 117-123.

[251] For van Mander's translation, see Virgil, *Bucolica en Georgica, dat is, Ossen-stal en Landt-Werck*, trans. Karel van Mander (Amsterdam: Zacharias Heyns, 1597). It was also printed in Haarlem by Gillis Roman in the same year. Kallendorf, *A Bibliography of the Early Printed Editions of Virgil*, 144. Huigen Leeflang highlights that Goltzius and van Mander, who worked together on the *Georgics*, were also responsible for producing some of the first Arcadian and pastoral landscapes in Dutch art. Huigen Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View: Haarlem and its Environs in Literature and Art, 15th-17th Century," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1997, Deel 48: Natuur en Landschap in de Nederlandse Kunst 1500-1850*, ed. Reindert Falkenburg, Jan de Jong, Mark Meadow, Bart Ramakers, Herman Roodenburg, and Frits Scholten (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), 66-67. Previously, Irene de Groot connected van Mander's description of the countryside to his translation of the *Georgics* and the *Bucolics* and noted that these sentiments prevailed throughout the seventeenth century. Irene de Groot, *Landscape: Etchings by the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1979).

[252] For Vondel's translations, see Kallendorf, *A Bibliography of the Early Printed Editions of Virgil*, 143. Vondel's translations were first printed in the 1640s but continued to be printed throughout the seventeenth century. The Hague schoolteacher and diarist David Beck likely did not know Latin, so he likely received his familiarity with the *Georgics* through a French edition. Jeroen Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life: Reading and Writing in the Early Modern Dutch Diaries*, trans. Beverley Jackson (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 41-111.

is essential for the farmer whose wellbeing depends on working the land.[253] To underscore the constant and predictable cycle of the seasons, Virgil guides his farmer's activity by the constellations visible at various times of the year. Scholars have identified how Netherlandish landscapes respond to the *Georgics*' celebration of the universal order that comes from a lifestyle harmonious with nature.[254] These same themes are applicable to the winter scenes that depict people performing seasonally specific activities. Catherine Levesque suggests that Jan van de Velde's print series of peasants throughout the seasons portrays specifically Dutch people mastering the lifestyle praised by Virgil. The winter scene similarly illustrates Virgil's ideas applied to local people, places, and activities. Despite its praises of agriculture, the *Georgics* is not an effective manual for a farmer. The poems were written to entertain as a celebration of rural life.[255] While their audience was likely connected to the countryside, the readers of the *Georgics* enjoyed a leisurely attitude towards farm work as opposed to someone who must labor to survive. Much like the winter scene, the poems acknowledge and embrace labors, but do so in a selective manner in order to elevate an idealized and joyful lifestyle.

In the *Georgics*, Virgil identifies winter offering more opportunities for relaxation than other seasons. Even though he recounts the tasks performed by the diligent farmer when the water-bearer and fish are in the night sky, Virgil acknowledges that the chilly season does not

[253] For the theme of appropriate behavior for each season in the *Georgics*, see Enkvist, *The Seasons of the Year*, 38.
[254] Lisa Vergara pointed to the influence of the *Georgics* in the landscapes painted by Rubens in *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape*. Catherine Levesque found Virgil's impact in early seventeenth-century Haarlem landscape print series in *Journey Through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 82-86. She describes a series by Jan van de Velde as depicting "man–simple and natural, and specifically Dutch–is shown in harmony with his environment, and with time, cosmic and agricultural." Ibid., 105.
[255] Vergara, *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape*, 140 and Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid: Books 1-6*, 3. Alistair Elliot agrees that Virgil's audience would not have been the farmer celebrated in the poem. But he still maintains that the *Georgics* are accurate enough to be read for instruction, especially in eighteenth-century Britain where they found an audience with small landholders (Dryden's translations date to the 1690s). *The Georgics*, 9.

permit the farmer to be productive.[256] "Winter is the farmer's lazy time," Virgil states.[257] He continues, "In cold weather the farmers chiefly enjoy their gains, and feast together in merry companies. Winter's cheer calls them, and loosens the weight of care."[258] Virgil designates winter as a season to delightfully feast as the farmer and his friends rest. Essentially, the conditions of winter gift Virgil's farmer a naturally enforced holiday.[259] The language of relaxation and joy are even stronger in van Mander's translation. While stressing the cycle of the seasons, the Dutch writer acknowledges that in the absence of labor, farmers can "make merry and happily enjoy winter (*dat sy t'vercreghen goedt, ghenutten s'Winters bly*)."[260] Even though van Mander is aware of the hardships of winter, these difficulties do not prevent–and actually encourage–the farmer's relaxation and enjoyment. The farmer is not lazy or neglectful of his duties by relaxing through winter, but rather observing the designated period of rest as enforced by the cycle of the seasons.

Virgil does not isolate winter as the only season lacking work and encouraging pleasure. Winter can also be quite dangerous in Virgil's countryside.[261] Yet the perilous and difficult

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[256] Virgil states that there is always work to be done and urges sufficient preparation while considering what season will arrive next. He does not encourage his farmer to become slothful, only that he allows a much more relaxed attitude towards labor during the harsh weather and natural limitations of winter. In his first book of the four that comprise the *Georgics*, Virgil recognizes that the farmer has more freedom from his work during winter, "Whenever a cold shower keeps the farmer indoors, he can prepare at leisure much that ere long in clear weather must needs be hurried." Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid: Books 1-6*, 117.

[257] Ibid., 121. Arthur S. Way translates this phrase, "In winter the yeoman may rest." Way, *The Georgics of Virgil in English Verse*, 17. John Dryden writes, "For lazy winter numbs the lab'ring Hand." Virgil, *The Georgics*, 43.

[258] Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid: Books 1-6*, 121.

[259] Herman Pleij has also noticed that Virgil presents winter as a period of rest, noting that it is the season when the farmer is described feasting and hunting wild boars. Herman Pleij, *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511: Stadscultuur in de Late Middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1988), 75.

[260] Virgil, *Bucolica en Georgica*, 80. Later in the text, van Mander stresses that the conditions of winter prevent labor. "*Den winter vuyl, doet Boer en werck vertragen: Een oudt gehbruyck heeft t' Boere-volck*," Ibid., 80. "*Soudt open doen rouw' gerd', oorsake want/Den winter sluyt door couden vorst het lant/Al toe soo dicht, als dat hy niet wil gonnen/T'ghezaeyde zaet sijn wortel t'saem gheronnen/Te wassen in der aerden grondt ghevest:*" Ibid., 106.

[261] Virgil describes work at all times of the year and characterizes spring as a season of beauty and joy, contrasted to the grim and difficult winter. Additionally, in the third book, Virgil advocates keeping sheep in their pens during the winter months for their own physical wellbeing. Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid: Books 1-6*, 197; Way, *The Georgics of Virgil in English Verse*, 73; and Virgil, *The Georgics*, 119.

conditions are key components to winter as a period of naturally enforced relaxation since they hinder the ability to work. Virgil finds no inconsistency between dangerous and disruptive weather and the ability to carelessly enjoy oneself. In the third book of the *Georgics*, Virgil describes the Scythian winter. The Roman poet laments the physical discomforts and treacherous conditions for the animals who are dying, uncomfortable, and covered by snow. But the people–at least once they separate their frozen clothes from their bodies and unfreeze their beards–are having a pleasant time. The Scythians are "in deep dug caves, low in the earth, they live careless and at ease, rolling to the hearths heaps of logs, whole elm trees, and throwing them on the fire. Here they spend the night in play, and with barm and sour service berries joyously mimic draughts of wine."[262] The festive nature of the Scythians' winter was also presented to a Dutch reader, as van Mander describes the playing, pleasures, and drinks.[263] Virgil does not deny or downplay the difficulties of winter. Yet its unproductive conditions place humans in a position to ignore their troubles and find pleasure drinking by the fire.

John Dryden's translation of the *Georgics* specifically associates these winter pleasures with the Dutch. The English playwright, who was born only a few years before Hendrick Avercamp died, published his translations of Virgil throughout the 1690s.[264] His account of the Scythian winter also details the cheery time escaping the cold in caves alongside the fire with abundant alcoholic beverages.[265] But Dryden includes the rhyme, "Such are the cold Ryphean

[262] Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid: Books 1-6*, 203.
[263] "*Gantsch' Olmen ooc aen d' heerden met der macht/Toerollen sy, jae brandens', en den nacht/Verslijtens' hier met spel en vreuchts aencleven:/Sy volghen dan Wijngaertsche bekers neven/De Deessem, oock den Sorben-appel suer,/Soodanich volck contem uyt, der Nateur…*" Virgil, *Bucolica en Georgica*, 136.
[264] For Dryden and his translations of Virgil, see Elliot, *The Georgics*, 13-17.
[265] "The Men to subterranean Caves retire;/Secure from the cold; and crowd the cheerful fire:/With Trunks of Elms and Oaks, the Hearth they load,/Nor tempt th' inclemency of Heav'n abroad./ Their jovial Nights, in frollicks and in play/They pass, to drive the tedious Hours away./And their cold Stomachs with crown'd Goblets cheer,/Of windy Cyder, and of barmy Beer." *The Georgics*, 125.

Race; and such/The savage Scythian, and unwarlike *Dutch*" (emphasis mine). The adjective "Dutch" would not have meant anything until the Northern Netherlands separated from the Spanish controlled Southern Netherlands in the seventeenth century. Thus the word comes from Dryden, not Virgil. The fact that the Englishman considers the Dutch able to find pleasure in winter is a testament to the influence of *ijsvermaak* for a nascent national identity, which we shall see detailed in Chapter 4.

Hofdichten

The happy farmer living in accordance with celestial cycles was not a motif unique to Virgil. He was also celebrated by Virgil's contemporary Horace in his second *Ode*, known as "Beatus ille," and previously by the Greek poet Hesiod in his *Works and Days*.[266] Virgil's content farmer also reappears in early modern European literature influenced by the *Georgics*, such as the Dutch *hofdichten* and their English equivalents the "country house poems." In the Netherlands, Philibert van Borsselen pioneered this genre about a decade into the seventeenth century with *Den Binckhorst*.[267] These poems, which were intended for educated elites who

[266] While responding to his brother Perses on the importance of justice and work, Hesiod praises labor while using the constellations as his guide for when in the year to perform each task, just as Virgil would later do. Yet unlike Virgil, the work never stops for Hesiod. He finds domestic labors once the winter cold forces him indoors. As opposed to the Roman poet's joyous feast, Hesiod's winter is miserable and full of discomforts. Yet he still acknowledges that the weather prevents some labors and that work must be done in other seasons to prepare for the difficult winter months. For background on Hesiod and *Works and Days*, see the introduction of Hesiod, *Theogony, Works and Days, Testimonia*, ed. and trans. Glenn W. Most (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006). For an English translation, I also consulted Hesiod, *Theogony and Works and Days,* trans. Catherine M. Schlegel and Henry Weinfield (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006).

[267] Philibert van Borsselen even references Virgil's work in *Den Binckhorst*. Vergara, *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape*, 189. P. A. F. van Veen identified the *hofdicht* with the *Georgic* tradition, which he considers separate from the pastoral. The pastoral transports its reader to imaginary, foreign locations of carefree shepherds as romance features as a major theme. The *hofdicht*, on the other hand, was much more moralizing and grounded in actual experiences. As we shall see in the conclusion, the seasons do not feature in the pastoral as strongly as they do in the *Georgics*. For *hofdichten* see P. A. F. van Veen, *De Soeticheydt des Buyten-Levens, Vergheselschapt met de Boucken* (The Hague: Van Goor Zonen, 1960) and Willemien B. de Vries, *Wandeling en Verhandeling: De Ontwikkeling van het Nederlandse Hofdicht in de Zeventiende Eeuw (1613-1710)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998). For

owned country houses, detail the joyful and edifying life in specific manors. Echoing Virgil, these poems praise nature and the human ability to live harmoniously with natural cycles and with God. *Hofdichten* celebrate nature, friendship, and rural life as their speakers bask in the independence, tranquility, and moralizing insight unattainable in the city.[268] David Freedberg, Lawrence Goedde, Catherine Levesque, and Alison McNeil Kettering applied these Dutch poems to the interpretations of landscape prints, marine scenes, and family group portraits set in country estates.[269] Yet as the *hofdichten* transferred themes from the *Georgics* to the Dutch countryside, they also reveal the cultural context for viewing the winter scene. These poems express not only how a wealthy Dutch landowner can live harmoniously with the cycle of the seasons, but also apply the Roman idea of feasting as opposed to laboring through winter to actual Dutch country estates.[270]

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the differences between the *hofdicht* and pastoral literature, also see Marieke de Winkel, *Fashion and Fancy: Dress and Meaning in Rembrandt's Paintings* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 114; David Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century* (London: British Museum Publications, 1980), 13 and especially Alison McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and its Audience in the Golden Age* (Montclair, NJ: Allanheld & Schram, 1983), 27 and 73.

[268] In the context of winter pleasures, ice skating children at Hofwijck cause Constantijn Huygens to meditate on wider issues such as the overbearing desire to learn about sciences while van Borsselen compares the world to ice. Both may look pretty but they can be brittle and dangerous, so one must be careful. See Constantijn Huygens, *Hofwijck*, ed. F. L. Zwaan (Jerusalem: Chev, 1977), 281-284 and Van Borsselen, *Den Binckhorst*, 26. Vergara noted that many Renaissance country villas were decorated with frescoes depicting the elements, seasons, and months to reference the order of nature. Vergara, *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape*, 162.

[269] Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century*; Goedde, *Tempest and Shipwreck in Dutch and Flemish Art;* Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland*; and Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia*, 73-75. Even though Kettering employs more pastoral than *Georgic* literature, I still owe a lot to her approach relying on contemporary literature to appreciate works of art in their cultural contexts. Vergara also considered the relationship between *hofdichten* and Rubens' landscapes in *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape*.

[270] De Vries mentions that some poets, such as van Borsselen, Petrus Hondius, and Jacob Westerbaen, describe the different seasons while others, including Huygens, Jacob Cats, and Jan Baptista Wellekens do not. Yet skating still features in Cats' *Sorghvliet*, as mentioned in J. Koopmans, "Westerbaen's 'Ockenburg' en haar toepaden," in *Vijf Letterkundige Studiën over de 17de en de 18de Eeuw*, ed. C. M. Geerars (Zwolle: W. E. J. Tjeenk Willink, 1958), 75.

Just as their ancient predecessors, the Dutch poets find some wintertime work.[271] Petrus Hondius details labors particular to winter in *Dapes inemptae of De Moufe-schans, dat is de soeticheyt des buyten-levens vergheselschapt* ("Dapes inemptae or De Moufe-schans, that is the Sweetness of Country Life Company" referred to as "*De Moufe-schans*").[272] Pruning was performed during winter. As was cutting and collecting firewood, a common labor represented in visual representations of winter. Van Borsselen describes this task in *Den Binckhorst*, where he also recounts hunting, a seasonal labor described by both Virgil and Horace.[273] The motif of wintertime hunts flourished in the seventeenth century, as evidenced by the hunter firing at a bird in Wouwerman's winter scene (Figure 3.2) and by Jacob Westerbaen's descriptions of the hunt at Ockenburgh in *Arctoa Tempe Ockenburgh Woonstede van den Heere van Brandwyck in de Clingen buyten Loosduynen* ("Arctoa Tempe Ockenburgh, the Home of the Lord of Brandwyck outside of Loosdynen," referred to as *Ockenburgh*).[274] As we shall see in Chapter 4, ancient literature associates the wintertime hunt with the self-sufficient farmer able to produce a feast for his friends, further providing a celebratory tone to these accounts of winter.

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[271] Van Borsselen wrote, "There is no season, no month, no day, and no hour or moment, when there is no honest work to be found (*Cort, daer is geen saeysoen geen maend geen dag geen stonde./Ia oogenblick, die niet sijn eerlick werck en vonde,*)." Van Borsselen, *Den Binckhorst*, 27.

[272] These tasks include spinning and working with flax and pigs. The following page describes summer labors. Hondius, *De Moufe-Schans*, 282-283. As is the common practice, I refer to such poems by the abbreviated title of the house itself.

[273] De Vries, *Wandeling en Verhandeling*, 25 and 49-50. For van Borsselen's woodcutters, see pages 26-27 in *Den Binckhorst*.

[274] Jacob Westerbaen, *Arctoa Tempe Ockenburgh Woonstede van den Heere van Brandwyck in de Clingen buyten Loosduynen* (The Hague: Anthony Tongerloo, 1654), 133. While there are numerous examples of hunters in visual winter scenes, a drawing by Pieter Molyn now in Berlin depicts a hunter isolated in the foreground of the patch of ice on one knee firing his gun while his dog and a boy behind him watch. For this drawing, see Hans-Ulrich Beck, *Pieter Molyn 1595-1661: Katalog der Handzeichnungen* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1998), 89. Jan Wildens also painted a couple of scenes of a hunter and his dogs in a snowy, winter setting. See G42 and G43 in Wolfgang Adler, *Jan Wildens: Der Landschaftsmitarbeiter des Rubens* (Fridingen: Graf Klenau Verlags GmbH, 1980), 103-104, illustrated 172-173. Hunters also prominently feature in a few of the winter scenes painted by Adriaen van de Venne in the first few decades of the seventeenth century. See Laurens J. Bol *Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne: Painter and Draughtsman*, trans. Jennifer M. Kilian and Marjorie E. Wieseman (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1989), 14-20.

Still, these seventeenth-century poets echo ancient authors when they acknowledge that winter weather is not favorable to many forms of labor. Van Borsselen's *Den Binckhorst*, Westerbaen's *Ockenburgh*, and Hondius' *De Moufe-schans* recall the motif of the prudent individual who works through the summer so that they can diligently prepare for the winter. Van Borsselen previously wrote of this in *Strande, oft Ghedichte van de Schelpen/Kinck-hornen/ende andere wonderlicke Zee Schepselen tot lof van den Schepper aller dingen* ("The Beach, or Poem about Shells and other Wonderful Marine Creatures Praising the Creator of All Things," referred to as "*Strande*") which, while technically not a *hofdicht*, was influenced by the *Georgics*.[275] This prudent attitude acknowledges that many labors cannot occur in the winter and permits the farmer to enjoy himself in the season. While van Borsselen likens a busy summer preparing for winter to the strong youth mindful of approaching old age,[276] Hondius and Westerbaen express this idea through the industrious bee, just as Virgil's fourth book of the *Georgics* considers lessons learned from these insects.[277] Hondius urges his reader to labor through the summer– "Nobody rest as long as the sun/shines over our horizon (*Niemant rust, soo lang de son/Schijnt op onsen Horizon*)"–so that when winter finally arrives, "he sits quietly with snow, wind, and rain outside while he eats as he wishes from what he has obtained in the summer (*In den winter sit hy stil;/Teert en eet naer zijnen wil,/Buyten snee en wint en reghen,/Van zijn somer-cost vercreghen*)." He then chastises those who are unwilling to work in the summer, as they will be lacking beer in their cellars, grain in their attics, and fire in their chimneys, and thus dying of

[275] *Strande* is a praise of the ocean and especially its seashells. Van Borsselen, *Strande,* 17.
[276] Thus another example of the connection between the progression of the seasons and human aging. Van Borsselen, *Den Binckhorst*, 12.
[277] For Westerbaen's reference, see *Ockenburgh*, 143.

hunger.[278] Following Virgil's lead, these Dutch writers recall winter as a period for relaxing as its natural conditions force many labors into other part of the year.[279]

Hofdichten also echo the *Georgics* when they acknowledge the leisurely pleasures of winter. Even though these poems describe unpleasant winter weather and compare the season unfavorably against summer or spring, some *hofdichten* highlight how every season has its joys.[280] Van Borsselen declared, "But, Muse, now a story with a special joy as Den Binckhorst delights in *every season of the year* (*Maer, Musa, nu verhael met wat besonder vreught/In elck saeysoen des jaers den Binckhorst werdt verheught*)"[281] (emphasis mine). Westerbaen spends winter keeping warm around a fire in *Ockenburgh*.[282] Yet there is pleasure in this rest, as stated by Hondius; "In winter days, when you are inside here [the house Moufe-schans], you sit happily by the fire and dry under the warm roof. You spend your life at rest and at pleasure more than in

[278] Hondius, *De Moufe-schans*, 296-297.
[279] The theme of working in other seasons while resting in winter can also be found in du Bartas' *La Sepmaine ou Creation du Monde*. "*Paresseux, sit u veux aprendre ta leçon,/Va-t'en à la formy, va-t'en au herisson,/Cestuy-cy de son dos ravit les fruits d'automne,/L'autre les fruits d'esté de sa bouche moissonne,/A fin d'avitailler pour la froide saison/Cestuy-cy son logis, l'autre sa garnison.*" Du Bartas, *La Sepmaine ou Creation du Monde*, 197. This idea is also found in English poetry. John Skelton wrote, "In the time of harvest men their corne shere;/In time of winter the north wind waxeth keen./So bitterly biting the flowers be not seen:/The calends of Janus, with his frostes hoar,/That time is when people must live upon the store." Cited in Enkvist, *The Seasons of the Year*, 131. In "To Saxham," Thomas Carew wrote, "As neither from, not to thy store/Winter takes aught, or spring adds more." Alastair Fowler, *The Country House Poem: A Cabinet of Seventeenth-Century Estate Poems and Related Items* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 86-88. Edmund Spenser alludes to the labor in other seasons in preparation for winter in *Shepheardes Calendar* when Cuddie complains that his musical practice cannot support him financially as "…my porre Muse hath spent her spared store,/Yet little good hath got, and much lesse gayne./Such pleasaunce makes the Grashopper so poore,/And ligge so layd, when Winter doth her straine." Edmund Spenser, *Shepheardes* Calendar (London: Hugh Singleton, 1579), 40b. In *Ship of Fools*, the German writer Sebastian Brant cautioned that, "Who'll never glean in summer's heat, In winter he'll have naught to eat." As cited by Margaret A. Sullivan, *Bruegel's Peasants: Art and Audience in the Northern Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 43-44.
[280] De Vries notes this attitude in *Den Binckhorst*. De Vries, *Wandeling en Verhandeling*, 43-72. J. Koopmans also identifies it in *Ockenburgh*. Koopmans, "Westerbaen's 'Ockenburg' en haar toepaden," 82-83.
[281] Van Borsselen, *Den Binckhorst*, 7.
[282] Westerbaen, *Ockenburgh*, 132.

previous times."[283] Just as in the *Georgics*, Dutch poets respond to rough winter weather weather by feasting, as van Borsselen does in both *Den Binckhorst* and *Strande*.[284] In the latter, van Borsselen details the smoky interior as winter drives humans and animals indoors. Both wine and the hearth are invoked through Bacchus and Vulcan as people talk and laugh into the evening.[285] In addition to feasting, winter also offers the opportunity to partake in the pleasure of reading.[286] In *Strande*, van Borsselen reacts to winter weather by reading edifying books, studying the word of God, and looking at seashells.[287] Westerbaen connects winter with the relaxations of both sitting in the study and at the table alongside friends at Ockenburgh. He writes, "one cannot work, so he visits one friend after another and confronts the difficult weather with a pint in his glass."[288] *Hofdichten* acknowledge that winter prevents people from working the land, so they relax with good company and enjoy alcoholic beverages, just as they do in the *koek-en-zopie* tents and taverns represented in the visual winter scene.

Dutch poets repeated Virgil's praise of rural life, and thus relaxations of winter, into the eighteenth century. Hubert Korneliszoon Poot's "*Akkerleven*" ("Rural Life") of 1728 is a poem

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[283] "*In winterighe daghen,/Wanneer ghy binnen hier/Zijt naer u welbehaghen/Gheseten by het vier,/V leven te besteden/In meer rust en ghemack,/Dan in den tijt voorleden,/Drooch onder t'warme dack.*" Hondius, *De Moufe-schans*, 7.

[284] This is noted by de Vries, *Wandeling en Verhandeling*, 50. See van Borsselen, *Strande,* 53-54. The winter feast appeals to writers inspired by the *Georgics* as it represents both the results of hard work and the self-sufficient farmer who can produce his own food and drink.

[285] Van Borsselen, *Strande,* 53-54. He also mentions both dogs and children, two common inclusions in the winter scene.

[286] See Van Borsselen, *Den Binckhorst*, 22-24; de Vries, *Wandeling en Verhandeling*, 50; and Koopmans, "Westerbaen's 'Ockenburg' en haar toepaden," 101.

[287] Van Borsselen, *Strande,* 54 and de Vries, *Wandeling en Verhandeling*, 59.

[288] "*Was 't tot de Casteleyn? men maeckte geen werck of,/En wierd daer staegh besocht van d'een en d'ander vrint/En sette tegen 't quaed een Roemer van een pint.*" Westerbaen, *Ockenburgh*, 134. See 133-134 for an extended description of the pleasant company. Westerbaen lauds the ability to read in the evenings in *Ockenburgh*, beginning on page 139, where he detailed all of the scientific processes that he learned about. He made a similar list of reading topics while specifically identifying reading as a response to the conditions of winter in the poem "*Winter. Lezen en microscopisch vermaak* (Winter. Learning and Microscopic Pleasures)" cited below. Hondius also mentioned having guests in winter. Hondius, *De Moufe-schans*, 151.

that looks to both the *Georgics* and Horace's *Beatus ille*.[289] When describing life throughout the seasons, Poot situates his heroic farmer's winter between the fieldwork of summer and the wine production of autumn. Sandwiched between labors, winter offers the farmer the opportunity to sit around the hearth with his friends.[290] Following Virgil's example, Poot juxtaposes winter relaxation and joys against the labors of other seasons decades after many winter scene practitioners put their brushes down for good.

Winter and the Seasons in Sixteenth-Century Art

Proper behavior in various times of the year was also a popular subject for artists. Artists in the Netherlands illustrated series of the months and the seasons from the Middle Ages well into the eighteenth century.[291] Awareness of the proper behavior throughout the cycle of the year was the difference between life and death in an agricultural society, so it should not be surprising that this theme was embraced in the early modern period. It would have been inseparable from how a contemporary appreciated a winter scene, which developed from the representations of the months and seasons, after all.

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[289] As noted by Maria A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen. For the poem with Schenkeveld-van der Dussen's notes, see Hubert Korneliszoon Poot, *Bloemlezing uit de Gedichten van Hubert Korneliszoon Poot* (Zutphen: N. V. W. H. Thieme & Cie, 1969), 41-44. See also Schenkeveld-van der Dussen's commentary in Maria A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, *Het Dichterschap van Hubert Korneliszoon Poot: Een Vergelijking van de 'Mengeldichten' en het 'Verlog der Gedichten'* (Assen: van Gorcum & Comp., 1968), 131, 184-185.

[290] "*…Als de winter 't wout verwildert/Houdt hy den berookten haert/Met zyn vrienden, ront an aert*..." Poot, *Bloemlezing uit de Gedichten van Hubert Korneliszoon Poot*, 44.

[291] Yvette Bruijnen highlighted how regularly a beholder in the early modern Netherlands was exposed to the seasons and the months in media ranging from paintings, prints, glass medallions, tapestries, and garden sculptures. The seasons and months were especially popular decorations for Dutch clocks, as Bruijnen suggests the connection between the cycle of the seasons and the circular form of the clock. She also describes the prevalence of the theme in dining rooms and ends her essay with a pulpit from 1660-1662 designed by Gerben Wopckesz. in the Martinikerk in Bolsward, in which still lifes representative of the four seasons joined the signs of the zodiac to underscore the cosmic nature of the word of God. Bruijnen, "Over de Twelf Maendekens en de Vier Tyden 's Iaers," in *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 50-71. For Netherlandish illustrations of the months and seasons, see the catalogue *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750* and its essays.

The times of the year appealed to European artists and art purchasers since classical antiquity. But while ancient artists tended to depicted the seasons as personifications accompanied by attributes,[292] artists in the Middle Ages preferred to represent the cycle of the year through twelve images of everyday people performing labors and occasional religious or social events characteristic of each month.[293] Such Labors of the Months flourished in the Middle Ages, primarily in the calendars of books of hours and as architectural sculptures in churches. As these series varied greatly, especially among geographical regions, it is impossible to establish steadfast rules for which labors were associated with each month. Yet a few general trends prevail.[294] Feasting is a common activity for January. December frequently features the slaughter of the hog, which can also represent November.[295] A figure warming itself by the fire[296]–sometimes while feasting—and cutting wood are also typically used to depict winter

[292] According to Ilja M. Veldman, winter appeared clad in warm clothes with her head covered and a hare, duck, or twigs in her hand. While these personifications were typically female, in the Roman Empire the four seasons were also depicted as *genii*, winged male figures. Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck," 151. For Roman representations of the season, see Hanfmann, *The Seasons Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*.

[293] For depictions of the seasons and months in ancient and medieval art, see James Carson Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Evanston and Chicago: Northwestern University, 1938) and Anne de Snoo's essay "Van Griekse Horen naar Vlaamse Boeren: De Maanden en Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Oudheid tot aan het Begin van de Vijftiende Eeuw" in *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 13-23. Ilja M. Veldman also provides summaries of the shifts in ancient and medieval representations of the times of the year in "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck" and "From Allegory to Genre," in *Images for the Eye and Soul: Function and Meaning in Netherlandish Prints (1450-1650)* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2006), 193-222.

[294] Such series were the subject of a revealing study by James Carson Webster. While he looks at series from the Mediterranean and Western Europe from antiquity to about 1300, it has been valuable for my research into medieval Labors of the Months. See Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art to the End of the Twelfth Century*.

[295] Woodcutting, baking, and the slaughter of the hog were used to depict winter months since they are associated with stocking up on provisions for the frigid season. This could explain why Webster did not find any cases of baking or the slaughter of the hog in the later winter months of January or February.

[296] This depiction of winter may go back to Classical Antiquity. See Hanfmann, *The Seasons Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*.

months. While most months are represented by their respective, normally agricultural, labors,[297] winter months are characterized by their lack of work as the weather forces people indoors. The prevalence of feasting provides winter with a celebratory mood, just as it does in *Georgic* literature. Even the task of chopping wood recalls scenes of people combating the cold around the fire which occurs instead of labor.[298] James Carson Webster identifies that some of the labors of autumn months represent preparation for winter by stocking up on food. As in *Georgic* literature, this suggests that winter is not a period of labor as its work must occur in autumn. While spring months are also represented with individuals at leisure, it has been argued that the people depicted enjoying April and May are the wealthy nobles while the winter months tend to depict peasants at rest.[299] Thus the pleasures of winter were universal and not reserved for those who could afford a life of leisure. This theme of winter as a period to refrain from labor is also present in popular medieval literature. In the Carnival presentation *Een Abel Spel vanden Winter ende vanden Somer* ("A Play Presenting Winter against Summer") cited above, Winter finds an ally with *Loiaert*, or Laziness. He does not like the long, warm days of summer since he associates them with work. Winter, on the other hand, permits him to "sit by the fire and eat and

[297] Especially around the thirteenth century, perhaps due to the influence of Vincent of Beauvais' theological significance placed on human labor. Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck," 152.

[298] Herman Pleij lists acquiring wood, a man seated at a full table, feasting, preparing food–most notably slaughtering the hog, an old man sitting with a fire pot, and occasionally opening doors as the wintertime activities in Labors of the Months series. Pleij, *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511*, 74. He also notes that feasting was used to illustrate the winter months, commenting that it likely reflected the reality for the farmer unable to work in winter. Ibid., 227. Wolfgang Stechow also notes that January is usually represented by a feast and February an old man by the fire. Wolfgang Stechow, "The Winter Landscape in the History of Art" *Criticism* 2 (1990), 176. Anouk Janssen also identifies that depictions of winter in the Labors of the Months tend to depict feasting. Janssen, *Grijsaards in Zwart-Wit,* 86. While Anne de Snoo describes labors in winter months in the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, she notices the lack of agricultural labor for leisurely resting in January. De Snoo, "Van Griekse Horen naar Vlaamse Boeren," 21.

[299] De Snoo, "Van Griekse Horen naar Vlaamse Boeren," 21.

drink good beer, bread, wine, meat, and fish."[300] This connection between winter and a release from work continued into the seventeenth century, as Jan Six van Chandelier's poetic account of Amsterdam's winter contains someone sleeping until noon as the author states, "there is little to do at the exchange."[301]

The Labors of the Months was not confined to the the Middle Ages. Series promoting life in accordance with the cycle of the seasons were also produced in the Renaissance. Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Months* must have been read in this way when they were arranged in Nicolaes Jonghelinck's dining room in the 1560s. However, Renaissance artists were more likely to represent the seasons as personifications. Winter tended to take on the appearance of an old man with a long, white beard. He is wrapped in a heavy coat and crowned with a fur hat. Sometimes he sits before a feast, but he is most commonly depicted trying to keep warm by the fire, with a brazier, or with a hand warmer. This characteristic depiction of "old man winter" became a formulaic type.[302] Its origin has been traced to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in which "Icy Winter" appears on the throne of Phoebus "with…white and bristly locks."[303] Renaissance

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[300] Laziness states his case, "Bi gode, her winter, dats goet recht./Want dat die somer can gheneren,/Dat condi herde wel verteren,/Als ghi sijt bi uwen viere,/Eet ende drinct vanden goeden biere,/Ende hebt broet, wijn, vleesch ende visch,/Ende doet dat bringhen op uwen disch,/Ende sit biden viere al coe sat,/Alst soe cout es op die straet,/Dat Niemen van couden en can ghedueren./Al dat die somer can besueren,/Dat verteert die winter al./Als men die waerheit seggen sal,/Sone es die somer maer een slave./Si sijn soe lanc, die hete daghe,/Dat ic werde van werken mat./Ic ben die langhe daghe soe sat/Ic prise den winter minen here." Antonissen, *Een Abel Spel vanden Winter ende vanden Somer*, 51-52. In the *Conflictus Veris et Hiemis*, winter is the loser of the seasonal dispute because its lazy nature forces it to depend on the labor of others. See Enkvist, *The Seasons of the Year*, 74.

[301] "*Een derde sluimert tot de noen,/houdt beurs, met weinig te doen*." Jan Six van Chandelier, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, ed. Maria A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen and Hans Luijten (Utrecht: HES Uitgevers, 1998), 37-39.

[302] Spring was normally presented as a beautiful young woman accompanied by flowers, summer a woman with grain, and Autumn a man grasping the grapes necessary for the production of wine. The sexes of these personifications were not fixed.

[303] "…et glacialis Hiems canos hirsuta capillos." Latin text and translation from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), 62-63. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Joost van den Vondel translated *Metamorphoses* into Dutch, where winter is described in more detail as, "entirely lacking of warmth, and cold and chilly: his beard and hair frozen with icicles and snow hanging from his ears (*gansch berooft van warmte, en kout en kil: de baert en 't haer bevroren met kegelen van ys. de sneeuvlok hangt om d'ooren*)." Joost van den Vondel, *De Werken van Vondel*, ed. J. F. Sterck et al. (Amsterdam: De Maatschappij voor Goede en Goedkoope Lectuur te Amsterdam, 1934), 440-441. In *Remedia amoris*, Ovid again describes the

humanists also noticed that the seasons were depicted as gods or goddesses in classical antiquity. Like the images used in the Labors of the Months, these were nowhere prescribed and variations existed. However, more often than not, winter appeared as the regal and elderly Aeolus, the king of the winds.[304] Winter's representation as the regal old man was reinforced by the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, written nearly 500 years after Ovid composed his poems. It illustrates King Winter with a crown on his head and a scepter in his hand. Clad in furs, he stands before stormy skies with precipitation streaming down. This appearance of winter continued into seventeenth-century art and literature.[305]

In the middle of the sixteenth century, print series depicting cosmological ideas such as the four seasons were enthusiastically produced in Dutch speaking areas.[306] Many of these prints came with inscriptions that often characterize winter not only for rough weather, but also as a time for feasting and pleasure. Such series reveal which activities, attributes, and attitudes were most associated with winter when the winter scene was developing as an independent genre. Ilja M. Veldman details a shift in print series from the sixteenth century to the seventeenth

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seasons. Winter is mentioned with people warming themselves around a fire. For the reference, see Ilja Veldman, "Waaien met de Mode Mee: De Vier Jaargetijden in de Prentkunst van de Nederlanden," in the catalogue *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 75.

[304] Spring, the youthful season of love and pleasures took the form of Venus. Ceres appeared as summer, the season of the harvest, and the wine production of autumn naturally found Bacchus to be its best match.

[305] Jan Vos in his "*Zeege der Schilderkunst* (Triumph of Painting)" from 1654 includes cosmic representations of the seasons where winter is old and shivering from the cold ("*En d'oude Winter, die van koudtheidt beeft*"). Additionally, Spring is young with grassy fields, Summer is nude and presenting wheat and Autumn has fruit. See Gregor J. M. Weber, *Der Lobtopos des 'Lebenden' Bildes: Jan Vos und sein 'Zeege der Schilderkunst' von 1654* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1991), 260 (277 for the German). Robert Farley's *Kalendarium Humanae Vitae–The Kalender of Mans Life*, which was published in the same year that van Goyen guided the winter scene towards Tonalist trends with *Ice View with the Huis te Merwede near Dordrecht*, also presents winter as an old man sitting by the fire. Robert Farley, *Kalendarium Humanae Vitae–The Kalender of Mans Life* (London: T. Cotes, 1638).

[306] In addition to the four seasons, the four elements, temperaments, and times of the day; the five senses; and the children of the seven planets were particularly popular. For an overview of series of the seasons, particularly winter, in the sixteenth-century Netherlands, see Ariane van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time: The Dutch Winter Landscape in the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2001), 28-35.

century.[307] Sixteenth-century printmakers and publishers expressed abstract cosmological ideas through what Veldman describes as "allegorical" prints. These were characterized by personifications with attributes and Latin inscriptions. However, these complex series presuming an educated audience gradually fell out of favor as their market expanded in the seventeenth century. Printmakers worked these series into what Veldman likens to genre scenes, reflecting wider trends in Dutch art. Scenes of everyday people and activities, which were originally details located behind allegorical figures, became the main subjects of the print. Allegory and genre prints coexisted, as evidenced by the seasonal scenes of everyday labor designed in the sixteenth century by Bruegel and Hans Bol and by Jörg Breu in Augsburg.[308] Similarly, the allegorical forms of the seasons continued well into the seventeenth century, as seen in Dutch almanac illustrations and the decorative programs of the homes of wealthy patrons.[309] Yet both approaches highlight how winter was considered a period for rest and pleasure in the face of treacherous weather.

[307] While this theme reoccurs in her work, it is most effectively described in "From Allegory to Genre." There is the risk, however, that Veldman's allegory to genre shift may be overly simplified, as she herself acknowledges in "Waaien met de Mode Mee," 77 and argued by Christiane Lauterbach in "Masked Allegory: The Cycle of the Four Seasons by Hendrick Goltzius 1594-95," *Simiolus* 31 (2004-2005): 310-321. Both sources use Goltzius' 1594 series of the seasons described below in their warning of not accepting an immediate shift.

[308] The connection with Breu has been made by Lauterbach, who also noted that Breu's series of glass paintings for the Höchstetter family were spread by print reproductions. The Medieval Labors of the Months tradition also reflects these genre subjects even though many predate the allegorical series.

[309] A *Groote Comptoir Almanach* produced in Amsterdam in the 1660s depicts winter, spring, summer, and autumn in their familiar forms as Aeolus with his bridle, Venus with Cupid, Ceres with her grain, and Bacchus with grapes and a tazza. For the *Groote Comptoir Almanach*, see *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 187-189. Depictions of the old bearded man sitting by a heater and Aeolus were used to represent winter in almanac illustrations from as late as 1681. Jeroen Salman, "Populaire Verbeelding: Maanden en Seizoenen in Almanakken," in *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 91. For the allegorical figures used to decorate the homes of wealthy Dutch clients in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Marc de Beyer's essay "De Vier Jaargetijden in de Noord-Nederlandse Decoratieve Schilderkunst 1660-1750" in the catalogue *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden*, 93-101.

1. Maarten van Heemskerck and the "Allegory" Approach

Maarten van Heemskerck designed a print series of the seasons in 1563, only a couple of years before Bruegel painted *Winter Landscape with a Bird Trap*.[310] Representative of Veldman's "allegory" type, the Haarlem painter and printmaker who had previously visited Rome and admired the work of Michelangelo, presents four monumental personifications of the seasons accompanied by signs of the zodiac. Winter takes his familiar appearance as the old man with a long, bristly beard. Clad in a thick coat and hat, he hunches over the brazier cradled in his wrinkly hands. Smoke flows out of his warmer and clouds the upper part of the print, in which the fish, nude boy emptying a water jug, and goat representative of Pisces, Aquarius, and Capricorn appear as visions in the haze (Figure 3.3). The prints in this series contain Latin inscriptions courtesy of Hadrianus Junius, the rector of the Latin School and the city doctor of Haarlem. The one assigned to *Winter* describes the appearance of the season personified, "Cold Winter, you have taken the guise of an emaciated greybeard. Your bristly beard is stiff from the cold, and you have covered your temples with a fur hat. A cloak of double thickness covers your body, and boots your feet. The fire from a flickering brazier warms your bloodless body."[311] While the text is rather grim, van Heemskerck populates his background with people engaged in festive activities. To the viewer's far left, van Heemskerck removes a wall from a house to reveal a trio huddling around a fire exposing their hands to the warm blaze. Just like the feasting

[310] Veldman details this series, its likely influences, and later series inspired by it in "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck." She also addresses it more generally in "From Allegory to Genre," 195-196. See also Veldman, *Leerrijke Reeksen van Maarten van Heemskerck* (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij and Haarlem: Frans Halsmuseum: 1986), 72-73; Veldman, "Waaien met de Mode Mee," 75; entry numbers 13-16 in the catalogue *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 119-121; and van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 28-29.

[311] "*Effoeti mentire senis speciem algida Bruma./Hispida barba riget; pellitus tempora cudo,/Corpus abolla buplex operit, platanesque calones./Exanguesque manus foculus fovet igne corscus*." Translated from Latin by Veldman. Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck," 151.

that occurs elsewhere in the building, this is a familiar winter motif from both literature and the Labors of the Months. Van Heemskerck echoes the idea that winter is a frigid season in which people must retreat indoors, away from work and towards a warm fire and a well stocked table. But not all of van Heemskerck's people embrace the sedentary lifestyle. Van Heemskerck never painted a winter scene of people enjoying pleasures on a frozen canal, but he proves that he is capable of doing so on the right side of the print. Outside of a city people from all levels of society take to the ice to play, whether as couples, alone, or on a horse-drawn sleigh. Van Heemskerck illustrates another key feature of the winter scene; that all classes are equal on the ice. Two couples belonging to different social classes skate closest to the picture plane with nothing differentiating them aside from their dress. Van Heemskerck's print indicates that despite the difficult weather, winter is also a period of relaxation and pleasures for all people. This is the only print in van Heemskerck's series in which no one is depicted at work.

As evidenced by van Heemskerck's *Winter*, prints representative of Veldman's "allegories" contain "genre" aspects. While I have not thoroughly inventoried the actions portrayed in sixteenth-century prints of the seasons,[312] the same handful of conventions seem to occur in print as they do in paint. The backgrounds of these "allegory" prints typically depict people enjoying ice pleasures on a frozen canal, particularly skating with the occasional sleigh or *prikslee*. This suggests that fun on the ice was vital to the Netherlandish notion of winter. But some labors are also represented, primarily chopping and collecting wood. Even if no chopping is depicted, it is suggested through the inclusion of logs. The slaughter of the livestock

[312] Illustrations of winter represented as Boreas and Oreithyia by Crispijn de Passe the Elder appear in Ilja M. Veldman, *Crispijn de Passe and his Progeny (1564-1670): A Century of Print Production*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision Publishers, 2001) and Veldman, "From Allegory to Genre." Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck," contains illustrations of *Winters* by Maarten van Heemskerck, Goltzius' first, third, and fourth series, Lambert Lombard, and Crispijn de Passe after Maarten de Vos. Searching for Crispijn de Passe the Elder on the RKD's website pulls up a drawing of December.

occasionally extends out of autumn and into winter.[313] However, the most commonly depicted actions situated behind the personification or deity are not scenes of labors as one finds in prints of summer and autumn. Instead, the details deemed the most representative of winter tend to be leisure activities such as sitting by the fire, feasting, and skating. While men and women are set to work gathering wood, this action is necessary for maintaining the fire of which people sit around in lieu of productive labor.

2. Hans Bol and the "Genre" Approach

A depiction of winter representative of Veldman's "genre" category is that designed by Hans Bol in 1570 to complete a series left unfinished by the recently deceased Bruegel (Figure 3.4).[314] The importance of Bol for the development of the Dutch winter scene cannot be overstated as he moved to the Northern Netherlands in 1584, bringing Flemish artistic trends with him. Anouk Janssen notes that this print depicts winter as a period of pleasures in contrast to the labors of other seasons.[315] While Bol depicts wood cutters and the traditional February labor of pruning vines, Janssen is correct as Bol's composition is mostly comprised of people engaging in seasonal recreations outside of a castle. The foreground depicts people on land in conversation, putting on skates, and watching the flurry of activity on the ice. Beyond them, the wintertime revelers illustrate a few key themes of the winter scene. Bol reminds us that skating can be slippery business as skaters stumble and fall. But the slipping and sliding can result in erotic interchanges. As we shall see in Chapter 6, it was a common motif in Netherlandish

[313] As in a winter by Crispijn de Passe the Elder after Maarten de Vos. Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck," 161.
[314] 242 in *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700 Hans Bol*, 125, illustrated 127. While not a perfect copy, Abel Grimmer painted a version of this print in 1607. Reine de Bertier de Sauvigny, *Jacob et Abel Grimmer Catalogue Raisonné* (Waterloo: La Renaissance de Livre, 1991), 50.
[315] Janssen, *Grijsaards in Zwart-Wit*, 77.

literature and art for a woman to slip on the ice to reveal what is typically concealed by her dress. While later Dutch artists include a glimpse of a fallen woman's legs, Bol presents a view of her bare buttocks to not only the viewer, but also to the spectators on the shore. It is not only the woman who unintentionally provides an erotic display. The skater in the foreground aiding the man who has fallen into the ice has a phallic object dangling between his legs. Given his prominent position in the composition, surely Bol intended for the viewer to notice this eroticism caused by the ice. The risk of falling, however, can be reduced by grasping hands with an experienced skater, as the group in the middle of the composition demonstrates. But skating hand-in-hand can also serve as a public display of sensuality, as with the couple in the foreground. The man on skates places his hand on his lover's waist. She who has just lost her skates responds by gently caressing his hand and gazing into his eyes. Much like the unfortunate woman who reveals herself with a tumble, the couple's affection is on display for the witnesses on the shore as the ice becomes a place to get a public glimpse of typically private amorous and erotic acts. Yet the mood of Bol's print is celebratory as opposed to lecherous or morally critical. Across the ice to the right side of the composition, drinkers revel inside a farmhouse. One drinker thrusts his vessel towards his mouth while across the table others intoxicatingly swing their vessels through the air and slouch over. Bol found not only a scene of carousing, but of intoxication, as representative of winter as skating and chopping wood. In the sixteenth century, Bol employed many of the themes of social inversions and pleasure in the winter scene to represent the season. But he took them to much further extremes than later Dutch artists would.

