FASHIONING IDENTITY:
THE JAN DE WASSER PRINTS AND THE BURGHER CLASS
by
ENGELINE CHRISTINE VANHAELEN
B.A., The University of Western Ontario, 1990
A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS
in
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
(Department of Fine Arts)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September 1993

© Engeline Christine Vanhaelen, 1993
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

(Signature)

Department of Fine Arts

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date Sept. 