3. Cornelis Jacobsz. van Culemborch

Bol's move to the Northern Netherlands helped popularize the nascent winter scene among Dutch artists. But the oldest painted winter scene in Holland predates even Bol's print. In this painting from 1565, Cornelis Jacobsz. van Culemborch recorded a remarkable event: a 23 by 17 rood iceberg that reached the harbor of Delfshaven (Figure 3.5).[316] The South Holland painter provides a naturalistic depiction of the ferocious might of old man winter as people scurry onto the iceberg to hack and push apart the monstrous ice. Some individuals gesture in awe at the gigantic icy mountain that knocks over trees and consumes buildings.[317] Yet despite its documentary nature, this painting identifies winter as a festive and leisurely season as people refuse to let the destructive wrath of winter ruin their fun. A kolf game occurs between rows of frozen boats before the iceberg. To the left of the composition, a man plays an instrument similar to a violin while a group of men and women clasp hands and dance. The destructive natural forces of winter that dwarf humans and their creations do not halt the pleasures. In his visual record of the iceberg, van Culemborch permits dancing and games to occur alongside efforts to minimize the disastrous effects of winter weather.

4. Hendrick Goltzius

The Haarlem artist and friend of van Mander, Hendrick Goltzius, designed four series of the seasons in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. His first two series, produced

[316] As recalled in the painting's accompanying inscription, "In the year 1565, on the afternoon of January the 2nd, an ice mountain came in on the flood at Delfshaven pier in little more than a quarter of an hour, and measured 23 roods high and 17 long." Translated by Ariane van Suchtelen from "*Ao 1565, den 2 Januarii namiddach met die vloet in een groot quartier uers is een ysgebrecht ghecomen op 't hoeft tot Delfshaven, hoegh wesende 23 roe voet ende langh 17 roeten*." For the painting, see van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 12-13.

[317] A tower is depicted poking out of the ice. The Museum Rotterdam's website identifies it as the "*Vrouwenhuis*" or "Women's House." https://museumrotterdam.nl/collectie/item/11113.

with Jacob Matham, exemplify Veldman's "allegory" type. A personification of each season dominates the print as the landscape setting is diminished in significance relative to the mighty gods. These personifications, which are accompanied by the signs of the zodiac, progress in age as the series continues, representing both the four seasons and the four human ages. In Goltzius' earliest series, Winter appears in his familiar form as an old man dressed in a thick coat and hat who grasps his warmer in an effort to combat the cold (Figure 3.6). Even though the old man attracts most of the viewer's attention, behind him people are depicted at work and at play. To the viewer's right, one man hacks wood from leafless trees while another carries away the firewood vital for winter survival and comfort. The other side of the print features couples paired off and ice skating. This suggests that the winter ice is a catalyst for romance, a theme not only important for seventeenth-century Dutch notions of winter, but also Goltzius' final series of the seasons.[318] This series displays the seasons in tondo forms. Seasonal scenes were commonly produced on round panels and canvas in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Amy Knight Powell highlights the link between the totality of the circle and the temporal cycle of the months and seasons depicted.[319] Like the cycle of the zodiac and the human ages also represented, the pleasures of winter must be observed in their proper time of the year.

[318] The print is also accompanied by a Latin inscription composed by Franciscus Estius which primarily describes Goltzius' illustration. It reads "*Alget et ante focum torpescit Bruma nivalis/Pellita cingens frigida membra toga./Anni babentis senium Capricorne reducis/Te radiante stupet terra sepulta rive*," which Veldman translates as "He is cold, snowy Winter, and sits rigid before the fire, his freezing limbs wrapped in a fur coat. And as you, O Capricorn, transform the age of the departing old year [to the youth of the new], the earth lies buried in snow while you shine down." Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck," 155. For Goltzius' series, especially in relation to van Heemskerck's series of the seasons, see Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck," 154-155 and Veldman, "From Allegory to Genre," 197. Veldman pays minimal attention to Goltzius' second series, stating that they have neither inscriptions nor dates. See also van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 29-30 and Veldman "Waaien met de Mode Mee," 75-76 for the 1589 series.

[319] Amy Knight Powell, "Squaring the Circle: The Telescopic View in Early Modern Landscape," in *Art and Technology in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Richard Taws and Genevieve Warwick (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 102. I cautiously approach her argument that the shift from the world landscape to more focused ones in roundels

Goltzius' third series of the seasons, engraved by Jan Saenredam in the later 1590s, does not abandon personifications and classical gods.[320] But it stresses everyday activities with seasonal associations. *Spring* is the season of music making and courtship and *Summer* the harvest. *Autumn* is designated for fruit and wine-related work. Yet *Winter* (Figure 3.7), like *Spring*, is not portrayed as a period of labor. Goltzius instead presents the familiar old man and woman seated at a table feasting by the fire. The man with his long white locks of hair and beard takes on a regal appearance with his crown, thick fur coat, tazza, and sword.[321] But more can be read into this scene. A figure remarkably similar to Goltzius' depiction of Summer presents a fowl on a tray to the elderly couple who longingly gaze at their supper. Crowned with ears of grain, Summer holds a cornucopia in his other hand. Behind the seated couple, a beardless youth with grape vines tangled in his hair unsuccessfully vies for attention against the main course with a jug of wine. Goltzius recalls his Bacchus type to serve the winter diners their beverage. In this case, Bacchus certainly represents Autumn, just as he does in the previous print in the series. The message here is clear. As in the *Georgics* and *hofdichten*, Winter is not a laborer, but the recipient of the results of the work from the other seasons. The importance of these seasonal servants is underscored by the print's inscription, which was provided by the headmaster of the Haarlem Latin School, Cornelis Schonaeus. While the other seasons' inscriptions celebrate the

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is linked with expectations of what would be seen from a telescope versus what really is seen in the lens since the same shift occurs in Netherlandish works in rectangular formats.

[320] *Winter* still includes a seated old man before a feast. Cupid appears with drawn bow in *Spring*. Apollo rides across the summer sky. And a figure reminiscent of Bacchus offers a man a glass of wine in *Autumn*. This series is discussed in Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck," 162; Veldman, "Waaien met de Mode Mee," 76-77; Lauterbach, "Masked Allegory"; and van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 30.

[321] Lauterbach proposes that Goltzius intended for this kingly figure to represent Aeolus, thus keeping with the tradition of using classical gods to represent the seasons. She also identifies a quote of Michelangelo's *Drunken Bacchus* in Autumn, Ceres in *Summer*, and stresses Cupid among the lovers in *Spring*, thus recalling Venus from the earlier tradition of the seasons as gods and goddesses. Lauterbach argues that these quotes of classical gods in everyday scenes highlight that this series is transitional between Veldman's allegory and genre depictions.

spring joys or the produce of the seasons, winter's inscription takes a different tone, "All that you see gathered throughout of the year provides us with rich fare in the season of icy cold."[322] While both Veldman and Christiane Lauterbach noticed that this print identifies winter as the time when one is unable to work, Goltzius presents the season as more than a simple break. It is a celebration. Winter provides permission to enjoy the provisions stocked up throughout the year. After all, the food and drink have been saved specifically for the season.[323] Outside of the window Goltzius includes a view of two individuals out for an evening skate. Thus ice pleasures are linked with the inscription promoting a festive outlook of a winter lacking the labor of other seasons.[324]

As we have seen, personifications of winter usually appear as an elderly person as the Pythagorean Tetrads identify the properties of winter with those of the last of the four human ages. Yet not all seventeenth-century artists elected to align winter with old age. Late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Flemish winter scenes depict the familiar old man in the foreground accompanied by a much younger companion. Sebastiaan Vrancx, in particular, included "old man winter" standing with a child holding a festive loaf of winter *duivekater* in the foreground of his winter scenes. But even when winter appeared alone as a personification, old

[322] "*Accumulata vides totum quaecunuqe per annum, exornant nostrum glaciali tempore mensam*." Translated from Latin by Veldman. Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck," 163.

[323] A cat with a mouse between its paws sits under the woman's chair. This detail may also relate to the idea of winter as the last act of the hunt when the catch is enjoyed. This is how Ariane van Suchtelen identifies it. Van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 30. Herman Pleij has also noticed the presence of a cat and mouse in scenes of feasting and identifies it with the iconography of fools. Pleij, *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511*, 79. Goltzius connects a successful hunt with winter in his final series of the seasons discussed below, where a wolf bites a sheep on the bank of a frozen river behind the central skating couple.

[324] It is worth noting that Bruegel's *Prudence* from his *Seven Virtues* features chopping and collecting wood. The right side of the image almost entirely depicts the preparation of meat from the pig slaughter. The inclusion of these common labors for November and December situates Bruegel's scene of diligence in the late Autumn with an approaching winter in mind. For Bruegel's series, see Manfred Sellink, *Bruegel: The Complete Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Antwerp: Ludion, 2007), 134-151.

age could be disregarded. In the 1640s, Caesar van Everdingen substituted a young woman raising her hands over a warmer for the old man in an allegory of Winter (Figure 3.8).[325] We also see a deviation from the traditional personifications in Goltzius' final print series of the seasons, again engraved by Saenredam in 1601.[326]

This final series again takes the beholder simultaneously through the cycles of the seasons and human aging. But unlike previous series, this one does not correlate with the traditional four human ages. Instead, we follow two children, a boy and a girl, as they mature throughout the year. The series starts in *Spring* with two young children well-dressed and surrounded by lush plants and baby animals (Figure 3.9). The young couple react in wonder to a hatchling in the nest in the boy's hand, a symbol of both the youth of the children and the year.[327] Even though the pair is too young for romance, Goltzius lets us know how the story will end by inserting Cupid hovering in the sky with his taught bow aimed directly at the soon-to-be lovers. Over the next two prints, as the seasons progress so do the children's ages. The older children and teenagers are set to work. In *Summer* he grasps ears of grain and she hoists milk pails; and in *Autumn* they are harvesting fruit (Figures 3.10 and 3.11). By the time winter arrives, the young pair again abandons their labors as they take advantage of the frigid weather to leisurely

[325] Albert Blankert considers this young woman with her warmer to be a message on courtship. He cites Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen*, which portrays a warmer for the emblem "*Mignon des Dames,"* which suggests that a suitor can only settle for second-best with a woman, after her beloved warmer. Blankert identifies van Everdingen's woman in contemporary clothes as one of "*onze Hollandsche vrouwen*" described by Roemer Visscher. In the same article, Blankert illustrates and describes a painting by Jan de Braij that presents winter as a black man holding his hands over a warmer. The painting now in Cape Town, South Africa, employs a very similar composition to that used by van Everdingen 10-20 years earlier. Albert Blankert, "Vrouw 'Winter' door Caesar van Everdingen," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 39 (1991): 505-523.

[326] For this series, see Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck," 162-163 and the catalogue *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, both the entry numbers 55-58 on pages 139-140 and Veldman's essay "Waaien met de Mode Mee," 77-78.

[327] Stealing a bird's nest, and thus capturing a bird, may also represent love. Mary Frances Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 264.

go skating (Figure 3.12).[328] They have also aged considerably since the last time they took a break from work. The pair of playmates have matured into a couple of paramours. Two adults take the ice; the boy's hand that once supported a bird's nest is now a man's grasping a sword.

Love unquestionably plays a major theme in this final print which monumentalizes the young couple skating hand-in-hand. Veldman proposes that a romance, in addition to the seasons and the ages of the pair, has progressed throughout the series. A strike from Cupid's arrow in spring has evolved into a lasting relationship by winter.[329] If this is the case, then Goltzius presents winter as a season of romance. In Chapter 6, we will see how the winter ice and especially skating united lovers and even became the location of public erotic displays, as in Bol's print.[330] *Winter* is the only print in the series in which the couple are the age for courtship. While the boy and girl face each other in every scene in the series, *Winter* is the only one where they actually touch. He places his hand around her hand near the center of the composition. The identification of skating as an activity for young lovers is underscored by an inscription accompanying a slightly later copy of the print published by Claes Jansz. Visscher; "The young search for each other on the ice in WINTER, while there in the corners the old grey-hairs sit by the hearth."[331] This juxtaposition of the youthful and dynamic with the elderly and immobile

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[328] In addition to matching through their depictions of leisure as opposed to labor, *Spring* and *Winter* also feature the pair dressed much more elegantly than they are in *Spring* and *Summer*.

[329] Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck," 163. She also suggested a lasting romance progressing throughout the series in Goltzius' previous series of the seasons. Veldman, "Waaien met de Mode Mee," 77.

[330] Many amorous songbooks describe winter activities in their courtship songs. For instance, a song in *Den Bloem-hof van de Nederlantsche Ieught* describes love sprouting "in this cold new year (*In die vecoude nieuwe jaer*)." It is accompanied by an illustration of a skater standing on the shore watching a couple skating alongside a horse-drawn sleigh and a fallen skater. *Den Bloem-hof van de Nederlantsche Ieught* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz, 1610), 43-44.

[331] "*Jonge lieden salmen soecken, In DE WINTER op het ÿs/Daer en tegen in de hoecken, van den haert den ouden grÿs*." For the print in the British Museum, see the museum's website, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=450263001&objectId=3048222&partId=1.

demonstrates that both forms of pleasure were acceptable with winter. The inscription accompanying the earlier edition of Goltzius' print does not highlight the juvenile and vigorous aspects of winter pleasures, but it is no less celebratory. Even though *Winter*'s inscription is the only one that differs from those of Goltzius' previous series, it expresses the same idea; "I consume everything that people stock through the year; it is all prepared for me alone."[332] Unlike the feasting couple served by personifications of summer and autumn, nothing about the pair of skaters suggests enjoying the results of the labors of other seasons. While Goltzius may illustrate the pleasurable feast with a wolf biting a sheep in the background, this inscription paired with the skating couple reveals the degree to which the idea of winter as a unique period of celebration and rest was embraced in the Netherlands.

Jan van de Velde's 1618 *Months*

Goltzius' series from the dawn of the seventeenth century was by no means the final flourishing of a medieval idea. The concept of winter as a season of relaxation from labor and social conventions continued to be expressed in print series in the seventeenth century. Jan van de Velde the Younger designed a series of *The Twelve Months*, which was printed by Cornelis Visscher in 1618.[333] Loyal to the tradition of the Labors of the Months, each print depicts men, women, and children engaged in the work and play appropriate for each month. These scenes are set in topographic views in the Netherlands, with the exception of *October*, where the wine harvest is more accurately illustrated outside of Palermo. These prints are accompanied by four

[332] "*Accumulant homines totum quaecunque per annum, haec ego consumo, soli haec mihi cuncta parautur*." Translated from Latin by Veldman. Veldman, "Seasons, Planets and Temperaments in the Work of Maarten van Heemskerck," 163.

[333] For the series, see the entry for 60-71 in *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 142-145.

Latin lines summarizing the month depicted.[334] The inscriptions for *December*, *January*, and *February* present winter as a season of pleasures and relaxation, even as the weather becomes treacherous. For *January* (Figure 3.13), Jan van de Velde the Younger designed a scene of *ijsvermaak* outside of the Buitenhof in The Hague, where elegantly dressed young men and women gather under leafless trees. They enjoy conversations, pleasure rides in horse-drawn sleighs, and skating as couples. These Dutch youths are joined by dogs, children pushing each other on a sled, and a kolf game on the shore. The accompanying inscription highlights the pleasures enjoyed despite the cold weather, "A polar cold shackles the fruitful streams/Children and youths come in crowds/A procession of lovely, laughing maidens/Riding around on their iron skates."[335] The inscription works alongside the illustration to recall the winter month of January as a period characterized by the enjoyments on the ice. This is not the domain of "old man winter" with his brazier, but rather that of cheerful, beautiful, and joyful youth.

As opposed to the fun and games on the ice, *February* (Figure 3.14) depicts a boat tossed around on the choppy Zuiderzee as individuals on shore watch next to leafless trees outside of Kampen.[336] Yet seasonal pleasures are described in the inscription, "North winds and strong frosts are now gone/The ice is melting: it is time to sit around the fire/A princely meal gets its taste/Uncut, the sweet wine flows goblet after goblet." Instead of youthful enjoyments and romance, the speaker recalls feasting and drinking plenty of wine.[337] The series ends with

[334] I use the Dutch translations from the Latin found in *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*.
[335] "*Een poolse koude boeit de vruchtbare stromen./Kinderen, jongens in een drom,/een stoet van lieve, lachende meisjes-/overal rijden ze rond op hun ijzeren schaatsen*." Ibid., 143.
[336] It is identified as "*Campen aan de Zuiderzee*." I am assuming that Kampen in Overijssel, the home of Hendrick Avercamp, is depicted.
[337] "*Noordenwind en strenge vorst zijn nu geweken;/het ijs smelt weg: dit is de tijd om aan de haard bijeen,/een vorstelijk maal zich wel te laten smaken;/onversneden vloeit de zoete wijn kruik na kruik*." *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 143.

December (Figure 3.15), which presents a crowded town identified as "Delfshaven from behind." Even though a canal is depicted, nobody skates, kolfs, or sleds on it. The inscription celebrates the return of joyful activities and the absence of labor, "Winter is back, a grim frost covers everything with flowing ice. We celebrate with a row-dance on skates. A month of no work? …A day? …And what then?"[338] It repeats the now familiar idea of finding relaxation and pleasure away from labor in wintertime. The fact that Jan van de Velde the Younger located his scenes in distinctly Dutch settings underscores that the inscriptions are pertinent to the Dutch experience. He was even attentive enough to set the wine harvest in Sicily. Like the *hofdichten*, Jan van de Velde's series makes a celebratory and relaxing winter applicable to a setting familiar to a Dutch audience.

Conclusion

In a society in which natural forces had grave impacts on human life, mastering a lifestyle in accordance with the predictable cycle of the seasons was necessary for survival. Such a way of life assumed cosmological significance as a person in the seventeenth century comprehended the human body as a miniature world, a microcosm reflecting the macrocosm. Since the ideal human body was believed to operate through the same balance of the four basic qualities that governed the changing of the seasons, every season must be observed in its own time. The healthy ability to live harmoniously with the cycle of the seasons was celebrated in the widely read *Georgics*, as well as in the poems it influenced, such as the *hofdichten* which apply the lessons of Virgil's content farmer to the Dutch country house. These poems present winter as the period when difficult weather permits the farmer to abstain from many of his labors. He

[338] "*De Winter is terug, een felle vorst/legt ijs op alle stromen. We vieren feest/met reidans op de schaats. Een maand/lang niet gewerkt? …een dag? …en wat dan nog*?" Ibid., 145.

treats the season as a naturally enforced holiday as he relaxes and celebrates with feasts and friends. This message of winter as an annual rest and celebration is also found in visual culture, both in the medieval tradition of the Labors of the Months and in Netherlandish Renaissance print series that, like the *hofdichten*, express this message through local settings and activities. Scientific ideas, literature, and visual culture all cited treacherous winter weather as an excuse to relax. But as suggested by Bol's print, this relaxation extended to social behaviors. To explain why, we must turn to more literary sources and the lived experience of winter in the Netherlands.

Chapter 4. Horace on Skates: The Horatian Winter Made Dutch in Literature and Readership Practices

The seasonal pleasures illustrated in the winter scene are described in literary sources as varied as travel accounts, chronicles, almanacs, emblem books, songbooks, riddle books, and poems–both originals and translations of Latin authors. Art historians have demonstrated how literature can be effective in interpreting Dutch art.[339] In the context of the winter scene, scholars recalled accounts of ice pleasures in emblem books, the songbook *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* ("Pegasus of Amsterdam"), and poems such as Jan Six van Chandelier's "The Amsterdammers' Winter (*'s Amsterdammers Winter*)" to highlight how the ice served as a zone of both grave spiritual and physical dangers as well as joyful romance and leisure.[340] Yet while the winter scene depicts the specific details described in these accounts, it also illustrates the tone and attitude of many of these works, which has its origins with the Roman poet Horace. In his *Odes* and *Epodes*, particularly the Ninth Ode of the first book, called the "Soracte Ode," Horace urges his readers to relax and celebrate through treacherous winter weather. Seventeenth-century poets revived this ancient idea to reflect specifically Dutch winters as part of their efforts to find a national identity for their young republic. These writers also flatter their compatriots by

[339] See, for example, Lisa Vergara, *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982); David Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century* (London: British Museum Publications, 1980); E. John Walford, *Jacob van Ruisdael and the Perception of Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991); Wayne Franits, "The Pursuit of Love: The Theme of the Hunting Party at Rest in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 61 (1992): 106-115; and Catherine Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994). Both Freedberg and Franits warn against the claim that literature directly caused trends in the visual arts. Rather, they both express the same cultural ideas. Freedberg, *Dutch Landscape Prints of the Seventeenth Century*, 17 and Wayne Franits, *Paragons of Virtue: Women and Domesticity in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 5.

[340] See Evert van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot: De Verbeelding van de Winter in de Zestiende en Zeventiende Eeuw in de Nederlanden* (The Hague: Rijkskollekties, 1977) and Ariane van Suchtelen, "Danger, Love, Sports and Games on the Ice," in *Holland Frozen in Time: The Dutch Winter Landscape in the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2001), 16-26.

identifying how the Dutch can exceed the revered ancients; in this case, by turning the difficulties of winter into pleasures completely unknown to Horace. Yet one did not need to be an erudite humanist to encounter this festive Dutch winter. Popular printed books that fulfilled social functions also describe the same activities of the winter scene with Horace's relaxing attitude. The experience of using such books reflects the Horatian associations that a contemporary beholder would have brought to a winter scene.

Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes* and Dutch Responses

Horace's poems were enthusiastically read and imitated in early modern Europe. They appealed to a wide range of readers as they satisfied both the moralizer and those desiring a salacious read.[341] Many Dutch readers would have been familiar with these ancient poems as Horace was a staple of a Latin education.[342] But a Dutch reader did not need to know Latin to be able to read Horace, as Dutch translations were available.[343] We can also speculate that his work

[341] In Antwerp, Otto van Veen's *Horatii Emblemata*, an emblem book focusing on the work of Horace and other classical writers, was first published in 1607. For the early modern reception and translation of Horace, primarily in the English-speaking world, see Michael McGann's "The Reception of Horace in the Renaissance" and David Money's "The Reception of Horace in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" in *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, ed. Stephen Harrison (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 305-333 and Lowell Edmunds, "The Reception of Horace's Odes," in *A Companion to Horace*, ed. Gregson Davis (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 337-366.

[342] "The widest-read [Latin or classical] author here was without any doubt Horace, with Vergil ranking as a good second." Maria A. Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt: Themes and Ideas* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1991), 146. Arthur Eyffinger noticed that Hugo Grotius paraphrased Psalm LXXXII into a Horatian Ode. Hugo Grotius, *The Poetry of Hugo Grotius, Original Poetry 1602-1603*, ed. Arthur Eyffinger (Assen/Maastricht: van Gorcum, 1988), 563. Seventeenth-century English writers characterized the Dutch as valuing Horace's poems for their wit and virtue. See Joanna Martindale, "The Best Master of Virtue and Wisdom: The Horace of Ben Jonson and His Heirs," in *Horace Made New: Horatian Influences on British Writings from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century*, ed. Charles Martindale and David Hopkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 53. For Latin students' exposure to ideas on rural life in classical literature, including Horace's Second Epode, see Willemien B. de Vries, *Wandeling en Verhandeling: De Ontwikkeling van het Nederlandse Hofdicht in de Zeventiende Eeuw (1613-1710)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998), 28-35.

[343] Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert translated Horace's Second Epode into Dutch. Huigen Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View: Haarlem and its Environs in Literature and Art, 15th-17th Century," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1997, Deel 48: Natuur en Landschap in de Nederlandse Kunst 1500-1850*, ed. Reindert Falkenburg, Jan de

may have been indirectly familiar to the illiterate since classical references were plentiful in sixteenth-century public performances.[344] Horace's poems connected artists and writers in early modern Europe. While his theoretical treatise *Ars poetica* was written about poetry, art theorists applied it to the visual arts. Joost van den Vondel dedicated his 1654 translation of Horace's *Odes*, "To the fellow artists of Saint Luke in Amsterdam, painters, sculptors, draughtsmen and their patrons."[345]

Of all the poems composed by Horace, his *Odes* and *Epodes* most strongly resonate with the winter scene. In these poems, Horace acknowledges the strife of winter.[346] He connects natural cycles with human life, thus contrasting youthful spring against mortal winter.[347] Yet as with Virgil and *Georgic* literature, these wintertime hardships also suggest the inability to

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Jong, Mark Meadow, Bart Ramakers, Herman Roodenburg, and Frits Scholten (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), 66. Joost van den Vondel translated Horace's *Odes* in 1654. Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of* Rembrandt, 110, 119, 142. Vondel's translations can be found in the seventh book in Joost van den Vondel, *De Werken van Vondel*, ed. J. F. Sterck et al. (Amsterdam: De Maatschappij voor Goede en Goedkoope Lectuur te Amsterdam, 1934). When quoting Horace, I prefer to cite Vondel's translation as it was produced in the seventeenth century Netherlands and is more likely to reflect how a reader from this time and place considered the ancient poems.

[344] Walter S. Gibson wrote of *rederijkers'*, or rhetoricians', performances as instrumental for spreading classical ideas in the sixteenth century. Walter S. Gibson, "Artists and Rederijkers in the Age of Bruegel," *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981), 430. Even the snowmen erected in Brussels in 1511, which Jan Smekens described in "*D'Wonder dat is die stat van Bruesel ghemaect was van claren ijse en snee, die wel gheraect was* (The Wonder in the City of Brussels Made from Ice and Snow)," featured many characters from classical mythology. For this literary account, see Herman Pleij, *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511: Stadscultuur in de Late Middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1988).

[345] Vondel continued by stressing the connection between literature and the visual arts while citing *Ars poetica*. Translated from, "*Aen de kunstgenooten van Sint Lucas t' Amsterdam, schilders, beelthouwers, tekenaers, en hunne begunstigers*" in Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt*, 119. For connections between poetry and the visual arts in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, see the section "Poeta en Pictor Vulgaris" in J. A. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de Regels van de Kunst* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1968), 30-38 and Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, trans. Beverley Jackson and Lynne Richards (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 25-27.

[346] The notes in Sterck et al.'s edition of Vondel's translations mention that Horace recalled snow and hail at the beginning of Second Ode of the first book as signs of troubles and evil. Vondel, *De Werken van Vondel*, 264. Vondel also uses the adjective "*logge* (cumbersome, unwieldy)" to describe winter in the Seventh Ode of the fourth book, "*felle* (fierce, grim)"in Fourth Ode of the first book, and "*quade* (bad, wicked, vicious)"in the First Ode of the third book. Ibid., 332, 266, and 302.

[347] As argued by Steele Commager in *The Odes of Horace: A Cultural Study* (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 268-274. Ronnie Ancona writes of Horace employing these associations of winter and spring with Chloe and Lydia, a young and old woman in the twenty-third and twenty-fifth Odes of the first book. Ronnie Ancona, "Female Figures in Horace's Odes," in *A Companion to Horace*, 189.

work.[348] The connection between Horace and the *Georgics* is evident in his Second Epode, called "*Beatus ille*," which celebrates country life. While Horace ends his poem with the satirical twist that the speaker is an urban usurer too greedy to change his ways, this detail was willfully ignored by sixteenth and seventeenth-century writers. They valued *Beatus ille* as a praise of a content rural lifestyle peacefully synchronized with natural cycles, including the seasons.[349] Despite the hardships and inactivity of Horace's winter, the farmer does not accept the season in a joylessly passive manner. Some work can still be done. The poem details the hunter's activity amid the rain and snow. The labor is further underscored in Vondel's translation, where the hunter's catch is as "a pleasant reward for his labor (*een genoeghelijcke belooninge van zijnen arbeit*)."[350] As recalled in *hofdichten*, hunting is a winter activity that can be associated with the self-sufficient farmer's feast among friends. The pleasure from the hunt is further suggested in Dirck Volckertsz. Coornhert's translation, where Horace's hunter bags "a

[348] The Twenty-fourth Ode of the third book marvels at the fact that nothing stops the merchant from earning money, not even the freezing snow. The Sixth Epode describes not even the deepest snow being able to deter the speaker in his pursuit and the Sixteenth Epode employs a comparison with shipwrecked sailors in a "winter tempest (*winterische zeestorm*)." Vondel, *De Werken van Vondel*, 322, 345, and 354 and Horace, *The Complete Ode and Epodes*, trans. David West (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 101, 10 and 21. In Otto van Veen's emblem for the merchant from the Twenty-fourth Ode of the third book in *Emblemata Horatiana*, the Dutch and French commentaries mention the chilly winter weather (*Gheen herftsche winden/kou/of snee/…* and "*l'Esté sec, la sayson fulleuse,/Le Noerth glacé, le chaud/Midy,…*"). Otto van Veen, *Horatii Emblemata*, reprinted by *The Philosophy of Images*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1979), 102-103. When describing the shift from winter to summer, Horace recalls cattle leaving the stable and the farmer retreating from his fire. Vondel, *De Werken van Vondel*, 266 and Horace, *The Complete Ode and Epodes*, 29. This attitude is not limited to Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes*. In the first book of his First Satire, Horace recounts the prudent ant who labors throughout the year in preparation for winter. Horace, *Satires and Epistles*, trans. Niall Rudd (London: Penguin Books, 2005), 4. In the Seventh Epistle of the first book, Horace reveals his winter plans to "go down to the seaside and take it easy, curled up with a book." Ibid., 87.

[349] Vergara, *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape*, 149 and 158; de Vries, *Wandeling en Verhandeling*, 36; and Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt*, 100. Schenkeveld identifies Hubert Korneliszoon Poot's "Akkerleven" as the one Dutch retelling of Horace's Second Epode that does not present an exclusively happy outlook on country life. The opening lines of Horace's poem are reproduced in the emblem "*Agriculturæ beatitude* (Rural Happiness)" in *Emblemata Horatiana*, along with quotations from the *Georgics*. Van Veen, *Horatii Emblemata*, 88-89.

[350] Vondel, *De Werken van Vondel*, 340-341 and Horace, *The Complete Ode and Epodes*, 4-6.

sweet catch (*een zoete vangst*)."[351] As we have seen, the connection between winter and hunting is firmly established in the winter scene as one of the few labors depicted.[352] Despite the labor, the Dutch translations of *Beatus ille* acknowledge that the outcome of the hunt is "a pleasant reward" and "a sweet catch"; the joy of the feast.

Yet hunting is not Horace's only suggestion for a wintertime activity. Throughout his *Odes* and *Epodes*, he cites inclement weather as an excuse to stay inside, help himself to wine, and make merry. Essentially, Horace urges his reader to celebrate through the storm. This is most effectively expressed in the Ninth Ode of the first book, which Horace begins by describing Mount Soracte outside of Rome rising above the snowy and frozen landscape. Not surprising for the poet who popularized the notion of *carpe diem*, Horace proposes that despite the the weather, his listener "pile up the logs on the hearth and be more generous…as you draw the four-year-old Sabine [wine] from its two-eared cask." Horace recommends not to worry about the future, since the gods will take care of everything. Instead, we should go outside, live in the moment, and embrace the pleasures of youth. Horace leads his rejuvenated listener to the public spaces of Rome, where an amorous encounter with a maiden is mentioned before the poem ends.[353] The Soracte Ode's festive and carefree response to difficult weather is not unique among Horace's

[351] Coornhert does not reference Jupiter bringing winter as Vondel does. Instead, he stressed the cycle of the seasons throughout the year. Coornhert's rejection of the pagan god may be a religious statement from the theologian; he connected *Beatus ille* with Psalm 23. For Coornhert's translation, see D. V. Coornhert, *Lied-Boeck* (Amsterdam: Hermen Janszoon, c. 1575), folio 8Ar. The churchman Samuel Ampzing consciously removed references to classical mythology in his later work. See Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View," 78.

[352] Bruegel illustrated December and January with hunters in his painted series of the *Months*. Jan Six van Chandelier recounts hunting in "The Amsterdammers' Winter," particularly lines 185-192. Jan Six van Chandelier, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, ed. Maria A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen and Hans Luijten (Utrecht: HES Uitgevers, 1998), 33.

[353] Vondel, *De Werken van Vondel*, 270 and Horace, *The Complete Ode and Epodes*, 33. This ode is recalled in two emblems in *Horatii Emblemata*. The emblem "*Post mvlta virtvs opera laxari solet*" provides a commentary on the ode's attitude towards relaxation through Apollo and the muses. About sixteen pages later, van Veen elaborates on Horace's urge not to be concerned with thoughts of the future by ridiculing those who use astrological signs, animal innards, and other objects to glimpse into the future. Van Veen, *Horatii Emblemata*, 160-161 and 186-187.

poems. In the Thirteenth Epode, a storm approaches with "rain and snow falling from the air (*regen en sneeu valt uit de lucht*)," setting the poem in winter.[354] Yet Horace again comforts his reader that the gods will rectify everything. So he urges his friends (the reader is addressed as "*vrienden*" in Vondel's translation) to drink wine with him. The Seventeenth Ode of the third book features the speaker ordering his slaves to gather wood as a storm appears. They will respond to being forced indoors with the celebratory acts of drinking wine and eating meat.[355]

The Dutch winter scene echoes the *Odes* and *Epodes* as it represents people treating inhospitable winter weather as an excuse to celebrate, especially through spending time with friends and lovers, drinking alcohol, and sitting by the fire. Yet the images are more reflective of Horace's Dutch translators and followers. As noted by Dirk Harry Smit, Dutch poets such as Jacob Westerbaen and Johan van Heemskerck rewrote Roman poems so that the ancient religious observances and legal rituals became a "church visit in Amsterdam and kermis joys, market days, and ***ijsvermaak*** in The Hague" (emphasis mine).[356] Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes* were included among these ancient poems altered to reflect the seventeenth-century Dutch experience.[357] Maria A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen connected Jan Six van Chandelier's "The

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[354] Vondel, *De Werken van Vondel*, 349-350 and Horace, *The Complete Ode and Epodes*, 16.

[355] Vondel, *De Werken van Vondel*, 316 and Horace, *The Complete Ode and Epodes*, 97. The annotations for the latter state that "his slaves are enjoying an enforced holiday because of the bad weather." Ibid., 173. Gregson Davis considers the Eleventh Ode of the first book, which contains the famous phrase *carpe diem*, to link human life with the cycle of the seasons and to favor winter. He situates the drinking and the "seize the day" attitude after a winter storm. However, Vondel's translation makes no reference to winter, snow, ice, or storms, so I am cautious of presenting this poem in the context of the Dutch winter scene. For Vondel's translation, see Vondel, *De Werken van Vondel*, 271. For Davis' commentary, see Gregson Davis, "Wine and the Symposium," in *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, 214. Horace's Third and Seventh Satires of the second book also acknowledge winter festivals such as Saturnalia. In another Satire, Horace urges his slave, "Come on, it's December; enjoy the freedom our fathers decreed, and say what you like." Horace, *Satires and Epistles*, 46 and 67.

[356] *"Zoo vindt bijna elk voorbeeld uit het Latijnsche gedicht zijn equivalent in de Nederlandsche bewerkingen. De Romansche kerkelijk feesten en een rechtszitting op het Forum worden vervangen door kerkbezoek in Amsterdam, door kermisvreugde, marktdag en ijsvermaak in Den Haag,…"* Dirk Harry Smit, *Johan van Heemskerck 1597-1656* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij "De Spieghel," 1933), 96.

[357] The reworking of Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes* to reflect contemporary culture was not unique to the Dutch. Readers in seventeenth and eighteenth-century England and its American colonies encountered a Horace who

Amsterdammers' Winter" with poems by Horace and Virgil. Six echoes classical models as he details wintery weather through both human and natural events before describing an array of ice pleasures and concluding with a fireside feast amongst friends.[358]

Yet Horace's ideas applied to the Dutch winter are most explicit in the poems of Johan van Heemskerck. *Pvb. Ovidii Nasonis Minne-kunst, gepast op d'Amsterdamsche vryagien: met noch andere mine-dichten ende mengel-dichten, alle nieu ende te voren niet gesien* ("Ovid's 'Art of Love,' Applied to the Lovers of Amsterdam: with other Love Poems and Miscellaneous Poems, All New and Previously Not Printed"), was published in 1622 in Amsterdam. It includes both van Heemskerck's Dutch version of Ovid's *Art of Love* and original poems, including a version of the Soracte Ode written for his university friend Johan Brosterhuysen.[359] Following Horace's example, van Heemskerck begins by describing a snowy setting. But instead of Mount Soracte, van Heemskerck mentions the frosty Rapenburg canal in Leiden, indicating that the poem is set in and applicable to Holland. Six likewise sets his Horatian winter in a distinctly Dutch setting when he details known pleasure-trip destinations around Amsterdam, including the

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drank beer and made comparisons with the English Civil War. In the seventeenth century, Thomas Randolph not only translated Horace's Second Epode into English, but also altered Horace's details to be more relatable to an English reader, such as describing the farmer and his wife dining on the British feast of "…her self-brewed beer/And other wholesome country cheer:/Sup him with bread and cheese, pudding or pie,/Such dainties as they do not buy-…" For this poem, see Alastair Fowler, *The Country House Poem: A Cabinet of Seventeenth-Century Estate Poems and Related Items* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 149-152. Horace's poems were even applied to the Napoleonic wars and both World Wars. For the insertion of early modern English details and situations in Horace's *Odes*, see Money, "The Reception of Horace in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 321; Martindale, "The Best Master of Virtue and Wisdom: The Horace of Ben Jonson and His Heirs"; and David Hopkins's "Cowley's Horatian Mice," in *Horace Made New*, 50-85 and 122-123.

[358] Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 49. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen identified that 'The Amsterdammers' Winter" differs from a Horatian Ode as the Dutch poet stresses winter activities while the Roman one focuses on the meal. Ibid., 12-17.

[359] Johan van Heemskerck, *Pvb. Ovidii Nasonis Minne-kunst, gepast op d'Amsterdamsche vryagien: met noch andere mine-dichten ende mengel-dichten, alle nieu ende te voren niet gesien* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz. Voskuyl, 1622), 336-339. Smit, *Johan van Heemskerck 1597-1656*, 127, noticed that such poems are not technically translations, but "closely related Dutch poem[s]." For background on Brosterhuysen, primarily on his social circles, see ibid., 39-41.

Loopveld, where he asks if the reader wishes to stop and have a couple of beers, further underscoring the notion of a celebratory winter.[360] Back in van Heemskerck's snowy Leiden, the Dutch poet stays loyal to Horace by requesting more logs thrown into the fire and wine poured. Not only does van Heemskerck provide bread for his friends, but he substitutes Horace's Sabine wine with the more familiar Rhein wine.[361] Both the Roman poet and his Dutch follower soothe their reader's apprehensions by stating that divine agents will take care of everything, so the reader should take advantage of their youth and engage in romantic pursuits. Van Heemskerck adds a Dutch tone to this comfort by referencing how it can be found in "our plucky fatherland (…*Die ons verwerde Vader-landt/Weer brengen kan in goeden stant.*)." Horace and van Heemskerck lead their readers to different locations. Horace implores his audience to join him in Rome's public spaces, which Vondel turns into locations for exercise ("*het worstelperk, en andere oeffenplaetsen*"). Van Heemskerck tells the reader that, "it is now the time for us to go outside and see who is skating,"[362] transplanting not only Horace's words, but also Horace's youthful *joie de vivre* in the face of treacherous weather onto the ice while evoking the numerous spectators depicted in winter scenes watching the skaters and ice games. Dirk Harry Smit noticed that van Heemskerck connects the ode to the memories of student life that the young van Heemskerck and Brosterhuysen shared in Leiden.[363] Thus van Heemskerck directly associates Horace's youthful pleasures with Dutch winter leisure.[364]

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[360] "*Of 't Grote of Kleine Loopveld om,/eens peistrende, om een paartje mom?*" Schenkeveld-van der Dussen's annotations note that "*een paartje mom*" refers to "two little pints of beer." Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 32-37.

[361] "*GHY siet hoe over al de straet/Is wit door 't sneeuwigh vlocken,/En hoe men niet te les en gaet,/En niet en hoeft te blocken:/Want Rapen-burgh dat is en blijft/Door dese harde vorst verstijft./Veriaeght de koude van den haert/Met lustigh op te stoocken,/Voor vrienden dient geen broot gespaert;/Dies haelt hier in de koocken/Een kannetjen van 't rynsche nat/Wt 't beste Baccherachse vat."*

[362] "*…Myn Brosterhuysen, 't is nu tijd/Dat wy eens gaen na buyten,/Om sien wie daer op schaetsen rijdt;…*"

[363] Van Heemskerck cast his old university friend as Horace's Thaliarchus, a name associated with youth and joy. Smit, *Johan van Heemskerck 1597-1656*, 42-43.

[364] Six's classically inspired winter in Amsterdam similarly features the pleasures of books, tobacco, friends, fireside conversations, and feasting. His application of Horace's poems to the familiar Dutch context is underscored when

Van Heemskerck also inserted Dutch winter pleasures into Horace's *Epodes*. The same collection of poems contains "*Van 't Landt-leven* (To Country Life)," which was dedicated to Martijn Snouckaert van Schauwenburgh.[365] This poem immediately recalls the opening line of *Beatus ille*, "Happy is he peacefully cultivating his land, free from cruel war and acrimonious envy, far from the bustle of the city."[366] Van Heemskerck echoes Horace's admiration for pastoral life throughout the cycle of the seasons. Yet he deviates from his Latin model in his description of winter, where he adds a few stanzas on winter activities. With ice blocking the waterways, the content farmer skates. And he is quite the skater. Van Heemskerck likens him to flying with wings while using the adverb *kunstigh*, or "artfully." But skating is not the farmer's only pleasure on the ice. He can also "go out to play kolf with his friends (*En met zijn maets uyt kolven gaet*)" for a delightful (*lust*) game of whose ball can hit the post first.[367] Van Heemskerck applies two of the most common activities depicted in the winter scene not only to make Horace more suitable for a Dutch audience, but also to represent pleasures as proper winter behaviors in the ideal lifestyle perfectly synchronized with the cycle of the seasons.

Horace's celebratory winter appears elsewhere in Dutch literature. A "Winter Song (*Winter-Liedt*)" in the section *Cupidoos Dartelheydt* ("Cupid's Fickleness") of *Amsterdamsche*

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he asks Jacob, the son of the poet's friend Simon Dilman, to throw wood into the fire. Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 74-75.

[365] For the poem, see van Heemskerck, *Pvb. Ovidii Nasonis Minne-kunst*, 299-311. For background on Snouckaert van Schauwenburgh, see Smit, *Johan van Heemskerck 1597-1656*, 50-53.

[366] *"Geluckigh is hy die bevrijd/Van wreede krijgh en bitse nijd/Verr' uyt 't gewoel der Steden/Bebouwt zijn land met vreden."* Van Heemskerck, *Pvb. Ovidii Nasonis Minne-kunst*, 299. A number of English poets in the seventeenth century, including Ben Jonson and John Dryden, also translated *Beatus ille* into English. See Fowler, *The Country House Poem*, 70-73.

[367] *"…Wanneer dan Boreas fel raest,/En uyt 't Noord-Oost so dapper blast,/Dat hy doet 't water stremmen/Waer in men pleegh te swemmen:/En als betreet de fluxe voet/'t Kristal van een bevrosen vloet,/Waer onlanckx noch de boeren/Met schuytjes over-voeren;/So bind hy met een stout bestaen/Zijn vlugge schaetsen kunstigh aen,/En schijnt de lucht in 't ryen/Met vleugels te door-snyen./Of soo 't hem lust, den bal hy slaet/En met zijn maets uyt kolven gaet,/Elck trachtend' in 't genaecken/Het paeltjen eerst te raecken:/Dus spelen zy vast in 't gelagh/Tot dat verloopen is den dagh,/Dies zy dan t'huyswaert keeren/ En gaen de winst verteeren…"* Van Heemskerck, *Pvb. Ovidii Nasonis Minne-kunst*, 307-309.

Pegasus personifies the brutal frost that forces both the natural and the manmade to come to a halt. But the tone shifts in the song's final verse, which proposes that the singers should "make merry (*maken goet cier*)" and drink.[368] Even in the eighteenth century, Dutch readers encountered Horace's urge to merrily drink through treacherous winter weather in Hubert Korneliszoon Poot's "Winter" from 1722.[369] Contemporary literature encouraged the Dutch reader to follow the ancient advice of responding to difficult winter weather with a festive and lighthearted attitude, but in their own terms.

IJsvermaak and the Quarrel Between the Ancients and the Moderns

Van Heemskerck and Six were not the only authors to rewrite ancient poems to be relatable to a seventeenth-century Dutch audience. In the play *Moortje*, Gerbrand Adriaenszoon Bredero transfers Terence's *Eunuchus* to Amsterdam as the characters deliver their lines in a North Holland dialect.[370] With Karel van Mander and the *Nederduytschen Helicon*, the *Georgics*' "Praise of Italy" celebrates the Netherlands.[371] Van Heemskerck and Jacob

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[368] "…6 *Schepen en schuyten ghy de vaert belet/En doetse slapen op 't luye bedt/Ghy Heere zijt/in dese tijdt Seer machtigh rijck: Niemant op der aerd' is uws gelijck. 7 Arghe Vriesjen! treckt doch veer van hier/Komt laet ons voor 't lest eens maken goet cier/Nu avous dan/een volle kan Tot dattet stuyt/Doet my nu bescheyt/en tijt te lande uyt:*" Amsterdamsche *Pegasus* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Willemssen Blau-laaken, 1627), 91. There is also an element of Horace in Hugo Grotius' "*Hiemis Commoda, Ad Potteivm*," a poem dedicated to the romance and other joys of winter, when he describes a couple lying safely and comfortably in bed as a winter storm rages outside. For this poem, see Hugo Grotius, *De Dichtwerken van Hugo Grotius*, trans. B. L. Meulenbroek (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp., 1977), 92-93.

[369] After describing the harsh winter weather, Poot suggests combating the cold by staying indoors by the fire. Parroting Horace, Poot urges his reader to treat himself or herself with meat and old wine. "…*O Vrienden, houdt u toch verborgen:/Eet vleesch, drinkt ouden wyn, en laet den Hemel zorgen./De zomer moet met zyn saizoen/Den graegen winter voên*." Hubert Korneliszoon Poot, *Bloemlezing uit de Gedichten van Hubert Korneliszoon Poot* (Zutphen: N. V. W. H. Thieme & Cie, 1969), 47-48. Maria A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen noted the connection with the Soracte Ode in Maria A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, *Het Dichterschap van Hubert Korneliszoon Poot: Een Vergelijking van de 'Mengeldichten' en het 'Verlog der Gedichten'* (Assen: van Gorcum & Comp., 1968), 180-181.

[370] Reinder P. Meijer, *Literature of the Low Countries: A Short History of Dutch Literature in the Netherlands and Belgium* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1971), 124.

[371] Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, 83.

Westerbaen apply Ovid's *Art of Love* to the youth of Holland.[372] Success in the struggle for independence against Spain caused writers as well as artists to turn towards local subject matter in a search for a new Dutch identity. The highly revered ancient Greeks and Romans were considered the perfect guide and standard for the new republic. Thus Dutch authors used classical stories and themes as models in their exploration of Dutch language, culture, and achievements.[373] But this comparison also served as a form of flattery as part of the wider literary theme of the quarrel between the ancients and the moderns. A popular topic among Europe's humanists, this debate was enthusiastically embraced by Dutch authors as it suggests that the Dutch and their culture are worthy of being considered alongside or even surpassing the example of classical antiquity.[374] A frozen canal provides the Dutch with an easy victory against

[372] Smit, *Johan van Heemskerck 1597-1656*, 89. Westerbaen reworked Ovid's *Art of Love* to the seventeenth-century Hague, Jacob Westerbaen, *Gedichten*, ed. Johan Koppenol (Amsterdam: Athenaeum – Polak & van Gennep, 2001), 25-26 and 130-131, while van Heemskerck applied the ancient poem to the lovers of Amsterdam.

[373] "In the seventeenth century the ideology, or perhaps it is safer to say the phraseology, of patriotic awareness and national consciousness was gaily decked out in all sorts of colors and trappings borrowed from antiquity. One need only recall all the classical motifs in Vondel's literary terminology." Johan Huizinga, "In Patriotism and Nationalism in European History," in *Men and Ideas: History, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance*, trans. James S. Holmes and Hans van Marle (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper and Row, 1970), 129. In the seventeenth century, Dutch authors wrote in the vernacular to question if their native tongue really was unsuitable for literature. Meijer, *Literature of the Low Countries*, 108 and Weststeijn, *The Visible World*, 64. Classical gods were also written into specifically Dutch locations to witness the people of the Netherlands and their activities. Johan van Heemskerck's *'t Geneuchelijcke Paedtje* ("The Joyful Path") combines classical gods and contemporary Leiden to the point where Dirk Harry Smit called it "a worthy pastoral set on Dutch soil (*een waardig pastorale op vaderlandschen bodem!*)". Smit, *Johan van Heemskerck 1597-1656*, 127-128. In Westerbaen's *Verhuysinge van Cupido* ("Cupid's Move"), Cupid moves to The Hague when the gods decide that he must leave Mount Olympus. This poem is mentioned in a catalogue entry by Fred G. Meijer for Joseph de Bray's *Praise of Pickled Herring* in Dresden. *Fish: Still Lifes by Dutch and Flemish Masters 1550-1700*, ed. Liesbeth M. Helmus (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2004), 314-315. For Dutch authors turning to their vernacular language and landscape as subjects, especially in relation to the "*Witte Blink*" dune outside of Haarlem, see Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View," 67-69.

[374] As expressed by Westerbaen in his country house poem *Ockenburgh*; "*En, so ick my verleegh tot onse Batavieren,/Ick vinder honderden die tracht nae laurieren:/Ick vinder, die den Grieck niet uyt den wege gaen:/Ick vinder, die gelijck met den Latynen staen:/Oock die in haere tael geen volcken en wijcken./Ick kan myn tijd aen 't Y en Amstel gaen verkijcken:…*" Jacob Westerbaen, *Arctoa Tempe Ockenburgh Woonstede van den Heere van Brandwyck in de Clingen buyten Loosduynen* (The Hague: Anthony Tongerloo, 1654), 166. Catherine Levesque also noted, "The application of Latin texts to Dutch scenery in prints suggests the equation of ancient Latin and modern Dutch circumstances in the poetic descriptions of native scenery…In Van de Velde's prints Latin themes also find a Dutch adaptation: here too Roman religious festivals and court-sessions at the Forum are replaced by kermis pleasures, marketdays, and ice skating. The Latin text suggests comparison with the classical past, but clearly

the ancients who had no concept of games on the ice. This was not lost on humanist writers, who were forced to find a way to write about ice skating when no Latin word for it existed.[375] These writers also described Dutch youth playing on the ice by comparing them favorably against ancient athletic events and spectacles.[376] Six begins "The Amsterdammers' Winter" with "I sing of difficult winter time (*Ik zing de gure wintertijd*)," a playful reworking of the *Aeneid*'s opening line, "I sing of weapons and of men (*Arma virumque cano*)."[377] This nod to Virgil suggests that the Dutch and their ability to enjoy the Northern European winter can be revered and celebrated as an ancient epic.

Dutch authors were enthusiastic to point to their skating prowess over the ancients since skating featured in their nascent national identity. Foreign visitors from England to Morocco marveled at the speed and agility of Dutch skaters and how the Dutch treated a frozen canal as a

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these conditions have been adapted to native circumstances; the relation of images and texts even suggest that, on occasion, the Dutch present surpasses the Roman past." Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, 104. See ibid., 110 for an interpretation of Jan van de Velde's print series transporting Roman lessons and virtues to the local Dutch setting. For descriptions of art in Amsterdam surpassing that of past and present Rome, see the "Chapter 1 'Here is the Stock Exchange and the Money, and the Love of Art.' An Introduction to the Golden Age of Amsterdam and its History Painters" in Eric Jan Sluijter, *Rembrandt's Rivals: History Painting in Amsterdam 1630-1650* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2015), 6-22. In the first few years of the seventeenth century, Grotius wrote of the Dutch as equals or even superiors to the ancient Romans and Athenians. See Grotius, *The Poetry of Hugo Grotius.*

[375] Hugo Grotius titled his epigram on skating "*Solae ferratae*" or "iron soles." For the Latin words that writers used to discuss skating, see Jeannine de Landtsheer, "IJspret: Justus Lipsius en andere Humanisten uit de Nederlanden op glad ijs," *De Seventiende Eeuw* 15 (1999), 86-101.

[376] In the second half of the sixteenth century, Justus Lipsius writes to his friend Janus Dousa of young men and women playing on the ice in Leiden as a "spectacle" (*spectacular/spektakel*) of which "a superior that Rome had never seen, nor the Greeks in their wrestling rings. (*vidit qualia non superba Roma non suis Lacedaemon in palaestris/zoals het superieure Rome nooit zag en evenmin de Grieken in hun worstelperken*)." Lipsius continues "…This Dutch arena with its locks and canals surpasses on its own all the Romans and also all the Greeks (…*Omnes provocat unus iste Circus Latinos salibus suis Batavus et Graecos suis Batavus/Deze Hollandse arena overtreft in zijn eentje met zijn sloten en zijn grachten alle Romeinen, met zijn grachten en zijn sloten ook alle Grieken*)." De Landtsheer, "IJspret," 89-90. De Landtsheer provided the Dutch translation for the Latin. Erycius Puteanus similarly compared the spectacle of *ijsvermaak* with the ancient circus. Ibid., 93. For this idea, see also M. Meijerman, *Hollandse Winters* (Antwerp and Hilversum: W. de Haan and Standaard Boekhandel, 1967), 59.

[377] Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 20-21.

theatre for pleasure.[378] Netherlandish writers likewise used skating to celebrate their compatriots. In *Parellelon Rerum Publicarum*, Grotius praises the Dutch who find "*our* pleasures and *our* play (*onze geneugte en ons spel*)" (emphasis mine) on the chilly and dangerous ice.[379] He also mentions how the Dutch were able to successfully utilize skates against the Spanish army, connecting mastery of the ice with the struggle for independence. A scene of skaters, spectators, and Prince Maurits of Orange riding an ice yacht are illustrated with local scenes on the map of the Netherlands *Comitatus Hollandiae* from 1610.[380] A connection with skating flatters the Dutch as it is both dangerous and difficult to define. The ambiguous nature of water frozen solid was a source of puzzlement, as highlighted by Grotius' couplet on skating from *Instrumentum Domesticum*, "Behold the wonder of Dutch winter: iron soles [skates]: they permit one to walk on water–not that it is water nor walking."[381] The Dutch domination over the unidentifiable even takes a sinister turn as Six compares skaters to spirits and shadows as they

[378] For such accounts, see de Landtsheer, "IJspret," 88-89 and Meijerman, *Hollandse Winters*, 30-37. Even as early as 1466 a Czech envoy took note of skaters in the Low Countries. For this reference, see Pleij, *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511*, 237. When Cosimo de' Medici visited the Netherlands in the 1660s, he described not only the skill of Dutch skaters, but also the universal nature–in terms of age and gender–of the icy recreation. See G. J. Hoogewerff and Filippo Corsini, *De Twee Reizen van Cosimo de' Medici Prins van Toscane door de Nederlanden (1667-1669)* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1919), 63-64 and Christian Tico Seifert, "On Slippery Ground: *Kolf* in the Art of the Dutch Golden Age," in *The Art of Golf* (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 2012), 21. Laurinda S. Dixon wrote, "It is not surprising…that skating was so much a part of the life, thought, and art of 17th century Holland, that the sport became synonymous with Dutch nationalism." Laurinda S. Dixon, *Skating in the Arts of 17th Century Holland* (Cincinnati: The Taft Museum, 1987), 15. In 1668, when describing winter pleasures in The Hague, Jacob van der Does felt the need to comment that the Frenchman "is riding on a horse, not skating on the smooth ice ("*…Dat gins een Frans man, wel ervaren in het kaetsen/En 't rijden op een paerdt, maer niet op gladde schaetsen*…)." Jacob van der Does, *'s Graven-Hage met de Voornaemste Plaetsen en Vermaecklijckheden* (The Hague: Johannes Tongerloo, 1668), 63.

[379] "*Wij vinden in de vorst onze geneugte en ons spel, en zwevend houden wij de touschouwers angstig in onze ban gevangen*." See de Landtsheer, "IJspret," 87. Hugo Grotius was concerned with defining the Dutch nation. Arthur Eyffinger described his poem *De patria* as "a flamboyant outburst of patriotism inspired by the military and commercial successes of the day." Grotius, *The Poetry of Hugo Grotius,* 547.

[380] See Catherine Levesque, "Landscape, Politics, and the Prosperous Peace," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1997, Deel 48: Natuur en Landschap in de Nederlandse Kunst 1500-1850*, ed. Reindert Falkenburg, Jan de Jong, Mark Meadow, Bart Ramakers, Herman Roodenburg, and Frits Scholten (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), 244-245.

[381] "*Quae Batavum miratur hyems sola ferrea cernis./Hisper aquas nec aquas ire nec ire licet*." Both the original and the English translation are from Grotius, *The Poetry of Hugo Grotius*, 597 and 636.

barely become visible.[382] Skating grants the descendants of the ancient Batavians control over the supernatural and mysterious, another claim in their argument for superiority.

Winter pleasures permitted the Netherlanders to get the better of not only the ancients, but also their mighty divinities.[383] Grotius wrote of Mercury in his winged shoes admitting that he has been outdone by the young Dutch men and women, whose "iron shoes" allow them to move "quicker than swift horses."[384] In "The Amsterdammers' Winter," Six compared a competition between a peasant's wagon and an ice yacht with Hercules honoring Jupiter at the Olympic games and the rowing contest at Anchises' funeral in the *Aeneid*.[385] Daniël Heinsius' *Nederduytsche Poemata*, published in Amsterdam in 1616, includes a poem describing people moving by foot "in the Dutch manner…over the ice and rivers, flying as quick as the wind" while "the sweet people of Venus" watch.[386] The skating Cupid emblem in his *Emblemata Amatoria* leaves no question as to who are the masters of skating (Figure 4.1). Underneath an

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[382] "*Wie 't zien, die meent: dit vlugge volk,/zijn schimmen, die een duiste wolk,/fel voortgewaaid van 't buiig zuid,/door stralen van de zonneschuit/langs d'aarde somtijds schemerblikt-/wat als een geest de mens verschrikt*." Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 52-53.

[383] Hadrianus Marius wrote to his brother Janus Secundus of the Nymphs' efforts to imitate the Dutch on skates. "*Sunt etiam Nymphas qui se vidisse per umbram ad lunae radios certantes flumine clauso sic memorent, cursu placidos imitante natatus, hasque olim Batavis artem monstrasse colonis. Unde etiam crepidis nomen regionis adhaesit, raraque iam Batavos ignorat terra cothurnos…,*" translated into Dutch by de Landtsheer, "*Er zijn er zelfs die zagen–zeggen ze–dat de nymfen zich 's nachts bij 't schijnsel van de maan met elkaar meten op het bevroren water, een rustige zwemslag nabootsend, en dat zij ooit de kunst hebben geleerd aan de Bataven. Zo bleef de streeknaam met het schoeisel verbonden. Zeldzaam is het gebied dat deze Hollandse schaatsen niet kent…*" De Landtsheer, "IJspret," 88. In the letter to Dousa, Lipsius compared the youth of Leiden on the ice to the Nereids dancing in the sea. De Landtsheer noticed that Lipsius' description of the young women holding hands as they glide along the ice recalls the three Graces. Ibid., 89-90. Lipsius' follower Puteanus also evoked the Nereids in his account of *ijsvermaak*, which frightens Neptune to see his domain frozen over. When describing skaters, Puteanus used the verb "to fly" and compared them with two famous flyers from classical mythology; Pegasus and Mercury. Mars is also recalled in his description of a snowball fight. Landtsheer suggests that the description of the children sledding could remind the reader of Icarus and Daedalus. Ibid., 93-97.

[384] Grotius, *De Dichtwerken van Hugo Grotius*, 94-95.

[385] Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 56-59.

[386] "*Men secht dat hy daer oock op d'Hollandtsche manieren/Zijn voeten leerd' op't ys en over de rivieren/Snel vliegen als de windt, daer noch op desen tijdt/Het soete Venus-volck gesien word ten gevrijt*." Daniël Heinsius, *Nederduytsche Poemata: Faksimiledruck nach der Erstausgabe von 1616*, ed. Barbara Becker-Cantarino (Bern and Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1983), 66.

illustration of the Roman god with a wide-eyed uneasy expression, we read that, "Cupid learns the game founded in Holland, he tries to go out on the ice with two skates on."[387] In addition to highlighting the superiority of the citizens of Europe's youngest nation, the ice also presents the inversion of Dutch mortals surpassing divinities.

Inscriptions on prints directly connect the Dutch ability to outdo the ancients through skating and the winter scene. The desire to place feet on frozen water was defensively expressed on a winter scene designed by Jacob de Gheyn II; "He who says 'Cold slows you down' should know he is mistaken. See the agile gliding on the ice in the time of frost" (Figure 4.2).[388] While it is not entirely certain who is being refuted, a similar inscription on *Winter* in a series of the seasons designed by Jan van de Velde provides an indication; "Cold does not slow one down nor does diffidence suit the cold. Ovid, you were wrong. Look at our young folks. See them step onto rivers, hardened by the frost, with irons beneath their feet, and swerve in long dancing lines through the countryside"[389] (Figure 4.3). As noted by Catherine Levesque, this print explicitly states that the Dutch are able to surpass the Romans by enjoying harsh winter weather. Jan van de Velde's design depicts many of the hallmarks of the winter scene: skaters, young elegant couples, individuals tying their own and their partner's skates, and a mix of social classes on the ice.

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[387] "*Cupido leert het spel dat Hollandt heeft gevonden,/Hy proeft te gaen op't ys, hy heeft twee schaetsen aen*." Ibid., 78.

[388] "*Frigus iners qui dixit, enim se fallere discat; Hosce agiles spectans glaciali tempore lusus*." See Irene de Groot, *Landscape: Etchings by the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1979), number 8 and Hollstein 291. Another print inscription connecting winter with the joys of skating is that on *Winter* from a series of the seasons designed by Herman Saftleven, "Cold winter has really arrived when ice lies in the canal and smooth track awaits the foot (*Frigida vênit HIEMS, glacies cum frenat aquarum/Cursus, et pedibus lubrica præbat iter*)." De Groot, *Landscape*, number 142 and 25 in Bartsch. I took the English translations from de Groot.

[389] "*Frigus iners non est, nec habet sua taedia frigus/Falleris ô Naso, nostram intueare inventam,/En tibi stricta gelu, ferratâ calce terunter.Flumina, et extensas du cunt per rura choreas*." See De Groot, *Landscape*, number 74 and Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, 105.

Books, Readership, and Popular Literature

The Horatian notion of a relaxing and celebratory winter was not only available to the erudite humanist, but also present in Dutch popular literature. The study of readership can inform that of viewership of visual arts. The aesthetics of a printed page mirror simultaneous trends in the pictorial arts as printers and artists shared visual and social values. Physical similarities between the books describing winter pleasures and pictorial winter scenes, both prints and paintings, suggest that these books and images were handled and enjoyed in similar ways. The functions of such books describing winter pleasures and the contexts of their uses reveal the attitudes and associations that contemporary beholders brought to the winter scene.

A number of recent scholars have demonstrated how the physical qualities of books can determine how their information was received and processed.[390] The historian Jeroen Blaak identifies two approaches to researching readership. One addresses socio-economic and quantitative questions on the identity of readers while the other investigates books as cultural objects, exploring how they were used with qualitative data. Like Blaak, I apply the latter approach.[391] Citing Han Brouwer, Blaak argues for the study of book history to include that of the history of communication. As we shall see, the spoken word was central for the uses of some of the books described below and was instrumental for the spread of Horatian ideas into popular culture.[392]

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[390] Craig Kallendorf, in particular, investigated centuries of editions of the work of Virgil to identify how the ancient texts were reimagined to suit contemporary cultural and political conditions. Craig Kallendorf, *The Protean Virgil: Material Form and the Reception of the Classics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2015). He also cites a number of other scholars who have adapted such an approach.

[391] Jeroen Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life: Reading and Writing in the Early Modern Dutch Diaries*, trans. Beverley Jackson (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 10.

[392] For incorporating the history of communication into the study of book history, see Han Brouwer, "Een Min of Meer Onweerstaanbare Passie voor Boeken. Een Inleiding," in *Bladeren in Andermans Hoofd: Over Lezers en Leescultuur*, ed. Theo Bijvoet, Paul Koopman, Lisa Kuitert, and Garrelt Verhoeven (Nijmegen: Sun, 1996), 9-24 and Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life*, 11-14 and 342.

Ways of Reading

Books are effective sources for the study of seventeenth-century Dutch culture because, in comparison with their European neighbors, the Dutch general population was remarkably literate.[393] Foreign visitors marveled at the widespread literacy in the Netherlands.[394] Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies attribute high literacy rates in the Netherlands to the rich print culture during the revolt as well as business and religious climates that encouraged literacy.[395] There is a very good chance that a purchaser of a painted winter scene was also able to read a poem describing ice pleasures. If the beholder was educated in the humanist tradition, then they likely engaged with texts in a process that scholars refer to as "intensive reading." These readers mentally wrestled with the text, reading it a few times, pondering line by line, and writing notes in the margins. As they read, they searched for ways in which the text could guide their own lives.[396] One did not need an extensive education to read like a humanist. The seventeenth-

[393] In the Preface to *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt*, Schenkeveld-van der Dussen mentions that Dutch authors were able to reach a wide section of society. A. T. van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age, Popular Culture, Religion and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, trans. Maarten Ultee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 135, notes that reading was not exclusive to the upper classes in the Dutch Republic, as people read for pleasure as well as knowledge. High literacy rates, along with good infrastructure and a relative freedom of the press, were identified as favorable conditions for a flourishing Dutch domestic book trade by Jeroen Salman and Garrelt Verhoeven, "The Comptoir-almanac of Gillis Joosten Saeghman: Research into Seventeenth-Century Almanacs in the Dutch Republic," *Quaerendo* 23 (1993), 93.

[394] "They all have some smackering of their Grãmer, and euery one, yea euery husbandman can write and read." Ludovico Guicciardini, *The Description of the Low Countreys* (London: Peter Short for Thomas Chard, 1593. Facsimile, ed., Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum and Norwood, NJ: Walter J. Johnson, 1976), 14. Van Deursen writes of foreign visitors such as Guicciardini, J. J. Scaliger, and a Spanish observer named Vázquez noting that even Dutch peasants and women were literate. Van Deursen, Plain Lives in a Golden Age, 123 and 270. Peter Burke cites that in Amsterdam in 1630, 57% of men were literate. For comparison, that is a higher male literacy rate than that of eighteenth-century France. Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: New York University Press, 1978), 250-251. Even orphans in the Dutch Republic were taught to read. Margaret Spufford, "Drukwerk voor de Armen in Engeland en Nederland, 1450-1700," in *Bladeren in Andermans Hoofd*, 76 and Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, *Hard-Won Unity*, trans. Myra Heerspink Scholz (Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2004), 236-237 and 242.

[395] Frijhoff and Spies, *Hard-Won Unity*, 236-237.

[396] For such a manner of reading, see Kallendorf, *The Protean Virgil*; Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life*, 16; and Herman Pleij, "Lezende Leken, of: Lezen Leken wel?", in *Bladeren in Andermans Hoofd*, 60.

century diarist and school teacher David Beck did not know Latin, yet he still likely practiced intensive reading.[397] It was in this manner that Horace's poems were encountered by a number of Dutch readers and partially explains the willingness to insert familiar local details into ancient models.

Yet many times engaging with a book did not consist of an individual reading alone. Texts orchestrated a number of social rituals that brought people together.[398] Since books could be expensive and large segments of the population were illiterate,[399] listening to someone read out loud was surely a common practice. Poems had social functions as poets commemorated occasions in friends' lives such as weddings, births, and deaths. Many poems were composed to be shared among friends and spread through manuscripts and oral recitations. Beck hosted friends to listen to his poems and translations. As we have seen, Johan van Heemskerck's version of the Soracte Ode was written to his friend to recall the youthful pleasures of their university days. Borrowing books was also a common practice. Given the social function of sharing texts, a large and immeasurable number of people could have been exposed to the specifically Dutch version of Horace's winter.[400]

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[397] All information on David Beck comes from the chapter "Mirror of Literacy, Reading and Writing in the Diary (1624) of David Beck," in Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life*, 41-111.

[398] The social functions and practices instigated by books are noted by Daniel Bellingradt and Jeroen Salman in their Introduction to *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation and Consumption*, ed. Paul Nelles, Bellingradt, and Salman (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), especially page 5.

[399] The number of people able to sign their names in Amsterdam's marriage books has been used to determine literacy rates in the Netherlands. While this suggests that about three quarters of Amsterdam's men and half of the city's women were literate, it has been argued that the ability to sign one's name is not a direct correlation to literacy. For marriage book records and their relation to literacy, see Spufford, "Drukwerk voor de Armen in Engeland en Nederland, 1450-1700," 76 and Frijhoff and Spies, *Hard-Won Unity*, 136. For critiques of this approach, see Frijhoff and Spies, *Hard-Won Unity*, 237-238; Salman and Verhoeven, "The Comptoir-almanac of Gillis Joosten Saeghman"; and A. T. van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age*, 122-123. John Michael Montias also used the ability to sign one's name as an indication of a high literacy rates among certain professions in guild records in John Michael Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 114-116.

[400] Blaak writes of the spread of poems and the social impact of poetry in the context of David Beck's diary. Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life*, 41-11. Specifically, for the social aspects around reading, see pages 57, 72-76, 110, and

The types of seventeenth-century books I have investigated can be assigned into four categories: romantic songbooks, collections of poetry, almanacs, and a riddle book. After describing how each type of book address winter pleasures, I will identify four features shared by the uses of these books and how they are applicable to the winter scene.

Amsterdamsche Pegasus and Songbooks

Songbooks were a popular body of literature in the Dutch Republic as social practices from worship to courtship featured singing. Louis Peter Grijp identified three types of seventeenth-century songbooks: Psalm books, books containing spiritual songs, and secular songbooks used for pleasure.[401] The last of these three categories is not only the best researched, but also features books illustrating and describing winter pastimes. Many of these songbooks, which were for younger singers to use in courtship, are frank in presenting the difficulties of winter. They contain "May Songs" contrasting the hardships and discomforts of winter against the reemerging plants, animals, happiness, and romance of spring. Yet such songbooks also find pleasures in the season. An early example of an amorous Dutch songbook, *Amsterdams Liedboek anno 1589*, contains not only "May Songs," but also a "Year Song (*Jaer-lied*)" that describes the festive joys of the winter holidays of New Years and Shrovetide. The following "New Year Song (*Nieuwe Jaer Lieden*)" tracks the cycle of the year. While winter is a powerful

344-345. For sharing literature orally or through manuscripts, see pages 72-76. Citing Harold Love's observation that manuscripts were still an important medium for disseminating texts in seventeenth-century England, David McKitterick surmises that this must have been true elsewhere in Europe. David McKitterick, "Wat is een Nationale Geschiedenis van het Boek?" in *Bladeren in Andermans Hoofd*, 28.

[401] The last category of songbooks could have a political slant. Louis Peter Grijp, "Voer voor Zanggrage Kropjes, Wie Zongen uit de Liedboekjes in de Gouden Eeuw?" in *Bladeren in Andermans Hoofd*, 96-97. For songbooks generally, see ibid., 96-125; H. Rodney Nevitt, *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); and Alison McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and its Audience in the Golden Age* (Montclair, NJ: Allanheld & Schram, 1983), 23-24. In his diary, Beck mentioned singing the Psalms more than sixty times; an activity that he normally performed with others. Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life*, 52-53.

and fierce lord that brings frost and long nights, it is also the period of Shrovetide with its celebratory consumption of meat and alcohol. When the year ends, winter returns with its beer and wine.[402] The same dual discomforts and celebrations of winter are present in the songbook *Apollo of Ghesangh der Musen* ("Apollo or Song of the Muses"), which was printed in Amsterdam in 1615. It contains a "Pastorelle" attributed to Samuel Coster that describes the seasons in order. Winter is a grim season of the new year, cold, wind, and hail as it is lethal for the poor. Yet the song strikes a more optimistic tone when the singers insert themselves into it in contrast with those struggling with the lack of food and drink. With food, drink, security, and a grateful attitude, the speakers have all of the necessary components for a feast.[403]

The songbook *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* directly relates to the winter scene as it contains a pair of songs, quatrains, and illustrations of winter pleasures.[404] Printed in Amsterdam in 1627, most of its songs recall the pastoral tradition of classical gods and goddesses and amorous Mediterranean shepherds, as well as psychologically engaging romantic songs to be sung between lovers.[405] While songbooks were printed for audiences of a variety of economic means,[406] *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* was intended for wealthier readers. With a price tag of 2

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[402] *Amsterdams Liedboek anno 1589* (Amsterdam: Harmen Jansz. Muller, 1589, facsimile ed. Maastricht: Burgont & Tebbenart in 1966). For examples of "May Songs," see pages 5-6 and 28-30. For "New Year Song" and "Year Song," see pages 50-54.

[403] "*Maer de VVINTER comt op 't leste/Vinnigh met haer nieuvve Iaer,/En gheeft anders niet ten besten/Dan koudt, haghel, vvinden svvaer/Dat vvordt d' arme mensch ghevvaer/Die niet vvel sit in de vvol,/Noch versien van spijs en dranck/Als vvy zijn, dies Godt sy danck/Die ons gheeft de schueren vol* ." *Apollo of Ghesangh der Musen* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz., 1615. Facsimile Deventer: Uitgeverij sub rosa, 1985), 16-17.

[404] *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Willemssen Blau-laaken, 1627).

[405] The pastoral connections are explicit in the titles of the songbook's four parts; M. Campanus' "Little Pasture Songs (*Veld-Deuntjens*)," Jacob Janszoon Colevelt's "Cupid's Fickleness (*Cupidoos Dartelheydt*)," Jan Robbertsens' "Shepherds' Songs (*Herders-Zanghen*)," and A. Pietersz. Craen's "Pastorals, or Forest Songs (*Pastorellen, ofte Bosch-Gezangen*)." The songs also describe characters with names popular in pastoral literature such as Silvester, Cordion, and Sylvia. The title page of *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* references the pastoral as it depicts *putti*, bare-breasted allegorical figures, and young women—some of whom are not entirely dressed—making music. These women are placed next to a fountain, a classical building, spring or summer foliage, and Pegasus taking flight.

[406] Editions of the same songbooks were printed in quarto, octavo, and sextodecimo to reach a wider audience.

guilders, it was the second most expensive songbook that the Amsterdam bookseller Hendrick Laurensz. sold, costing over six times Grijp's "classical price for a songbook" of three stuivers.[407] *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* contains all of the hallmarks of an expensive songbook. An oblong quarto with types varying even on the same page, it includes sonnets, musical notation for some songs, and ten engravings designed by Jan van de Velde, a skilled and successful painter and etcher.[408]

In addition to "May Songs" and a "Winter Song (*Winter-Liedt*)" that details seasonal hardships before urging a feast in the same spirit as the Soracte Ode,[409] *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* contains two illustrations of skaters, each paired with a quatrain and song on the facing pages. One illustration, from the section "Little Pasture Songs (*Veld-Deuntjens*)," depicts skaters and spectators standing beside a farmhouse and boats frozen into the ice (Figure 4.4). It is placed above the quatrain; "However bleak winter is, it still has its pleasures,/It gives food and drink their desired tastes:/There's skating and sleigh rides,/And kolfing on the ice over which the young glide."[410] The song on the facing page details the same pleasures and games that artists

[407] The most expensive songbook Hendrick Laurensz. sold was a quarto Psalm book, which could be acquired for 2 guilders and 6 stuivers. One guilder is equal to 20 stuivers. Grijp considers a songbook that costs one or more guilders to be expensive. For Hendrick Laurensz.'s prices and Grijp's analysis of them for the costs of songbooks, see Grijp, "Voer voor Zanggrage Kropjes," 99.

[408] Huigen Leeflang highlighted the quality of the illustrations, especially against the simple woodcut illustrations that most songbooks used. Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View," 91. H. Rodney Nevitt proposed that *Amsterdamsche* Pegasus is the first Dutch songbook in which the illustrations stress landscapes as opposed to the lovers in them. He connects depictions of landscape with desire. Nevitt, *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, 134. The wealth and education of the owners of *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* are expressed in the book's extended title, which declared that the book is "decorated with beautiful copper figures [engravings]" and includes the musical notation. "… *Verçiert met schoone Copere Figuren, en by meest al d'on-bekende Voysen de Noten of Musycke gevoeght*." The ability to read music suggests education. Grijp identified these costlier type of songbooks blending literary genres as readers encountered songs, poems, and even emblems as illustrations contained deeper meanings indicated by their accompanying inscriptions. Grijp, "Voer voor Zanggrage Kropjes," 97-102.

[409] *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*, 91.

[410] "*Hoe guur de Winter is, het heeft noch sijn vermaeck,/En maeckt dat kost en dranck heeft sijn gewenschte smaeck:/De schaetsen raken aen, de Narre-slee aen 't ryen,/Het kolfjen op het ijs, en jongers aen het glyen*." Ibid., 20.

represented on the ice in the winter scene. After establishing the patch of ice as a characteristic of winter,[411] the song describes skating with a sweet maiden on the Amstel River, riding a sleigh, playing kolf, and keeping warm by the fire before declaring in its last verse, "The ice has many pleasures, the ice has many joys."[412]

The second illustration of ice skaters come from the section "Cupid's Fickleness (*Cupidoos Dartelheydt*)." Placed right on the ice alongside a small group of spectators, we witness a conglomeration of people of various ages and social classes united by the pleasure of skating (Figure 4.5). Underneath the image, we read, "It is the sweetest pastime, a merry tour,/Speeding hither and thither with skates upon the ice./Yet what I desire even more is that the fair maid/Would prefer a tumble elsewhere than on the track."[413] Not only does this poem express the joys of skating, but it takes an erotic turn as the speaker expresses the desire to see a woman falling into bed. The song on the facing page recounts lovers riding horse-drawn sleighs.[414] While the song's last verse takes a moralizing tone contrasting with the pleasures described in the previous eight, this song further identifies the ice as a location of intimate romance.

Amsterdamsche Pegasus was a songbook used by young lovers in acts of courtship. The majority of its songs reflect the pastoral tradition celebrating the social, romantic, and erotic liberties of classical shepherds and shepherdesses. The inclusion of songs, images, and quatrains

[411] The first verse begins, "Spring shows off its little sprouts,/Summer has her grain,/Pomona has her little fruits,/And winter has her patch of ice (*DE* Lent' *pronckt met sijn spruytjens,/De* Somer *met haer graen,/*Pomona *met haer fruytjens,/De* Winter *met haer baen,/Om ry'en/en gly'en Op 't ysjen/met 't Meysjen Of soetjens/op voetjens Langs* d'Aemsteltje *te kuy'ren/Langs* d'Aemsteltje *te kuy'ren*)." Ibid., 21.

[412] "*Het ys heeft veel vermaecken/Het ys heeft veel genucht…*"

[413] Translated by van Suchtelen in *Holland Frozen in Time*, 22. For the original, "*'t Is 't soetste tijd-verdrijf, een lustigh omme-reysje,/Met schaetsen op het Ys te gieren gints en vveer:/Maer even-vvel ick houw dat liever 't grage Meysje/Voor 't struyck'len op de Baen, yets anders deed veel meer*," see *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*, 66.

[414] *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*, 67-68.

describing winter pleasures underscores the romantic and erotic associations of games on the ice in Dutch culture. Yet the ice does not belong in the pastoral tradition, as we shall later see, as it is both at odds with the perfectly mild climate of Arcadia and temporary as winter will pass and life will return to normal. Additionally, the pastoral represents the exotic while the ice is very familiar to the Dutch singers. The ice represents an opportunity for the Dutch to experience similar social and romantic liberties in their own terms, a place where young lovers can unite and even witness (at times unintentional) erotic displays.

Collection of Poetry: Johan van Heemskerck's *Pvb. Ovidii Nasonis Minne-kvnst…*

Cited earlier, *Pvb. Ovidii Nasonis Minne-kvnst…* is the printed collection of Johan van Heemskerck's poems that contains his versions of the Soracte Ode and *Beatus ille*. Printed in Amsterdam in 1622, the book is primarily a collection of love poems. It is comprised of three parts; Ovid's *Art of Love* rewritten for Amsterdam's youth, a section of original poems titled "Love Poems (*Minne-Dichten*)" penned primarily to the poet's beloved Cloris, and a group of "Miscellaneous Poems (*Mengel-Dichten*)," most of which van Heemskerck wrote for his friends. It is in this final section where van Heemskerck's Horatian poems appear. Even though van Heemskerck dedicated these poems to specific friends, they were available to a wider audience by being printed in a book. Many of the poems in this collection place the experiences of youthful Dutch lovers in dialogue with classical antiquity. Even the "Love Poems" take a Pastoral tone. Van Heemskerck supposedly met Cloris at the Amsterdam *kermis*,[415] but that seems doubtful as she shares her name with a nymph and flower goddess and appears more like a

[415] Smit, *Johan van Heemskerck 1597-1656*, 114.

pastoral shepherdess than a Dutch *vrouw* in her portrait opening the section.[416] As van Heemskerck's versions of *Beatus ille* and the Soracte Ode are included in a book that applies ancient lessons to the experiences of the romantic Dutch youth, they further present the ice as a zone of pleasure to rediscover ancient joys in Dutch terms.

Almanacs

Almanacs reveal how wide segments of society understood human behavior in winter months. These annually produced books contain calendars, schedules for market days and transportation, astrological observations, and other practical information.[417] The calendar was a key component of an almanac. These pages included vernacular names for the months and sometimes illustrations of human actions or verses describing the experiences of the month. I investigated three late sixteenth-century almanacs from Antwerp, all of which were printed after the death of Pieter Bruegel the Elder.[418] Of these almanacs, only Jan van Ghelen's *Almanack ende prognosticatie vanden jaere ons Heeren MDLXXVII* illustrates the Labors of the Months.

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[416] She is depicted with flowers in her hair and bodice, which does not conceal the top of her breasts. The flowers are also a play on Cloris' Roman name, Flora. She is framed by a Latin inscription ("PHARVM GLORIA CHLORIS NYM") and flanked by putti. Van Heemskerck's affection for Cloris is further elevated when he compares himself and his romantic desires with those of other famous poets, both contemporary Dutch authors and past foreign ones.

[417] The fact that many almanacs were used as desk dairies in merchants' offices is underscored by the title *Groote Comptoir Almanach*. Salman and Verhoeven, "The Comptoir-almanac of Gillis Joosten Saeghman," 97. In their investigation of the 1668 *Groote Comptoir Almanach*, Salman and Verhoeven describe a book printed by Mattheus Kemp, the servant of the wine sellers' guild to distribute to guild members. The owner of the specific book they focus on was the Amsterdam merchant Isaac Pool. Almanacs were also used as personal notebooks. For almanacs in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, see Salman and Verhoeven, "The Comptoir-almanac of Gillis Joosten Saeghman" and Jeroen Salman, "Populaire Verbeelding: Maanden en Seizoenen in Almanakken," in *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, ed. Yvette Bruijnen, Paul Huys Janssen, et al. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002), 83-91.

[418] Jan van Ghelen, *Almanack ende prognosticatie vanden jaere ons Heeren MDLXXVII* (Antwerp: 1577); Jan Franco, *Almanac en prognosticatie voer het iaer Heeren MDLXXXVI nae de oude en nieuwe calculatie, voor dese Nederlanden principalijck dienende: met die daghelijckse ghetijden der vaert van Bruessel naer Antwerpen, oft van hier wederom naer Bruessel* (Antwerp: Henrick Wouters, 1586); and Jan Franco, *Almanach oft iornael, voor het iaer ons Herren 1593: met die daghelijesche ghetijden der vaert van Bruessel naer Antwerpen, oft van daer wederom* (Antwerp: Arnout s'Coninx, 1593).

The catalogue entry for a *Groote Comptoir* Almanac from 1664 in *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750* illustrates the calendar pages and their illustrations (Figure 4.6).[419] Finally, Jan Joris van der Vliet's *Bredaesche Almanac en Chronijck* ("Breda Almanac and Chronicle") from 1664 is an exceptional example that combines an almanac, an account of the history of the city of Breda, and a collection of Frisian sayings.[420] The calendars of all of these almanacs suggest that winter was considered a period for abstaining from labor to celebrate.[421]

The vernacular names that almanacs provide for the month were not always consistent. One month could go by a few titles or the same name could be used for different months.[422] Still, these names indicate how winter months were conceived in the early modern Netherlands. All of the almanacs above label January as "*Loumaent/Louw-Maendt*."[423] The word "*louw*"

[419] These illustrations of the months were reused from Cornelis Jansz's *De Wyse Jaer-beschryver*, from 1658. For this *Groote Comptoir Almanach*, see *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 187-189. For illustrations of the months and seasons in almanacs and how they change throughout the seventeenth century, see Salman's essay "Populaire Verbeelding" in the same catalogue, 83-91. For *Groote Comptoir* Almanacs, see Salman and Verhoeven, "The Comptoir-almanac of Gillis Joosten Saeghman."

[420] Jan Joris van der Vliet, *Bredaesche almanac en chronijck* (1664). This combination was originally conceived as parts of the same book, as evidenced by the page numbers and the title page. Not only does the latter identify the book as "*Bredaesche Almanac en Cronijck* (Breda Almanac and Chronicle)," but it also illustrates a book vendor selling Frisian sayings, as identified on his box of books ("*Frieske Spreeckwoorden*"). Between the almanac and the history of Breda are three poems that describe a life that pleases God, what to do on each day of the week, and advice to the gardener in a personal tone suggesting a *hofdicht*.

[421] The dedication of *Bredaesche almanac en chronijck* describes the prince receiving the book to inform him on the dates of a range of topics, including holidays when he can celebrate and relax, indicating that a seventeenth-century reader was interested in determining opportunities for relaxation. "*…Wær in op 't Hollands scriuwen stæt/Het dat druwgh 't hiele Jær om gæt;/Wat hilligh dægen in de Tjerck/Te vieren sin, in rest fen werk;/Wær, in wannier min Kermis houwt,…*"

[422] For instance, both November and December have been called "Winter Month." For the local names of months, see Jan Buisman, *Duizend Jaar Weer, Wind en Water in de Lage Landen, Deel 1: tot 1300*, volume 1, ed. A. F. V. van Engelen (Franeker: Uitgeverij Van Wijnen, 1995), 119-120.

[423] As does a book of hours written in Dutch that the Folger Shakespeare Library dates to 1381. According to Jan Buisman, January was also referred to as "*Hartmaent*," "*Hardemaent*," and "*IJsmaent*" ("Fire Month" and "Ice Month"). Buisman, *Duizend Jaar Weer, Wind en Water in de Lage Landen,* volume 1, 120. Van der Vliet provides six different spellings of "*louw*," as well as four spellings for "*hard*" and names for the month in languages such as Anglo-Saxon and Greek. He also labels January "*Klugh*" and "*Winter*" Month. Van der Vliet, *Bredaesche almanac en chronijck*, 1.

suggest nothing or a lack of something, which must refer to labor, as revealed by the calendar illustrations. The 1577 almanac from Antwerp depicts three people sitting around a table feasting as a man crosses the interior with a vessel in his hand. The later *Groote Comptoir* almanac presents January as a bustling scene of *ijsvermaak* illustrating the motifs of the pictorial winter scene. People are not idle in these depictions as they are engaging in pleasures.[424] The almanacs refer to February as "*Sprockel*," or dry stick.[425] As we have seen, cutting and collecting wood is one of the few labors associated with winter. The *Almanack ende prognosticatie vanden jaere ons Heeren MDLXXVII* depicts men cutting and gathering reeds for February. Yet the word "*Sprockel*" also had Carnival associations.[426] The *Groote Comptoir* almanac presents a Carnival scene for February with children gathered around a woman cooking pancakes; another reminder of the festive associations of winter. Finally, Jan Franco's *Almanac en prognosticatie voer het iaer Heeren MDLXXXVI nae de oude en nieuwe calculatie*; the *Almanach oft iornael*; and the *Groote Comptoir* almanac label December "*Wintermaent* (Winter Month)."[427] Even though December's nickname isn't particularly revealing, the illustration in

[424] Aside from January, the only other month in the 1577 almanac with an illustration with no suggestion of labor is May, which depicts lovers and feasting. All three of the illustrations of the winter months in the *Groote Comptoir* almanac portray people at leisure. While *April*, *May*, *August*, and *September* depict relaxing lovers or laborers at rest, these illustrations still contain people working or finishing their work, with the exception of May. The "Blossom Month (*Bloey-Maendt*)," depicts an embracing couple kissing and shepherds sitting under a tree. They are surrounded by animals, two of which are performing a sexual act, which underscores the association of the month with romance and sex. *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 187-189.

[425] The book of hours labels the month "*zullemaent,*" which is similar to "*Zelle*" and "*Zille*" provided by Buisman. Buisman, *Duizend Jaar Weer, Wind en Water in de Lage Landen,* volume 1, 120. In addition to "*Sprockel*" (and two other spellings), van der Vliet listed February as "*Schrickel-m.* (Leap Year Month)," "*Zelle*" (three different spellings) Month, "*Solmonath*," "*Hornung,*" "*Horninck*," "*Hoerninck*," and "*Blijde* (Happy)" Months. Van der Vliet, *Bredaesche almanac en chronijck*, 2.

[426] As part of his quest to decipher the meaning behind the objects in Hieronymus Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* triptych in Lisbon, D. Bax aligns dry twigs with merrymaking, folly, and February, suggests a link between Carnival inversions and winter. He noted the word play between "dry twig (*sprokel*)" and "February (*sprokkel*)." D. Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch: His Picture-Writing Deciphered*, trans. M. A. Bax-Botha (Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema, 1979), 16-17.

[427] Van der Vliet also calls December *"Winter*," as well as "*Slag* (Butcher)," "*Heren-Horen-Hoeren*," and "*Wolfs*" Month, as well as the more festive and celebratory "*Kerst-Christ-m.* (Christmas Month)" and "*Henlighm. Heiligmonet* (Holy Month)." Van der Vliet, *Bredaesche almanac en chronijck*, 12. December could also be called

the *Groote Comptoir* Almanac depicts skaters and other familiar characters from the pictorial winter scene outside of the Blockhouses on the Amstel, built in Amsterdam in 1651.[428] When viewed together, the names of the winter months and their illustrations associate winter with pleasure, whether through organized festivals or spontaneous games on the ice, and refraining from labor.[429]

Even though *Bredaesche almanac en chronijck* provides no illustrations of the months, its calendar includes poems for each month that corroborate the idea of a restful and celebratory winter.[430] These poems are formulaic but not identical in model as they mention the labors, constellations, holidays, fish, birds, gardening tasks, and hunts present in each month. While the winter months are not unique in their ability to bring joys and pleasures,[431] they are no less celebratory as their climate and festivals require people to exchange labor for merriment. The

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"*Wendelmaent* (Turning Month)," "*Lestemaent* (Last Month)," "*Kerstmaent* (Christmas Month)," and "*Joelmaent* (Cheer Month)," likely referring to its position as the last month of the year and the holidays it contains. Buisman, *Duizend Jaar Weer, Wind en Water in de Lage Landen,* volume 1, 120. The title "*Horemaent*" was also used, as in the book of hours and the earliest of these almanacs.

[428] Jan van Ghelen's almanac depicts the pig slaughter in December, which the *Groote Comptoir* almanac used to illustrate the "Slaughter Month (*Slacht-Maendt*)" of November.

[429] The seventeenth-century almanacs sampled by Salman in his essay "Populaire Verbeelding" also depict winter months with their festivals. *Comptoir* almanacs from both 1654 and 1657 illustrate January with Twelfth Night festivities. A 1658 edition of *De Wyse Jaer-beschryver* illustrates February with Carnival revelers. A 1678 almanac depicts the "star singing" aspect of Twelfth Night for January. In their month illustrations designed for an almanac, Dirck de Braij and Christoffel van Sichem IV represent January with the star singing of Twelfth Night, February with a man reading by the fire as a woman roasts fish over the flame, and December with skaters and men pouring a liquid out of a barrel next to a horse. The other months show a blend of relaxations and labors. See Eddy de Jongh's entry in *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genreprints in the Netherlands 1550-1700*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon and Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1997), 353-357.

[430] For the almanac's description of January, see Van der Vliet, *Bredaesche almanac en chronijck*, 1; February ibid., 2; and December ibid., 12. These poems are printed in a column to the right of the calendar, as is typical of seventeenth-century Dutch almanacs, as noted by Salman and Verhoeven in "The Comptoir-almanac of Gillis Joosten Saeghman." Jan Franco's *Almanac en prognosticatie voer het iaer Heeren MDLXXXVI nae de oude en nieuwe calculatie*… cited above also contains verses for each month.

[431] May, the "flower of the year (*het Bloemke van het Jaer*)," is a month for eating and drinking wine. June, the "rose of the year (*het Rosen van het Jaer*)," is characterized by its plentiful bounty and happiness. August declares itself "the monarch of the year" as it is served by the other months. "*Ick ben de Kongingen van 't Iaer,/En elcke Maend dient mij van 't haer*." October proposes that it is the month the makes people happy as they drink wine and beer. Van der Vliet, *Bredaesche almanac en chronijck*, 5, 6, 8, and 10.

poem accompanying January begins with a festive exclamation, "The year begins with new joy (*Het Jaer begint met Nieuwe vreughd*)." In addition to describing the annual celebrations of Epiphany and *Verloren Kopper-dagh*, the poet elevates the children ("*De kinderen nu boven al*"), highlighting the social inversions of the winter holiday.[432] The poem ends by acknowledging that winter weather forces an idle lifestyle.[433] On the following page, February's poem details the need to keep warm in the frigid month. Luckily the poet has a solution. Wine and food; "This is the best medicine."[434] In December, the poet is unable to perform agricultural tasks. So he joyfully eats, drinks, and uses his free time to write, gifting us this almanac. Unlike the other poems, that for December does not detail the plants, animals, and gardening work. Instead it celebrates the almanac and the feasting that occurs when one is not able to work. As a testament to the education of the almanac's reader, it ends with a Latin quotation from Horace.[435]

Jan van der Veen's *Raadtselen uyt gebeelt met Zin-Rijke uyt leggingen*: A Riddle Book

Jan van der Veen's *Raadtselen uyt gebeelt met Zin-Rijke uyt leggingen* ("Riddles with explanations rich in meaning") reveals that ice pleasures were discussed as a form of leisure through riddles. The book, printed in Deventer in 1653, also includes a pair of pseudo-historic poems on the Golden Age of truth and the Iron Age of falsehoods and a dialogue on the political

[432] "*Het Jaer begint met Nieuwe vreughd,/En maeckt door giften elck verheught;/De Kinderen nu boven al/Men hooren magh met blij geschal/Also men de Ster in 't Oosten sagh,/Of op Verloren Kopper-dagh.*" Ibid., 1.
[433] "*Hij mist den Hof en spaeijtse mee',/Ten waer te felle forst of snee',/Want tegens God, of weer, en wind/Is 't ijdel soo men ijets begint*."
[434] "*De Selmaend volght den Waterman,/Tot dat hij crijght de Vissen dan;/Twee teijckens vochtigh ende koud,/Dies ijeder sich te wermer houd'./Voor al het hooft, de borst, en maegh,/Die nu tot wijn en cruijd is graegh;/Dit is the beste medecijn,/Nu andere ondienstigh zijn*." Ibid., 2. Immediately above the poem there is a paragraph that also recounts February as a month for eating and drinking wine. As the language does not look Dutch, I suspect it is Frisian as the book also contains the collection of Frisian proverbs.
[435] "*Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit Utile Dulci. Horat. & Idem: Misce confilijs stultitiam brevem*." Ibid., 12.

turmoil in England gripped by civil war written from the Dutch perspective.[436] However, these supplementary texts do not describe aspects of a Dutch winter as the riddles do.

The book contains 162 riddles and their detailed answers, all of which are written in verse.[437] Many of the riddles search for allegorical meanings in everyday objects, people, ideas, and Biblical characters. In this way, it is similar to contemporary emblem books popular in the Netherlands. As opposed to foreign emblem writers, Dutch authors such as Roemer Visscher in his *Sinnepoppen* of 1614 found wisdom in decidedly common objects and behaviors.[438] Van der Veen's reader likewise searches for allegorical meaning in things as pedestrian as a dog, heathens, a soldier, shoes, fire, and the word "no." There is considerable overlap between the objects described by Roemer Visscher and van der Veen. Both treat scales, a weathervane, a comb, a sword, a millstone, an earthen pot, and a *roemer*. Roemer Visscher previously wrote on over half of the animals that answer van Veen's riddles.[439] But while complementary, emblems and riddles are not identical. Van der Veen's riddles are more accessible to a wider audience.

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[436] Jan van der Veen, I*AN VANDER VEENS RAADTSELEN Uyt gebeelt met zin-Rijke uyt leggingen, jeder uytlegginghe is Genombreert met de Nomber des Raadtsels, daar achter aen is by gevoeght, syn Gulden ende Yseren Eeuw, als mede een Nikkers-Praatje Nopende de quade Proceduren van Engelant* (Deventer: Jan Colomp, 1653). Title pages for each section underscore that the book is composed of four parts; the riddles (*IAN VANDER VEENS READSELEN*), their answers (*REGISTER DER RAASTDELEN*), the poems on the Golden and Iron Ages (*IAN VANDER VEENS Gulden ende Yseren EEUWE, Waarheyt ende leugen*), and the English political dialogue (*NIKKERS PRAATIE Alecto, Megera, Tiliphone, Helsche Rasernyen, ENDE Charon Helsche-Veerman, 't Samen Spraak*). The pages of each of the categories have their own headings, aside from the poems on the Golden and Iron Ages, in which each poem has different headings ("*Jan vander Veens – Gulden en Yseren Eeuw*" for the Golden Age poem and "*Yseren eeuwe – De Leugen*" for the Iron Age poem).

[437] The answers to the riddles numbered 144 and 145 are not present even though the riddles themselves are.

[438] Maria A. Schenkeveld noted how Roemer Visscher's and other Dutch emblem authors employed realism to teach lessons. She quotes Roemer Visscher, "There is naught void or idle in any thing (*Daer is niet ledighs of ydels in de dinghen*)." Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt*, 85-86 and 132. For the original passage, see Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen*, ed. L. Brummel (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1949), 1.

[439] Of the 21 animals that solve riddles in van der Veen's book, Roemer Visscher also wrote about cows, cats, mice, hens, turtles, hedgehogs, squirrels, falcons, pigs, rats, sheep, and dogs. Additionally, I found that both Roemer Visscher (even if just a brief reference or an implication) and van der Veen describe: sailor, miller, soldier/fencer, "*Kourde*" dancer, king, rich miser, fisher, wine, stove (*Stoof*), tobacco, scales, mirror, tulip bulb, pen, violin, hood/hat, weathervane, dice, butter cart, rough gun (*Graf-Geschot*), nut tree, comb, sword, spinning wheel, ships, tobacco pipe, spinning top, collar/ruff, skates, millstone, books, nice clothes, earthen pot, shoes, the sun, *roemer*, chaff (*Kaf*), the sea, money, army, smoke, blast of wind, fire, ice, luxury, "*Dryf-Tol*", and possibly pipe coal.

Emblem books were intended for relatively wealthy and educated readers as they contain a motto, an illustration, and a commentary for each emblem. Many times they also feature sayings in different languages, occasionally using different typefaces. The riddles, on the other hand, are printed entirely in Dutch, in a simple type, and contain no illustrations, thus making it feasible to read aloud. The riddle book is a 14 x 10 centimeter octavo,[440] smaller than most of the emblem books I've seen, making it portable and very likely cheaper. While emblem books express lessons through a contemplation of text and image, the riddles offer them through an active game. The riddles and their answers are in different parts of the book. One could not passively read but needed to engage with the object itself. Flipping through pages to find the answer also adds time for contestants to think.

Two major features of the winter scene answer a couple of van der Veen's riddles.[441] The first asks participants to guess what involves a famous speed between autumn and spring while stressing moving and transportation.[442] The answer section playfully reveals it to be, "THE SKATES that we use in wintertime. It is not riding. It is not running or simply moving. I don't really know what it is. It is neither flying over land nor sailing over water. What should I call it? I don't know of any other name for it than riding on skates."[443]

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[440] For the Folger Shakespeare Library's online entry, see https://hamnet.folger.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=1&ti=1,1&Search%5FArg=jan%20van%20der%20veen&Search%5FCode=GKEY%5E%2A&CNT=50&PID=Pg4GLF35SEblFuU545Qu6BC1c96Fz&SEQ=20190204112124&SID=1.

[441] While not directly a riddle relating to winter, the riddle for "turf/peat (*Turref*)" describes keeping warm in winter and the pleasures that come from it. "*'t Gunt 's Winters ons soo doet verheugen,/Wiens glory wy niet missen meugen*." Van der Veen, *Raadtselen uyt gebeelt met Zin-Rijke uyt leggingen*, 115-116 and 243-244.

[442] "*MYn vluchtigheyt die werd bekendt,/Recht tusschen harresst ende lent,/Dan ist dat ik op reyse ty,/'k En loope vliege vaer noch ry,/'t Gebruyk geen karre noch karros,/Geen wagen Esel Muyl noch Ros,/Nochtans soo maek ik sulken spoedt,/Veel meer als eenigh Bode doet*." Ibid., 74.

[443] "*DE SCHAATSEN inde winter tyden,/Die gebruyktmen, 't is geen ryden,/'t Is geen loopen 't is geen gaan,/'t Is ik weet niet wat gedaan,/'t Is geen vliegen noch geen vaeren,/Overlandt of water baeren,/Wat is dan ey segget my?/Segget my ik segget dy,/'k Weet geen ander naam te peysen,/Als te noemen 't Schaatsen reysen.*" Ibid., 197-198.

Another riddle asks what is simultaneously strong and powerful as well as pretty, weak, and fragile. Despite its dangers, it attracts the "green youth."[444] The answer for "Ice" further stresses its contrasting properties and acknowledges that it offers pleasures to the youths. But it takes a much more sinister tone, "The youth enjoy the ice, but fall in it when it frequently cracks, where they often sink into the ice and so miserably drown."[445]

While many of the riddles offer moralizing lessons, "Skates," instead expresses wonder and amusement. As the Dutch were associated with ice skating, it flatters the citizens of Europe's youngest nation as masters of the unknown or difficult to identify. Yet even without a political approach, the riddle present skating as lighthearted and amazing as opposed to a chance to reflect on physical and spiritual dangers. On the other hand, "Ice" acknowledges the perils of winter leisure, but does so in a more emotional and matter-of-fact manner than van der Veen's other riddles containing theological and moralizing themes. We have seen how there was a strong tradition in emblem books of connecting slipping on ice with the transience of human life or the ability to slip into sin. This is noticeably absent in the riddle, which also appreciates that the youth find pleasures on the ice. "Skates" and "Ice" are discussed as part of a game in a playful manner and more accessible to a wider audience than a related emblem book.

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[444] "*MYn Moeder die my heeft gebaerdt,/Is slap en wekelyk van aerdt,/En licht verkout van 't harde weer,/Wat canmen doen 't belieft den Heer,/Hoe dat ik dek haer schraele lyf/Noch werdse vaek van koude styf,/Ik ben ook dikwyls swak en krank,/Maer schoon van wesen net en blank,/Dies in myn wel-standt ende kracht,/De groene jeucht seer na my tracht,/Die my bemindt te dartel mal,/Maer licht'lyk deur my komt ten val,/'t Gunt vaek te deerlyk werdt beweent,/Dies mydt my eer ghy blaeuwe scheent,/'k En bind my aen geen minne snoer,/Maer blyve by myn oude Moer,/'k Verlaet haer niet maer blyf haer by,/Soo lange tot ik werd' als zy.*" Ibid., 93-94.

[445] "*Het YS van glans is schoon van schyn,/Het water wordt als cristalyn,/Het welk bedekt syn Moer het water,/Maar niet gelyk de Non de Pater,/De jonkheyt sich op 't Ys vermaekt,/Valt daar op dikwils dat het kraakt,/En dikwils in het YS wel sinken,/En soo ellendichlyk verdrinken,/Dat is dan al te veel gewaaght,/'t Gunt Vaer en Moer vaak heeft beclaaght,/Al vriest het dikwils noch soo styf,/Het cost gemeenlyk jemants lyf,/Het Ys dat dooyt 't wordt dun en teer,/Het wordt soo 't was 't wordt water weer,/De mensch alzoo van grooter waarde,/Die is van Aard den wordt weer Aarde.*" Ibid., 215-216.

Four Features

While the books described above served different purposes, they all take a playful, relaxing, and/or celebratory approach to winter and its pleasures. In addition to expressing the outlook on the season illustrated in the winter scene, these books were very likely used in similar ways as the images. The original audience of a winter scene likewise gathered around the physically small object to leisurely and intimately discuss the pleasures illustrated before them. After all, the illustrator for *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*, Jan van de Velde, also created autonomous winter scenes. The uses of these books can be connected with four major features of the Dutch understanding of winter that they share with winter scenes.

1.These Books Present Winter as a Period of Pleasure and Relaxation to a Variety of Audiences

Even though the wealthy were more likely to own books, the audiences for these books were not homogenous. The readers of van Heemskerck's poetry collection were most likely the same wealthy, trendy young lovers that sang from *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*.[446] Both books appeal to young and amorous audiences with pastoral verses in which youth, eroticism, and love are major themes.[447] Van Heemskerck makes the blissful youth of his readers explicit in his "Forward to the Dutch Youth (*Voor-Reden aende Nederlandtsche Ionckheydt*)," where he states

[446] Both books contain full page illustrations, variety of types, and classical references assuming an educated readership. These readers also would have been attracted to the most recent trends. Both book's titles make the stylish boast that they contain works previously not printed. In *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*, a reader could find "Many Little Love Songs…Joyfully Collected (and Never Yet Printed in This Edition) Set to New Tunes (*Amsterdamsche Pegasus, Waer in (uyt lust) by een vergadert zijn/veel Minnelijkcke Liedekens/(noyt voor desen gedruckt) gestelt op verscheyden nieuwe Stemmen…*)," while the collection of van Heemskerck's poems includes works that are "…All New and Previously Not Printed (*,…alle nieu ende te voren niet gesien*)." The audience for these books was the one that Wayne Franits identifies buying hunting scenes that reflect the connection between hunting and love in in contemporary literature. Wayne Franits, "The Pursuit of Love: The Theme of the Hunting Party at Rest in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 61 (1992): 106-115.

[447] Some smaller songbooks were known as *mopsjes*. This name derives from Mopsus, the character in Virgil's *Eclogues*. For the pastoral in songbooks, see Alison McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia*, 23. The pastoral was also popular across the courts of Europe, further highlighting the wealth and modishness of the readers.

that these poems were not compiled for "the conceited angry people, who have quickly lost their youth and even their memories of being young."[448] Van Heemskerck's readers are illustrated in engravings likely designed by Pieter Serwouters. Whenever contemporary Dutch people are depicted, they are exclusively young, elegantly dressed, and engaged in acts of courtship. The opening illustration of van Heemskerck's translation of *Art of Love* shows the readers receiving the text as modish young men and women gathered around a rostrum where a speaking Ovid and Cupid emerge (Figure 4.7).[449] The copy of *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* in the National Gallery of Art Library indicates a similar readership through a signed dedication. On a flyleaf at the beginning of the book, Jacob Rocher signed and dated "July 29, 1635 Amsterdam" and wrote the rhyme "*Contentem passe richese viue moy et ma maitresse* (Contentedness passes riches, long live me and my mistress)." This inscription indicates that both Jacob and his lover were educated and attracted to international court culture as they appreciated verse in French and in Dutch.[450] The rhyme also suggests that this couple of Amsterdammers applied the same *joie de vivre* to using the book as implied by the songs. To underscore the book's amorous purposes,

[448] "*LVstighe Mede-genooten van myne groene jaren, ende ghy die onder het dack van een statige bedaeghtheyd noch een jeughdigh hert huysvest, voor u is 't dat ick dese malligheytjes ten toon stelle, ende niet voor de waen-wyse grimmers, die also haest als zy de jonckheyd verloren hebben, oock datelijck verliesen de geheughenisse van mede eens jong geweest te zijn: doch eer ghy verder gaet, so houd een weynigh stil, ende hoord my eens een woord vijf ses spreken*."

[449] The book's title page similarly portrays two pairs of stylish young Dutch lovers looking at a trio of classical goddesses in the sky above them, their opulent clothing juxtaposed with the simple robes and bare flesh of the goddesses. Both the title pages for the volume and *Art of Love* depict a woman holding a book and standing next to her lover, underscoring the purposes of poetry and songbooks.

[450] Another *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* sold at Christie's in London on November 30, 2010 as sale 5476 contains an inscription on a free endpaper singed by Jacob Rocher and dated July 24, 1635. In this case, Rocher wrote his inscription in Latin. See https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/songbook-amsterdamsche-pegasus-waer-in-uyt-5387128-details.aspx. While a knowledge of French was not unusual in the Dutch Republic, it was primarily used by a small group that identified with international trends. For the use of French in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, see Frijhoff and Spies, *Hard-Won Unity*, 233-234 and 241.

Jacob drew a heart pierced by an arrow under the word "*Contentem*."[451] These two books presented winter pleasures to romantic, wealthy youth who probably identified with the elegantly dressed couples skating hand-in-hand that commonly feature in winter scenes.

Almanacs, on the other hand, were purchased by people across society.[452] They ranged in price from less than one stuiver to 14; and smaller sized almanacs could be conveniently acquired from peddlers traveling by foot.[453] Such a bookseller is illustrated on the title page of *Bredaesche Almanac en Chronijck*, where the books in his box of "*Frieske Spreeckwoorden* (Frisian Sayings)" contain remarkable physical similarities to the actual almanac (Figure 4.8).[454] The information recorded in almanacs also reached a wide audience as these books were likely read aloud, as suggested by a couple of inscriptions in almanacs printed in Friesland in the

[451] The heart pierced by an arrow was used as a symbol for romance in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, as evidenced by the illustration for the emblem "*Penetrat et Solidiora*" in Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen*, 105. My thanks to Lawrence Goedde and Yuri Long for help deciphering Jacob Rocher's inscription.

[452] The Amsterdam printer and book seller Gillis Joosten Saeghman, active from 1642 to 1702, produced his *Comptoir* almanacs in quarto, octavo, duodecimo, sextodecimo, and trigesimo-secundo formats, suggesting that he had audiences of various income levels in mind. In "The Comptoir-almanac of Gillis Joosten Saeghman," Salman and Verhoeven value almanacs as representative of the popular press for both their practical functions and general accessibility for large segments of the population.

[453] For the ambulatory trade of almanacs, see Salman and Verhoeven, "The Comptoir-almanac of Gillis Joosten Saeghman," 103 and 106. The late sixteenth-century Flemish almanacs cited above are sextodecimos listed at 10 centimeters on Hamnet, the Folger Shakespeare Library's online catalogue. They were printed with the same type throughout and were stitched together at the spine and bound in what appears to be parts of pages from a medieval manuscript. Given their size and simplicity, they were portable and likely affordable to most people.

[454] The books in his box are a similar size to *Bredaesche Almanac en Chronijck*. The National Gallery of Art Library's online catalogue lists the book's size as 23 centimeters.
https://library.nga.gov/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma99877643504896&context=L&vid=01NGA_INST:NGA&lang=en&search_scope=MainLibrary&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=MainLibrary&query=any,contains,Jan%20Joris%20van%20der%20Vliet&offset=0.
While I am not sure if it is original or not, the *Bredaesche Almanac en Chronijck* in the National Gallery of Art's Library contains a binding with an abrased design on the front and back almost identical to that on a book illustrated in the vendor's box. This design is similar to those found on Frisian bindings around 1700. See Jan Storm van Leeuwen, *Dutch Decorated Bookbinding in the Eighteenth-Century*, volume 2, ('t Goy: Hes & de Graaf, 2006), 906-909. Despite the probability of being sold by a traveling vendor, *Bredaesche Almanac en Chronijck* was likely not cheap to acquire, as suggested by the variety of types, languages, and full page maps and illustrations. If its binding is original, then it suggests that the book was meant to be preserved, deviating from the practice (at least in the eighteenth century) of binding almanacs in paper, which kept their prices low. Jan Storm van Leeuwen, "Some Observations on Dutch Publishers' Bindings up to 1800," in *Bookbindings, and Other Bibliophily, Essays in Honour of Anthony Hobson*, ed. Dennis E. Rhodes (Verona: Edizioni Valdonega, 1994), 307-309.

1650s.[455] Like an almanac, van der Veen's collection of riddles was also accessible to a large audience. While the riddles presume Christian, and particularly Protestant, participants,[456] we have seen how they were able to reach a wider audience than related emblem books. While the riddles can be moralizing, they can also be quite playful. Lessons coexist with the colorful humor of the angry fish who was offered then deprived of a meal and, to add insult to injury, forced into captivity (the riddle for "Fisher") and complaints about a dirty and sore neck and throat from what turns out to be a chimney.[457] The joys of winter are evident in the way that the theologically-minded van der Veen overlooked the emblem tradition of skating to present it in the same playful manner typically encountered in the winter scene. Through these books, a lighthearted, festive, and relaxing attitude towards aspects of winter was presented to readers of various backgrounds and could thus be applied to the winter scene by wide segments of society.

2. These Books Brought People Together

Many of these books served as the center of social rituals. *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* united couples or small groups in courtship. Small songbooks like this[458] were used at weddings,

[455] In the *Arumer almanach* of 1656, Petrus Tebbitman wrote to the "Beloved reader or listening audience (*Beminde Leser ofte Toehoorders*)." Two years later, another almanac proposed that "My fancies will indeed be valued, through seeing this or hearing it read (*Mijn grillen worden wel ghepresen, van diese zien of hooren lessen*)." For these references and the translations, see Salman and Verhoeven, "The Comptoir-almanac of Gillis Joosten Saeghman," 109.

[456] In addition to the religious meanings that van der Veen finds in everyday objects such as "Bees," "Pigs," and "Bookbinder," about one eight of the riddle's answer are biblical. The readers were likely Protestant as the riddle for "Organ Maker" praising music's role in worship is juxtaposed with that of "Image Maker," which recalls the Ten Commandments and various Protestant leaders' disdain for idols. For the "Organ Maker" and "Image Maker" riddles, see van der Veen, *Raadtselen uyt gebeelt met Zin-Rijke uyt leggingen*, 53-55 and 174-175.

[457] For "Fisher," see ibid., 104. For "Chimney," see ibid., 158.

[458] *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* is 17 x 20 centimeters, as listed on the entry in the National Gallery of Art Library's online catalogue.
https://library.nga.gov/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma993076163504896&context=L&vid=01NGA_INST:NGA&lang=en&search_scope=MainLibrary&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=MainLibrary&query=any,contains,amsterdamsche%20pegasus&sortby=rank&offset=0.

annual fairs (*kermises*), and other celebrations where their joyful songs enhanced the jubilant mood. Yet such songbooks were also brought on pleasure trips where young couples could show their affection away from the public eye of the city.[459] To underscore the privacy of such encounters, small songbooks could be easily concealed if their material was deemed erotic or offensive.[460] Many of the songs in *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* also brought couples together psychologically. They express romance in remarkably intimate and open terms, intensified by their use of the second person.[461] Some songs require both male and female parts. These dialogues rely on the response to complete the rhyme, perhaps suggestive of the harmony created by the two lovers, a common theme with musical couples in Dutch art.[462] The collection of van

[459] Carrying around a tiny book to reveal amorous emotions in intimate settings was an established idea in Dutch culture. Reynhert in Johan van Heemskerck's novel *Batavische Arcadia* ("Batavian Arcadia") does just that with his copy of Petrarch's poems. For the *speelreisje*, or pleasure wagon trips permitting lovers to meet in private, see Nevitt, *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, 153-158 and 208-209; Julie Berger Hochstrasser, "Inroads to Seventeenth-Century Dutch Landscape Painting," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1997, Deel 48*, 207-208; and Martin Royalton-Kisch, *Adriaen van de Venne's Album in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum Publications, 1988), 104. For the ability of the environs outside of the city to present a space for young lovers to meet in both art and songbooks, see Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View," especially 89-91 for courtship in the countryside. Weddings and *kermises* were associated with romance and erotic encounters. For the ability for young couples to meet at *kermises*, see Smit, *Johan van Heemskerck 1597-1656*, 114 and Benjamin B. Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before Rock 'N' Roll: Youth Culture and Masculinity during Holland's Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 153-154. For bringing songbooks to ceremonies, see Grijp, "Voer voor Zanggrage Kropjes," 117 and Nevitt, *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, 50. Books were also brought on leisure trips without romantic connotations, such as on Beck's walks with his brother. Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life*, 93-94 and 345.

[460] A point made by Nevitt in *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, 56 and 211.

[461] Such as "*Kus-Liedt* (Kissing Song)," which begins by explaining what happens "When I kiss your beautiful, rosy mouth." "*WAnneer ick kus u schoone Roose-mond,/Dan ziel en hart die willen my terstont/Verlaten inde lust, om by u haer rust/Te genieten staegh, o heel soete laegh!/Te genieten staegh gevangen:/O kus! o soete kus! duurt lange*." The song "*Drooms-Gesicht* (Dream Vision)" describes "you entering the sweetest of my dreams in the thick of night." "*'s Nachts dick ghy komt voor in 't soetste van mijn dromen,/Opent 't vernachte slot, dat my mijn kamer sluyt:/Ghy weet door eenigh spleet noch voor mijn bed te komen,/Ey, seghtme doch u konst wat datse doch beduyt?*" *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*, 41 and 65.

[462] According to Nevitt, women sung both parts, even though most of the songs were written from the man's perspective. Singing from her lover's perspective allowed the woman to understand the feelings that he has for her. Nevitt, *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, 88-89. Another songbook, *Den Nieuwen Lust-Hof* from 1602, contained a space for lovers to fill in their names furthering the psychological interaction from personalizing the book. Nevitt believes that *Den Nieuwen Lust-Hof* resulted in songbooks such as *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* becoming more personalized in the early seventeenth century as they addressed their readers with a new directness. Ibid., 50-52.

Heemskerck's poems, which is even smaller than *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*,[463] also likely brought couples together. Some of the poems in its "Love Poems" are titled "Songs (*Liedt*)" and note the tune to sing, just as in songbooks. Like the ice in a winter scene, these books facilitated intimate encounters between young lovers.

The collection of van Heemskerck's poetry also appealed to friendship. Many of the "Miscellaneous Poems" are quite personal, especially those composed for friends' *stamboeken*.[464] Van der Veen's riddle book likewise brought friends together for a game. Features of the book suggest competitive participants. The answers to the riddles are printed in all capital letters and in a different type from the rest of the text so that one can quickly see if a guess is correct. In a few instances, van der Veen provides two synonyms for answers as if expecting contestants to argue over specific wording.[465] That is exactly what happens in a poem printed between the sections of riddles and answers, where a peasant (*huysman*) insists that a councilor (*Raads-Heer*) did not answer his riddle correctly. He guessed "cat (*kat*)" when the answer is "tomcat (*kater*)."[466] Like the almanacs' poems for the months, the riddles are written in verse, which sounds pleasant and encouraged the reader to share them aloud. The riddle book shows that skating and ice were discussed among friends at play. Friends likely found the same pleasure discussing ice activities as they worked together through the details of a pictorial winter scene. Inasmuch as most winter scenes are not very large, they must have brought together

[463] Its dimensions are recorded at 11 x 15 centimeters. https://browse.nypl.org/iii/encore/record/C__Rb16833473__Sjohan%20van%20heemskerk__Orightresult__X3?lang=eng&suite=def.

[464] Van Heemskerck's *Beatus ille* is printed between his contributions to Brosterhuysen's and Gerardt Nieuwpoort's *stamboeken*. Van Heemskerck's Soracte Ode is similarly printed between poems for G. R. Doublet's and Jacob Veburgh's *stamboeken*.

[465] For instance, two terms for "town hall (*RAAT-HUYS ofte STADT-HUYS*)" and "basket (*BREDEL-MANT oft TRUGGEL-KORF*)" are provided. Van der Veen, *Raadtselen uyt gebeelt met Zin-Rijke uyt leggingen*, 231 and 241.

[466] Ibid., 120-121. Perhaps there is some truth to this poem, as "*kater*" answers one of van der Veen's riddles.

intimately sized groups of beholders. The visual winter scene also embraces themes of social unity as the ice unites not only friends, but also all types of people in leisure.

3. These Books Instigated Leisure and Pleasure Activities

These books offered leisure and pleasure to their users. While *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* was used for courtship, some of its songs had an erotic appeal. "Dream Songs" let lovers imagine each other in the same bedroom at night; and we have seen how a woman falling on the ice, which van der Veen's riddle and emblem books present as lethal and tragic, makes the speaker think of her falling into bed. The psychologically engaging pastoral songs allowed the young lovers mentally embrace the social and erotic liberties of Arcadia. This same attitude must have been applied to the romantic songs detailing ice pleasures printed alongside these songs.[467] The almanacs also recount winter activities in entertaining ways. In addition to practical information, almanacs contained songs, stories, and burlesques. The amusement offered by such books is highlighted by the title page of Gillis Joosten Saeghman's 1675 almanac which declares that the book is "for the pleasure of citizen and merchant (*tot gerief van Burger en Koopman*)."[468] The calendars entertain the reader with engaging poems and images that celebrate winter months with holidays, ice pleasures, and a lack of labor. Similarly, van der Veen's riddles entertain as well as educate. In his forward, van der Veen repeatedly uses the

[467] The illustration and song celebrating winter in "Little Pasture Songs" are immediately followed by a "Pastoral Dialogue between Silvester and Silvia (*Pastorale Twee-Spraeck, tusschen Silvester aen Silvia*) and a "Bachanalia." The winter illustration and song in "Cupid's Fickleness" is surrounded by an erotically charged "Dream Vision (*Drooms-Gesicht*)" and a straightforward love song (*Amoureus-Liedt*) before another song about dreaming. The other winter song in "Cupid's Fickleness" that echoes the Soracte Ode is printed before a song that incorporates pastoral imagery, names, and themes. For these songs, see *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*., 19-25, 64-71, and 92.

[468] In his privilege, Saeghman stated that he printed his almanacs "for the pleasure of all gentlemen and merchants (*tot gerief van Burger en Koopman*)." Cited and translated in Salman and Verhoeven, "The Comptoir-almanac of Gillis Joosten Saeghman," 109. See also page 101 for another reference to Saeghman noting the pleasure from reading his almanacs.

word "pleasure (*vermaek*)" to describe engaging with the riddles and suggests using the book as a form of wholesome entertainment among friends. As the riddles employ humor and encourage competition, they encourage playful discussion of characteristic features of winter scenes, which in turn prompted discussion of icy pleasures through their selective suppression of seasonal discomforts and positive representation of relaxation, pleasure, and visual jokes.

4. These Books Promoted an Interest in the Familiar and the Dutch

Many of these books reflect local interest by identifying specific locations in the Netherlands. A winter song in *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* describes skating on the Amstel, the same river on which skaters enjoy a December day before the Amsterdam Blockhouses in a calendar illustration in a *Groote Comptoir* Almanac. Both the titles of *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* and van Heemskerck's translation of *Art of Love* declare that they are applying ancient ideas on romance to the youth of Amsterdam.[469] The impact of van Heemskerck's substitution of the Rapenburg for Horace's Mount Soracte is further strengthened by the poem's proximity to verses praising Leiden. The reader of *Bredaesche Almanac en Chronijck* desired a book that satisfied local appeal to Breda with its pages of civic history and/or Friesland with its collection of regional sayings.

Both *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* and *Pvb. Ovidii Nasonis Minne-kvnst…* reflect the desire to find a national identity through dialogue with classical antiquity. After singing about pastoral characters, it makes quite an impression in *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* to encounter a song in which

[469] A nod to local identity is also reflected in one of the introductions of *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* titled "To the Ladies of the Amstel, along with the Nymphs of the Rhine (*Aende Aemstel-Landtsche IVFFERTjENS, Mitsgaders aende Rijn-landtsche Nymphjens*)." Many romantic songbooks were written for the youth of specific cities and contain civic appeal. Grijp, "Voer voor Zanggrage Kropjes," 106-110 and Nevitt, *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, 14. For the rivalry between Amsterdam and Haarlem playing out in songbooks, see the section "Rural Pleasures (*buyten Stadts playsier*)" in Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View," 87-96.

a couple with the Dutch names Forbert and Trijn ride sleighs across the ice.[470] Jan van de Velde's idyllic illustrations of rural settings are reminiscent of pastoral imagery, except they show decidedly Dutch scenes.[471] While Jan van de Velde does not depict classical gods, some of the accompanying quatrains insert the residents of Olympus into his scenes to joyfully observe the Netherlands.[472] All ten illustrations depict bodies of water. Thus the two skating scenes also emphasize the carnivalesque inversion of people moving over the water on their own two feet. The illustrations of van Heemskerck's *Art of Love* also introduce the heroes of antiquity to Dutch culture as Hercules sews among Dutch women, Europa wears a stylized version of a fashionable collar in the Netherlands, and a pile of elegant Dutch women's clothing is placed in a classical niche surrounded by Roman trophies. Just as poems cited above, these books show how Dutch activities and settings, including those on the ice, are instrumental for understanding ancient wisdom on a Dutch reader's own terms.

While almanacs catalogue local knowledge, *Bredaesche Almanac en Chronijck* takes recording the familiar further through its inclusion of regional history and sayings.[473] Like other

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[470] *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*, 67-68. The "Shrove-Tuesday Song, between Tryn-buur and Ael Ians (*Vastel-avond-Liedt, tusschen Tryn-buur, en Ael Ians*)," also provides Dutch names of its characters. *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*, 135.

[471] All of the pictures are set in the countryside with the exception of one in which people are depicted moving around a town square with many docked boats as barrels have been unloaded onto land. The inscription underneath the image recounts drinking and the song on the facing page is the dialogue about Shrovetide cited in the previous footnote. Ibid., 134-135.

[472] Under an illustration of a few individuals in dunes found in the Holland countryside, Galatea is mentioned catching little crabs in her hands as she enjoys "*our* barren beach" (emphasis mine), while Coridon and Doris are also happy at Zandvoort, a beach outside of Haarlem. "*De vvitte* Galathé *die liefd ons dorre strand,/En vanght met* Amaril *de Knijntjes met haer hand;/T'wijl* Coridon *vast neurt om Sant-voort menigh deuntjen,/En* Doris *speeld in zee met 't geyle Minne-zeuntjen*." The song on the facing page describes Galatea on the beach. Ibid., 96. Another quatrain accompanying an illustration of men and women sailing by a couple of Dutch farmhouses mentions Venus and Cupid on the boat with Ceres and Bacchus not far behind. "*Hier drijftmen op de stroom, en glijt op Minne-baren,/Vrouw* Venus *paert de leughd,* Cupido *doetse varen/In 't land van jock en vreughd, de lust die gaetse voor;/Daer Ceres, Bacchus oock haer volghen op het spoor.*" Ibid., 110.

[473] As opposed to other almanacs I've seen, van der Vliet provides not only many vernacular names for the months, but also different spelling variations of the same word, reflecting his desire to catalogue. This almanac also notes markets in Bruges, Brussels, and Antwerp in the Spanish Netherlands.

almanacs, it considers proper behaviors throughout the cycle of the year components of daily life in the Netherlands worthy of being recorded and collected. Van der Veen's book also reflects this desire to collect knowledge through his riddles on daily objects. The inclusion of "Skates" and "Ice" among such riddles underscores the Dutch reader's familiarity with them, just like the skating emblems in *Sinnepoppen*.[474] As skating was considered a feature of Dutch pride, the answer to "skates" flatters the citizens of Europe's newest nation by suggesting that they are masters of the unknown. The winter scene similarly represents a familiar location and activities to a Dutch beholder, one in which they could explore and excel upon ancient ideas. While the ice assumed similar social liberties to those found in pastoral literature, it is a specifically Dutch domain, as evidenced by the Dutch flags flying from *koek-en-zopie* tents and the representation of individuals from various levels of Dutch society.

Conclusion

As artists and writers turned their attention to local subject matter in a search for national identity, the winter ice proved to be a popular subject. It represents a familiar setting in which the Dutch could highlight their superiority over not only their neighbors, but also the esteemed ancients. Dutch poets improved on classical poems such as Horace's *Odes* and *Epodes* by adding to them the winter pleasures unknown to the ancient author, which also made the lessons from antiquity more relatable to a Dutch audience. The winter scene, in which disruptive weather is met by relaxation and pleasure, illustrates Horace's idea as it was reimagined through

[474] In van der Veen's riddles, "Skates" is located between the riddles for "King," "Cook," and "*Sage*"—which takes a very religious tone—on one side and "heathens," "rat," and "millstone" on the other. "Ice" is placed around the riddles for "cheese," "shoes," "cushion," "bee," "bubble," and "letter." Two emblems in *Sinnepoppen* illustrate skaters. "*Gheoeffent derf* (One must practice)" applies a skater to Seneca's urge to practice. "*Het mist een meester wel* (One misses an instructor)" describes and illustrates how easily a skater can fall and get injured on the ice. Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen*, 129 and 146.

poets such as Johan van Heemskerck and Jan Six van Chandelier. These amorous and celebratory relaxations of the ice are also present in popular literature in songbooks, almanacs, and riddle books that, like the images of *ijsvermaak*, brought individuals together to leisurely and intimately consider and discuss wintertime pleasures. The range of audiences for these books and the social practice of reading them aloud meant that the Horatian idea of a relaxing and celebratory winter reached a wide audience that could apply it to the winter scene as a representation of specifically Dutch settings and activities.

Chapter 5. "The Year Begins with New Joy": Winter as the Season of Carnivalesque Festivals

In the seventeenth century as now, winter carried a wide range of associations. To identify the appeal of the winter scene, we must understand what the images take from and ignore in the seventeenth-century experience of winter. This involves considering what aspects of winter are not present in these images, as well as analyzing which seasonal features appear in allegorical representations of winter that most closely approximate the spirit of the winter scene. As we have seen in almanac calendar illustrations, annual holidays and festivals, notably Twelfth Night and Shrovetide, consistently appear in allegories of winter and its months. These celebrations embraced social relaxations and inversions. The winter scene's selective recollection of joyful festivities in winter recalls the same social liberties and merriment of these winter holidays, when even the ecclesiastical and social authorities permitted rest and loosening of morals in the wintertime.

The Selectivity of the Winter Scene

While not ordinarily evident in the winter scene, winter was a perilous season in the seventeenth century.[475] Frigid temperatures were lethal as people and animals froze to death. Chronicles describe livestock, bread, wine, and even trees freezing in strong frosts.[476] Sixteenth

[475] For the hardships of winter in the seventeenth century, see. M. Meijerman, *Hollandse Winters* (Antwerp and Hilversum: W. de Haan and Standaard Boekhandel, 1967), especially 14-19; Evert van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot: De Verbeelding van de Winter in de Zestiende en Zeventiende Eeuw in de Nederlanden* (The Hague: Rijkskollekties, 1977); Ariane van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time: The Dutch Winter Landscape in the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2001); and Herman Pleij, *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511: Stadscultuur in de Late Middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1988), 20-21 and 54-63. A. T. van Deursen also details winter hardships in "People of Little Wisdom and Limited Power," his first chapter of *Plain Lives in a Golden Age, Popular Culture, Religion and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, trans. Maarten Ultee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 3-31.

[476] As Jan Buisman observed, the mention of frozen trees may refer to only the buds, but this can still have adverse effects on the fruit supply. Jan Buisman, *Duizend Jaar Weer, Wind en Water in de Lage Landen, Deel 1: tot 1300*,

and seventeenth-century sources record beverages frozen solid and weather so cold that people could not brew beer, in contrast with the ample availability of beer from sled to *koek-en-zopie* tent in the winter scene.[477] Frozen water also threatened life by impacting food and water supplies. Winter was accompanied by famine as crops were destroyed by both frosts and a lack of water. As the ice and snow melted, flooding was an annual disaster. Dikes commonly burst with overflows of water. Conversely, fires were also a threat in such a dry season and frozen water must have exacerbated the damage. Even those who found pleasure on the ice needed to be mindful of the threat of falling onto the ice and other potentially lethal skating and sledding accidents. Yet with a few exceptions, outside of moralizing literature these disasters are rarely depicted in visual representation of winter.[478]

Winter was not only a dangerous season, but an unproductive one. Jan Six van Chandelier describes the season's adverse impact on trade in "The Amsterdammers' Winter (*'s Amsterdammers Winter*)."[479] Since boats can not sail on frozen canals and rivers, harbors closed and ferries were canceled, sometimes for over a month at a time.[480] Frozen waterways prevented

volume 1, ed. A. F. V. van Engelen (Franeker: Uitgeverij Van Wijnen, 1995), 137. To underscore the hardships of the effects of winter on agriculture, Buisman relied on agricultural records for his efforts to chart weather in the centuries before 1706. For these and other dangers of winter, see Buisman, *Duizend Jaar Weer, Wind en Water in de Lage Landen,* volume 1, 125-139 and volume 4, which covers the climate from 1575 to 1675.

[477] Hugo Grotius recounted a winter as a teenager when, "the beer had changed into a hard lump; more suitable as food than drink (*Het bier was in een harde klomp veranderd; het was eerder geschikt als voedsel dan als drank*)." Buisman, *Duizend Jaar Weer, Wind en Water in de Lage Landen,* volume 4, 191. In his poem "The Amsterdammers' Winter," Jan Six van Chandelier writes of his ink freezing in the cold. Jan Six van Chandelier, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, ed. Maria A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen and Hans Luijten (Utrecht: HES Uitgevers, 1998), 45.

[478] In addition to the falling skaters, which I will later argue speak more towards humor, eroticism, and community than danger, Lucas Valckenborch created a winter scene set outside of Antwerp in snowfall which shows the panicked and frenzied efforts to put out a fire in a burning house. The painting dated to 1575 is now in the Städel Museum in Frankfurt.

[479] Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 40-45.

[480] Buisman turns to ferry records to determine the severity of a winter since a lack of activity suggests a frozen waterway. He also details the ways in which ice can block waterways. Buisman, *Duizend Jaar Weer, Wind en Water in de Lage Landen,* volume 1, 127-133. In 1640 the ferry between Haarlem and Amsterdam was closed for about a month in February and again the following year and in the winter of 1656-1657. The ferry between Haarlem and Leiden was closed for extended periods in the 1660s and 1670s, most notably for nearly two months in the winters of 1659-1660 and 1669-1670 and for about a month and a half in January and February of 1665. The

goods and mail from being delivered and mills from functioning.[481] Thus people were forced to rely on sleds and skates for transportation while some even crossed the water by foot.[482] Many winter scenes include boats frozen into the canal as skaters glide past, suggesting that the inability of boats to function and unorthodox means of transportation were associated with winter. Decreased sunlight also hampered productivity in winter, especially in the higher latitudes of Northern Europe. Six describes sixteen hours of darkness.[483] Shorter natural days resulted in shorter work days. Even students enjoyed reduced hours in the classroom during winter.[484] A number of occupations received less pay in winter than in summer and some work was seasonal. This meant that winter was accompanied by increased poverty and the terror of discharged soldiers and sailors who turned to plundering.[485] Yet the winter scene presents this release from labor as a pleasure as opposed to a fear.

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winter of 1671-1672 affected the ferry's service from the middle of December to the beginning of March. Buisman, *Duizend Jaar Weer, Wind en Water in de Lage Landen,* volume 2, 452, 459, 545, 564, 593, 631, and 644. Chopping the ice so that a boat could pass and fishermen were able to work was a common seasonal activity. Six describes it in '*s Amsterdammers Winter*, 66-71.

[481] There was a point during the winter of 1634-1635 when snow and wind temporarily stopped the postal service between Holland and Zeeland. Adriaen van der Goes of The Hague complained of a similar problem in January of 1663. Buisman, *Duizend Jaar Weer, Wind en Water in de Lage Landen,* volume 2, 430 and 579-580.

[482] As noted in Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 43. "*De vollekrijke Kalverstraat/lijdt mens noch sleden die men landt*." Six also acknowledged that horse-drawn sleighs function as cargo boats in winter. "*De volle boerslee, aan een paard,/verstrekt een vrachtschip langs de vaart.*" Ibid., 67.

[483] "*De koopman om de kleine vaart,/terwijl het grijze jaar verjaart/en 't nachtkleed Neerland overspreidt/met zestien uren duisterheid/kantoort de dag met kandelaars/gelijk de langste zon des jaars;*" Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 37. Petrus Hondius also mentions the shorter days in his *hofdicht*. Petrus Hondius, *Dapes inemptae of De Moufe-Schans, dat is de soeticheyt des buyten-levens vergheselschapt* (Leiden: Daniel Roels/Joris Abrahamsz van der Marsce, 1621), 282.

[484] In the early seventeenth century, schools opened an hour later in winter. Paul Zumthor, *Daily Life in Rembrandt's Holland*, trans. Simon Watson Taylor (New York: Macmillan Company, 1963), 106. The Hague school teacher David Beck noticed less students in his classroom during the snowy winter of 1623-1624. Buisman, *Duizend Jaar Weer, Wind en Water in de Lage Landen,* volume 2, 360 and Jeroen Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Dutch Diaries*, trans. Beverley Jackson (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 44.

[485] Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel: Parables of Order and Enterprise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 136. For details of the occupations that received less pay in winter, see table 1 in van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age,* 5. For winter poverty and plundering, see van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age*, 5-6, 25, 30, and 58. Benjamin B. Roberts used the term "forced leisure" to describe people put out of work in the season. Benjamin B. Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before Rock 'N' Roll: Youth Culture and Masculinity during Holland's Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 22.

Writers in the seventeenth century frankly addressed the hardships of winter.[486] Dutch authors such as Johan van Heemskerck complained of boredom in "these cold, foul days where I know of nothing better to do" than write.[487] Songbooks and poems recall winter as a depressing foil to the joyful and lovely spring. In "The Amsterdammers' Winter," Six details winter terrors such as diseases and floods, and also a grieving family mourning a death on the ice.[488] Philibert van Borsselen highlights the discomforts of winter with word play, as the season becomes "Lord Wind (*win-teer/wind-heer*)."[489] Even the joys of *ijsvermaak* could be perilous. Six describes skating accidents in horrific terms, as skaters break their legs, a man calls for help from a hole in the ice, and a trampled corpse leaves its brain exposed on the ice.[490]

[486] The despairs of winter are also very pronounced in English literature. In the *Kalendarium Humanae Vitae–The Kalender of Mans Life* from 1638, Robert Farley wrote of January, "I am Aquarius, now is my turne,/to throw forth balefull floods out of mine urn:/Spring wher's thy dresse? Summer thy fragrant flowers?/Autumne thy pleasant fruits? Loe here's my showers./Whatever pleasure in the world was found,/By this my fat all deluge now is drown'd./When men a Noah so long preaching heare,/Let ev'ry one take heede and stand in feare." Robert Farley, *Kalendarium Humanae Vitae–The Kalender of Mans Life* (London: T. Cotes, 1638). In the *Shepheardes Calendar*, Edmund Spenser likened the hostile and barren natural conditions of winter with the shepherd Colin Clout's sadness in "January." Edmund Spenser, *Shepheardes* Calendar (London: Hugh Singleton, 1579), 1b.

[487] "*In dese koude vuyle daghen niet veel beters wetende te doen, so ben ick vast besich met het tweede deel van de ongestandighen Hylas op 't papier te brengen;…*" Cited from a letter to the poet's cousin from February of 1636 in Dirk Harry Smit, *Johan van Heemskerck 1597-1656* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij "De Spieghel," 1933), 164. The ennui of "the sad winter evenings" also forces productivity from Jan and Adriaen van de Venne, as noted in *Zeeusche Nachtegael* ("Nightingale from Zeeland"). "*VErlangende cunst-gunstige Lief-hebbers; also by my noch ter hand zijn gecomen (benevens de Zeeusche Nachtegael) eenighe soete, bevallighe Sinne-dichten, en gesangen, by mijn broeder Adriaen vande Venne, over lange inde verdrietighe Winter-avonden ghemaeckt; om die selve alle 't samen te voughen by de Zeeusche Nachtegael: maer heeft zijn voornemen nae-gelaten; om oorsaeck, datter te veel van eender hant was*." See Adriaen van de Venne, et. al., *Zeeusche Nachtegael* (Middelburg: Jan Pietersz. van de Venne, 1623).

[488] Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 58-59 and 71-73. He also details the tragic image of a child's tears melting the ice and people forced indoors and thus unable to enjoy their walks.

[489] Philibert van Borsselen, *Strande, oft Ghedichte van de Schelpen/Kinck-hornen/ende andere wonderlicke Zee Schepselen tot lof van den Schepper aller dingen* (Haarlem: Adriaen Rooman, 1611), 29.

[490] Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 63-65. The Jesuit Antoon van Torre, who lived in the Spanish Netherlands from 1615-1679, wrote the sixth dialogue of *Dialogi familiares litterarum tironibus* between three schoolboys discussing winter leisure and activities. The character Modestus refuses to leave the fireside, citing the dangers and discomforts found in winter pleasures such as a snowball fight and ice skating. For van Torre's dialogue, see Jeannine de Landtsheer, "IJspret: Justus Lipsius en andere Humanisten uit de Nederlanden op glad ijs," *De Seventiende Eeuw* 15 (1999), 86-101.

Unlike writers, Netherlandish artists rarely depict the difficulties of winter.[491] The Dutch winter scene portrays the season as one primarily of human pleasures and relaxations. Fallen skaters are humorously juxtaposed against those—normally of a lower social standing—who can better handle the seasonal conditions. Those who fall into the cracked ice are quickly saved by their affectionate neighbors, such as the group heroically hurrying towards the danger in background of Philips Wouwerman's painting identified in the Introduction (Figure 5.1). While the brewers in Six's account of winter are left to find alternative sources of water once dirty melting ice ruins their supply,[492] the winter scene suggests unlimited barrels of beer approaching the *koek-en-zopie* tent. This is reflective of the conventionalized nature of Dutch art. Artists were careful to portray exactly what they knew their audience wanted to *see* in depictions of winter. While both the lived experience and the cultural imagination understood winter as a difficult season, its hardships are conspicuously absent in visual culture where winter was presented as a season of relaxations.

The remarkably more joyful outlook towards winter in visual art is most evident in the types of labors depicted in winter scenes. Dutch artists were generally very selective in the labors that they chose to represent,[493] and the winter scene is no exception. As we have seen,

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[491] Esaias van de Velde designed a print of the great flood that occurred on January 10, 1624. Even though he includes prominent trees without their leaves and boats frozen into the water, nothing else about the scene aside from the people's dress recalls winter. It is much more documentary in nature. For the print, see entry 68 in Irene de Groot, *Landscape: Etchings by the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1979). In his drawings for the Months, Allart van Everdingen tends to depict more labors in his ice scenes. For van Everdingen's drawings, see Alice I. Davies, *The Drawings of Allart van Everdingen: A Complete Catalogue, Including the Studies of Reynard the Fox* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 2007).

[492] Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 68-69.

[493] Alison McNeil Kettering highlights the rarities of many labors in Dutch art. Alison McNeil Kettering, "Men at Work in Dutch Art, or Keeping One's Nose to the Grindstone," *Art Bulletin* 89 (2007), 694-714. Wayne Franits notes that there are hardly any depictions of dock workers produced by a society with a strong maritime-related economy and a tradition of creating pictures of ships. Wayne Franits, *Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting: Its Stylistic and Thematic Evolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004) as well as Ronni Baer, *Class Distinctions: Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2016), 210. In note 3 on page 300, Baer notices that a painting depicting the Amsterdam town hall under construction shows

many of these tasks reflect relaxation and leisure, especially the preparation for a fireside feast like those in the Labors of the Months and the literary tradition of the *Georgics*. Dutch artists populated their winter scenes with men and women cutting, collecting, and transporting wood and occasionally reeds for the flames so that they can sit around the fire.[494] Fishermen can also be seen hacking holes in the ice and spearing eels, as we see in the foreground of winter scenes by Aert van der Neer now in the Rijksmuseum and the Museum Bredius (Figures 5.2 and 5.3). Other winter scenes, such as our examples by Hendrick Avercamp (Figure 5.4) and Wouwerman, illustrate fishermen riding sleds or walking on the ice. Even when no fishermen are depicted, they announce their presence through the baskets, boxes, and holes they leave on the ice.[495] As we have seen, hunting is another typical labor in winter scenes which both recalls the seasonal feast and has a precedence in classical literature. In Chapter 6, I will identify the labors associated with the celebratory act of bringing alcoholic beverages to the winter revelers, which

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nobody engaged with the act of building. Pieter Roelofs observed that Dutch art generally shows pleasures as opposed to agricultural work. Pieter Roelofs, "The Paintings: The Dutch on the Ice," in *Hendrick Avercamp: Master of the Ice Scene*, ed. Pieter Roelofs (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2009), 54.

[494] Aert van der Neer especially depicted reed cutters.

[495] Many times the fishermen are depicted catching eels. Hondius identifies the eel as a "winter fish." "*Daer by langt noch mijnen Brouwer/Een soo Palinck winter vis,/Die haer slijm heeft in den houwer./Vyt geschoten, vet en fris*." Hondius, *De Moufe-Schans*, 236. Eels and fish have been associated with eroticism and folly. D. Bax associates pleasure and Carnival with eels and fish. He notes that the Dutch word for eel (*aal*) is a homonym for "ale." Bax also writes of the potential of fish to be read as emblematic of revelry and phallic symbols. Fish also hold a peculiar association with February. It was a tradition to dine on herring and white beans in Lent and most of the month falls under the zodiacal sign of Pisces. D. Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch: His Picture-Writing Deciphered*, trans. M. A. Bax-Botha (Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema, 1979), 73, 92, 132, and 217-218. Emblem books also feature eels with themes of folly. Guillaume de la Perrière associates them with the treachery of women; Mathias Holtzwart with slippery, loose speaking; and Jacobus à Bruck with useless stinginess. For eels in emblem books, see Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967), 707-711. Eddy de Jongh notes that the phrase "she has eaten eel" was used to describe a pregnant woman. For this phrase and the phallic association with eels, see de Jongh, "The Symbolism of Fish, Fisherman, Fishing Gear and the Catch" in *Fish: Still Lifes by Dutch and Flemish Masters 1550-1700*, ed. Liesbeth M. Helmus (Utrecht: Centraal Museum, 2004), 112. This essay details the meanings assigned to fish and fishing, including many erotic and romantic connotations. Martin Royalton-Kisch wonders if the eel-fishermen on the ice in Adriaen van de Venne's album in the British Museum illustrate an erotic joke. Martin Royalton-Kisch, *Adriaen van de Venne's Album in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum Publications, 1988), 322-323.

completes the feast along with the fire and food.[496] Many winter scenes also depict people tending to horses and readying sleighs for leisurely rides. While Isaac van Ostade, Salomon van Ruysdael, and Wouwerman focused on horses at work, Nicolaes Molenaer and Thomas Heeremans commonly illustrated people tending to horses in their winter scenes. While the labors represented in the winter scene are critical for survival or alleviating seasonal discomforts, they also recall recreation and pleasure.[497]

Winter Festivals

Winter in the seventeenth century was not only colored by perils and hardships, as the season's many festivals also lent it jovial associations. Like a festival, the winter scene presents a day in which the difficulties and mundane are selectively removed in favor of pleasures. While holidays and celebrations were found throughout the calendar, winter contained a larger concentration of them—every winter month had at least one widely celebrated holiday—and they were among the most popular.[498] In his defense of winter, Hugo Grotius declared that, "cheerful festivals only occur in December; that is the month for Saturnalia/Carnival reveling."[499] In addition to linking winter with its holidays, Grotius recounted how Roman

[496] Isaac van Ostade especially centered his winter scenes around men unloading barrel from a sled to deliver to a tavern.

[497] The other labors that are frequently employed in the winter scene are the occasional vendor and possibly watching over children. Avercamp depicted a wider range of labors, including a knife grinder sharpening a pair of skates in a painting now in St. Louis, but he seems to be the exception.

[498] *Koud tot op het Bot* dedicates an entire chapter to the holidays that occur in winter. Van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot*, 49-51. Pleij identified the Dutch celebrations from St. Martin's Day in November to Easter in the spring; including St. Nicholas' Day, Christmas, and an observance of the Massacre of the Innocents (*Onnozelekinderendag*) in December, New Year's Day and Twelfth Night/Epiphany in January, and *Maria Lichtmis*, Shrovetide, and the occasional *Schrikkeldag* on leap years in February. Herman Pleij, "Van Vastelavond tot Carnaval," in *Vastenavond-Carnaval: Feesten van de Omgekeerde Wereld*, ed. Charles de Mooij (Zwolle: Waanders, 1992), 13.

[499] I used Dr. B. L. Meulenbroek's Dutch translation "*Dit leren ons de besluiten van de ouden, kijk er de kalender maar op na; als u er de tijd voor hebt, kunt ge van de kalender wijzer worden. Vrolijke feesten passen alleen bij december; dat is ook de maand van de carnavalsgrollen.*" Grotius' Latin reads, "*Hæc veterum nos scita docent, tu consule fastos:/Si vacat, e festis cretior esse potes./Conveniunt soli genialia festa Decembri:/Saturnalitios possidet*

wintertime festivals brought people together, essentially functioning as the ice in the winter scene. A seventeenth-century beholder associated winter with its festivals as indicated by print series of the months that represent January and February with Twelfth Night and Shrovetide revelry.[500] The excuse to eat and drink in abundance in winter was not without scientific merit. In an influential encyclopedia published in 1485, Bartholomeus Anglicus states that cold weather closes the pores on the body, requiring one to eat and drink more.[501] This sentiment was also present in popular literature. In the Spanish novel *Noches de Invierno* ("Winter Nights"), Silvio, Albanio, and Leonardo discuss how people are healthier in the winter than in the summer because they eat more.[502] In the seventeenth century, Jacob van der Does' "*'s Graven-Hage*," a poem extolling The Hague printed in 1668, describes winter with happy feasts and the celebratory cuisine of pancakes and waffles.[503] This celebratory attitude at least partially explains many details characteristic of the iconography of the winter scene.

I am not suggesting that winter in the Dutch Republic was in fact a constant state of drunken bliss and full stomachs; rather, the Dutch were conscious that most of their favorite festivals and holidays occurred in winter. Opportunities to neglect work, eat sweets, and drink with one's neighbors without judgment occurred throughout winter and to a much larger degree

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ille jocos." *De Dichtwerken van Hugo Grotius: Oorspronkelijke Dichtwerken, Tweede Deel, Pars 2*, trans. Dr. B. L. Meulenbroek (Assen: Van Gorcum, & Comp., 1977), 90-91. Even in the Middle Ages, a French production of the battle between summer and winter presented winter as "*Prince Taste-Vin*," a monarch associated with feasting and drinking. For the reference, see Pleij, *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511*, 49.

[500] The exhibition catalogue *Vastenavond-Carnaval: Feesten van de Omgekeerde Wereld* proposes this and includes a section of such prints of January and February dating from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. See pages 78 for the introduction and 80-84 for the entries on the prints.

[501] For the reference, see Pleij, *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511*, 227. Thomas van Noot also encouraged eating and drinking during winter. For Late Medieval justifications for feasting in winter, see ibid., 227-231.

[502] Leonardo surmises that this is because people are exposed more to the cold and wet moon than to the sun in winter as he cites temperatures and the four humors to explain why the causes of hunger are more potent in winter. Antonio de Eslava, *Noches de Invierno* (Madrid: Editorial Saeta, 1942), 189-191.

[503] Jacob van der Does, *'s Graven-Hage met de Voornaemste Plaetsen en Vermaecklijckheden* (The Hague: Johannes Tongerloo, 1668), 58.

than other seasons. Moreover, as the yearly calendar was peppered with regional civic holidays, they frequently further increased the number of winter celebrations. Kermises were celebrated on ice.[504] With at least one significant festival every winter month, beholders brought a celebratory attitude towards the season. It was this pleasant association with the season that the winter scene emphasizes to appeal to its potential audience.

Many winter holidays embraced themes of the world-turned-upside down and social inversions. While Twelfth Night and Carnival were the most popular festivals and form the closest match with the winter scene, other winter holidays deserve our attention. About a month after winter ceremonially began on St. Martin's Day on November 11,[505] the Feast of St. Nicholas was observed when well-behaved children woke up on the morning of December 6 to find gifts left in their shoes by St. Nicholas.[506] Mary Frances Durantini noted that the Feast of St. Nicholas is the only Dutch holiday designated for children.[507] Just like the autonomy granted to children in the winter scene, the Feast of St. Nicholas playfully challenged the social order. Additionally, while the Christmas period claimed a number of holidays for Christians to rejoice in the birth of the Savior, the festive tone was intensified by a few secular holidays. Even though the idea of starting the year in the spring was common in early modern Europe, the Dutch observed New Years with special wafers known as *Nieuwjaarskoeken* on January 1st.[508]

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[504] Meijerman dedicates an entire section to kermises on the ice in *Hollandse Winters*, 105-111.

[505] Van Straaten identifies St. Martin's Day as the ceremonial beginning of winter. Van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot*, 49. St. Martin's Day marked the cattle being brought into barns for the season and the preparation of meat for the grueling months ahead. Six begins "The Amsterdammers' Winter" with accounts of the cattle market and butcher activity in the "slaughter month (*slachmaand*)" of November. Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 20-23.

[506] If a child misbehaved, then he or she would suffer the disappointment of receiving dry birch.

[507] Mary Frances Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 80. She even relegates the role of the adult below that of the child.

[508] Peter G. Rose, "Dutch Foodways: An American Connection," in *Matter of Taste: Food and Drink in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art and Life* (Albany and Syracuse: Albany Institute of History and Art and Syracuse University Press, 2002), 24. The wealthy exchanged New Years gifts on January 1 in the Late Middle Ages. For New Years presents in the Valois court, see Brigitte Buettner, "Past Presents: New Years Gifts at the Valois Courts, ca. 1400," *Art Bulletin* 83 (2001): 598-625. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Spenser acknowledged his mistake of

Koppermaandag was also observed on the first Monday after Epiphany, where lepers and disabled beggars became the center of attention when they were put on parade in an effort to inspire acts of charity.[509] However, the two most popular winter holidays were Twelfth Night and Shrovetide. Both of these festivals were the subjects of types of images in the Netherlands that were characterized by social inversions.[510]

Twelfth Night

On January 6, twelve days after Christmas, many people in the Netherlands observed Epiphany and the Eve of Epiphany, or Twelfth Night, called *Driekoningenfeest* ("The Feast of the Three Kings").[511] Even though Protestant authorities attempted to remove or to downplay the holiday marking the three Magi's visit to Bethlehem, it was too popular to eradicate.[512] Epiphany was celebrated with a feast characterized by heavy eating and drinking with family members, as recorded in the boisterous paintings by Jan Steen, Jacob Jordaens, and others (Figures 5.5, 5.6, 5.7, and 5.8). While a few depictions of Twelfth Night survive from the

beginning the year in January in the *Shepheardes Calendar* since, "it is wel known, and stoutely mainteyned with stronge reasons of the learned, that the yeare beginneth in March," the season coinciding with spring and the end of the sun's annual course across the sky. Spenser, *Shepheardes* Calendar, III.

[509] Martin Royalton-Kisch, "The King's Crown: a Popular Print for Epiphany," *Print Quarterly* 1 (1984): 45.

[510] Representations of the Feast of St. Nicholas were also produced, as evidenced by two paintings by Jan Steen.

[511] For Netherlandish celebrations of Twelfth Night, see Royalton-Kisch, "The King's Crown," 43-46; Anke A. van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 22 (1993-1994), 65-96; and Anke A. van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "King's Letter Prints and Paper Crowns," *Print Quarterly* 24 (2007): 380-399.

[512] Calvinist preachers' scathing criticisms of the excesses and lingering Catholicism celebrated on January 6 as well as the defenses of Twelfth Night indicate the holiday's popularity in the seventeenth century. For efforts to eradicate Twelfth Night and critiques of the celebrations, see van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art," 92-95. Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven even describes Twelfth Night being celebrated by Willem Barentsz's and Jacob van Heemskerck's expedition to Nova Zembla in the winter of 1596-1597. Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "King's Letter Prints and Paper Crowns," 384.

Middle Ages and Renaissance, images of revelers of the January holiday became an established pictorial subject in the seventeenth century.[513]

In addition to the gastronomic excesses, Twelfth Night featured one of the revelers becoming "king" for the evening. The king is recognizable in paintings by Steen and Jordaens by the crown that he wears on his head.[514] These crowns appear elsewhere in Dutch art in representations of January and February, underscoring how Twelfth Night revelry was associated with winter months. In addition to the crown, the king is also identified in Twelfth Night paintings as he is the only one in the act of drinking. This references the control over drinking and discipline that the head of the party wielded over those around him. Whenever the king took a sip from his cup, everyone in attendance was required to exclaim "The king drinks!" and drink themselves. Failure to do so would result the "fool" smearing ashes over the offender's face.[515]

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[513] Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven identified 87 paintings of Twelfth Night. Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "King's Letter Prints and Paper Crowns," 381. The subject was also depicted in the eighteenth century by artists such as Cornelis Troost and Matthijs Naiveu. For Twelfth Night in Netherlandish art, see van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art." Obscenities and excesses were not out of place for religious observances, as suggested by Guillaume du Bartas' *La Sepmaine ou Creation du Monde*, where he chastises those who turn days to honor God into "orgies" and "*folles Saturnalles*." Guillaume du Bartas*, La Sepmaine ou Creation du Monde*, ed. Victor Bol (Arles: Actes Sud, 1988), 190-191. Local government ordinances, the Spanish Captain Alonso Vázquez, and religious figures ranging from Calvinist preachers to Catholic monks all recall the excessive eating and drinking that occurred on Twelfth Night. For these sources, see van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "King's Letter Prints and Paper Crowns." Durantini believes that Jan Steen's depictions of Twelfth Night stress coming together as a family as a response to the festival's critics. Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting*, 77-78.

[514] While a few families owned metal crowns, paper ones could be purchased from peddlers who went door-to-door selling the crowns and king's letters. The crowns were usually decorated with images of St. Joseph, the Three Kings, and a central Virgin and Child. Royalton-Kisch writes about the only surviving paper crown from the seventeenth century in "The King's Crown." For the crowns and their sellers, see ibid., 43-46; Amy Orrock, "Play Time: Picturing Seasonal Games in the Sixteenth Century," in *Spiritual Temporalities in Late-Medieval Europe*, ed. Michael Foster (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 182; and van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "King's Letter Prints and Paper Crowns," 399. While it seems probable that the "king" is connected with the Three Kings, van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven believes that the king represents Herod, who stayed in his castle instead of visiting the Christ Child–much like the king stays home at the celebration. Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art," 65-68. Donna R. Barnes, on the other hand, connects the child made king for the evening in Steen's *Twelfth Night* in Boston with the Christ Child, citing Steen's Catholic faith. Donna R. Barnes and Peter G. Rose, *Matter of Taste*, 130. Either the celebration of a wicked king or a child king suggests paradox and social inversion.

[515] One king's letter claims that if an individual does not say the words when the king begins to drink, then the fool will blacken the offender's face with what they find inside the pot. "*Wilt op't woord des Konninks drinken/Want,*

This moment when the king lifts his cup to his lips and his mock court reacts with rowdy anticipation is portrayed in the paintings by Steen and Jordaens. A key feature of the Twelfth Night king was that the selection of the part was random. A lottery, rolling dice, drawing cards, or more typically, receiving the piece of cake with a bean or coin baked inside were used to determine the mock monarch. Thus anyone seated at the table had an equal chance of becoming the king, potentially resulting in the social inversion of having to take orders from someone of a lower social standing. Steen reminds us of this in a couple of his Twelfth Night paintings where a very young child wears the crown, as in his paintings now in Boston and Kassel where the king is so young that an adult has to help lift the glass to the its tiny mouth (Figures 5.5 and 5.6).[516] Much like St. Nicholas' Day, the idea of a child dictating the family's celebration and drinking practices underscores the social inversions of the winter festival.

Excessive eating and drinking and the possibility of taking orders from a child or servant were not the only social inversions made permissible by Twelfth Night.[517] Many of the roles assigned to those in the king's mock court also reflect such inversions. These tasks are identified on "king's letters (*koningsbrieven* or *billets du roi*)," slips of paper that contained images and rhymes describing their recipient's role for the evening.[518] Surviving king's letters indicate that

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die mist op zyn gebad/Zal ik wel zoo zwart doen blinken/Als het gat van dezen pot—Quand le roi commence à boire/Si quelqu'un ne disait mot;/Sa face serait plus noire/Que le cul de notre pot." Royalton-Kisch, "The King's Crown," 51.

[516] Royalton-Kisch noticed the toddler king in Kassel who needs help drinking and argued this was a more accurate indication of the randomness of selecting the king than the paintings of Jordaens, in which the crown is always placed on the head of the oldest man at the table. Royalton-Kisch, "The King's Crown," 46.

[517] As van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven summarizes, "Several elements of Twelfth-Night paintings show 'the world upside down:' the children have their own way (one of them is often the Twelfth-Night king), parents are no longer in charge, servants share the table with their masters, and the doctor vomits, seemingly representing the patient instead of the healer. The abundance displayed in the pictures may have been a call up for restrictions on 'normal' days." Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art," 91. Durantini also notes that Twelfth Night offered the Dutch a release "from the norms of socially permissible behavior." Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting*, 80.

[518] For king's letters, see van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "King's Letter Prints and Paper Crowns."

the fool was tasked with keeping order.[519] They also reference the excesses occurring around the table and encourage questionable behavior. The oldest surviving Dutch king's letter set states about the female pourer, "When I draw or pour I drink along as well/Because a tight woman is an angel in Bed."[520] Such social inversions also characterize visual depictions of Twelfth Night. Jordaens' Twelfth Night painting from 1665 features a doctor vomiting from excessive drinking; the doctor is the one in need of medical assistance (Figures 5.8).[521] As suggested by the female pourer's king's letter, Twelfth Night permitted sexual liberties. In the same painting by Jordaens, a lustful fool grabs the nearest woman. While men grabbing women's breasts and other erotic motifs are not unique to scenes of Twelfth Night, it is remarkable that such scenes are set in the familiar household celebrating an annual holiday as opposed to barracks, brothels, and the fictional pastoral countryside. Excessive drinking and groping are not the only crude acts performed by the painted carousers. Jordaens' 1639 version of the theme, now in the Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunst in Brussels (Figure 5.7), illustrates a woman wiping a child's bare bottom and a man throwing up into the beholder's space. These two details are placed against the picture plane at either end of the composition, essentially framing the scene.[522] Even the traditional Twelfth Night foods of pancakes and waffles, which are prominently placed on Steen's and Jordaens' tables, suggest a lifestyle typically criticized but celebrated in this festive setting. Some people in the early modern Netherlands dismissed these baked goods as

[519] Royalton-Kisch, "The King's Crown," 51.
[520] Translated by van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven from "*Als ick tap of schenck drink ic ooc altemet/Want een droncken wijf is een Engel opt bet*." This set was printed by Harmen Jansz. Muller in Amsterdam in 1577. Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "King's Letter Prints and Paper Crowns," 387-389.
[521] As noted by van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven. She also finds inversions in the painting from women performing tasks typically associated with men. Ibid., 385.
[522] These two details were considered so crude that when the museum first acquired the painting, the bare bottom and spit were both covered over. Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art," 81.

"stomach betrayal (*buyck-verraet*)" lacking nutritional value and only suitable for children.[523] As the word "pancake" was used to indicate laziness, Anke A. van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven claims that the creators of Twelfth Night scenes were eager to highlight that work comes to a standstill so pleasure can take center stage during the feast.[524] As we shall later see, pancakes and waffles became emblematic of winter as they were included in allegories of the season. Like van der Does in the frosty Hague, Six describes the waffles and pancakes in his account of winter in Amsterdam.[525] Yet these illustrations of Twelfth Night find one of their strongest connections with the winter scene in their depiction of all ages and socio-economic levels united in festive leisure.[526] Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven links the process of selecting the "king" with the ancient Roman practice of selecting a *basileus rex* during banquets such as Saturnalia. In late December, the Romans recalled the equality among humanity that characterized Saturn's period on earth by having servants sit next to their masters at the banquet table. Masters would even become the servers in a role reversal.[527] The similarities between the Roman festival of social inversions and their own winter holidays were not lost on the educated Dutch. In 1630 Petrus Scriverius compared Shrovetide with Saturnalia in *Saturnalia ofte poëtisch Vasten-Avondspel*.[528]

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[523] Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven cites Peeter Croon's 1663 *Cocus bonus ofte geestelijcke sinne-beelden*. For the association of pancakes and waffles with uselessness and laziness, see Ibid., 80.

[524] Ibid. On page 89, she proposes that the bagpipes pictured in a number of paintings of Twelfth Night could also represent the laziness and idle time of the festival.

[525] Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 65.

[526] Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven stresses the potential for class integration during Twelfth Night, pointing to servants sharing the table with the family that employs them in Jan Steen's painting in Boston. Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art," 85. On page 91, she specifies that it is not only those of different economic classes, but also ages that mix. It is also worth noting that the pancake enjoyed during winter festivals was enjoyed by all levels of society due to its easily accessible ingredients, as noted by food historian Peter G. Rose. Barnes and Rose, *Matter of Taste*, 128.

[527] Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art," 76.

[528] The similarities between Carnival and Saturnalia are also noted in Timothy Hyman, "A Carnival Sense of the World," in *Carnivalesque* (London: Hayward Gallery Publishing, 2000), 9.

Carnival

Even more than Twelfth Night, Carnival celebrated social inversions. Coinciding with Shrovetide and the beginning of Lent, Carnival was observed in February, but it could also be celebrated in January.[529] The festival involved feasting, drinking, performances, and antics as folly was not only accepted, but encouraged in the world turned upside down. A major feature of this folly were publically flaunted social inversions. Rules and social standards were relaxed as men dressed as women and city dwellers as peasants.[530] Carnival also made aggressive acts permissible, usually sanitized as rituals. Yet Carnival was not something to be dreaded, as humor ruled the day. It served as a temporary relaxation of social order and as a social equalizer as people all across society bowed down to the fool.

In the twentieth century, the literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin's ideas on Carnival influenced subsequent scholarship. The Soviet writer considered dual official and unofficial worlds coexisting in Renaissance Europe. Carnival belonged to the unofficial 'second life' of the people as it embraced folk culture and humor in a sphere beyond the church and legal authorities of the official world. Carnival was characterized by a temporary suspension of hierarchy and other social standards. Bakhtin stressed renewal—especially through vulgar bodily functions such as

[529] Orrock, "Play Time," 174; Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 185-186; and M. A. Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia: A Study in the Commedia dell'Arte 1560-1620 with Special Reference to the Visual Records* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2006), 69. The feast day of St. Anthony Abbot occurs on January 17. Bax, who considers Hieronymus Bosch's triptych of *The Temptation of St. Anthony* in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon to be a scathing critique of Carnival revelry, strengthens his argument by pointing out that the abbot saint's feast day falls in the middle of the excesses of Carnival. Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 18 and 21. For Carnival in the Netherlands, see Pleij, "Van Vastelavond tot Carnaval," especially pages 10-11. For specifically winter pleasures and displays in Carnival, see Meijerman, *Hollandse Winters*, 115.

[530] Male pregnancy was a common theme in Carnival. See Samuel Kinser, *Rabelais's Carnival: Text, Context, Metatext* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1990), 85. For peasant characters in urban Carnivals, see Joseph Leo Koerner, *Bosch and Bruegel: From Enemy Painting to Everyday Life* (Princeton and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 15 and the sources that he sites. In Nuremberg, artisans, apprentices, and servants were legally permitted to dance only on the last three days of Carnival. Alessandro Arcangeli, *Recreation in the Renaissance: Attitudes towards Leisure and Pastimes in European Culture, c. 1425-1675* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 93.

eating, drinking, sexual intercourse, defecation, and urination—as a feature of Carnival. Even though Bakhtin believed Carnival to be toned down into a mere "holiday mood" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he claimed that the carnivalesque is an indestructible spirit that lived on in literature, particularly through grotesque realism.[531]

While the winter scene embraces the carnivalesque spirit, it does so more as a Horatian and cosmological response to an inhospitable seasonal climate than Bakhtin's release of unofficial folk culture. The mild presentations of crude or morally questionable acts in the winter scene are a far cry from Bakhtin's grotesque realism. Yet a number of the features of Bakhtin's Carnival are present in the winter scene. These images depict a temporary release from social standards. Bakhtin's crude "lower body stratum" that characterized Carnival behaviors are a major source for the carnivalesque in the winter scene.[532] In the following chapter, I will detail the reoccurring motifs of alcohol consumption, eroticism, and sensual elements found both in the winter scene and in contemporary literature on ice pleasures.

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[531] For Bakhtin's ideas on Carnival, see Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, MA: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1968) and Mikhail Bakhtin, "Characteristics of Genre and Plot Composition in Dostoevsky's Work," in *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, trans. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 101-180. For responses to Bakhtin's notion of Carnival, see Kinser, *Rabelais's Carnival*; Hyman, "A Carnival Sense of the World," 14-17; Roger Malbert, "Exaggeration and Degradation: Grotesque Humour in Contemporary Art," in *Carnivalesque* (London: Hayward Gallery Publishing, 2000), 75-76 (and a counterview by Umberto Eco); Charles Platter, *Aristophanes and the Carnival of Genres* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); and Alastair Renfrew, *Mikhail Bakhtin* (New York: Routledge, 2015). Hyman and Malbert considered Bakhtin's ideas on Carnival in the context of art in their 2000 exhibition *Carnivalesque*. The "List of Works" in the catalogue organizes the pieces by what Hyman identified as Bakhtin's four themes of "The Tumultuous Crowd," "The World Turned Upside-Down," "The Comic Mask," and "The Grotesque Body." Hyman and Malbert, *Carnivalesque*, 103-107.

[532] Herman Pleij describes the sexual and the scatological as aspects of the world turned upside down in his study on urban and rural cultures in the Late Middle Ages. See Pleij, *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511*. Van Suchtelen connects the motif of excrement in the winter scene to Shrovetide. Van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 46-49. To underscore the connections between Carnival and winter, public displays such as mock tournaments where lower social classes behaved as higher classes were occasionally waged on the ice. Sometimes men and women partook in such performances nude. Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel*, 129-130 and Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 227. To underscore the permissible crude misbehavior of Carnival, Larry Silver identifies the notorious taverns of Antwerp as the ideal settings for the vices of Carnival in Bruegel's *Battle Between Carnival and Lent*. Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 21.

Urination and defecation are also commonly included in the winter scene, as recalled by Avercamp's boy urinating and Wouwerman's man defecating against *koek-en-zopie* tents, while they are absent from most other genres of Dutch art with the exception of grotesque peasant tavern scenes. Bakhtin's Carnival is universal as everyone is an active participant in the release from hierarchical structures. He writes, "All distance between people is suspended, and a special carnival category goes into effect: free and familiar contact among people."[533] A major theme of the winter scene is the power of the ice to unite all ages and social classes in leisure. Just as the Russian writer stressed that Carnival is a public ritual, winter pleasures are performed in the public eye, as suggested by the spectators portrayed in winter scenes and described in the contemporary literature. When identifying the carnivalesque aspects of Fyodor Dostoevsky's work, Bakhtin highlights threshold as a setting. Similarly, the winter scene locates people on a threshold of a frozen canal as they stand on a temporarily solidified liquid.

Another discussion of Carnival in early modern Europe is that of Natalie Zemon Davis, who, while primarily using sixteenth-century French sources, argued that Carnival and other public festivals promoted community values and offered the opportunity to voice political critiques.[534] She claims that the public rituals provided by "Abbeys of Misrule" functioned within society's rules and standards, even reinforcing them. Like Bakhtin, she stresses the communal nature of Carnival as she investigated the grittier details of everyday village life. But

[533] Bakhtin, "Characteristics of Genre and Plot Composition in Dostoevsky's Work," 123. Later he writes, "Carnival is past millennia's way of sensing the world as one great communal performance. This sense of the world, liberating one from fear, bringing the world maximally close to another (everything is drawn into the zone of free familiar contact), with its joy at change and its joyful relativity, is opposed to that one-sided and gloomy official seriousness which is dogmatic and hostile to evolution and change, which seeks to absolutize a given condition of existence or a given social order. From precisely that sort of seriousness did the carnival sense of the world liberate man." Ibid., 160.

[534] Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Reasons of Misrule," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 97-123.

her essay reveals that most women and large groups of men were excluded from such *charivari*, contrasting with the communal and universal Netherlandish ideas of Carnival and folly. In *Popular Culture of Early Modern Europe*, Peter Burke characterizes Carnival and similar festivals as periods of wastefulness; a conscious rejection of the attitude that underscores everyday life. This hedonistic attitude is reflected in Burke's three major themes of Carnival; food, sex, and violence. Even though spring and summer also contained carnivalesque festivals, Burke presents such eating and drinking as unique to Shrovetide.[535] Carnival had specific associations with winter. Not only are Carnival revelers depicted in representations of winter and its months, but winter was also a common character in Carnival productions.[536]

A public display of folly was central to the social inversions of Carnival. As everyone is prone to folly, the Dutch considered it a social equalizer, just as Bakhtin's notion of Carnival and the frozen canal of a winter scene. The unifying nature of folly is stressed in her most famous appearance in Dutch literature, her defense in Desiderius Erasmus' *The Praise of Folly*. Through the pen of the humanist, Folly states that, "I and I alone pour forth joy into the hearts of gods and men alike" and "I, folly, am the only one who embraces everyone equally with such ready and easy generosity."[537] While Erasmus simultaneously presents Folly with positive and negative

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[535] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: New York University Press, 1978), 178. For Burke on Carnival, see ibid., 25-27 and 182-195. Burke also compares Carnival to a theatrical production with the line between actor and spectator blurred, just as Bakhtin stresses the participatory nature of Carnival. Burke mentions how in some parts of Europe, the tragedy of the Massacre of the Innocents was transformed into the Feast of Fools on December 28. Children occupied positions of power in this festival of inversions.

[536] Even though many of them feature horrible winter being driven away. See Pleij, "Van Vastelavond tot Carnaval," 29 and 36. To underscore the connections between Carnival and winter festivals of social inversions, writers in Northern Europe portrayed Carnival as a Christian Saturnalia. Ibid., 32.

[537] Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, trans. Clarence H. Miller (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), 9 and 74. Other Netherlandish authors in the Middle Ages and sixteenth century employ folly as a social equalizer. Their poems call attention to abuses and misdeeds in all levels of society to underscore the need for the smooth cooperation of humanity to fulfill God's vision. For Netherlandish literature on folly, see Keith P. F. Moxey, "The Ship of Fools and the Idea of Folly in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Literature," in *The Early Illustrated Book: Essays in Honor of Lessing J. Rosenwald*, ed. Sandra Hindman (Washington: Library of Congress, 1982), 86-102.

aspects, she represents pleasure as she assumes a celebratory tone.[538] Erasmus was not the only Netherlandish author to adopt a sympathetic outlook towards folly. Keith P. F. Moxey argues that Netherlandish writers took a playful approach to folly as they treat it in ambiguous ways. On one hand, folly includes sinful transgressions. But it could also be embraced, as in the permissible silliness of Carnival, to benefit humanity with its social release.[539] Like Carnival, the ice in a winter scene offers a permissible and even necessary arena for foolish and immoral behaviors for all types of people. In addition to being most at home in a festive environment, Folly is also comfortable with Erasmus' countrymen. She describes the Dutch; "why shouldn't I call them mine, since they promote my cult so eagerly…And so far are they from being ashamed of the label 'foolish' that they boast of it as one of their chief claims to fame."[540] With Erasmus, folly becomes a festive trait peculiar to the Dutch, much like the winter scene.

Biblical Winter Scenes

Not all winter festivities needed to embrace folly. The idea of winter as a celebratory period also received ecclesiastical support as the season associated with the birth and infancy of Christ as Christmas and Epiphany were observed in the December and January frost.[541] The

[538] Her birthplace of the Isle of the Blest lacks labor and everyday foods, see Clarence H. Miller's commentary in Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, 16. Thus it can be assumed that folly was born in a land of feasts and the treats enjoyed on holidays. For the dual positive and negative aspects of Folly which paradoxically makes her a more effective teacher than wisdom, see Rosalie Colie, *Paradoxia Epidemica: The Renaissance Tradition of Paradox* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 15-21.

[539] Keith P. F. Moxey cited *The Praise of Folly* as an example of the paradoxical nature of Dutch notions of folly as Erasmus' speaker is aware of the social benefits that she provides. He also differentiated Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools* from Netherlandish literature on folly as the German book takes a sober and critical outlook on humanity and its sinful nature. Works in Dutch present folly in a much lighter, more playful, and more ambiguous manner. Moxey, "The Ship of Fools and the Idea of Folly in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Literature," 86-102.

[540] Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, 23.

[541] In the *Shepheardes Calendar*, Spenser justifies his miscalculation of starting the year in January by citing that Christ's birth, which renewed the world, occurred in winter. Spenser, *Shepheardes* Calendar, III-IV. Christ's birth and winter were also connected in D. V. Coornhert's poem on the life, Passion, and resurrection of Christ from around 1575, where the Dutch poet stresses that Jesus was born on "a winter night (*een wintersche nachte*)."

term "*Een Kerstnacht* (A Christmas Night)" is commonly used to label paintings in early seventeenth-century Flemish inventories. This reference to the winter holiday most likely describes Nativity scenes, Annunciations to the Shepherds, and Adorations of the Shepherds. The idea of winter as the season of Christ's birth is further strengthened by the work of Pieter Bruegel the Elder. His *The Numbering at Bethlehem* (Figure 5.9), *The Massacre of the Innocents* (Figure 5.10), and *The Adoration of the Magi in the Snowfall* (Figure 5.11) reimagine the Holy Land as a snowy Netherlandish village. The Virgin and St. Joseph must pass by skaters, kolfers, and children pushing each other on a stool-turned-sled as they enter Bethlehem.[542] The popularity these paintings lasted into the seventeenth century. Bruegel's son, Pieter the Younger, made a career of producing copies of his father's work, including his wintery biblical scenes.[543] Despite the fact that many of his father's paintings were privately owned and thus difficult for most people to see, the younger Pieter and his shop painted 13 known copies of *Numbering at Bethlehem*,[544] 36 copies of the *Adoration of the Magi in the Snow*,[545] and over 120 copies of *Winter Landscape with a Bird Trap*,[546] which indicates that Bruegel's winter paintings were not

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However, this connection reflects negatively on winter, as Coornhert presents the Savior as a sun warming humanity in the "dark and very angry world (*De werld was doncker en zeer boos*)," juxtaposing Christ's light and warmth with the "cold winter without love (*Twas winter koud en liefdeloos*)." D. V. Coornhert, *Lied-Boeck* (Amsterdam: Hermen Janszoon, ca. 1575), folio A2r.

[542] The *Numbering at Bethlehem* also includes the pig slaughter, the activity associated with November or December in Labors of the Months. This establishes the setting as early winter, consistent with the December observance of Christ's birth. There is a watercolor *Adoration of the Magi* that Manfred Sellink lists as a problematic attribution in his monograph that, while not explicitly set in winter, depicts a barren brown landscape and bare trees indicative of the season. For the *Adoration of the Magi*, see Manfred Sellink, *Bruegel: The Complete Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Antwerp: Ludion, 2007), 270.

[543] Even in a few copies of *Winter Landscape with a Bird Trap*, Pieter Brueghel the Younger inserts the Holy Family en route to Egypt, thus furthering the connection between winter and the birth of Christ. For these copies, see Peter van den Brink, *Brueghel Enterprises*, (Maastricht: Bonnefantenmuseum and Antwerp: Ludion, 2001), 161.

[544] There are also records of *Numbering at Bethlehem* paintings of which we can no longer locate. Christina Curry, "Demystifying the Process: Pieter Brueghel the Younger's *The Census at Bethlehem*: A Technical Study," in *Brueghel Enterprises*, 81, 84, and 109. The three dated copies were all produced in the seventeenth century (1604, 1607, and 1610).

[545] Klaus Ertz only attributes 24 of them to Pieter Brueghel's hand. Van den Brink, *Brueghel Enterprises*, 149.

[546] Ertz drastically reduced the total to 45 originals to Pieter Brueghel the Younger, which is still a sizeable number, especially when his 51 doubtful attributions (leaving only 31 ruled out entirely) are factored in to the total. Peter

only well known, but in high demand. Yet not all of Bruegel's followers produced direct copies of the master's works. Hans Bol, Jacob and Abel Grimmer, and the van Valckenborch brothers created original scenes of the Holy Family in local frosty settings.[547] Such settings for the events of the birth and infancy of Christ caught the attention of Netherlandish beholders, as evidenced by a Southern Netherlandish inventory from 1604 that includes "a painting of Winter with a Massacre of the Innocents on canvas (*Een schilerye Winter ende Kinderdoodinghe op doeck*)."[548] The popularity of these illustrations underscores the close connection between local experiences of winter and the festive occasion of the birth and infancy of Christ for an early modern Netherlandish beholder.

Holidays in Visual Depictions of Winter

Netherlandish representations of winter and its months fully support the claim that annual holidays and festivals characterized Dutch associations with the season. In an *Allegory of Winter* attributed to Abraham Janssens and dated to around 1623 (Figure 5.12), January personified is depicted with waffles and a paper crown which, as Royalton-Kisch noted, indicates that a

van den Brink lists 127 known copies, while Joseph Leo Koerner mentions 128, stressing that there were more that do not survive and that artists other than Pieter Bruegel the Younger also copied the painting. Van den Brink, *Brueghel Enterprises*, 160 and Koerner, *Bosch and Bruegel*, 331. For convincing arguments that Pieter the Younger was working from drawings instead of the original paintings, see the catalogue *Brueghel Enterprises*.

[547] For a brief overview of such biblical winter scenes, see Yvette Bruijnen "Over de *Twelf Maendekens* en de *Vier Tyden 's Iaers*: *De Maanden en Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden circa 1500 tot 1750,*" in *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500- 1750*, ed. Bruijnen and Paul Huys Janssen (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002), 50-71. Jacob Grimmer painted a couple of *Flights into Egypt* now in private collections set in a Netherlandish town where the villagers enjoy the pleasures offered by a frozen canal. These paintings are illustrated in Reine de Bertier de Sauvigny, *Jacob et Abel Grimmer Catalogue Raisonné* (Waterloo: La Renaissance de Livre, 1991), 130 and 183. Abel Grimmer also painted episodes in the birth of Christ in snowy Netherlandish villages. Ibid., 42-43. Even the *Groote Schrijf Almanach* from 1617 combines the Holy Family with local scenes of winter and its pleasures. Jeroen Salman, "Populaire Verbeelding: Maanden en Seizoenen in Almanakken," in *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 85.

[548] *Antwerpse Kunstinventarissen uit de Zeventiende Eeuw*, volume 1, ed. Erik Duverger (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunst van België, 1985), 106.

seventeenth-century audience would have associated the month with Twelfth Night.[549] But the paper crown and waffles can signify other winter festivals, as Bruegel used them to represent Carnival in *The Battle Between Carnival and Lent* and *The Gloomy Day* from the Months series.[550] Carnival revelers are found in scenes of February into the eighteenth century.[551] Typically, Carnival imagery included gluttonous feasting, music making, dancing, overindulging in drink, gambling, public erotic acts, and fools (and thus the occasional bagpipe or owl). However, many representations of winter, February, and to a lesser degree January[552] reference Carnival through masked *Commedia dell'arte* characters. M. A. Katritzky connected the Italian comedic types with Netherlandish illustrations of winter in her book *The Art of Commedia: A Study in the Commedia dell'Arte 1560-1620 with Special Reference to the Visual Records*; and Sturla Jonasson Gudlaugsson showed that a seventeenth-century Dutch audience would have been familiar with the characters from the *Commedia dell'Arte*.[553] The presence of *Commedia*

[549] The current whereabouts of this painting are unknown. It was auctioned by Sotheby's in London on October 7, 1981 as lot 61. The painting is reproduced in Royalton-Kisch, "The King's Crown,"44-45 and van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "King's Letter Prints and Paper Crowns," 398.

[550] The paper crowns also appear on Bruegel's *Beggars* in the Louvre, who are depicted either during Carnival or *Koppermaandag*. Royalton-Kisch, "The King's Crown," 45. Orrock also notes these crowns' dual uses in Twelfth Night and Carnival. Orrock, "Play Time," 182. The presence of the paper crowns on the heads of a couple of children in Bruegel's *Children's Games* gives credence to Orrock's claim that the painting depicts games throughout the year. One child in a crown inflates a bladder, a game usually depicted in November but associated with the slaughter of the hog announcing the beginning of winter. Another child in a crown embraces a loaf of *duivekater*, a bread baked specifically for winter holidays. See ibid., 179-185.

[551] Such as that by Pieter Schenk from around 1700. See the entries number 139-142 in *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 202-203. Joachim von Sandrart depicted February as a cook and an array of meat and a Carnival scene in the background. This painting was spread as a print. January is presented as an old man sitting in a fur hat warming his hands before a fire before a scene of *ijsvermaak* and December is an old woman holding a candle by a vanitas still life. For *January*, see Karel Porteman, *De Maanden van het Jaar* (Wommelgem: Uitgeverij Den Gulden Engel), 72-77. For *February*, ibid., 78-83 and for *December*, 138-143.

[552] Even though Shrovetide occurred in February, Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia*, illustrates a number of scenes of January, including examples by Hans Bol, Joos de Momper, and Jan Wildens, that incorporate Carnival revelers.

[553] S. J. Gudlaugsson, *The Comedians in the Work of Jan Steen and his Contemporaries* (Soest: Davaco, 1975), particularly 10-12 for Dutch familiarity with the *Commedia dell'Arte* types. Gudlaugsson writes of *Pantalone*/*Pantaloon*, an old man character from the *Commedia dell'Arte*. While he has no overt associations with winter, Gudlaugsson finds him in both Carnival scenes and van de Venne's illustrations for Jacob Cats. Ibid., 29. Perhaps the character most similar to traditional personifications of winter was chosen to appear during the winter festival of Carnival.

dell'Arte characters alongside the pleasures of a frozen canal in sixteenth-century Netherlandish art links the annual pleasures of Carnival with lighthearted scenes of *ijsvermaak*, underscoring the festive and celebratory nature of the winter scene.[554]

While Shrovetide is typically associated with Roman Catholicism, Carnival imagery featured in the art of the Dutch Republic with its Protestant majority. A number of brown tone paintings by Adriaen van de Venne known slightly misleadingly as grisailles connect carnivalesque details with winter.[555] The illustrations of Carnival in *Hoe Drolliger Hoe Beter* ("The More Hilarious the Better") and in another grisaille where only the word "*Bruijt*" ("Bride") can be discerned both feature trees lacking their leafs.[556] *Hoe Drolliger Hoe Beter* also

[554] Katritzky described how the "unbridled peasant celebrations" that exhibit sloth, lust, and gluttony every winter are the same themes in the Italian comedies that artists brought onto Netherlandish ice. Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia*, 121. Joos de Momper's drawings of January and February in the Rijksmuseum feature performers in Carnival masks in their backgrounds. Illustrated ibid., 455. About half of the background of Lodewyk Toeput's drawing *Allegory of January* in the Yale University Art Gallery is comprised of Carnival celebrations. Even though the buildings are rather Italianate and the Roman god Janus occupies the central location, Toeput still includes a pair engaged in the Netherlandish pastime of kolf on the ice. Illustrated ibid., 454. A gouache and watercolor *Winter Carnival* attributed to Frans Boels or Lucas van Valckenborch (current whereabouts unknown) also locates the musicians and masks of Carnival in the same scene as a frozen waterway with the familiar cast of skaters, dogs, amorous couples, sledding children, and individuals putting on their skates. It is also worth mentioning that the buildings appear more Italianate around the Carnival revelers and more Gothic and Netherlandish closer to the waterway. Illustrated in ibid., 481. A scene of *ijsvermaak* with some masked figures possibly by Denis van Alsloot was included in *Vastenavond-Carnaval: Feesten van de Omgekeerde Wereld*, 123, illustrated 125. The catalogue also includes a painting of a "Peasants Carnival" by Adriaen van de Venne which illustrates both the wealthy and peasants standing on the ice watching the procession and violence before them, combining the motif of all types of people on the same ice with Carnival. Ibid., 126, illustrated 130. The connection between Carnival and the *Commedia dell'Arte* in the context of the work of Jacques Callot is also identified in Hyman, "A Carnival Sense of the World," 39.

[555] For van de Venne's grisailles, see Annelies Plokker, *Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne (1589-1662): De Grisailles met Spreukbanden* (Leuven and Amersfoort: Acco, 1984). She records 107 such paintings, many of which now have unknown locations. While most are not dated, the 31 that are span 1621 to 1641.

[556] For *Hoe Drolliger Hoe Beter*, see ibid., 124-126. Van de Venne's other grisaille may portray the "Dirty Bride" game popular during Carnival. Plokker suggests the title "*Suijvere Vuijl Bruijt.*" For this painting, see Ibid., 78-80. Van de Venne specifically chose to depict the trees in winter as leafs appear on the trees in another version of *Hoe Drolliger Hoe Beter*. For his painting, see ibid., 132-133. Other of van de Venne's grisailles feature topsy-turvy Boschian and Bruegelian violence from characters clad in attire made from everyday objects, harkening to the themes of folly and Carnival in the work of van de Venne's celebrated forerunners. *'T Is Jammerlijck* ("It Is a Shame") presents two men engaging in combat in makeshift armor. Plokker identifies them as "Carnival celebrators (*carnivalvierders*)," which is discerned by the pan used for baking waffles that one of the men brandishes at his opponent. For this painting, see ibid., 147-148. Katritzky observes the winter trees depicted with Carnival figures, tracing the connection of Carnival revelers with winter months back to February in the Torre

includes an old bearded man wearing a hat and hunching over to warm his hands as a cat stands on his back, recalling the traditional personification of winter. Carnival continued to represent February in seventeenth-century Dutch series of the months, such as those by Herman Saftleven and Cornelis Dusart.[557] These celebrations were likely considered a highlight of winter and a cause for excitement once the temperatures dropped.

When an artist depicts Carnival separate from a series of the months, he or she typically references winter. *IJsvermaak* and Carnival activities could be portrayed together in the same image, as in the Italianate city in Louis de Caullery's *Carnival on the Ice*.[558] However, the engraved months series printed by Crispijn de Passe after Maerten de Vos provides the strongest link between popular festivals and ice activities. *January* (Figure 5.13) is represented by four revelers at a table set with a plate of waffles. These Twelfth Night revelers raise their hands and open their mouths in intoxicated exclamation as they sit around their king who authoritatively guzzles from his goblet. De Vos provides a view outside of ice skaters. Some are paired off as couples as others slip and slide around the ice while children propel themselves on *priksleeën*. As a scene of *ijsvermaak* appears alongside that of Twelfth Night, the rowdy, drunken celebration is linked with the pleasures found on a frozen canal.[559] This connection is underscored by the inscription circling the image, "Drinkers love the January carouse, [they]

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dell'Aquila in Trent. Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia*, 121 and 127. She identifies depictions of winter more generally as a subject in which artists reference Carnival. Bax also connects the dry twig with Carnival, noting its associations with February, foolishness, worthlessness, and a phallus. Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 16-17, 123, and 258-260.

[557] For Saftleven's drawing, see https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/record?filters%5Bkunstenaar%5D=Saftleven%2C+Herman&query=&start=344 . For Dusart's see *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 192-193.

[558] This work is now in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunst in Antwerp. Illustrated in Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia*, 414-415.

[559] While not illustrating *ijsvermaak*, the following print depicts February with costumed Shrove Tuesday celebrators, some of whom play dice. For *January*, see http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1558884&partId=1&people=103939&peoA=103939-2-23&page=1.

applaud the king and play on a frozen river, improving their running [skating]."[560] The trend of depicting January with Twelfth Night revelry continued into the seventeenth century, as shown by Dutch almanac illustrations.[561]

Winter, Carnival, and Illustrations of Opposites Battling

Pairs of opposites aggressively confronting each other over arguments of superiority was a common motif in Netherlandish literature and visual art. In this tradition, winter battles summer and Carnival wages war against Lent.[562] Visual representations of these conflicts reveal popular associations with Carnival and winter, allowing us to better appreciate the appeal of the winter scene. Bruegel produced one of the most well-known visual representations of *The Battle Between Carnival and Lent* in 1559 (Figure 5.14).[563] Compared to other representations of this

[560] The translation comes from van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven. "POCVLA Ianus AMO, REGI APPLUDOQVE BIBENTI ATQVE AMNEM LVSV CONCRETVM ET POLIO CVRSV." Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven also illustrates a version printed by Claes Jansz. Visscher after de Passe. Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art," 76.

[561] The moment when the court reacts to the king drinking illustrates January in the *Comptoir Almanach* from 1654 printed by Gillis Joosten Saeghman in Amsterdam and by Frans Bestijn in Leiden. Twelfth Night also represents January in almanacs dating to 1654 and 1657. For depictions of the seasons in Netherlandish almanacs, see Salman, "Populaire Verbeelding," 83-91. Skating was also associated with Shrovetide in Netherlandish art, especially by Dirk Bax in his treatment of Bosch's *The Temptation of St. Anthony* triptych now in Lisbon and a painting that he attributes to Pieter Huys as a *Temptation of St. Anthony*. Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 18, 187-188.

[562] For literature on the battle between summer and winter, see Nils Erik Enkvist, *The Seasons of the Year: Chapters on a Motif from Beowulf to the Shepherd's Calendar* (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1957), 74-76 and Pleij, *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511*, 47-50. *Een Abel Spel vanden Winter ende vanden Somer* cited earlier is one such presentation. The reconciliation between the two seasons also concludes an English dramatic production from the early sixteenth century. Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel*, 144.

[563] Scholars have connected this painting with performances at Carnival and public festivals that recounted these battles between pairs of opposites. Sandra Hindman, "Pieter Bruegel's *Children's Games*, Folly, and Chance," *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981), 454 and Walter S. Gibson, "Artists and Rederijkers in the Age of Bruegel," *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981), 441. For *The Battle Between Carnival and Lent*, see Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel*, 111-155; Sellink, *Bruegel*, 130-131; and Koerner, *Bosch and Bruegel*, 309-318. A year before Bruegel painted this work, Hieronymus Cock published an etching by Frans Hogenberg depicting Carnival's and Lent's conflict as women attacking each other with the food associated with each observance. See Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel*, 114-115. Bosch had previously created a now lost version of this theme. See Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes*, 69. Another painting of this theme with current whereabouts unknown has been variously attributed to Frans Francken or Pieter Balten. It is illustrated in Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia*, 424. The catalogue for *Vastenavond-Carnaval: Feesten van de Omgekeerde Wereld* includes three paintings of the theme–two by followers of Hieronymus Bosch and one by David Vinckboons—and prints by Hogenberg and Schelte Adams Bolswert after Boetius Adams Bolswert.

theme, Bruegel provides more details, offering a rich explanation for how both Carnival and Lent were observed. In the painting now in Vienna, Bruegel presents a crowded city square packed with an encyclopedic variety of Carnival activities on one side and those of Lent on the other. The dichotomy is further stressed by the farcical joust in the foreground, where the festive rotund man of Carnival riding on a barrel accompanied by meat and costumed revelers is contrasted with the sober and skinny Lent joined by her retinue of well behaved children with ashes visible on their foreheads. Some writers claim that Bruegel's painting presents two extremities by which the viewer must choose a middle way.[564] Thus *The Battle Between Carnival and Lent* could depict a balance of two opposite yet interdependent sides, just as summer and winter are treated in contemporary literature. Bruegel directly connects Carnival with winter through the trees without leafs on Carnival's side of the painting. They regain their spring foliage on Lent's side.[565] In addition to winter trees, Carnival's side of the picture includes a child wearing a festive paper crown and people engaging in the celebratory acts of baking (and wearing on their head in one instance) waffles and indulging in vice by playing dice. This half of the painting also includes a *koek-en-zopie* tent resembling those painted on the ice in the winter scene. Bruegel strongly aligns the tavern with the winter festival through the drunken revelry and questionable behaviors suddenly made permissible in the cycle of the year.

Carnival and Lent's aggressive encounter in an urban battlefield was also depicted in the seventeenth century, as seen in a painting by David Vinckboons from around 1620, when the artist was living in Amsterdam (Figure 5.15).[566] Compared to Bruegel, Vinckboons drastically

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Vastenavond-Carnaval: Feesten van de Omgekeerde Wereld, 109-112. For older Netherlandish depictions of the "Battle between Carnival and Lent," see Koerner, *Bosch and Bruegel*, 314-316.

[564] Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes*, 229 and Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel*, 143-144.

[565] Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel*, 139.

[566] For Vinckboons' *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, see Klaus Ertz and Christa Nitze-Ertz, *David Vinckboons 1576-1632 Monographie mit Kritischem Katalog der Zeichnungen und Gemälde* (Lingen: Luca Verslag, 2016), 397-398.

lowers the horizon and brings the figures much closer to the picture plane so that beholders feel they are among the participants. This heightens the drama of Vinckboons' nocturne as the combatants are dramatically illuminated by torchlight while a startled boy, girl, and dog flee the conflict. Carnival is again identified by his rotund body, unorthodox choice of headgear, spit of meat, and masked allies who stare down the elderly and lean Lent. The fact that this type of scene was produced in Amsterdam after the Twelve Years Truce indicates that a seventeenth-century Dutch audience would have been familiar with the social liberties and relaxations of the winter festival. A second painting of the struggle between Carnival and Lent attributed to Vinckboons locates all types of people skating, sledding, walking, and dancing in a Netherlandish village immediately behind the tussle (Figure 5.16).[567] This painting explicitly locates the annual observance of Carnival within the pleasures offered by the frozen canal depicted in the winter scene.

The battle between winter and summer was another staged argument. A painting depicting the violent encounter between the two seasons survives (Figure 5.17). In August of 2016, Klaus Ertz attributed it to Vinckboons and dated it to 1620, while the Mechelen-born painter was living in Amsterdam.[568] The RKD attributes the painting to an anonymous Southern Netherlandish artist and dates it to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.[569] Regardless

[567] For this painting, now in the Stedelijke Musea in Leuven, see *Vastenavond-Carnaval: Feesten van de Omgekeerde Wereld*, 112.

[568] Damian Brenninkmeyer, "Lot No. 30 David Vinckboons *The Fight Between Winter and Summer*," Dorotheum, https://www.dorotheum.com/en/auctions/current- auctions/kataloge/list-lots-detail/auktion/12022-old-master-paintings/lotID/30/lot/2114301-david-vinckboons.html. The painting does not appear in Ertz's Vinckboons monograph from 2016. It has also been proposed that a joust that occurs alongside people eating waffles in a depiction of February on a circular table depicting the calendar from around 1500 in the Stedelijk Museum vander Kelen-Mertens in Leuven represents a battle between summer and winter. However, I think that the joust reflects the spectacle of Carnival competitions due to the absence of any accoutrements suggesting the seasons. For the table, see *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 104-105.

[569] https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/record?filters%5Bkunstenaar%5D=Vinckboons%2C+David+%28I%29&query=&start=188 For this attribution, it cites Fred G. Meijer and Ellis Dullaart in 2014. In addition to Vinckboons, the painting has also been attributed to Peeter Baltens and Pieter Brueghel the Younger.

of where in the Netherlands the painting originated, it presents two contrasting "armies" and settings. Lush green foliage serves as the backdrop for the elegantly dressed young men and women who seem to have abandoned their merry company scene to fight on summer's behalf. Winter, on the other hand, appears to have recruited his fighters from peasant scenes.[570] These energetic combatants begin their charge before a distant house surrounded by the leafless trees of winter under an icy cool blue sky, contrasting with the sylvan greens and browns of summer. The personification of winter, an old man with a long, grizzled beard and hat clad in a heavy coat and clutching a hand warmer, appears to the far right of the composition to watch his fighters charge against the idealistic young lovers of summer. Unlike Bruegel's battle between February observances, the horizon of this painting is significantly lowered and the encyclopedic panorama exchanged for a more focused scene of fewer yet more monumental figures.[571] But one of the most striking differences is the degree of violence. A far cry from Bruegel's uninterested opponents hoisted towards each other at non-threatening speeds, one of Summer's *jonkers* holds his opponent down to beat him with a stringed musical instrument. Another fighter on Summer's side stands under a military banner as he draws his bow. Winter's warriors do not passively suffer these attacks as they fervently join the violence. They dash towards Summer's side of the painting while brandishing objects over their heads which find new purposes as clubs. One man in their ranks holds a hatchet as injured bodies lie in the foreground.

There are a couple features about these fighters that explain cultural ideas on winter. While Summer claims a milkmaid in its ranks, Summer's soldiers are almost entirely idealized,

[570] Ertz identifies summer's combatants coming from merry company scenes and winter's from "the joys and sorrows of peasant life." Damian Brenninkmeyer, "Lot No. 30 David Vinckboons *The Fight Between Winter and Summer*."

[571] Although the *Battle Between Carnival and Lent* is roughly double the size of the *Battle Between Summer and Winter*.

young, and wealthy. On the other hand, Winter's army is composed primarily of peasants and, while only one woman appears on this side of the painting, the combatants range in ages. Two children even lead the charge. Just as winter scenes do not discriminate against age in determining who can enjoy the ice, age is no reason for exclusion to battle for Winter. Winter is more sympathetic to the peasantry and does not favor attractive youths, suggesting the universality of winter pleasures.

The use of seasonal attributes as weapons also recalls seventeenth-century associations with winter. Summer has remarkably few identifying features. While a stringed musical instrument and a bow and arrow account for summer's weapons, the main characteristics of summer's fighters are their elegant dress and the verdant forest setting. In contrast, winter's warriors reconfigure many of their season's attributes into weapons. Vegetables associated with winter such as carrots and cabbage have been put to violent use. One combatant aggressively charges at the *jonkers* of summer with a bundle of firewood while his comrades have transformed a kolf stick and the axes used to hack boats out of the ice into clubs. The presence of these axes indicates how strongly the inability to travel by boat was associated with winter. The kolf stick is notable because even though kolf was also played in the summer, no kolf stick is found in summer's arsenal. The fact that the game is emblematic of winter suggests that winter is a period of relaxation. Other combatants on winter's side recall the season as an escape from work and ordinary life, including the individual wearing a Carnival mask. In the center of the composition, a young boy fearlessly leads winter's charge with his tiny arms wrapped around a loaf of *duivekater*. This baked treat was produced and consumed specifically on St. Nicholas' Day, Twelfth Night, and Shrovetide.[572] The festive nature of *duivekater* is underscored by its

[572] The food historian Peter G. Rose gives background on *duivekater* in Barnes and Rose, *Matter of Taste*, 36.

presence in Steen's paintings of St. Nicholas' Day (Figures 5.18 and 5.19).[573] A number of sixteenth and seventeenth-century winter scenes from the Southern Netherlands—particularly those by Sebastiaan Vrancx—include children cradling the large pastry in both arms, connecting winter holidays and the pleasures of *ijsvermaak*.[574] Even as late as 1663, David Teniers II placed a young woman accompanying two girls with their arms wrapped around loaves of *duivekater* before the seasonal activities of *Winter* in a painted series of the seasons.[575] The fact that combatants armed with a Carnival mask and *duivekater* were recruited to fight on winter's behalf underscores the season's association with holiday festivities.

Sebastiaan Vrancx's *Allegory of Winter*

A painting by Sebastiaan Vrancx is the best evidence that a seventeenth-century beholder would have associated winter with Carnival, festivals, and relaxation. Vrancx was a member of

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Mariët Westermann identifies and defines the *duivekater* in Jan Steen's portrait of *Baker Oostwaert and Catharina Keizerswaard* as "the large festive bread shaped as an elongated diamond." Mariët Westermann, *The Amusements of Jan Steen: Comic Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1997), 261. Orrock describes *duivekater* as, "currant loaves…baked for a variety of special occasions, and were especially common during the winter holiday season, which began with the Feast of St. Nicholas on 6 December and ended with Epiphany." For *duivekater* in Netherlandish art, see Orrock, "Play Time," 182-183.

[573] Steen's versions in both the Rijksmuseum and the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen depict a loaf of *duivekater* leaning against a chair in the bottom right corner. Both paintings also contain a boy joyously brandishing a kolf stick and ball, appropriate gifts for a winter holiday. Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven also acknowledged *duivekater* as "a typical Twelfth Night treat." Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "King's Letter Prints and Paper Crowns," 399. She stated that it was baked between St. Nicholas' Day and Twelfth Night. Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art," 80.

[574] In addition to Vrancx, who also painted winter scenes featuring a child purchasing king's letters in the foreground, Jan Wildens designed a print of January in 1614 for a Months series that stresses holidays. While the right side of the image depicts *ijsvermaak*, the left, as van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven pointed out, shows vendors selling king's letters and *duivekater*. Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art," 72. Jacob Grimmer also included purchasing *duivekater* and king's letters in the foreground of a winter scene. De Bertier de Sauvigny, *Jacob et Abel Grimmer Catalogue Raisonné*, 176. For a painting of winter by Vrancx where a man selling king's letter to a child in the foreground is presented more monumentally than the people on the ice behind them, see Albert Blankert, *Museum Bredius: Catalogus van de Schilderijen en Tekening* (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1991), 240-241.

[575] In another nod to Twelfth Night, the foreground also contains a young man selling king's letters. Van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot*, 130-131.

De Violieren, a *rederijkers* or rhetoricians' chamber in Antwerp. Walter S. Gibson has demonstrated the influence of *rederijker* presentations on artists.[576] Vrancx's *Allegory of Winter* (Figure 5.20) very likely features popular ideas and attributes from *rederijker* dramas on the seasons, including the battle of seasonal opposites described above, that associate winter with relaxation and celebration.

There are two known versions of this painting from 1608 which very likely formed part of a series of the seasons.[577] Yvette Bruijnen noted that Vrancx's painting combines various Netherlandish traditions of depictions of the seasons. Vrancx recalls personifications with the bearded old man warming himself by the fire, but he also includes a backdrop referring to the Labors of the Months with ice skaters and the pig slaughter by leafless trees and the frozen canal of a Netherlandish village. Another background vignette features a mischievous pair of children preparing to toss snowballs at unsuspecting victims, likely the trio of Carnival revelers who are walking into the line of fire. Vrancx is also attentive to sixteenth-century innovations as he harnesses the the potential of the marketplace still life to represent a season.[578] In the

[576] Gibson, "Artists and Rederijkers in the Age of Bruegel." Sellink has also noted that Bruegel was influenced by the *rederijkers*. Sellink, *Bruegel*, 23. For Vrancx's role with *de Violieren,* see Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia*, 130. The artists Hieronymus Cock, Pieter Balten, and Maerten de Vos were also involved with *de Violieren* while Frans Floris and his sculptor brother Cornelis had connections. Gibson, "Artists and Rederijkers in the Age of Bruegel," 431. For more on the *rederijkers*, including their popularity and prevalence in the seventeenth century, see van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age*, 150-152.

[577] In addition to an *Allegory of Spring* attributed to Vrancx and his workshop that has similar dimensions and composition to the *Allegory of Winter*, the RKD's website contains two images of virtually identical *Allegory of Winter* paintings which are both attributed to Vrancx and dated to 1608. One was auctioned by Lempertz in Cologne on May 15-17, 2014 as lot number 1127 and the other by Sotheby's in London on December 3-4, 2014 as lot number 172. Fred G. Meijer believes the one sold in London to be the prototype for the one sold in Cologne. https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/record?filters%5Bkunstenaar%5D=Vrancx%2C+Sebastiaan&query=&start=127. For the version sold at Lempertz, see https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/262758. Katritzky illustrated the version sold at Sotheby's in London in her book. Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia*, 438. This painting was recently listed at an auction in October 2018 by Dorotheum. For this painting, see also Bruijnen, "Over de *Twelf Maendekens* en de *Vier Tyden 's Iaers*," 58-59.

[578] Bruijnen, "Over de *Twelf Maendekens* en de *Vier Tyden 's Iaers*," 58. As recalled by the *Battle between Summer and Winter* painting cited above, vegetables were associated with specific seasons. The botanically-minded Hondius mention carrots, cauliflower, artichoke, and cabbage as winter vegetables in *De Moufe-schans*.

foreground, Vrancx presents a clutter of objects with seasonal associations such as festive baked goods, snowballs, Carnival masks, seasonal vegetables and flowers, a foot-warmer, a pair of skates, and a kolf stick and ball. Many of these objects directly relate to leisure, social inversion, and celebration. *Commedia dell'Arte* costumes, as well as characters in the background, suggest Carnival.[579] Twelfth Night is referenced by the paper crowns wrapped around hats, one resting on a central chair in the foreground and another on the head of one of the children about to toss a snowball. A king's letter also rests on the ground by the central chair. Many of the foods that Vrancx included underscore the bond between winter and Carnival and Twelfth Night. To the right of the foreground, he placed waffles and pancakes, which as we have seen were a staple of Carnival and Twelfth Night imagery.[580] Near the center of the composition, a large loaf of *duivekater* leans against the chair.

Vrancx's non-edible objects also suggest a relaxation on social standards. He includes a pair of dice next to the *Commedia dell'Arte* costume. While dice were played during Carnival,

[579] Katritzky identifies this painting as one of a few "winter carnival scenes depicting figures, some masked, in *commedia*-related costumes" painted by Vrancx. Katritzky, *The Art of Commedia*, 132. While she is likely referring to the trio of masked individuals strutting through the background towards the children armed with snowballs, it is also worth considering the pair of masks in the jumble of objects in the foreground. One is a black mask with an elongated nose and the other an old man's visage with a long beard, protruding nose, sunken brow, and bushy eyebrows. Both masks rest on top of a red coat and hat sporting two feathers and a light brown garment, much like those worn by the Carnivalesque man in the background.

[580] Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven identified pancake bakers in two Twelfth Night scenes by David Teniers II's and in a 1636 depiction of Twelfth Night in the Rijksmuseum formally attributed to Adriaen Brouwer. Van Wagenberg-ter Hoeven, "The Celebration of Twelfth Night in Netherlandish Art," 78. Waffles and/or pancakes are also depicted on tables or in the hands of the individuals celebrating Twelfth Night in many sixteenth and seventeenth-century images. Even in the Middle Ages, pancakes were associated with Shrovetide, as pancake baking appears in the February pages of *Hours of Adélaïde de Savoie* in New York's Pierpont Morgan Library (PML 572) and a manuscript in Oxford's Bodleian Library (Douce MS 135). Orrock, "Play Time," 169. For pancakes and other sweet baked goods associated with winter holidays, see van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot*, 49-51 and Zumthor, *Daily Life in Rembrandt's Holland*, 180-188. Hondius describes tarts and other baked goods in *De Moufe-schans* when he writes about vegetables associated with winter. Hondius, *De Moufe-schans*, 252-253. Egg vendors are sometimes included in winter scenes. Eggs were another food associated with misbehavior in Netherlandish art. Hieronymus Bosch represented foolish behavior with individuals riding a large egg like a boat and cracked egg shells litter the ground of Jan Steen's poorly run households. Eggs were also associated with Carnival, as they appear in both Pieter Bruegel the Elder's and Frans Hogenberg's *Battle between Carnival and Lent*. Bax connected eggs with folly, eroticism, and the demonic. Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 191-194.

as recalled in Bruegel's *Battle between Carnival and Lent*, they were otherwise considered reproachable.[581] Yet dice must have been so strongly associated with the permissible misbehavior of the season that they were included in the *Allegory of Winter*. Vrancx references another game with the kolf stick and ball. As I will explain in the following chapter, kolf was associated with leisure and not the serious world of the Dutch male. In Dutch visual culture, children—especially boys in portraits—are typically depicted holding kolf sticks.[582] The only instance when adults are portrayed with kolf gear is in the winter scene where kolfers are as ubiquitous as skaters and sleigh riders. Just as in *The Battle Between Summer and Winter*, the fact that kolf was played throughout the year does not prevent it from symbolizing winter, suggesting the relaxations and pleasures permitted by the frosty months. Snowballs also appear among Vrancx's clutter. In Netherlandish art, snowballs are typically thrown by mischievous children, like those in the background of *Allegory of Winter*, or in sixteenth-century Flemish painting by a gang of young adults teaming up to harass a single victim, usually a woman.[583] This, too, reminds the beholder that winter had certain relaxations and pleasures unique to the

[581] The poverty and misery of which the game brings are mentioned in the answer to the riddle for "Dice" in Jan van der Veen's riddle book from 1653. Jan der Veen, *Raadtselen uyt gebeelt met Zin-Rijke uyt leggingen* (Deventer: Jan Colomp, 1653), 147-148. Decades earlier, Roemer Visscher presents dice as one of the objects that one is not to let children play with in the illustration of the emblem "*Leert het u kinderen niet* (Do not teach these to your children)" in *Sinnepoppen*. They are illustrated next to a crab, symbolic of the kind of person who plays dice as the crustacean is literally unable to walk on the straight-and-narrow. Playing cards, which are also depicted on Carnivals' side of Bruegel's *Battle Between Carnival and Lent*, are also illustrated in the emblem. Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen*, ed. L. Brummel (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1949), 101.

[582] For portraits of boys holding kolf sticks and the implications of the attribute, see Annemarieke Willemsen, "Images of Toys: The Culture of Play in the Netherlands around 1600," in *Pride and Joy: Children's Portraits in the Netherlands 1500-1700*, ed. Jan Baptist Bedaux and Rudi Ekkart (Amsterdam and Ghent: Ludion Press, 2000), 66.

[583] Adults throwing snowballs also illustrates March in a series of the months by Cornelis Dusart from around 1680. For the series, see *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 192-193. The RKD in The Hague has a photograph of a seventeenth-century drawing depicting adult peasants throwing snowballs that at one point carried an attribution to Jan van Goyen. A drawing of peasants throwing snowballs signed and dated "I.V. GOIEN 1635" is illustrated as number 54A. in Hans-Ulrich Beck, *Jan van Goyen 1596-1656* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1987), 36-37. Anne Charlotte Steland-Stief identifies children throwing snowballs in a winter scene with the Tomb of Caecilia Metella by Jan Asselijn. See catalogue 234 in Anne Charlotte Steland-Stief, *Jan Asselijn nach 1610 bis 1652* (Amsterdam: Van Gendt & Co., 1971), 163-164.

season, just like the skate Vrancx includes in the foreground. Finally, the firewood, seasonal vegetables, and warmers can be considered in the same vein as the Labors of the Months, where keeping warm and eating the food saved for the season occurs in the place of labor. Even the chair with a hat and candle on it in the center of the composition suggests an individual at rest, sitting and enjoying the warmth as opposed to on his or her feet working.

It is not only the objects that connote leisure, festivals, and an escape from labor and the serious world of the adult, as many of Vrancx's people also take advantage of the joys that winter offers. Echoing the tradition of the Labors of the Months, Vrancx presents individuals not laboring when he recalled a skater and a trio of Carnival revelers. The season also permits a pair of children to release their playful mischief by launching snowballs at unsuspecting adults. This last vignette illustrates the social inversion of the child getting the better of an adult that is only possible due to the winter snow.[584] Vrancx's allegory presents winter as a unique season where social norms are relaxed and work must surrender to rest and leisure.

Conclusion

Of all of the associations of winter, the joyful experiences of its annual festivals were some of the most appealing to a seventeenth-century beholder. Celebrations such as Twelfth Night and Shrovetide characterized representations of the season and its months. The winter

[584] Children throw snowballs at unsuspecting adults appears in winter scenes by artists such as Nicolaes Berchem, Jacob van Ruisdael, and Aert van der Neer. Vrancx used the motif of the child using snowballs to mock a respected adult, as shown in a drawing in Weimar where a couple of boys in the foreground are about to toss snowballs at an elegantly dressed woman riding in an ornate horse-drawn sleigh. By tossing snowballs at the woman, the boys defy social standards set by age and economic class, as the woman's opulent dress and sleigh are juxtaposed with the boys' much more modest attire. For the drawing on the RKD's website, see https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/record?filters%5Bkunstenaar%5D=Vrancx%2C+Sebastiaan&query=&start=209. For van Ruisdael's *View of a Town and Canal in Winter* in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum in Madrid, which contains children snowing snowballs at an adult, an unusual lighthearted motif in a winter scene by van Ruisdael, see number 681 in Seymour Slive, *Jacob van Ruisdael: A Complete Catalogue of his Painting, Drawings, and Etchings* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), 478.

scene reflects this festive attitude in its selective treatment of details as mostly pleasures are represented while many of the known hardships of winter, which are described in literature, are noticeably absent. Like winter festivals, these details defy the conventions of ordinary social behavior. Just as Twelfth Night and Carnival, the annual conditions of winter make improper behaviors and social inversions suddenly permissible as all types of people unite to celebrate. Scenes of everyday people observing these holidays developed as their own body of images and share a number of features with the winter scene. But early winter scenes directly reference these festivals through the inclusions of king's letters, paper crowns, *Commedia dell'Arte* characters, and loaves of *duivekater*. Netherlandish artists even placed the Holy Family among the pleasures of a frozen canal, further stressing the Netherlandish winter as a season of holidays. Allegorical representations of winter battling summer rely on holidays, questionable behavior becoming permissible, lack of labor, and the world turned upside down to argue in favor of winter. The winter scene captures this festive attitude as the ice becomes a carnivalesque zone where the community unites to witness and partake in social inversions and pleasures. The specific motifs of relaxation that reoccur in the winter scene will be detailed in the following chapter.

Chapter 6. "Here no one inquires about rank, here all are free,": The Conventions of Relaxation Illustrated in the Winter Scene

As we have seen, the winter scene presents a highly selective idea of winter in which the difficulties and hardships of the season are downplayed and festive and relaxing features are emphasized. Wayne Franits, Lawrence Goedde, and Eric Jan Sluijter highlighted the conventional nature of Dutch art and how images can be understood by what they do and do not include. The handful of ice activities depicted in the winter scene can similarly be identified to reveal how these images remove many of the seasonal displeasures to emphasize physical and social relaxation, including many components that are typically mocked or not illustrated publically—aside from representations of festivals—elsewhere in Dutch art, yet appear free from judgment on the ice. This chapter identifies and details many of the conventions of relaxation in these images that present the occasion of winter as a carnivalesque and Horatian loosening of social standards.

First, it should be acknowledged that relaxation and pleasure were not always dismissed as habits of foolish sloth in early modern Europe.[585] Leisure was endorsed by Plato and Aristotle, who found it necessary for reenergizing the worker,[586] and some moralists embraced recreation as it prevented one from becoming idle.[587] The necessity for rest and relaxation held

[585] For a critique of Peter Mathias' claim that early modern Europe was characterized by a fear of leisure, see Benjamin B. Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before Rock 'N' Roll: Youth Culture and Masculinity during Holland's Golden Age* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 22. Alessandro Arcangeli proposes that a unique leisure culture developed in Europe during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries in *Recreation in the Renaissance: Attitudes towards Leisure and Pastimes in European Culture, c. 1425-1675* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003). For Renaissance humanists such as Erasmus arguing for the benefits of proper types of leisure, see Margaret A. Sullivan, *Bruegel's Peasants: Art and Audience in the Northern Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 23-24.

[586] Mary Frances Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 185.

[587] Arcangeli, *Recreation in the Renaissance*, 14. Johan Huizinga argues for the various functions and purposes of play in society in *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1995, originally published 1938). As early as the fifteenth century, Theodoricus Gresemundus defended the debauchery of

currency in the seventeenth century Netherlands, as indicated by H. de Rooij's poem included with Abraham and Cornelis Bloemaert's pastoral print series *Otia Delectant*: "Leisure gives pleasure and makes us fit for work./Leisure which restores our tired body with new strength…"[588] Karel van Mander begins his chapter on landscape in *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-const* ("The Foundation of the Noble and Free Art of Painting") by advising the young painter to, "lay down the yoke of labor, because even the strongest men need to rest: the bow can not always remain taut."[589] Samuel van Hoogstraten dedicates a chapter in the fifth book of the *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst: Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt* ("Introduction to the High School of the Art of Painting: Or the Visible World," referred to as "The *Inleyding*") to rest, which he presents as important for rejuvenating the creative forces.[590]

Difficult winter weather offered the perfect opportunity for rest. Games were a popular winter activity as the weather kept people indoors. Additionally, as longer nights prevented outdoor activities, people read more in winter.[591] As we saw in Chapter 3, some *hofdicht* writers characterized winter as a season for reading. Jacob Westerbaen further connects winter with

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Carnival as vital for defusing social issues. About a hundred years later, Claude de Rubys writing in Lyon expressed similar sentiments, "It is sometimes expedient to allow the people to play the fool and make merry, lest by holding them in with too great rigour, we put them in despair." Ethan Matt Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel: Parables of Order and Enterprise* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 183-184. These same feelings were shared by Cesare Rao in Italy in 1587, "Without any recreation, life is like a long road without any hostel…Unless they are occasionally eased, bows tend to lose their strength, and eventually break. If fields did not periodically rest, in the end they will become bare." Quoted in Arcangeli, *Recreation in the Renaissance*, 12.

[588] The poem continues, "…But worthless laziness weakens the body with sluggishness/It dulls the mind and does not allow it to be virtuous/So for me a lazy man buried in his slothful torpor/Is not a man but while he lives he will be regarded as a sad cadaver." Translated from Latin by Alison McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and its Audience in the Golden Age* (Montclair, NJ: Allanheld & Schram, 1983), 85.

[589] Hessel Miedema's modern Dutch reads, "*leg het juk van de arbeid op tijd af, want rust is ook voor de sterke mannen nodig: de boog kan niet altijd gespannen zijn*." Karel van Mander, *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilder-Const*, ed. Hessel Miedema (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1973), 202.

[590] Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst Anders de Zichtbaere Werelt* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1969), 199-200.

[591] Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before Rock 'N' Roll*, 202-203 and 208 and Jeroen Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Dutch Diaries*, trans. Beverley Jackson (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 167.

scholarly pursuits in his poem "*Winter. Lezen en microscopisch vermaak* (Winter. Learning and Microscopic Pleasures)." While the first 26 lines describe the poet's discomforts in the treacherous and chilly season, the remaining 100 lines list all that he is reading as he can finally spend his evenings with books.[592] Many winter scenes likewise depict men, women, and children resting as they sit and stand across the ice. Our example by Hendrick Avercamp now in Schwerin (Figure 6.1) includes roughly similar numbers of people standing on or around the ice as skating. The rest offered by winter is further underscored by the relaxing individuals dressed as laborers. In the Munich winter scene by Philips Wouwerman (Figure 6.2), a hunter and fisherman are not depicted searching for food, but getting out of a sleigh as they enter the *koek-en-zopie* tent for a drink. The winter scene illustrates the season permitting the worker to rest and reenergize.

Socially Unifying Ice

The relaxation offered by winter is universal as the seasons affect all people. Avercamp, Wouwerman, and Aert van der Neer (Figure 6.3) illustrate a mix of social classes sharing the ice. The winter scene and other Dutch works that present different levels of society together glorify the infant republic by suggesting its social harmony.[593] But the winter scene unifies society through pleasure on the ice. Even as early as Maarten van Heemskerck's *Winter* print described

[592] For the poem, see Jacob Westerbaen, *Gedichten*, ed. Johan Koppenol (Amsterdam: Athenaeum – Polak & van Gennep, 2001), 103-106.

[593] Catherine Levesque notes Jan van de Velde's market scenes represent the unity of social classes. Catherine Levesque, *Journey Through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland: The Haarlem Print Series and Dutch Identity* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 102-103. She also notes the wide range of classes illustrated in maps, landscape prints, political prints, and even on the title page of an edition of Ludovico Guicciardini's *Description de Tout les Pays-Bas*. Catherine Levesque, "Landscape, Politics, and the Prosperous Peace," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1997, Deel 48: Natuur en Landschap in de Nederlandse Kunst 1500-1850*, ed. Reindert Falkenburg, Jan de Jong, Mark Meadow, Bart Ramakers, Herman Roodenburg, and Frits Scholten (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), 223-257. The social harmony of the Netherlands recalled through the mix of classes in these scenes is a key argument for this article.

in Chapter 3 (Figure 6.4), the motif of juxtaposing two couples from different social classes crossing paths on the ice appears. Wouwerman likewise presents this motif in his foreground. While Wouwerman's couples veer off to different edges of the composition–towards the *koek-en-zopie* tent occupied by peasants and to the ornate sleighs–reflecting their social standings, Avercamp illustrated the ice as a zone for interaction between classes when he painted a pair of skating Amsterdam orphans doffing their hats towards a wealthy young couple in a rural setting. But it was not only in visual art where the idea of the socially equalizing ice flourished.[594] Hugo Grotius wrote,

> "Here no one inquires about rank, here all are free,
>
> Here a peasant maid has a noble by her side,
>
> There my peasant lad goes along, leading the grand ladies,
>
> Over there I see a courtly fellow escorting a lady burgher.
>
> For that which no great Monarch can, nor yet a philosopher,
>
> One sees wrought on moisture congealed to ice.
>
> If one asks from the bottom of one's heart who is truly wise,
>
> Then I say from the bottom of my heart, truly naught but ice."[595]

Skating was a pleasure that could be enjoyed by almost anyone. Age, social class, and gender had no effect on the ability to glide on the ice. Similarly, the misfortune of slipping on

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[594] For the socially unifying aspect of the ice, see Ariane van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time: The Dutch Winter Landscape in the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2001), 20 and M. Meijerman, *Hollandse Winters* (Antwerp and Hilversum: W. de Haan and Standaard Boekhandel, 1967), 59-60.

[595] Translated in van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 20. The original text can be found in Jan Buisman, *Duizend Jaar Weer, Wind en Water in de Lage Landen,* volume 4*,* ed. A. F. V. van Engelen (Franeker: Uitgeverij Van Wijnen, 1995), 252-253. "*Hier vraagt men naer geen stand, hier is men vranck en vry,/Hier heeft een boeren-maegd een edelman op zij,/Daer ziet m'n boer-zeun aen 't hooft der joffren ryen,/Ginds ziet m'eens hoofsche kwant een borgeres geleyn,/Want dat geen groot Monarch, geen wysgeer zelfs vermocht,/Dar ziet men door het nat tot ys gestolt gewrocht;/Vraeght men uyt 's herten grondt wie is er waerlyck wys,/Ick seg uyt 's herten grond: dat is alleen het ys…*" In the poem "The Amsterdammers' Winter," Jan Six van Chandelier also details a variety of people on the ice.

the ice could equally strike anyone.[596] Winter scenes commonly include the motif of an adult, especially in elegant dress, falling next to a modest young child calmly maneuvering a *prikslee* around the ice. One of the earliest autonomous winter scenes, Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Skaters by St. George's Gate in Antwerp* (Figure 6.5), features in the foreground a young child gliding a *prikslee* made from a horse's jaw around horrified adults unable to control their legs on the slippery surface. Avercamp includes a trio of adults slipping on the same ice where a child propels himself unassisted on the simple sled. Wouwerman's young child uses a *prikslee* to eradicate differences in ages as it surpasses the older child who tumbles on the ice behind. Skating also permits a relaxation of society's demands on the body. Herman Roodenburg identified the importance of erect posture in seventeenth-century Dutch culture.[597] A person cannot stand erect on skates as they need to shift the weight of their body to move across the ice. A few of Avercamp's well-dressed skaters lean their bodies and hold a straight leg out over the ice, a rather clumsy posture when compared to the desired one described by Roodenburg. Skaters in van der Neer's winter scenes in Amsterdam and Berlin (Figure 6.6), Jan van de Cappelle's *Winter Scene with Kolf Players* (Figure 6.7), and Jan van Goyen's *Ice view with the Huis te Merwede* (Figure 6.8) are similarly unable to keep straight postures on the ice. Even in Bruegel's earliest winter scenes, the clumsy positions of many of his skaters defy the desirable posture before the eyes of their neighbors who have come out to enjoy the winter day.

[596] A point stressed by Laurinda Dixon. She compares skating to jogging for its ability to be universally practiced throughout society. Laurinda Dixon, *Skating in the Arts of 17th Century Holland* (Cincinnati: The Taft Museum, 1987), 15.

[597] Herman Roodenburg, "How to Sit, Stand, and Walk: Toward a Historical Anthropology of Dutch Paintings and Prints," in *Looking at Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art: Realism Reconsidered*, ed. Wayne Franits (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 175-186.

The ability of the ice to serve as a social equalizer is also evident by the prominence of children in the winter scene.[598] The winter scenes discussed thus far in this chapter by Bruegel, Avercamp, van der Neer, and Wouwerman all include children. A. T. van Deursen downplays the prominence of the child in Dutch society.[599] Yet one would never get that impression from the winter scene. Even in literature, Jan Six van Chandelier is attentive to the activities of the children in his poem "The Amsterdammers' Winter (*'s Amsterdammers Winter*)."[600] The winter scene is not only remarkable for its inclusion of children, but also the autonomy that it grants them. These images portray children on their own and not under the eyes of adults, like the boy and girl playing on the shore in the center of Avercamp's composition. Bruegel's *Winter Landscape with a Bird Trap* (Figure 6.9) features children spinning tops and playing across the ice.[601] The foreground of Wouwerman's winter scene presents children responsible for their own transportation as two boys push and pull a sled in which two girls sit as they cross paths with a child on a *prikslee*. Even the fallen child kolfer is assisted by another child. In his Berlin winter scene, van der Neer includes two children making a purchase from a vendor on the ice. She is there to serve the children (Figure 6.6). The *priksleeën* also reflect the autonomy of the child on

[598] Dixon also notes the large number of children in winter scenes, writing that they are depicting "sharing and sometimes invading the ice occupied by their parents and elders." Dixon, *Skating in the Arts of 17th Century Holland*, 12.

[599] "The child certainly did not occupy central place in the seventeenth century. The 'tender youth' was not surrounded with sentimental care. Adulthood was the norm, and the child was measured according to that norm. If there had been youth crime on a large scale, it would certainly have led to clear-cut official measures. We can safely assume that for the youth of Holland the path to school and workshop was a common experience. And, apart from a few exceptions, they did not resist the society that wanted them to become like adults." A. T. van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age, Popular Culture, Religion and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, trans. Maarten Ultee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 133.

[600] Jan Six van Chandelier, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, ed. Maria A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen and Hans Luijten (Utrecht: HES Uitgevers, 1998), particularly page 47.

[601] Even in his biblical scenes set in wintery Netherlandish villages, Bruegel provides considerable autonomy to the activities of children. *The Numbering at Bethlehem* includes a small patch of ice to the right of the composition on which a girl pushes another child on a table-turned-sled while a pair of children spin tops. While children spinning tops are more likely to appear in sixteenth-century Flemish winter scenes, the same motif appears in the background of Wouwerman's painting in Munich.

the ice as it is hard to keep a parental eye on a mobile young one. We have seen the elevation of children in winter holidays in visual art and in literary sources, reflecting the social inversions of such festivals. Just as in Carnival, class and age distinctions are defied on the ice.

The Inversion of Solid Water

Winter also permitted the carnivalesque inversion of a person walking on water as canals froze over. John Walsh, who noticed that winter scenes typically depict the joys and pleasures of the season as opposed to the hardships and troubles, identified that these paintings present every waterway completely frozen, which is not realistic.[602] One hardship associated with a frozen canal that is constantly illustrated are the boats stuck into the ice, as seen in our examples by Avercamp, van der Neer, and Wouwerman.[603] The immobile boats remind us that the natural world is permitting a time of leisure as productivity is not possible in these frigid conditions. But this limit on transportation is neutralized by the pleasures around the boats. In contrast to the stationary boats, the winter scene depicts dynamic skaters occupying the same ice. This leisure activity minimizes the difficulties of the season as the Dutch work with, rather than against the ice. This message is stressed in a print designed by Esaias van de Velde for a series of ten scenes around Haarlem. The artist presents the windmill on the ferry route between Haarlem and Spaarnwoude, colloquially known as the "*Penningcksveer*" (Figure 6.10). One tiny boat is stuck in the ice as skaters have taken over the ferry route.[604] The notion of the world-turned-upside

[602] John Walsh, "Skies and Reality in Dutch Landscape," in *Art in History/History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture*, ed. David Freedberg and Jan de Vries (Santa Monica: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1991), 96.
[603] This hindrance on transportation was cited as one of the examples of the might of frost in a "Winter Song" in *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Willemssen Blau-laaken, 1627), 91.
[604] For the print, see number 57 in Irene de Groot, *Landscape: Etchings by the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1979).

down must not have been lost on the beholder familiar with the "Penny Ferry" witnessing people traversing the frozen water with their own two feet.

The Dutch did not abandon the idea that a boat could sail on top of the ice. In the same month that Avercamp turned fifteen and Jan van Goyen five, Adriaan Terrier received a patent to produce ice yachts. Such a wind-powered ice boat is depicted in the background of Avercamp's painting in Schwerin, but they are the focus of prints by Christoffel van Sichem (Figure 6.11)[605] and Claes Jansz. Visscher II (Figure 6.12).[606] The former includes an inscription describing the revolt against Spain and depicts skating soldiers firing their guns in the background–a clear connection between mastery of the ice and Dutch identity.[607] Both prints link the young republic with the ingenuity to craft a boat that can sail on the ice by attaching tricolored Dutch flags to the vessels in motion. These two prints also present men on the ice. In the foreground, Visscher includes two ice skaters, one of which blocks our view of the boat so central to the print that the words "Sailing Ice Yacht (*SEYLENDE YSSCHUYT*)" are brandished across the sky on either side of the open sail. This is an odd inclusion, as it downplays the need for a boat as people are still able to move across the frozen water. Even the ice yacht cannot detract from the carnivalesque nature of winter as people move across the watery surface with their own two feet.[608]

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[605] Number 21 in *Holstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings Engravings and Woodcuts, CA. 1450-1700*, vol. XXVII, ed. K. G. Boon (Amsterdam: van Gendt & Co., 1981), 10. See also van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 25 for the engraving and ice yachts. For general information on ice yachts, see Buisman, *Duizend Jaar Weer, Wind en Water in de Lage Landen,* volume 4, 192 and Meijerman, *Hollandse Winters*, 159.

[606] The Folger Shakespeare Library attributes this print to Visscher or possibly Pieter van der Keere after Visscher and note a similar "Sailing Windwagen" print. The Rijksmuseum makes the same attribution and notes that the etching may be a pendant with the wind wagon. https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/zoeken/objecten?q=ysschuyt&p=1&ps=12&st=Objects&ii=0#/RP-P-2012-4,0.

[607] For Dutch soldiers finding ways to move over the ice against foreign foes, see Meijerman, *Hollandse Winters*, 34 and 40-45.

[608] The connection between what is expected on land occurring on water with the world-turned-upside-down is also noted by Rosalie Colie in Andrew Marvell's *Upon Appleton House* when the English poet wrote, "Boats can over bridges sail,/And Fishes do the stables scale." Rosalie Colie, *Paradoxia Epidemica: The Renaissance Tradition of Paradox* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966) 13.

Since the conditions of winter are not suitable for work, people used skates and sleighs for pleasure trips.[609] These same frozen waterways preventing labor are necessary for the *ijsvermaak* of the winter scene. Painted summer and winter pairs juxtapose boating in the summer with the frozen waterways of winter, asking the viewer to consider the aquatic limitations and pleasures of each season.[610] We saw in Chapter 4 how skating scenes are included with illustrations of boating and water pleasures in the songbook *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*. The stress on the frozen canal as a former waterway highlights both the carnivalesque inversion of walking on water and winter's limitations on work, thus the invitation for leisure.

Romance and Eroticism on the Ice

Winter permitted the unusual sight of public displays of romance usually reserved for celebratory settings. *Kermises*, or public fairs, were considered ideal locations for young men and women to intermingle.[611] If the frozen canal or river assumed the same atmosphere as a public festival, then it should be no surprise that they were also suitable locations for romance. Many winter scenes portray a man and woman skating hand-in-hand, as in our examples by Avercamp and Wouwerman. Some winter scenes include the erotic detail of a man grabbing a woman's waste as they skate, as in Bol's print of *Winter* in Chapter 3 (Figure 6.13) and in Bruegel's *Skaters by St. George's Gate in Antwerp*.[612] In Dutch art, unrelated men and women

[609] Meijerman, *Hollandse Winters*, 118-123 and Jeannine de Landtsheer, "IJspret: Justus Lipsius en andere Humanisten uit de Nederlanden op glad ijs," *De Seventiende Eeuw* 15 (1999), 87. One such trip described by Meijerman included a kermis.

[610] Such as the tondi by Jan van Goyen dated 1625. See the entry in *Jan van Goyen*, ed. Christiaan Vogelaar (Zwolle: Waanders, 1996), 89.

[611] Dirk Harry Smit, *Johan van Heemskerck 1597-1656* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij "De Spieghel," 1933), 114 and Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before Rock 'N' Roll*, 153-154. For the ability for the ice to spark romance, see van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 20-22.

[612] Martin Royalton-Kisch also finds an erotic joke in Adriaen van de Venne's drawing of an elderly couple on the ice in van de Venne's album in the British Museum. Martin Royalton-Kisch, *Adriaen van de Venne's Album in the*

typically make physical contact in allegories or in history scenes set in distant lands or time periods. When touching between the sexes is depicted in a seventeenth-century Dutch setting, it occurs in brothels or among the intoxicated, peasants, and soldiers, all of whom were held in low esteem. Yet much like a *kermis*, a winter scene permits such actions to be performed both in a specifically Dutch location and in the public eye free from condemnation. Benjamin B. Roberts describes a song in the songbook *Haerlemsche Duyn-Vreucht* ("Haarlem's Dune Joys") in which amorous young couples get their passions worked up on a wagon ride to the beaches in Zandvoort to the point where swimming in the ocean cools them down.[613] Perhaps the chilly temperatures of winter kept passions in check, so that such acts of courtship and physical contact remained socially permissible.[614]

Romantic and erotic associations with winter were well established in the Netherlands. In the late medieval Carnival presentation *Een Abel Spel vanden Winter ende vanden Somer* ("A Play Presenting Winter against Summer"), Summer points to its associations with love in its argument for superiority against Winter. Yet Winter's supporters are quick to counter that Summer is warm, which forces couples to keep their distance in bed, while the cold temperatures of long winter nights bring lovers together physically.[615] This idea of winter nights is also

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Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum (London: The British Museum Publications, 1988), 326-327.

[613] Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before Rock 'N' Roll*, 204.

[614] Winter was associated with the elemental properties of cold and wet, just as the element water. Anouk Janssen connects winter with old age searching to keep warm with young, warm bodies in scenes of unequal lovers. Anouk Janssen, *Grijsaards in Zwart-Wit: De Verbeelding van de Ouderdom in de Nederlandse Prentkunst (1550-1650)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2007), 75.

[615] *"…Dat mijn here die winter alsoe wel doet/Spelen, dies benic vroet,/Der minnen spel, daer ghi af seft./Daer twee ghelieve liggen ghedect/Op een bedde al moedernaect,/Daer wert wel grote vroude gemaect,/Alen es daer ghenen vaschelsanc./Die nacht sijn cout ende daer tae lanc;/Die coude doetse crupen bi een/Elc tusschen anders been,/Daer so mijn here die winter toe dwinct/Ende al selc vroude te gader brinct,/Dat sider minnen spel gaen spelen;/Ic segt al sonder helen,/Want ic die waerheit daer af wel weet!/Maer te somer sijn die nachte soe heet,/Dat deen leget hier ende dander daer;/Sien dorren malleec andere niet comen naer,/Dat doet die hitte van de tide./Maer te winter dringhen si side an side/Ende cleven mallijc anderen dic wile an thaer."* Rob Antonissen, *Een*

suggested by Grotius in his couplet "Hotwater Bottle" from *Instrumentum Domesticum*. Grotius plays upon the idiom of "lassies-in-bed" for hotwater bottles when he writes, "If you fear the chilly winter-nights of dark December, you may find comfort here in your lonely widower's bed."[616] It is not only winter, but specifically the frozen canal that carried romantic connotations, as Dutch authors identified it as an appropriate setting for young lovers to meet. Ice skating in particular was associated with romance.[617] One of the ways in which Westerbaen updates Ovid's *Art of Love* for the seventeenth-century Hague is to situate his lovers on the ice. Humanist authors in the sixteenth century described watching couples dance on the ice.[618] Perhaps such a dance is represented in the left side of Cornelis Jacobsz. van Culemborch's painting *Iceberg by Delfshaven Pier on 2 January 1565* described in Chapter 3 (Figure 6.14). Hadrianus Marius recounts young men and women arm-in-arm as they glide on the frozen waterway;

> "Love himself mixes into the company, wielding his torch and, where he also hurries, he softens people's hearts and the water. Often a young man returns home, not knowing that he is accompanied by the fire that he has found on the ice–who would believe that!–no

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Abel Spel vanden Winter ende vanden Somer, naar het Hulthemsche Handschrift uitgegeven, ingeleid en verklaard (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1946), 55.

[616] Both the English translation and the observation on Grotius' pun come from Arthur Eyffinger. Hugo Grotius, *The Poetry of Hugo Grotius, Original Poetry 1602-1603*, ed. Arthur Eyffinger (Assen/Maastricht: van Gorcum, 1988), 645. Westerbaen also underscores the erotic glimpses provided by a woman putting on clothes to keep herself warm in the winter. Westerbaen, *Gedichten*, 26. While ultimately describing how a suitor must settle for second after a woman's warmer, the emblem "Mignon des Dames" in Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* suggests (attempts at) courtship occurring when the woman has her "stove with fire in it, the Jewel of our Dutch women, especially when the Snowflakes fall and the Clouds and Frost attack the leaves on the trees… (*Een Stoof met vier daer in, is een bemint Iuweel by onse Hollantsche Vrouwen, bysonder als de Sneeu-vlocken vlieghen, en de Haghel ende Rijp het lof van de boomen jaeght:…*)". Roemer Visscher, *Sinnepoppen*, ed. L. Brummel (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1949), 178. Ilja Veldman wonders if the torch in Crispijn de Passe I's *Winter* as Boreas and Oreithyia is suggestive of themes of romance. Ilja M. Veldman, "Waaien met de Mode Mee: De Vier Jaargetijden in de Prentkunst van de Nederlanden," in *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, ed. Yvette Bruijnen, Paul Huys Janssen, et al. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2002), 74-75.

[617] A point made by Laurinda Dixon. She points to couples skating harmoniously together as indicative of the perfect compatibility of their relationship and the dangers of the ice as symbolic of the difficulties of love. She also connects the lovers enjoying the ice with the theme of the warmth of love ameliorating the chills of winter. Dixon, *Skating in the Arts of 17th Century Holland*, 34-36.

[618] De Landtsheer, "IJspret" and Meijerman, *Hollandse Winters*, 54.

hard winter with snow and ice can pacify it, no more than Tethys can extinguish it in her endless waves."[619]

The connection between skating and love thrived in the seventeenth century. On a few occasions, Grotius identified amorous encounters as a winter pleasure. In a poem describing the joys of winter, Grotius recalls Venus and Cupid as young people find romance on the ice. He writes, "In that moment our love is elevated on wings of happiness and rises to the stars in the heavens, when my beloved and I step onto the ice and go over the water that froze over the night." Grotius also describes kissing and embracing his lover by the fire and details how the winter constellations characterize the season as one for romance.[620] Elsewhere, Grotius writes of the ice as one of Cupid's favorite playgrounds as the glimpse of a woman's leg as she puts on her skate causes "a frivolous Amor to secretly shoot his arrows."[621] This suggests that the common motif in winter scenes of a man putting on a woman's skate[622] was erotically charged. This act let a young man not only witness, but also touch his desired part of a woman's body. Skating also features in Daniël Heinsius' emblem book on love. The emblem "*In lubrico*" in *Emblemata Amatoria* cautions readers on the slippery and dangerous aspects of romance by likening it to

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[619] "*Ipse Amor in medio fertur, taedamque coruscate, quaque volat mentesque hominum colliquat, et aequor, saepe aliquis iuvenum glacie (quis credat) in ipsa inventos, abiens secum tulit inscius ignes, quos non bruma rigens nivibus sopire geluque possit, nec vastis exstinguere Tethys in undis./Amor zelf mengt zich in het gezelschap, zwaait zijn fakkel en, waar hij ook ijlt, hij maakt de harten van de mensen week en het water. Vaak neemt een jongeman die huiswaarts keert, ongeweten het vuur mee dat hij vond op 't ijs–wie zou dat geloven!–geen starre winter met sneeuw en ijs kan het sussen, en evenmin kan Tethys het doven in haar eindeloze golven.*" De Landtsheer, "IJspret," 99-100.

[620] For "*Hiemis Commoda, Ad Potteium*" and its Dutch translation "*De Geneugten van de Winter voor Pottey*," see Hugo Grotius, *De Dichtwerken van Hugo Grotius: Oorspronkelijke Dichtwerken, Tweede Deel, Pars 2*, trans. Dr. B. L. Meulenbroek (Assen: Van Gorcum & Comp., 1977), 90-95.

[621] This line, which I translated from Dr. B. L. Meulenbroek's Dutch translation of Grotius' Latin (*…van waaruit een wurfte Amor in het geniep zijn schichten schiet,…*), is from the poem "*Hiemis Commoda, Ad Potteium*" found in the annex of ibid., 212-213.

[622] For examples by Avercamp, see Pieter Roelofs, "The Paintings: The Dutch on the Ice," in *Hendrick Avercamp: Master of the Ice Scene*, ed. Pieter Roelofs (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2009), 59-60.

skating. It illustrates Cupid on skates with blades that mirror those of the arrow in his hand.[623] Yet one did not need to be an erudite humanist to be exposed to ideas on the sensual and erotic potential of ice skating. They were also expressed in an Amsterdam dialect on the stage in Gerbrand Adriaenszoon Bredero's *Moortje*; "Harmen Hooch-hart speeding o'er the ice so grandly and so well,/Hooked on her skates, so that the poor girl crashed and fell/Headlong, Oh how I laughed when I saw what came to pass/For she fell upon her nose, so that I saw her naked arse."[624] Jeannine de Landtsheer speculates that Jesuits in the seventeenth-century Spanish Netherlands forbade their students from playing on the ice because of the erotic connotations of women putting on their skates and slipping on the ice.[625]

As suggested by the motif of a man putting on a woman's skate, winter was considered an occasion for public erotic displays.[626] As Bredero indicates, a dress is unforgiving attire on

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[623] Nearly half of Heinsius' eight lines describe moving on the water with two iron blades, further underscoring the connection between skating and romance. Daniël Heinsius, *Nederduytsche Poemata*, ed. Barbara Becker-Cantarino (Bern and Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1983), 78. My thanks to Lawrence Goedde for assistance teasing out the meanings of the text and for the observation that the blades of the skate resemble Cupid's arrows.

[624] Translation from Pieter Roelofs. "*Harmen Hooch-hart, die soo weyts ryt en snort,/Die haeckten in heur scgaets, soo dat de goet-hart stort/En vil een harde smack, o dat ick my niet doot lach,/Wangt sy vil op haer neus, soo datmer ael-korf bloot sach*." Roelofs, "The Paintings," 75. We have seen in Chapter 4 how a quatrain in the songbook *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* connected watching a woman slip on the ice to watching her fall into bed.

[625] She cites the *Instructio pro scholis* from 1625, which states that "It is proclaimed that walking on the ice and other wintery activities are forbidden (*Denuntiet vetitum esse decursionem per glaciem et alias hyemis insolentias*, which she translates to *Er dient afgekondigd dat over het ijs lopen en andere winterse waaghalzerijen verboden zijn*)." De Landtsheer, "IJspret," 91. Winter weather also received erotic connotations as it was a literary convention to recall snow to highlight whiteness. Women's faces, necks, limbs, and especially breasts were identified as "snowy" in poems by authors such as Edmund Spenser, George Buchanan, Johannes Secundus, Joachim du Bellay, Jacob Balde, Christopher Marlowe, Ben Jonson, and William Shakespeare. S. K. Heninger, Jr., *A Handbook of Renaissance Meteorology* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1960), 154-157, 172, 180, and 210-211 and *An Anthology of Neo-Latin Poetry*, ed. and trans. Fred J. Nichols (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979). Dovecotes are one of the handful of buildings included in winter scenes. While there is nothing overtly erotic about them, D. Bax details the sexual and romantic implications of doves, noting that in the sixteenth century, "dove house (*duyf-huys*)" was a term for a brothel. D. Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch: His Picture-Writing Deciphered*, trans. M. A. Bax-Botha (Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema, 1979), 124. Wolfgang Stechow noted that depictions of tying skates were erotically charged in eighteenth-century French art. Wolfgang Stechow, "The Winter Landscape in the History of Art," *Criticism* 2 (1960), 184.

[626] Pieter Roelofs acknowledged that Avercamp's winter scenes contain risqué elements. Roelofs, "The Paintings," 54 and 76.

the ice. Skating allows amble opportunities for spectators to catch a glimpse up a woman's dress, whether from the wind and speed as she passes or by her falling on the ice. Artists give their winter scenes an erotic effect by including a woman toppled over the ice potentially exposing herself.[627] This detail goes back to Bruegel and his followers, as both *Skaters by St. George's Gate in Antwerp* and Hans Bol's *Winter* provide a glimpse of a fallen woman's buttocks. Avercamp and Adriaen van de Venne continued this motif into the seventeenth century and sometimes included men on the ice peeking up the woman's dress.[628] A fallen woman also reveals her legs in the background of Wouwerman's winter scene in Munich. But even before the winter scene came to the Northern Netherlands, artists recognized the potential for eroticism on the ice. In his winter scenes, Jacob Grimmer depicted groups of young people pinning down a woman and pelting her with snowballs. Many times they toss the snowballs up her dress.[629]

Arresleeën

Horse-drawn sleighs, such as those trotting through the right side of Wouwerman's painting, the foreground of Jan van Goyen's *Ice view with the Huis te Merwede*, and the background of van der Neer's winter scene in the Rijksmuseum, also carried connotations of social relaxation. While *arresleeën* did not feature as emblems for folly in winter scenes, such

[627] Dixon, *Skating in the Arts of 17th Century Holland*, 34.
[628] Laurens J. Bol, *Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne: Painter and Draughtsman*, trans. Jennifer M. Kilian and Marjorie E. Wieseman (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1989), 31-32 and Roelofs, "The Paintings," 75. Joseph Leo Koerner connects falling skaters with the humiliation of Carnival's "seemingly licensed excess." Joseph Leo Koerner, *Bosch and Bruegel: From Enemy Painting to Everyday Life* (Princeton and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 235.
[629] As in two winter scenes in private collections illustrated in Reine de Bertier de Sauvigny, *Jacob et Abel Grimmer Catalogue Raisonné* (Waterloo: La Renaissance de Livre, 1991), 108 and 161. Abel Grimmer painted a young man forcing his hand down a woman's dress to throw snowballs at her bare breasts. She is positioned on the ground in a pose that reveals her bare legs. In the same painting, another woman reveals her legs as she slips on the ice. See Ibid., 38.

vehicles were associated with immoral behavior and likely affected how a beholder approached these images. There is a long tradition in the Netherlands connecting group transportation with Carnival and folly.[630] The Dutch word for such horse-drawn sleighs, *arreslee*, derives from *narrenslee*, or the sled of fools from Carnival. Some seventeenth-century document even refer to such sleighs as a *narreslee* in their accounts of ice pleasures.[631] Yet these sleighs also testify to Dutch ingenuity and the ability to master winter by transforming its hardships into leisure as many of the sleigh riders in winter scenes are on pleasure trips.[632]

These horse-drawn sleighs had erotic and romantic associations. We saw in Chapter 4 how *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* contains an entire song about lovers riding in a horse-drawn sleigh in which laughing and kissing occurs.[633] In "*'s Graven-Hage*," a poem praising The Hague,

[630] While scholars debate if it was a real institution or a literary device, the mock guild *Blau Schut* ("Blue Ship") was responsible for Carnival antics. Carnival floats decorated as blue boats could be found from Utrecht to Brabant to Franconia. Bruegel even named his tavern "*blau schut*" on the Carnival side of the painting *The Battle of Carnival and Lent*. Kavaler, *Pieter Bruegel*, 121 and Larry Silver, *Peasant Scenes and Landscapes: The Rise of Pictorial Genres in the Antwerp Art Market*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 142. For the "blue ship," see Herman Pleij, *Het Gilde van de Blauwe Schuit: Literatuur, Volksfeest en Burgermoraal in de Late Middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1979). Boats were associated with foolishness in the visual and literary traditions of *The Ship of Fools* and *St. Reynuut*. Bruegel in his 1558 *Last Judgement* engraving shows demons and the damned being tipped into the mouth of hell from a boat. Manfred Sellink, *Bruegel: The Complete Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Antwerp: Ludion, 2007), 114-115. Hieronymus Bosch's *Haywain Triptych* and the poem *Van de Langhen Waghen ende van zijn licht-gheladen Vracht van alderhande volcxken* ("Concerning the Long Wagon and its Lightweight Freight Consisting of Various Types of People") both use the motif of a wagon carrying its passengers towards the repercussions of their sinful or foolish behavior. See Keith P. F. Moxey, "The Ship of Fools and the Idea of Folly in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Literature," in *The Early Illustrated Book: Essays in Honor of Lessing J. Rosenwald*, ed. Sandra Hindman (Washington: Library of Congress, 1982), 89 for the poem. For the uses of wagons and ships in Netherlandish satire, see Leopoldine Prosperetti, *Landscape and Philosophy in the Art of Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625)* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009), 12.

[631] Such as Jacob van der Does, *'s Graven-Hage met de Voornaemste Plaetsen en Vermaecklijckheden* (The Hague: Johannes Tongerloo, 1668) and "Cupid's Winter Song (*Cupidoos Winter-deuntje*)" in the songbook *Utrechts zang-prieeltjen* (Utrecht: Lucas de Vries, 1649), 99-100. A "Winter Song (*Winter-Liedt*)" in *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* refers to such sleds as simply "*Nar*." *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*, 67-68. Previously in the songbook, horse-drawn sleighs were called "*narre-slee*" and "*Narren*." Some scholars suggest that the term derives from the bells attached to the sleighs to warn people on the ice of the approaching vehicle. Fools in Netherlandish culture were typically represented in clothes with bells attached. This suggestion is in note 1 of Epco Runia's entry for Nicolaes Berchem's *The Sleigh Ride* in Zürich in the catalogue *Holland Frozen in Time*, 92-93 and 161.

[632] Herman Pleij noted that these sleighs made transportation more fun in winter. Herman Pleij, *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511: Stadscultuur in de Late Middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1988), 63.

[633] *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*, 67-68.

Jacob van der Does mentions riding in a sleigh with a "lover (*Vrijster*)" trying to keep herself warm. This section of the poem underscores the romantic features of winter as the speaker describes kissing her and giving her company through the night before offering advice on romance.[634] Sleighs featured into Dutch ideas on courtship. In his "*Onderwijzing voor de vrijers* (Lessons for the Lover)" in *Avond-school voor vryers en vrysters* ("Evening School for Lovers"), Jacob Westerbaen acknowledges that sleigh rides around The Hague offer the perfect opportunity to meet and to spend time with young women.[635] The song "*Cupidoos Winter-deuntje* (Cupid's Winter Song)," from the songbook *Utrechts zang-prieeltjen* from 1649, directly connects sleighs and courtship.[636] The composer, identified as "C. Ceep," presents a joyous scene on the frozen Amstel as a "lover's *kermis* (*minnaers…Kermis feest*)" where, "The snow frozen though the cold brings out the sleds [*narre sleetje*] to attract a desirable bride."[637] The amorous song ends by listing the creatures, such as dragons, swans, and mermaids, of which the bodies of sleighs are shaped. In her essay on festive sleighs in German-speaking areas, Monica Kurzel-Runtscheiner underscores the erotic aspect of a couple sitting in close proximity in a sled.[638] This was also noticed by Dutch authors. Van der Does writes of "lovers seated close to each other rolling together along the ice" as they bounce around in the sleigh.[639] Six presents the

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[634] "*…Zijn u de leder warm, soo maeckt u weder ree/Om met u Vrijster te gaen stappen na de slee…*" Van der Does, *'s Graven-Hage*, 59-61. Similarly, Six notices the "beautiful maiden" sitting inside the sleight. "*Daar binnen zit die schone maagd/waar menig' sage van gewaagt:…*" Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 55.

[635] Westerbaen, *Gedichten*, 25-26.

[636] *Utrechts zang-prieeltjen*, 99-100.

[637] "*Het sneeu door kou bevroore/Lockt 't na, na, na, na, na, narre sleetje uyt,/Om daer door te bekoore/Een lang gewen, wen, wen, wen, wenste Bruydt*." Ibid., 99.

[638] She also recalls a drawing of a sleigh by Jeremias Schemel from around 1570 that includes the "erotic component" of a nude woman with a lute next to a boar. Monica Kurzel-Runtscheiner, "*Winterfreuden: Schlitten und Schlittenfahrten in der Mitteleuropäischen Kunst und Kulturgeschichte*," in *Wintermärchen: Winter-Darstellungen in der Europäischen Kunst von Bruegel bis Beuys*, ed. Sabine Haag, Ronald de Leeuw, and Christoph Becker (Vienna and Zurich: Kunsthistorisches Museum and Kunsthaus Zürich, 2011), 96.

[639] "*…Dat daer een Sleetje, dat met kracht komt aengestoven,/Soo stuyt of slingert, dat het onderste raeckt boven;/En dat de Vryer, met de Vryster, dicht aen een/Geseten, langshet ys daer samen rollen heen*." Van der Does, *'s Graven-Hage*, 63.

sleigh as an area in which a woman is sexually vulnerable when he likens a woman riding a bull-shaped sleigh to Europa.[640] This comparison also illustrates how ice activities elevate the Dutch to the status of the heroes of classical antiquity as an Amsterdammer riding a sleigh is discussed in the same manner as the daughter of King Minos.

As suggested by their Carnival name, these *narresleeën* permitted typically private and crude behaviors to become public spectacles on the ice. These horse-drawn sleighs find their warm weather match with the carriages that liberated young lovers from the public eye of the city in pleasure trips to the beach. Roberts presents such wagon rides as highly erotic experiences, as in the song from *Haerlemsche Duyn-Vreucht* mentioned above where wagon riders need the ocean water to cool themselves down after the passionate and intimate journey.[641] As in pastoral literature, the countryside offers the privacy to permit amorous and erotic behaviors, which became associated with the wagon journey itself. The horse-drawn sleigh offers a similar pleasure excursion on the ice. Van der Does treats sleighs and wagons identically when he describes carriages and wagons traveling by ice in winter and on land in summer and Six likens sleighs to wagons without wheels.[642] While sleighs were paraded through the community instead of removing their riders to a secure and intimate setting, they

[640] Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 55. See especially the commentary for this comparison.
[641] Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before Rock 'N' Roll*, 204-205. Such wagon rides full of young people with raging hormones are likely illustrated in the emblem "*Een oudt voer man hoort geerne 'tgeklap van de sweep* (An old man hears an approaching wagon)" in Jacob Cats' *Spiegel vanden Ouden ende Nieuwen Tyd* (Mirror of the Old and New Time) and on the first page of the songbook *Den Bloem-hof van de Nederlantsche Jeught beplant met uijtgelesene Elegien, Sonnetten, Epithalamien, en gesangen etc* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz. 1608).
[642] *"…Het is, om dat noyt Koets of Wagen buyten gaet,/Of weder binnen komt, die hier niet door moet rijden,/Het zy by winter dagh, of soete Somer tyden:/Des winters van het ys, des Somers van het landt;…*" Van der Does, *'s Graven-Hage*, 66. "*…Het sleep een wagen zonder rad/of wielen langs 't gestremde nat/op stalen latten, als een slee,/gespannen aan een Rus'sche ree…*" Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 55.

were still considered to offer the privacy for courtship. Thus the *arresleeën* in the winter scene represent permissible private behavior in a public setting.[643]

Unlike the lovers on pleasure wagon trips, sleigh riders wished to be seen. Sleigh rides entertained spectators. Sleighs of wealthier riders were crafted into the shapes of animals and decorated with images, as indicated by Wouwerman's dragon-shaped sleigh with St. George aiming his spear at the beast's mouth (Figure 6.15). Like the ladies sitting in the sleighs, the horses were also dressed in bright colors, as Wouwerman's horses are colorfully clad in ostentatious bells and plumes. Wouwerman's sleighs match those described by Six in "The Amsterdammers' Winter," which are decorated with bells and colorful ostrich feathers and sculpted as swans and other animals, underscoring the spectacle.[644] While the bells served a practical purpose, their sound further drew attention to the sleighs. Nobles and monarch in early modern Europe made shows out of sleigh processions.[645] Six used the word *pronk*, which has ostentatious connotations, to describe the colors of the sleds. In "*'s Graven-Hage*," van der Does writes of pleasure seekers "going around the Voorhout for an hour or two, and so much joy for

[643] Related to the romance offered by wagon trips, the beach also became a location for permissible displays of affection. The emblem "*El amor de los asnos entra à coces y a bocados* (Donkey love comes with kicks and bites)" in *Spiegel vanden Ouden en Nieuwen Tyd* illustrates young couples in the courtship practice of a man grabbing his lover, rolling with her down a dune, and throwing her into the sea. This was done so that the man could both judge his partner's temperament and wash off her make-up. Representations of this practice are very rare in Dutch art, yet the privacy of the beach makes this sort of courtship behavior permissible. Cats, *Spiegel vanden Ouden en Nieuwen Tyd*, 52. For this courtship practice, see Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before Rock 'N' Roll*, 205. Like the ice of a winter scene, beach scenes in Dutch art also depict people from various social classes occupying the same space.

[644] "*Daar draaft het stoute belgedruis/met kleurde pluimen van het struis/op d'oren en de stijve start,/gescherpt voor struikeling bewaard./Het sleep een wagen zonder rad/of wielen langs 't gestremde nat/op stalen latten, als een slee,/gespannen aan een Rus'sche ree./Het maaksel is een blanke zwaan/met zachte warme donzen aan,/of lijkt een wrede waterstier/gebeiteld uit een populier,/gevoederd van een ruige beer/gehard in Groenlands winterweer*." Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 55. The notes identify "*belgedruis*" as "horse with bells." Bax underscores the connection between swans with and taverns, suggesting that the bird is representative of sex and intoxication. Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch*, 120.

[645] For such sleigh processions in German-speaking areas, Kurzel-Runtscheiner, "*Winterfreuden*," 95-105. Wenceslaus Hollar designed a print of such a procession in Strasbourg.

the ears and the eyes: here the people go around on carts and enjoy the view of so many sleighs: with every one beautifully decorated and standing out, *they are out there to be seen*." (Emphasis mine.)[646] In addition to the public spectacle, horse-drawn sleighs represent another key feature of Carnival by unifying social classes in the same public space. Both Wouwerman's winter scene in Munich and van der Neer's in the Rijksmuseum juxtapose social classes through *arresleeën*. The left sides of both compositions illustrate a simple wooden box in which peasants, hunters, and fishermen sit on hay, while the right sides contain elegantly dressed individuals riding on gilded and carefully carved sleighs on which a man stands on the back with whip in hand. Despite the differences between the sleighs, they offer the same relaxation to all people in a public setting.

Alcohol Consumption

Drinking is ubiquitous to the winter scene. In Chapter 4, we saw how drinking is central to Horace's and his Dutch follower's response to rough winter weather, and Chapter 5 identifies the role that alcohol consumption played in the winter holidays of Twelfth Night and Carnival. Likewise, many winter scenes feature a tavern, such as van Goyen's 1638 painting with the Huis te Merwede and the rustic building in Bol's *Winter*. But drinking normally occurs in *koek-en-zopie* tents. Van Goyen's painting places the tavern to the left to the composition and *koek-en-*

[646] *"…Hier mee rondom 't Voorhout een uyr twee drie gevlogen,/En soo veel vreucht gedaen aen ooren, als een oogen:/Hier mee de Koetsen de Menschen op de been,/En haer vermaeckt met het gesicht van soo veel Sleen:/Die elck op't heerelijkst, verçiert en uytgestreken/Met alle kostlijckheyt, sijn waert te sijn bekeeken:…*" Van der Does, *'s Graven-Hage*, 34. Six also describes the flamboyant display of sleights, "*Zo druisen honderd bellekleên/ordentlijk dravende achtereen,/met allerlei gediert' van hout/vol nimfen.*" Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 57. Jacob Westerbaen mentions the bells attached to horses on the sleighs in *Onderwijzing voor de vrijers*. Westerbaen, *Gedichten*, 25. A French diplomat working on peace negotiations in Delft wrote in December of 1696 of seeing colorful sleighs shaped like animals and ships and adorned with bells. For his account, see Meijerman, *Hollandse Winters*, 34-35. For ornately decorated sleds and how they are treated in art, see ibid., 142-143. For descriptions of *arresleeën*, see ibid., 146-159.

zopie tents to the right, thus framing the ice pleasures in terms of drinking. Erected on the ice by local taverns, *koek-en-zopie* tents are also included in our examples by Avercamp and Wouwerman. The drinking that occurs inside these tents is indicated by their signs and suspended jugs and branches typically placed on taverns and the barrels located next to them. Many *koek-en-zopie* tents support local flags, especially the tricolored flag of the Dutch Republic, as seen in our examples by Avercamp, van Goyen, and Wouwerman.[647] Elsewhere in Dutch art, this flag only consistently appears on the ships that brought wealth and prestige to the young republic. These indicators of national identity distinguish winter scenes as distinctly Dutch. Additionally, of the handful of labors depicted on the ice, many of them recall drinking. Both van Goyen and Wouwerman illustrate barrels transported to *koek-en-zopie* tents via sleds. One of the few people in the foreground of van de Cappelle's *Winter Scene with Kolf Players* stops pushing a sled loaded with a barrel to talk to a woman.[648]

Alcohol consumption is not unique to the winter scene. We saw how it is a staple of representations of Twelfth Night, *kermises*, and other celebrations in Chapter 5. Peasant tavern scenes also center around the act of drinking. Adriaen van Ostade was a prolific and well-known specialist of this genre. His paintings such as *Interior with Drinking Figures and Crying Children* (Figure 6.16)[649] and *Drunkards in a Tavern* (Figure 6.17)[650] depict grotesque caricatures of peasants–and only people from this one social class–who engage in crude and

[647] In "The Amsterdammers' Winter," Six recounts the orange banner waving high with army imagery. Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 65.
[648] Most of Isaac van Ostade's winter scenes are centered around the task of unloading barrels from a sled to a tavern.
[649] Dated 1634, the painting is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. See https://emuseum.mfah.org/objects/19496/interior-with-drinking-figures-and-crying-children?ctx=fe35b8bea2a1097b881f1cf56da2f90f7d67cb44&idx=2.
[650] Dated 1640, the painting is now in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. See https://art.famsf.org/adriaen-van-ostade/drunkards-tavern-1993363.

threatening behaviors. Removed from the public eye in dark and dilapidated interiors, they shout, drink, smoke, and respond aggressively towards each other. Some are too intoxicated to maintain an erect posture. The painting in Houston is granted an even more ominous tone as one child violently beats another with a spoon. Mouths gaping open simultaneously suggest intoxication, anger, and ignorance. Later in his career, van Ostade's peasant scenes are less threatening. His *Interior Peasant Scene* from 1661 now in the Rijksmuseum (Figure 6.18)[651] is set in a solidly built domestic setting that welcomes sunlight. While the violence, shouting, and extreme intoxication are lacking, van Ostade's peasants still smoke, drink, and address each other with drunken grins on round and wrinkled faces. While the little girl in the foreground is not attacking a playmate, she is left to care for herself and the dog as she stirs a bowl and addresses her pet like a maternal figure in miniature. While this is a scene of leisure, there is nothing extraordinary about this relaxation as the beholder has no urge to join the scene. While merry company scenes, such as that by Dirck Hals (Figure 6.19),[652] feature the exact opposite types of people, they are also characterized by drinking in private.[653] Such paintings portray exclusively wealthy youths feasting and drinking around a table either in an interior as in this case or in a secluded garden. Like a peasant tavern scene, these images depict individuals from the same social group, but now they are stylish, youthful, and idealized. They sit around a table covered with extravagant foods, they are dressed in modish outfits, and the mood of their

[651] https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/zoeken/objecten?q=adriaen+van+ostade&s=chronologic&f=1&p=2&ps=12&f.dating.period=17&ondisplay=True&st=Objects&ii=2#/SK-C-200,14.

[652] Dated 1633 and now in the Mauritshuis. See https://www.mauritshuis.nl/nl-nl/verdiep/de-collectie/kunstwerken/vrolijk-gezelschap-1060/.

[653] Huigen Leeflang notes the similarities between peasant tavern scenes and merry companies, going as far as calling one the "counterpart" of the other. Huigen Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View: Haarlem and its Environs in Literature and Art, 15th-17th Century," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1997, Deel 48: Natuur en Landschap in de Nederlandse Kunst 1500-1850*, ed. Reindert Falkenburg, Jan de Jong, Mark Meadow, Bart Ramakers, Herman Roodenburg, and Frits Scholten (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), 94.

exclusive gathering is cheerful. Drinking is also represented in private domestic settings, whether in a quiet courtyard by Pieter de Hooch (Figure 6.20)[654] or around a boisterous table with comically irresponsible household heads as with Jan Steen (Figure 6.21).[655] Much like Steen's disastrous household, drinking is also represented among character types and in settings deemed worthy of criticism, such as by a guest in a brothel (Figure 6.22).[656] All of these works depict alcohol consumption as something done privately or in a mocking or judgmental tone.[657]

However, just as a celebratory *kermis* scene, the winter scene illustrates drinking in a public setting as a characteristic pleasure of winter. Six's "The Amsterdammers' Winter" similarly describes the drinking, tobacco, and games typical of the peasant tavern scene in the context of winter pleasures.[658] There is nothing moralizing of humorous about the drinkers in winter scenes. Instead, they enhance the celebratory tone of the images. Many Dutch festivals and celebrations were observed with excessive drinking. On St. Luke's Day in Leiden in 1642, the painter Philips Angel delivered a speech to "praise of the noble free art of painting…offering it to you as a St. Luke's gift, taking more pleasure in doing so than in indulging in an orgy of eating and scandalous carousing, as nowadays the tipplers do far too much when marking this day."[659] Given the connection between public drinking and festivals, the drinkers in the winter

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[654] https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.63.html.

[655] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437747.

[656] A brothel scene by Frans van Mieris the Elder dated 1658 and now in the Mauritshuis, centers on the action of a young woman pouring a glass of wine for a seated man. See Seymour Slive, *Dutch Painting 1600-1800* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 168.

[657] For critical attitudes towards drinking in Dutch art, see Eddy de Jongh's entry for Jacob Matham's *The Consequences of Drunkenness* in Eddy de Jongh and Ger Luijten, *Mirror of Everyday Life: Genreprints in the Netherlands 1550-1700*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Ghent: Snoeck-Ducaju & Zoon and Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1997), 165-170 and Konrad Renger, *Lockere Gesellschaft: Zur Ikonographie des Verlorenen Sohnes und von Wirtshausszenen in der Niederländischen Malerei* (Berlin: Verlag Gebrüder Mann, 1970).

[658] Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 39-41.

[659] Philips Angel, "Praise of Painting," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 24 (1996), 232. An ode accompanying the printed version of Angel's speech laments the significant number of people who chose to honor St. Luke by drinking to the point that they find walking difficult. Ibid., 230-231. It must be noted, however, that drinking was not only a celebratory act in the seventeenth century. Alcohol consumption was routine in the

scene suggest that waking up to a frozen canal provided an excuse to celebrate. In reality, the Dutch responded to such conditions with Horace's advice to drink through difficult weather. While traveling in the Netherlands, the Englishman Fynes Moryson described tents on the ice for locals to have a fireside glass of beer or wine, recalling the *koek-en-zopie* tents illustrated by Avercamp, van Goyen, and Wouwerman.[660] In Friesland during the winter of 1607-1608, the lawyer Pier van Winsen connected sleigh rides with "visiting many tents and huts attached across the ice, where one can get beer and wine."[661] Six recounts the places to get beer in his account of winter in Amsterdam[662] and Westerbaen parrots Horace when he urges his lovers to take to the tavern to combat the cold with fire and warm wine.[663] But while alcohol consumption characterized winter joys, intoxication does not feature among ice pleasures as it does with celebrations such as *kermises*, Carnival, and Twelfth Night. Contrasting with peasant tavern and *kermis* scenes, I do not recall ever seeing an individual vomit on the ice.

Netherlands. There were health benefits to consuming beer as it was safer to drink than unfiltered water and the beverage was a major source of nutrition before the potato was widely available to European tables. See van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age*, 100-101, 105, 166, 196; Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Random House, 1997), 172, 190-192, and 199; and Ronni Baer, *Class Distinctions: Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2016), 212. Benjamin B. Roberts, who proposes that the cold, damp climate of the Netherlands contributed to alcohol consumption, considers drinking to be a display of masculinity as a young man demonstrated that he could consume large quantities of alcohol while retaining control of his body. Roberts, *Sex and Drugs Before Rock 'N' Roll*, 75-97. For the role of beer and wine in European drinking practices before the introduction of coffee and other warm non-alcoholic beverages and the nutritional value of beer in early modern Europe, see Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants*, trans. David Jacobson (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992), 22-34.

[660] For the reference, see Buisman, *Duizend Jaar Weer, Wind en Water in de Lage Landen,* volume 4, 136-137.

[661] *"…alwaer ontrent vele Tenten ende Hutten op het vaste YS geslaghen waren, daer men wijn ende Byer, ghetopt ende gheschoncken heeft*." Cited ibid., 247. For additional references to alcohol consumption on the ice, see Meijerman, *Hollandse Winters*, 17, 84-88. Specifically, for *koek-en-zopie* tents, see 85-88.

[662] "One searches for the Omval, the other finds the *Zwarthuis* or where one can warm himself with a pint (*d'Een zoekt den Omval, d'ander vindt/'t Zwarthuis of waar men om een pint/zich warmt,…*)." Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 61.

[663] "*Tot de Forierster, in de herberg van Romein/en and're meer ontvangt men alles, groot en klein,/die koud en half verkleumd daar vallen in en zwarmen/ontrent de haard om zich bij 't vuur te mogen warmen,/of met een borstlap van een kan gewarmde wijn,/-om tegen 't snippen van de wind gehard te zijn-/zichzelf te wapenen.*" Westerbaen, *Gedichten*, 25.

Alcohol consumption is not only celebratory, but also associated with relaxation. In The *Inleyding*, van Hoogstraten dedicates close to an entire page on wine in his chapter on leisure and rest.[664] Yet the wintertime drinkers relax in a particularly Dutch manner. The Dutch were famous for beer production and consumption.[665] Foreign visitors noted the Dutch fondness of drinking and attributed it to the natural conditions of the Netherlands.[666] The Dutch were aware of their reputation. After Jean Louis de Guez, Sieur de Balzac's harsh attacks on beer and its adverse impact on Dutch poets, Grotius responded that, since Northerners conquered Greece, the muses must prefer the mild beverage of the Rhine to Bacchus' Arcadian wine.[667] Given the national pride with which the Dutch associated the beverage, it is no coincidence that many of the beer-related labors and consumption in winter scenes occur under the Dutch flag on the *koek-en-zopie* tents.

Representations of drinkers on the ice also indicate community. Even in the present, alcohol consumption is central to social practices that unite people.[668] In the Dutch Republic, the

[664] He mentions Cato occasionally enjoying the beverage and cites other classical writers, including Plato, on the power of wine to elevate the creative energies. While van Hoogstraten encourages moderation, he associates wine with freedom, health, and the augmentation of creative powers. Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 199-200. See also Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age*, trans. Beverley Jackson and Lynne Richards (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), 207-109. Two years before van Hoogstraten published The *Inleyding*, Simon van Leeuwen in Leiden wrote that, "the people who feed themselves only by working the land usually look for relaxation in the inn." Baer, *Class Distinctions*, 213.

[665] Certain cities, such as Delft and Haarlem, were celebrated for their beer. In 1631, Amsterdam had over 500 alehouses and a decade earlier, about 100 breweries could be found in Haarlem. It has been estimated that Haarlem brewed 44 million liters, or more than 12 million gallons, of beer annually. Not surprisingly, Samuel Ampzing wrote of brewing as Haarlem's primary industry. For brewing and beer consumption in the Netherlands, see note 659.

[666] Fynes Moryson linked Dutch proclivity for alcohol with the rough waters and phlegmatic complexions. See Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 190. The Dutch had such a strong reputation for drinking that the English referred to an intoxicated person as someone who drank in the Dutch manner. Van Deursen describes the account of a Spaniard who wrote of Dutch women getting their lover intoxicated to judge how quarrelsome he was before advancing their relationship to the altar. Van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age*, 87.

[667] "Beer" is cited in a letter described in E. H. Bodkin, "The Minor Poetry of Hugo Grotius," *Transactions of the Grotius Society* 13 (1927), 109-110.

[668] A point made in Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise*, 167-171. He considers interactions such as making a toast, buying rounds, and the conversations among strangers that occurs at the bar.

inn functioned as a public social center. We saw the ability of alcohol to unite families and various social classes in the winter holidays discussed in Chapter 5. As the winter scene illustrates all social classes, genders, and ages relaxing on the same patch of ice, the drinking may also recall a unified and harmonious society. The tavern became a literary symbol of Dutch identity and their laudable simplicity.[669] Perhaps this hallmark of the winter scene also nods towards social unity in the young republic.

To summarize the nature of drinking in the winter scene, let us consider the detail of the *koek-en-zopie* tent in Wouwerman's painting (Figure 6.23). Underneath the Dutch flag fluttering over the simple tent is essentially a peasant tavern scene. Like the earlier two paintings by van Ostade mentioned above, peasants huddle over the fire and its grey smoke in a dark setting. Immediately outside of the tent, three peasants demonstrate the crude behaviors typical of peasant tavern scenes. Wouwerman includes a man squatting behind a barrel, very likely defecating. On the other side of the barrel by the entrance to the tent are the unusual inclusions in a winter scene of men in the acts of drinking and smoking.[670] Intoxication is clearly the intention of the drinking peasant as he presses a vessel to his lips with both hands and greedily guzzles its contents in one gulp. The seated smoker is wearing skates, connecting substance abuse with the licenses of games on the ice. However, the differences between Wouwerman's *koek-en-zopie* tent and van Ostade's *Interior with Drinking Figures and Crying Children* and *Drunkards in a Tavern*, and to a lesser degree *Interior Peasant Scene*, are telling. While Wouwerman's drinker neglects moderation, nobody around him appears intoxicated. There are no drunken grins and everyone is still in control of their bodies. Like other winter scenes,

[669] See H. Rodney Nevitt, *Art and the Culture of Love in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 119-120.
[670] Bol's print *Winter* also illustrates individuals in the act of drinking. As does Jan Steen's only surviving winter scene.

Wouwerman's presents drink as a means of leisure rather than intoxication as it defines the peasant tavern scene.[671] Additionally, no drunken groping, sexual advances, or vomiting appears in the *koek-en-zopie* tent, all of which can be found in the peasants' tavern. There is only comradery, no violence, inside the tent. Outside of Wouwerman's tent, an *arreslee* delivers a hunter, a fisherman, and a woman. They appear sympathetic and industrious, deserving of their break and a chance to warm up. While van Ostade's early interiors are threatening, mocking, and populated by violent and irresponsible caricatures, the winter scene presents many of the same actions in a mild and wholesome manner.[672] No one fears for the baby about to enter Wouwerman's tent. With its face nestled against that of its caregiver, we are comfortable that the baby will receive proper attention and care. Another major difference between Wouwerman's tent and the peasant tavern scene is that the *koek-en-zopie* tent is but a detail in a wider scene of all classes sharing the ice in leisure. It was neither meant to be a private act in a secluded tavern or home nor created for the sole purpose of mocking one social class. Rather, the drinking serves as an example of how all of the Netherlands enjoys a naturally enforced relaxation. Drinking in the winter scene is not an indication of intoxication, lack of morals, or humor, but rather community, relaxation, and celebration, much like a cleaned-up *kermis* or Shrovetide.

[671] In Bruegel's *Numbering at Bethlehem*, Manfred Sellink identified villagers "drinking to keep themselves warm" as an example of how the painting functions as an "evocative depiction of everyday life in midwinter." Sellink, *Bruegel*, 231.

[672] Crude peasant behaviors and winter were connected well before the birth of Bruegel. The Burgundian Duke Jean de Berry would have seen peasants unabashedly exposing their genitals to the fire in the depiction of February in the calendar of the *Très Riches Heures*. Jonathan Alexander believes that this vulgar touch was meant to color the peasantry as simple and rude. Jonathan Alexander, "Labeur and Paresse: Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labor," *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990): 436-452.

Crude Bodily Functions

As suggested by the man defecating behind the barrel in Wouwerman's painting, winter scenes contain individuals performing the crude acts of urination and defecation in a public setting. Avercamp's painting in Schwerin also features a man defecating in an outhouse, as well as a child urinating against a *koek-en-zopie* tent.[673] Perhaps most blatantly, van de Venne dedicates almost the entire left side of a painting of *Winter* from a series of the seasons to men and a dog defecating and urinating while a child picks his nose (Figure 6.24).[674] As part of the relaxation of social standards ushered in by winter, such bodily functions are presented without an overtly judgmental tone.[675] As we have seen in Chapter 5, Mikhail Bakhtin identified bodily waste as characteristic of Carnival imagery. Perhaps such crude acts provide the winter scene with a carnivalesque atmosphere.[676] While van de Venne presumably meant for such behaviors to be mocking–he juxtaposes man and dog in the act—the men urinating and defecating on the shore come from different social classes. This gives the painting the carnivalesque message of society unified by the base and the crude.

[673] For urination and defecation in Avercamp's paintings, see Roelofs, "The Paintings," 76.
[674] This painting also prominently features a lecherous man leering up the dress of a woman who has fallen on the ice. For this painting, see Bol, *Adriaen Pietersz. van de Venne*, 31-32 and van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 148-149.
[675] The motif of a man urinating in a winter setting goes back to Bruegel's *Massacre of the Innocents*. Desmond Shawe-Taylor and Jennifer Scott connect one of Herod's soldier urinating against a house with the Old Testament passage of the man "that pissith against the wall." I Samuel 25:22 and 2 Kings 9:8. Desmond Shawe-Taylor and Jennifer Scott, *Bruegel to Rubens: Masters of Flemish Painting* (London: Royal Collections Publications, 2007) 88.
[676] Ariane van Suchtelen also connected the excrement in the winter scene with Shrovetide. Van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 46-49.

Kolf

Not all of the relaxations offered by winter are crude or lustful. After skating, kolf is one of most commonly depicted leisure activities on the ice.[677] Present even in Bruegel's earliest winter scenes,[678] players can be found striking balls with their clubs in winter scenes created throughout the seventeenth century, as in Avercamp's painting in Schwerin, van der Neer's winter scene in the Rijksmuseum, and in our examples by Wouwerman and van Goyen. Even though he portrayed fewer figures than typical for a winter scene, van de Cappelle was sure to include kolfers in his foreground. The relative lack of people on his ice makes the competitors stand out in their isolation.

It is not surprising that kolf games are a staple of winter scenes as its equipment was used as an attribute of winter in allegorical representations of the seasons. In Chapter 5, we saw the kolf stick and ball join the assemblage of seasonal objects in Sebastiaan Vrancx's *Allegory of Winter* (Figure 6.25) and used as a weapon from winter's arsenal in *The Battle between Summer and Winter* (Figure 6.26). About 60 years later in a series of the seasons, Barent Fabritius' represented *Winter* as a *putto* holding a kolf stick and ball.[679] Even though kolf was played throughout the year, the game was associated with winter and is very rarely illustrated outside of

[677] For kolf, see S. J. H. van Hengel, "Colf," in *Colf Kolf Golf: van Middeleeuws Volksspel tot Moderne Sport* (Zutphen: Terra, 1982); Christian Tico Seifert, "On Slippery Ground: *Kolf* in the Art of the Dutch Golden Age," in *The Art of Golf* (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 2012), 20-29; and Meijerman, *Hollandse Winters*, 97-101.

[678] In addition to *Skaters by St. George's Gate in Antwerp* and *Winter Landscape with a Bird Trap*, Bruegel also includes kolfers in *Hunters in the Snow*. Van Culemborch's *Iceberg by Delfshaven Pier on 2 January 1565* also features kolfers in the foreground.

[679] Another *putto* adjusts his skate and a third holds a musket and game. For this painting, see Marc de Beyer, "*De Vier Jaargetijden in de Noord-Nederlandse Decoratieve Schilderkunst* 1660-1750," in *De Vier Jaargetijden in de Kunst van de Nederlanden 1500-1750*, 96.

the season.[680] This association of the game with winter underscores the relaxations offered by the chilly season.

The game similar to modern golf that featured players striking a ball with a club either towards a target or for the longest distance was enthusiastically embraced by the Dutch in the seventeenth century.[681] Much like skating, kolf was popular with all segments of society.[682] Kolf's ability to transcend differences in social rank is displayed in van der Neer's *IJsvermaak outside a City Wall* in the Museum Bredius (Figure 6.27). In the foreground, two kolf parties represent different social classes as one is dressed much more elegantly than the other. Yet they enjoy the same game on the shared ice. Van der Neer intended for us to notice the equalizing power of kolf as he placed the two groups front and center in the foreground. Kolf not only removes distinctions between social classes, but also ages. Van der Neer again illustrates the social equality offered by the popular pastime in his winter scene in Berlin. While depictions of children playing kolf are not unusual, it is rare to find children and adults playing together. Van der Neer depicts a child holding a kolf stick, framed by a gap of missing posts near the center of

[680] One exception is a portrait of Gerritgen Dircksdr. Poelenburch with her grandchildren Pieter, Egbert, and Catharina Tulp from around 1626 and attributed to Nicolaes Eliasz. Pickenoy. The painting features the viewer interrupting young Pieter's and Egbert's kolf game on the grass.

[681] For seventeenth-century instructions on how to play, both Six and van Heemskerck state the rules in "The Amsterdammers' Winter" and "*Lof van 't Landt-Leven, aen Martijn Snouckaert van Schauwenburgh* (To Country Life, dedicated to Martijn Snouckaert van Schauwenburgh)" respectively. Six, *'s Amsterdammers Winter*, 48-51 and Johan van Heemskerck, *Pvb. Ovidii Nasonis Minne-kunst, gepast op d'Amsterdamsche vryagien: met noch andere mine-dichten ende mengel-dichten, alle nieu ende te voren niet gesien* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz. Voskuyl, 1622), 308. Emblem books connect a kolfer aiming for a target with keeping one's focus on ultimate and righteous goals and not getting sidetracked by earthly distractions. For kolf in emblem book, see Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting*, 217 and Royalton-Kisch, *Adriaen van de Venne's Album in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, 332. Dutch proverbs also mention the game. See Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting*, 220 and 355, n. 122.

[682] Durantini, who refers to the game as "golf," stresses this, citing Paul Zumthor. Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting*, 215 and 353 n. 114.

the ice, gesturing towards a man about to swing his kolf stick.[683] The child's outstretched arm suggests that he is ordering the man to halt his stroke. While it is not clear whether the adult is in the way of the child's ball or is taking the child's turn, the child's gesture is telling as kolf permits the child to comment on an adult player.

In addition to winter scenes, kolf equipment frequently appear in depictions of children. Annemarieke Willemsen noted that kolf sticks are found in the hands of young boys and infants in portraits. Thus she identifies the kolf stick as a masculine attribute for a juvenile sitter.[684] Kolf sticks also find their way into children's hands in interior genre scenes such as those by Jan Steen and Pieter de Hooch (Figures 6.28-31).[685] While children kolfers are illustrated on the ice, winter scenes allow adults to enter the game. While adults were avid kolfers in reality, they tend not to be depicted playing kolf except during winter. Winter permits the adult to enter the pictorial realm of childish pleasures, further indicating a relaxation of social standards.

Spectators

One final convention of the winter scene vital for its carnivalesque nature is the presence of witnesses to the ice pleasures. Bruegel's bank and bridge in *Skaters by St. George's Gate in Antwerp* are crowded with spectators, one of which points across the ice thus drawing the

[683] In a digital copy of the painting, the man did not appear to be holding a kolf stick. However, he is in a swinging position making me think that a kolf stick was once painting between his legs that did not survive restoration. From a distance, the man appears exactly as kolf players do in winter scenes.

[684] Annemarieke Willemsen, "Images of Toys: The Culture of Play in the Netherlands around 1600," in *Pride and Joy: Children's Portraits in the Netherlands 1500-1700*, ed. Jan Baptist Bedaux and Rudi Ekkart (Amsterdam and Ghent: Ludion Press, 2000), 66. Durantini, on the other hand, does not consider the kolf stick to be a common attribute of masculinity in portraits of children. Citing emblem books, she proposes that the kolf stick suggests that the boy is driven and on the right path. Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting*, 217-221.

[685] In both the Rijksmuseum and Museum Boijmans van Beuningen *Feast of St. Nicholas*, Steen includes a central child grinning as he clutches a kolf stick. De Hooch painted the unusual sight of a girl with a kolf stick in *Interior with Women Beside a Linen Cupboard* in the Rijksmuseum. De Hooch also presents a girl with a kolf stick in *The Kolf Players* illustrated Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting*, 219.

beholder's eye towards the wintry pleasures. While spectators also sit along Bol's bank, they can also stand on the ice. Van der Neer includes a group watching the eel fisherman at work in his winter scene in the Rijksmuseum. Avercamp's patch of ice in Schwerin in covered with spectators, including two young men in the foreground. One gestures across the ice with his arm to his companion who looks out at the beholder. Avercamp also painted three men amused as they point at two women and a man who have fallen on the ice. Those who have come to watch the ice pleasures are having as much fun as the skaters and kolfers.

Spectators remove privacy and thus make the games on the ice public. Sixteenth-century humanists presented themselves as spectators in letters that describe watching young dancers and skaters on the ice. Justus Lipsius, while writing to Janus Dousa, considered the youth of Leiden at play on the ice as, "a glorious spectacle and happy are the eyes that behold such unsuspecting fun!"[686] Even in the seventeenth century, *ijsvermaak* was not divorced from witnesses. Johan van Heemskerck's version of Horace's Soracte Ode described in Chapter 4 begins with the command, "*You look* how the street is white with snow flakes" (emphasis mine).[687] Later in the poem, van Heemskerck declares that "it is now time that we go outside *to see* who is skating there" (emphasis mine).[688] Van der Does also underscores the importance of witnesses for winter pleasures as games on the ice are accompanied by "thousands of spectators standing on

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[686] "*O spectacular pulchra et o beatos istos delicii novis ocellos!*" Translated into Dutch as "*O, wat een heerlijk schouwspel en gelukkig de ogen die zo'n onvermoede pret aanschouwden!*" De Landtsheer, "IJspret," 89-90. De Landtsheer noted the celebratory nature of Lipsius' treatment of games and pleasures on the ice when she commented that his letter "evokes…the festive atmosphere of a winter day on the ice (*Lipsius evoceerde…de feestelijke sfeer van een winterse middag op het ijs*)." Ibid., 101. Lipsius' follower Erycius Puteanus also described the sights of the pleasures of winter as a "spectacle"; "*Quos glacies lusus et quae spectacula donat!/Wat voor vermaak en wat voor spektakels levert het ijs niet!*" Ibid., 92.

[687] "*GHY siet hoe over al de straet/Is wit door 't sneeuwigh vlocken,*" van Heemskerck, *Pvb. Ovidii Nasonis Minne-kunst*, 337.

[688] "*Myn Brosterhuysen, 't is nu tyd/Dat wy eens gaen na buyten,/Om sien wie daer op schaetsen rijdt;*" Ibid., 339.

the Bleycken, there they stand and see as far as the eye can go. And on the street are carriages along the edge and seeing this causes great pleasure."[689]

The importance of spectators is recalled by the witnesses in winter scenes. In some cases, the illustrated spectators encourage us as beholders to join them, as indicated by the gestures and glances of Bruegel's and Avercamp's witnesses described above. These spectators play the same role as us as we visually take in the spectacle on the ice. Ice pleasures functioned as a public spectacle as the young lovers, kolf players, drinkers, and sleigh riders were aware that they were putting on a show. Just as a Carnival display celebrating the world-turned-upside-down, the men, women, and children on the ice flaunt how they defy common sense as they play alongside boats on a canal. As in Shrovetide, the opportunity for anyone to put down their tools of labor and be treated to a public spectacle of social inversions occurs on the winter ice.

Conclusion

Of the handful of recurring motifs that the seventeenth-century audience expected to find in a winter scene, most of them have celebratory undertones or defy conventions of Dutch art. They present winter as a season of relaxation from labor as games and resting take precedence. But they also recall a relaxation of social standards. Adults play childish games, young lovers do not need to retreat to the countryside to engage in romance, and all classes and ages are equals on the ice united by the same leisure activities. Attention to the individual conventions of relaxation in the winter scene present the season as a cleaned-up Carnival. Drinking occurs in public as the activities of the peasant tavern are presented without judgement in the *koek-en-zopie* tent. A

[689] "*Soo staender duysenden van kijckers op de Bleycken,/Die dit staen aen en sien, soo ver als 't oog kan reycken,/En op de straet – wech staen de Koetsen langs de kandt,/En scheppen groot vermaeck dit aen te sien van 't landt*." Van der Does, *'s Graven-Hage*, 63.

child enforces the rules of kolf over an adult and humans walk over water next to ineffective boats. However, these relaxations require spectators to become public inversions, such as the men leering at typically concealed body parts exposed by a skating accident and those witnessing grandiose sleighs carved as animals jingling across the ice. Like a Carnival presentation, *ijsvermaak* was a public spectacle that rejected logic and social standards in a display of Dutch identity as people from all levels of society joined together to showcase their renowned skating prowess and to drink a glass of their celebrated beer under the tricolored flag of a *koek-en-zopie* tent.

Conclusion: The Italianate Winter Scene

The winter scenes described in this dissertation focus on specifically Dutch settings, people, and activities. Yet this was not the only manner in which Dutch artists created *een winter*. Italianate painters such as Jan Asselijn, Nicolaes Berchem, and Willem Schellinks illustrate people on the ice in a considerably different manner than Bruegel's followers. This Conclusion considers the Italianate winter scene against the more common Dutch scenes of *ijsvermaak* to underscore how the latter represents a naturally enforced relaxation as something familiar and particularly Dutch.

Italianate Art and the Pastoral

A handful of Dutch artists, including Cornelis Poelenburgh, Bartholomeus Breenbergh, Herman Saftleven, Jan Both, Jan Baptist Weenix, and Karel du Jardin, were influenced by contemporary artistic developments in Rome.[690] In contrast to Hendrick Avercamp's white skies or the colors and shadows juxtaposed in the clouds of Jan van de Cappelle, Aert van der Neer, and Philips Wouwerman, these Italianate scenes tend to be set in crisply golden light. Italianate scenes also depict foreign locations such as Mediterranean harbors, mountains, classical ruins, and the grassy hills more likely to be found around Rome than Rotterdam. These scenes are populated by riders, resting travelers, peasants, and shepherds in exotic Italian or Mediterranean

[690] Many of these artists spent time in and worked in Rome. Early in the seventeenth century, Dutch Italianate artists were influenced by Adam Elsheimer and Paul Bril. Later Italianate painters were guided by the examples of Claude Lorrain and Nicolas Poussin. For Dutch Italianate painters, see Seymour Slive, *Dutch Painting 1600-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 225-245 and Albert Blankert, *Nederlandse 17e Eeuwse Italianiserende Landschapschilders/Dutch 17th Century Italianate Landscape Painters*, trans. Molly Faries and ed. Henry and Anne Adams (Soest: Davaco, 1978). For a brief background with attention to printmaking, see Irene de Groot, *Landscape: Etchings by the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century* (London: Gordon Fraser, 1979).

dress. Such paintings were luxuries in the art market as Italianate landscapes fetched almost double the price of local landscapes.[691]

Many Italianate scenes representing classical ruins, shepherds, and perfect Mediterranean weather recall pastoral literature.[692] We have seen how this genre embraced by courts across Europe recounts the social liberties, pleasures, and eroticism of the Mediterranean countryside in the context of Dutch responses to it, especially through the *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* in Chapter 4. The pastoral has its genesis with ancient poets such as Theocritus with his *Idylls* and Virgil with the *Eclogues*.[693] Yet it was enthusiastically revived in early modern Europe as a result of the popularity of Horace's *beatus ille* and Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* from 1504. Karel van Mander's translation of the *Eclogues* into Dutch was published in Amsterdam in 1597, only a year after Jan van Goyen was born.[694] The edition was illustrated by Hendrick Goltzius, indicating that these literary ideas were accessible to artists.[695] Seventeenth-century Dutch authors incorporated pastoral themes into their own works, most notably Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft's popular play *Granida* of 1605. Jan Harmensz. Krul enthusiastically embraced the genre

[691] Michiel C.C. Kersten and Charlotte Wiethoff, "The Sense of Nature in the Italianate Landscapes of Nicolaes Berchem and his Contemporaries," in *Nicolaes Berchem: In the Light of Italy* (Haarlem: The Frans Hals Museum and Ludion Publishers, 2006), 39.

[692] For the connection between Dutch Italianate landscapes and the pastoral, see Kersten and Wiethoff, "The Sense of Nature in the Italianate Landscapes of Nicolaes Berchem and his Contemporaries." For Dutch pastoral art, see Alison McNeil Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia: Pastoral Art and its Audience in the Golden Age* (Montclair, NJ: Allanheld & Schram, 1983). For pastoral literature, see Dirk Harry Smit, *Johan van Heemskerck 1597-1656* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij "De Spieghel," 1933), 62-65 and 70-78, a well as 143 for the meaning of "Arcadia" in its original Greek context. For the ancient development of the pastoral and a challenge to the idea that the ancient poems suggest a carefree and constantly joyous mood, see the introduction of Virgil, *The Eclogues*, trans. Guy Lee (New York: Penguin Books, 1984).

[693] Any references or quotes from the *Idylls* come from Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion, *Theocritus Moschus Bion*, trans. and ed. Neil Hopkinson (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press-Loeb Classical Library, 2015).

[694] Virgil, *Bucolica en Georgica, dat is, Ossen-stal en Landt-Werck*, trans. Karel van Mander (Amsterdam: Zacharias Heyns, 1597). In the first few years of the seventeenth century, Daniël Heinsius also translated these poems. See the commentary in Hugo Grotius, *The Poetry of Hugo Grotius, Original Poetry 1602-1603*, ed. Arthur Eyffinger (Assen/Maastricht: van Gorcum, 1988), 310.

[695] A few of the art treatises described in Chapter 2 also quote Sannazaro.

and Johan van Heemskerck recalled the localized version of the pastoral in his novel *Batavian Arcadia* ("*Batavische Arcadia*"). These writers found an audience with the wealthiest of Dutch society who were determined to imitate European court life, including acquiring country houses. These readers of Horace and Virgil desired images to complement the literature that they were reading and thus found Italianate landscapes appealing.[696] Yet pastoral literature could be found outside of the court, as the Hague schoolteacher David Beck read and wrote pastoral poems.[697]

Like the *Georgics* and *beatus ille*, pastoral literature–which is also referred to as "bucolic"–celebrates country life. It transports its audience to the sunny Mediterranean countryside to encounter a cast of shepherds who spend their days sharing their amorous feelings and making music. While labors are alluded to and sometimes encouraged,[698] these shepherds are much more readily found relaxing by a brook or under a tree. The pastoral presents a fantasy where love and song are the pastimes, eroticism is encouraged, ancient gods are never far away, and animals receive their due attention. This body of literature was written by and for city dwellers as it adopts a highly romanticized view on rural life in stark contrast with the restricted life of the urban aristocrat. Alison McNeil Kettering argues that this idealization offered an escape from urban conditions, busywork, and courtly duties, especially as many pastoral works

[696] For this idea, see Kersten and Wiethoff, "The Sense of Nature in the Italianate Landscapes of Nicolaes Berchem and his Contemporaries." Conversely, in *Landscape: Etchings by the Dutch masters of the seventeenth century*, Irene de Groot points to the acquisition of country houses as a factor for the rise of local landscapes as a subject in art. Reinder P. Meijer downplays the popularity of the pastoral in the Netherlands. He identifies the genre as more pertinent in Italy as it is deeply connected to the rejection of court life and Italy simply had more courtiers than the Dutch Republic. Reinder P. Meijer, *Literature of the Low Countries: A Short History of Dutch Literature in the Netherlands and Belgium* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1971), 114. However, this argument overlooks both the court in the Netherlands and the efforts to mimic courtly lifestyles.

[697] For Beck, see Jeroen Blaak, *Literacy in Everyday Life: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Dutch Diaries*, trans. Beverley Jackson (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 41-111.

[698] The Tenth Idyll describes two reapers in their field. But one's work is hindered by his romantic thoughts. The Twenty-first Idyll also encourages the importance of hard work. But the message is expressed from one fisherman at rest to another. Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion, *Theocritus Moschus Bion*, 155, 281-282. Virgil's Second Eclogue also acknowledges labor to be done.

juxtapose the country against the city.[699]

Differences between the Pastoral and the Winter Scene

As we have seen with the skating illustrations and songs in *Amsterdamsche Pegasus*, many of the romantic, liberating, and relaxing appeals of the pastoral are also found on the ice. Yet there are major differences between the pastoral and representations of familiar wintertime. Kettering notes that the pastoral images created in Utrecht are more erotic than romantic. They portray figures similar to the those in the tavern and brothel scenes simultaneously produced by the city's Caravaggist painters. Yet despite the bare breasts and sexual visual puns, pastoral art is not bawdy or profane like depictions of prostitutes. These images were restrained enough to be appealing to and displayed by members of the court.[700] As in historicized portraits in which sitters reveal surprising amounts of skin while dressing as a pastoral character, such as the bare-breasted Anna du Pire posing as Granida in her portrait by Bartholomeus van der Helst (Figure 7.1),[701] such behavior was permissible under the guise of a fictional shepherd in the exotic Mediterranean. This contrasts with the winter scene, in which typically crude actions (albeit represented in a much more modest and cleaned-up manner) are represented in a local and

[699] See Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia*. The Twentieth Idyll details the divide between the country and the city. It has been noted that the Third Idyll contains the humorous element of transforming the urban *komasdo* to the countryside as a lover is left outside of a cave as opposed to a locked door. Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion, *Theocritus Moschus Bion*, 59. However, not all of the *Idylls* are set in the countryside. A few are located in cities, including one that takes place in Alexandria.
[700] Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia*, 35-36.
[701] See Mariët Westermann, *A Worldly Art: The Dutch Republic 1585-1718* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 136-138.

familiar setting. While aspects of the pastoral were reimagined to reflect the seventeenth-century Dutch experience,[702] at its base, it recounts a setting that is both exotic and fantastical.

Another major difference between the winter scene and the pastoral is that the former references the cycle of the seasons. The relaxations of winter are temporary; they must cease once the ice melts. The pastoral, on the other hand, is exclusively set in perfect and sunny spring or summer weather where chilly and icy conditions are not to be found.[703] While the earliest pastoral authors of antiquity acknowledged the cycle of the seasons, this natural phenomenon does not play a central role in their work as it does in literature inspired by the *Georgics*.[704] When these authors discuss winter, they have a less than flattering view of the season. In the Ninth Idyll, Menalcas declares, "I care no more for winter than a toothless man cares about nuts when there is soft wheatened bread."[705] The Twelfth Idyll essentially begins with a declaration that summer is better than winter.[706] The *Eclogues* acknowledge the hardships and dangers of the snow and ice.[707] In the early modern period, the pastoral genre continued to antagonize

[702] According to Kettering, Dutch pastoral art transformed the themes of freedom in pastoral literature to the more familiar freedom associated with the senses. Kettering, *The Dutch Arcadia*, 43-44. She states that even though the pastoral represents a fictionalized and idealized setting and characters, it depicts "an imaginary reality that was rooted in observed reality." Ibid., 122. Concerning literature combining the pastoral and familiar Dutch, Dirk Harry Smit proposes that van Heemskerck's *Batavische Arcadia* blends fiction and reality as it connected its author's experiences in The Hague to a localized pastoral account. Smit, *Johan van Heemskerck 1597-1656*, 57. He also writes of van Heemskerck writing about The Hague and Leiden in his pastoral works. Ibid., 143.

[703] Kersten and Wiethoff note that winter is not present in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. Kersten and Wiethoff, "The Sense of Nature in the Italianate Landscapes of Nicolaes Berchem and his Contemporaries," 43.

[704] The motif of a love-struck speaker showing his worth by boasting of his access to dairy products at all times of the year is used in the *Idylls* (the eleventh) and the *Eclogues* (the second). A Dutch reader in the seventeenth century would have read in van Mander's translation of the latter, "In the summer, as well as the cold season, there is never a time in which I am without fresh milk. (*Oft Somer is, jae coud' saysoen, of welck,/Gheentijdt en ben ick sonder verssche melck*)." Virgil, *Bucolica en Georgica*, 8.

[705] Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion, *Theocritus Moschus Bion*, 153.

[706] "You have come, my dear lad, after two days and nights you have come; but those who feel longing grow old in a day. As summer is to winter; the apple to the sloe; as the ewe is fleecier than her lamb; as a girl surpasses a woman three times married; as a fawn is nimbler than a calf; as the nightingale with its clear song is the most tuneful of all winged creatures–just so your coming has cheered me, and I have hurried as a traveler hurries to a shady oak when the sun is scorching." Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion, *Theocritus Moschus Bion*, 179.

[707] See the Tenth Eclogue. Yet Virgil and his Haarlem translator van Mander describe a familiar winter comfort in the Seventh Eclogue. After Corydon sings of summer, Thyrsis responds by recalling ameliorating the winter cold by

winter against youthful Arcadian joys. In *Shepheardes Calender*, Edmund Spenser connects each eclogue with a month and a period of human life. His youthful characters of spring months reject living with each season for a life of pastoral pleasures in which winter has no place. In *February*, the young Cuddie detests winter, "But my flowring youth is foe to frost,/My shippe vnwont in stormes to be tost." When the elderly Thenot preaches the necessity of living each age in accordance with its corresponding season, the youth dismisses his "long tale, and [of] little worth."[708]

In his influential dissertation on the *hofdicht*, or Dutch country house poem, P. A. F. van Veen identifies these poems with the *Georgics* tradition which he separates from the pastoral.[709] However, this divide is not binary as the two genres share many features. Both celebrate a harmonious rural lifestyle away from the city and rightly claim Virgil as a founding figure. Van Mander's translations of the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics* were published in the same edition and both *Georgics* and pastoral authors were influenced by *Beatus ille*. Yet broadly speaking, the *Georgics* describes agriculture and labor as the pastoral recounts shepherds at leisure and in love. While winter has no place in idyllic Arcadia, a mastery of the proper behavior for all four seasons is of the utmost importance for the farmer.

The Italianate landscape echoes pastoral literature with its bright Mediterranean light, foreign settings, and flirtatious shepherds and shepherdesses at rest. The winter scene, on the

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sitting by the fire. Virgil, *The Eclogues*, 80-81. Van Mander writes, "*Hier warmen heerdt, wy hebben ooc veel hout,/Vol vetten herst, en hebben menichfout/Altijts goet vyer, so dat door t'roocks besmeuren/Staegh worden swert de posten onser deuren:/Hier Noordwinds coud' en vreesen wy niet meer/Als Wolf en doet ghetal van Schapen teer,/Iae of soo veel als beken snel of vlieten/In harden loop voor d'oevers hen verschieten*." Virgil, *Bucolica en Georgica*, 41.

[708] Edmund Spenser, *Shepheardes* Calendar (London: Hugh Singleton, 1579), 3a-7. "March" also describes how love returns once winter ends.

[709] P. A. F. van Veen, *De Soeticheydt des Buyten-Levens, Vergheselschapt met de Boucken* (The Hague: Van Goor Zonen, 1960).

other hand, is closer aligned with van Veen's distinction of the *Georgics* tradition as the images originate from representations of the months and seasons. That is not to suggest that the winter scene has no relation to the pastoral. We have seen how the ice was considered a specifically Dutch location in which to enjoy the relaxing and romantic liberties of Arcadia. However, a major appeal of the winter scene is that it offers a temporary relaxation permissible by the cycle of the seasons. Dutch pastoral art and Italianate scenes tend to portray perfect Southern European weather without suggestion that the seasons will change. Another way in which the Dutch winter scene contrasts with the pastoral is revealed through literature. The classical gods are comfortable in pastoral settings; in which they are frequently evoked. But as we saw in Chapter 4, Dutch authors such as Hugo Grotius present these same gods as uneasy around the specifically Dutch ice. The Italianate scene also appealed to the wealthiest of Dutch society who owned but did not need to work on the land. Winter, on the other hand, enforces the same hardships and pleasures on everyone. Not only does the Dutch winter scene depict all levels of society together on the ice, but the painted winter scene was also more affordable than the Italianate landscape. As opposed to an idealized and exotic life of leisure, the Dutch winter scene illustrates the proper and socially equalizing behavior for a Dutch season. It depicts cloudy skies, familiar farmhouses, and activities of which its audience witnessed and participated, many of which were associated with the Netherlands by both Dutch and foreign audiences. While the ice contained pastoral ideas, it represents a temporary relaxation as opposed to an exotic escape.

The Italianate Winter Scene

The difference between the more *Georgic* and Horatian Dutch winter and the pastoral Italianate landscape is most pronounced in the winter scenes painted by Italianate artists. The divide between Dutch and Italianate winter scenes is not absolute. Italianate painters portrayed skaters and sleigh riders in Dutch dress who are clearly enjoying themselves in local settings.[710] Modern scholars have also underscored how the Italianate winter scene combines both Italian and Dutch aspects.[711] Yet generally, as opposed to the local, celebratory, and familiar, the Italianate winter scene presents winter as a dark and dreary season characterized by discomfort and labor. It recalls a foreign, particularly Italian, setting as it illustrates the winter that Spenser's Cuddie considers the "foe…[to] my flowering youth."[712] The Italianate winter scene represents the season as the opposite of the calm and relaxing Arcadia of youthful pleasures, just as it is described in pastoral literature.

Italianate winter scenes tend to illustrate individuals in foreign dress who are laboring or resting next to their work.[713] Even children strain under the weight of the sleds they push.

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[710] Such as a winter scene paired with a summer dated to around 1630 and attributed to Jan Asselijn sold by Christie's in New York on January 12, 1996, number 60. See https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/7963. See also Nicolaes Berchem's grisaille sleigh ride now in Basel. *Nicolaes Berchem: In the Light of Italy* (Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum and Ludion Publishers, 2006), 142 and Epco Runia's entry in Ariane van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time: The Dutch Winter Landscape in the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2001), 92-93.

[711] Such as van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 60 and 130-132 and Blankert, *Nederlandse 17e Eeuwse Italianiserende Landschapschilders*, 39-42.

[712] Evert van Straaten attributes the inclusion of monumental ruins, light and dark contrasts, laboring donkeys, and the specific tasks depicted for providing an exotic effect to the Italianate winter scene. The three Italianate winter scenes that van Straaten considers are Berchem's *Haarlem City Wall in Winter* from 1647 now in the Frans Hals Museum/Rijksmuseum, Schellinks' *City Wall in the Winter* from ca. 1650-1670 in the Rijksmuseum, and Asselijn's *Snowy Shore with the Tomb of Caecilia Metella* from ca. 1650 with current whereabouts unknown (formerly Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Schwerin). Evert van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot: De Verbeelding van de Winter in de Zestiende en Zeventiende Eeuw in de Nederlanden* (The Hague: Rijkskollekties, 1977), 116.

[713] While she focuses on coastal views, Joaneath Spicer identifies the details that made a Dutch beholder think of foreign locations in Joaneath Spicer, "A Pictorial Vocabulary of Otherness: Roelandt Saverij, Adam Willarts, and the Representation of Foreign Coasts," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1997, Deel 48: Natuur en Landschap in de Nederlandse Kunst 1500-1850*, ed. Reindert Falkenburg, Jan de Jong, Mark Meadow, Bart Ramakers, Herman Roodenburg, and Frits Scholten (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), 23-51.

Kolfers, skaters, and pleasure sleigh rides are rarely depicted. Instead, people load sleds, feed horses, and haul firewood and barrels around the ice. Occasionally, fishermen, vendors, and laundresses are represented battling through the harsh weather to toil away at their work. And they do battle against nature; the people in Italianate winter scenes are much more likely to be presented with arms folded and heads dropped in response to the cold. They are not warmed by amorous passions, a leisurely beverage, or jovial sport. They are simply cold. Italianate winter days are rarely mild. Unlike Avercamp's still white sheet of sky or the majestic colorful clouds shining in mid-century paintings, the Italianate winter scene is set under brooding dark grey skies, the diabolical opposite of Claude Lorrain's calm golden light. Irene de Groot identifies the idealized and the idyllic as major characteristics of Italianate Dutch art.[714] The Italianate winter scene presents the antithesis of the pleasant and perfect Arcadia celebrated by these same artists. Yet there is an aspect that the Italianate winter scene shares with pastoral poetry. It provides considerable attention to animals, as pack animals are the focus of these pictures. Schellinks, Asselijn, and especially Berchem provide careful attention to the representation of these animals on the ice, just as they do elsewhere in their oeuvres. However, the strongest link between the Italianate winter scene and their creators' other paintings is the foreign setting. As opposed to the flat Dutch landscape punctuated by church steeples, some of these paintings situate the snowy scene before large hills or mountains and incorporate the types of trees found alongside the Mediterranean as opposed to the Maas. The types of buildings also suggest an exotic setting. While Dutch buildings are included in a number of Italianate winter scenes, the houses, stone bridges, and walls illustrated are much more likely to be found in Italy. Some Italianate winter scenes recall the Mediterranean through ruins. The ancient tomb of Caecilia Metella has been

[714] De Groot, *Landscape*.

depicted in the snow at least twice[715] and Schellinks portrayed the Ponte Molle surrounded by ice on a few occasions.[716] These scenes of miserable weather and labor are located in the distant and foreign Mediterranean.

Schellinks' *City Wall in Winter* from around 1650-1670 (Figure 7.2) is representative of the Italianate winter scene.[717] The painting now in the Rijksmuseum, which reveals the influence of Asselijn's winter scene,[718] does not depict people living harmoniously with nature. Instead, Schellinks' characters are overpowered by a dark and frigid world. Schellinks' sky is broodingly dark with various shades of grey and a circle of soft light breaking through which adds a monumental effect to the atmosphere. The human figures are dwarfed by the rocks and stone wall behind them. The wall, which features both crenellations and classical arcades and entablature, is in ruins which enhances the exotic tone. The foreign is also recalled through the Italian buildings and cypresses in the distance, contrasting with the flat fields, taverns, and farmhouses of Dutch winter scenes.

In the distance, Schellinks includes a lime kiln. Its soft flames ooze out against the grey sky to further support the foreign and monumental mood. While Ariane van Suchtelen connects the warm glow of the lime kiln with the brazier grasped by personifications of winter, I believe

[715] There is a missing painting by Asselijn that features the tomb. See Van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot*, 116. Schellinks also featured the ancient structure as a backdrop for a winter riding school in a work in the Bonnefantenmuseum in Maastricht. See https://rkd.nl/en/explore/images/record?filters%5Bkunstenaar%5D=Schellinks%2C+Willem&query=&start=51.

[716] Such as a painting sold at Sotheby's in New York on January 29, 2009, number 23. See https://rkd.nl/en/explore/images/record?filters%5Bkunstenaar%5D=Schellinks%2C+Willem&query=&start=129. See also van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 130.

[717] For this painting, see van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 130-133 and Anne Charlotte Steland-Stief, *Jan Asselijn nach 1610 bis 1652* (Amsterdam: Van Gendt & Co., 1971), 102-103 and 179 as catalogue number 335.

[718] Schellinks' painting is indebted to Asselijn's winter scene now in Worcester, MA. It contains not only the same composition, but many of the same individuals and activities, such as the peasants, lime kiln, and mules carrying goods and defecating on the ice. Schellinks' painting was attributed to the artist nearly two decades his senior. Van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 130.

that it is more indicative of the foreign setting.[719] While lime kilns could be found in the Holland countryside and in rare occasions are depicted in local landscapes,[720] they are commonly included in Dutch Italianate scenes. David A. Levine has written about the lime kilns in the art of the Bamboccianti, a group of primarily Netherlandish artists active in Rome.[721] Citing humanist literature influenced by Socrates that describes wisdom in paradox, Levine argues that the lime kilns recall their notorious purpose of incinerating Rome's ancient past. Yet this destruction occurred so that Rome could be rebuilt, thus these images paradoxically warned of destruction and celebrated rejuvenation.[722] Similar to the lime kiln's dual purpose of destruction and construction, winter in Dutch culture represented both death and rejuvenation as the last season in the repetitious cycle of the year. Yet even if the beholder did not consider the tradition of paradox in humanist literature, Levine's interpretation highlights the lime kiln's associations specific to Rome. Levine noticed that Bamboccianti paintings centering around monumental lime kilns present these structures as analogous to Roman ruins, as they have been significantly

[719] Schellinks painted another lime kiln in a winter scene with the Ponte Molle sold by Sotheby's in New York on January 29, 2009, lot number 23. Berchem also includes lime kilns in his winter scenes, such as the one dated 1647 in the Rijksmuseum and in one sold by Christie Manson & Woods, London on July, 8, 1983, number 65. Asselijn painted a lime kiln in his winter scene in the Worcester Art Museum.

[720] See Huigen Leeflang, "Dutch Landscape: The Urban View: Haarlem and its Environs in Literature and Art, 15th-17th Century," in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 1997, Deel 48: Natuur en Landschap in de Nederlandse Kunst 1500-1850*, ed. Reindert Falkenburg, Jan de Jong, Mark Meadow, Bart Ramakers, Herman Roodenburg, and Frits Scholten (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), 87 and 112, n. 129.

[721] David A. Levine, "The Roman Limekilns of the Bamboccianti," *The Art Bulletin* 70 (1988), 569-589 and David A. Levine, "Die Kunst der 'Bamboccianti': Themen, Quellen und Bedeutung," in *I Bamboccianti: Niederländische Malerrebellen im Rom des Barock*, ed. David A. Levine and Ekkehard Mai (Milan and Cologne: Electa and Museen der Stadt Köln, 1991), 14-33. In his article for *The Art Bulletin*, Levine notes 15 known works by the Bamboccianti that prominently feature a lime kiln. The catalogue *I Bamboccianti: Niederländische Malerrebellen im Rom des Barock* includes five paintings of people gathered around lime kilns; one by Asselijn (pages 116-119), two by Pieter van Laer (190-191 and 207-208), and two by Jan Miel (245-246 and 250-251).

[722] The destructive nature of the lime kiln is also suggested in the illustration for the emblem "Certain Death (*Mortis certitvdo*)," in Otto van Veen's *Horatii Emblemata*. Otto van Veen, *Horatii Emblemata*, reprinted by *The Philosophy of Images*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1979), 202-203.

enlarged and endowed with architectural features (Figures 7.3 and 7.4).[723] As these structures were fantastically aggrandized by Dutch brushes, artists wished to draw attention to them. Additionally, the peasant types and their activities depicted around the lime kilns are the same as those painted among Roman ruins in an established image type.[724] Thus the presence of the lime kiln in Italianate winter scenes such as that by Schellinks further accentuates the Italian, or foreign setting. Yet the lime kiln is not the only Italian structure in Schellinks' painting. While Dutch winter scenes routinely depict people on the ice outside of a city wall, the wall in Schellinks' painting is of a completely different nature. Extending from his wall is a ruined bridge that quotes the Ponte Rotto in Rome.[725] Even the manner by which Schellinks' wall diagonally extends into the distance is more frequently encountered in Italianate works.[726] This painting does not represent the familiar setting in which Dutch beholders could apply lessons from Horace onto the ice, but rather the majestic and exotic.

The individuals that Schellinks depicts do not enjoy a naturally enforced relaxation. Instead, they succumb to the hardships of the season. As opposed to games and romance, they are preoccupied with labor and shivering.[727] A pair of fishermen pull their net out of the ice[728] as people and donkeys lumber under the weight of the sticks that they carry. Even two children

[723] While the lime kilns in art tower over the people, the actual lime kilns in Rome were stone mounds and likely not permanent structures. They were significantly smaller than the images would suggest, reaching only dimensions of 6 *braccia* by 3 *braccia*, or 9 feet by 5 feet. Levine, "The Roman Limekilns of the Bamboccianti," 575.
[724] A number of these lime kiln paintings feature individuals defecating or urinating. Levine also identified these bodily functions as conventions in images of individuals gathered around Roman ruins. Ibid., 578.
[725] Van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 130.
[726] Ibid., 60.
[727] There is, however, a group riding in a horse-drawn sleigh in the distance.
[728] A similar depiction of three fishermen hauling their net out of the ice can be found in Schellinks' "Winter Scene with the Ponte Molle in Rome." See https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/record?filters%5Bkunstenaar%5D=Schellinks%2C+Willem&query=&start=129.

strain to pull a sled overflowing with branches and a young rider.[729] While not everyone is engaged with work, Schellinks' painting differs from the winter scenes by Hendrick Avercamp, Jan van Goyen, and Aert van der Neer as nobody is having fun. Instead of adult and child united by seasonal pleasures, differences between age are neutralized by the inclusive nature of suffering in the cold. People of all ages are portrayed with their arms folded and backs bent in response to the frigid air, including an adult and child who both bundle up and hunch over as they walk on the ice together. Winter weather dehumanizes them as they conceal their faces from the beholder. Yet Schellinks most effectively portrays the discomforts of winter through the woman in the center foreground. She sits on a mule next to the animal droppings typically included in Italianate winter scenes. Wrapped in a thick red coat, she hunches over and folds her hands together over the basket in her lap. As the chilly winds whips around a piece of loose cloth on her hood, she turns her eyes down, her mouth stiffly frozen a horizontal line. While most of Schellinks' people have their backs turned to the beholder, this woman is one of the few whose face we can see. Her expression and body language suggest that she finds nothing pleasurable about the Italianate winter.

Most of the people that Schellinks painted are peasants with many clad in torn clothes. There was an acute awareness for the additional hardships by which winter tormented the poor. The late medieval Carnival presentation *Een Abel Spel vanden Winter ende vanden Somer* ("A Play Presenting Winter against Summer") should have a happy ending with Venus ordering the hostile seasons to become brothers and instigating a feast. Yet the play concludes with the

[729] Van Suchtelen identifies these children dragging the sled, the fishermen, and the calves hanging from the mules as Schellinks' deviations from Asselijn. Instead, Asselijn depicts the calves being bounded, the step before they are attached to the mules. Van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 130.

disappointed tramp complaining that winter has not been vanquished.[730] These sentiments extended into the seventeenth century. We have seen in Chapter 4 that the couples that sang from *Apollo of Ghesangh der Musen* ("Apollo or Song of the Muses") would have encountered winter in a "Pastorelle" as the season of "…cold, hail, and heavy winds of which the poor people are aware. They also do not sit well on the wool, nor have food and drink like we do, thank God..."[731] As opposed to Dutch winter scenes, which present rich and poor together on the ice, Italianate winter scenes such as Schellinks' feature mostly peasants. Since these images are characterized by dark storm clouds and people who appear miserable, these peasants in their ripped clothes likely appealed to the pathos of the beholder. Even if the same motif appears in a Dutch and an Italianate winter scene, the brooding tone of the Italianate winter scene in which humans are dwarfed by the monumental power of nature gives it a negative association. A dog occasionally chases a person in a scene of *ijsvermaak*. Yet the celebratory nature of these images makes the detail a comic inclusion. The dog chasing the boy in Schellinks' painting instead enhances the threatening mood of a dark painting.

While not as pessimistic as Schellinks' painting, Berchem also painted a couple of Italianate winter scenes in 1647, both of which are now in the Rijksmuseum. *City Wall by Haarlem in Winter* (Figure 7.5) features a play of shadow and light as a blue sky emerges in the left of the composition.[732] Yet most of the clouds are a menacing grey as shadows loom over the

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[730] For this presentation, see Rob Antonissen, *Een Abel Spel vanden Winter ende vanden Somer, naar het Hulthemsche Handschrift uitgegeven, ingeleid en verklaard* (Antwerp: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1946). For sixteenth-century Flemish literature showing an awareness of the difficulties peculiar to the poor in winter, see Herman Pleij, *De Sneeuwpoppen van 1511: Stadscultuur in de Late Middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1988), 52-54.

[731] *Maer de VVINTER comt op't leste/Vinnigh met haer nieuvve Iaer,/En gheeft anders niet ten besten/Dan koudt, haghel ,vvinden svvaer/Dat vvordt d'arme mensch ghevvaer/Die niet vvel sit in de vvol/Noch versien van spijs en dranck/Als vvy zijn, dies Godt sy danck/Die ons gheeft de schueren vol ." Apollo of Ghesangh der Musen* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz., 1615. Reprinted Deventer: Sub Rosa, 1985), 16-17.

[732] For this painting, see van Straaten, *Koud tot op het Bot*, 115-116.

ice. While the dovecote common in Dutch winter scenes is placed along the wall and the black spires of a distant church suggest Northern Europe, red tile roofs and centrally planned buildings recall the exotic Mediterranean. These structures tower over the people, downplaying human activity in comparison to the power of nature's dark clouds and rocks. The diagonal composition of the wall receding into the distance also recalls that of Italianate painters. In contrast to many Dutch winter scenes, Berchem illustrates exclusively peasants. While the pair of kolfers next to a frozen boat and a man adjusting his skate could come from any Dutch winter scene, they are forced into the background. Instead, our focus is drawn to the group in the foreground typical of those represented in Italianate winter scenes. While men loading a sled with barrels recalls festive drinking, there are no taverns or *koek-en-zopie* tents on Berchem's ice, making the focus on labor. The stress on labor is underscored by the horse's reins placed on the ice between the group and the beholder. A man watches with arms folded from the cold as the horse, next to the animal droppings typical of the Italianate winter scene, uneasily confronts two barking dogs. While not as brooding as Schellinks' scene, Berchem's painting downplays relaxation and *ijsvermaak* for the hardships of a dark and foreign winter.

Berchem's *Ice View outside a City* (Figure 7.6) also recalls a more exotic and miserable winter than that of the Dutch winter scene.[733] Its sky consists of primarily of dark grey clouds. Berchem's stone structures are partially in ruins and dwarf the people before them, suggesting the ruins of classical antiquity. The rising white smoke of a limekiln, curiously juxtaposed against a Dutch farmhouse, drifts into the grey sky. The diagonal composition of the architecture is that favored by Italianate artists. As with *City Wall by Haarlem in Winter*, Berchem depicts only peasants in ripped clothing on the ice. Berchem includes a man putting on his skate next to

[733] For this painting, see van Suchtelen, *Holland Frozen in Time*, 60-61.

a dog. Otherwise, very little about the scene suggests relaxation. While two men in the foreground are engaged in conversation, we sympathize with them due to their modest peasant dress as they stand next to a horse eating with a sled attached to it, implying that they are laborers on a break. The other individuals depicted are in the middle of their work, as a man pushes a sled next to another dragging a bundle of wood. As other Italianate winter scenes, the setting is exotic, the weather is brutal, and the ice is populated by peasants more concerned with getting their work done and keeping warm than enjoying a socially unifying relaxation.

Scenes of *ijsvermaak* were not default representations of winter, but illustrate a specific idea of the season. The Italianate winter scene represents another outlook on winter, one that acknowledges the difficulties of the season. The weather is dreary as people are dwarfed by the storm clouds, rocks, and mountains recalling the awesome power of nature. Instead of games and leisure, people must labor to survive as they are visibly too cold to enjoy themselves. Their miserable experience is underscored by the fact that primarily peasants are represented; to whom winter was particularly lethal. The Italianate winter scene illustrates winter as it is identified in pastoral literature, the dreadful opposite of the joyful youth and spring weather of Arcadia. Most importantly, like pastoral literature, the Italianate winter scene is set in an exotic location recalling the classical Mediterranean. The Dutch winter scene is equally selective as it aligns with the *Georgics* tradition. It does not represent an exotic escape, but a mastery of how to live throughout the cycle of the year, applying ancient lessons to the familiar world as it depicts everyday actions and people in a local setting. As opposed to the laboring foreign peasants at the mercy of nature, the Dutch winter scene includes social inversions and relaxation in winter as features of Dutch culture, just as they are in contemporary literature. It also lauds the Dutch

ability to surpass the example of antiquity, as the same winter that torments the Mediterranean shepherd is enjoyed by the residents of Europe's youngest nation who find carnivalesque and Horatian pleasures in it. As opposed to the horrific and majestic winter of labor and gloom, winters in the Netherlands are celebratory, a testament to the men and women about to lead their new nation beyond the celebrated standard of classical antiquity. A comparison with the brooding winter that causes those who inherited Arcadia to suffer reveals that the Dutch winter scene celebrates the particularly Netherlandish ability to enjoy the formidable season with annually specific relaxations.

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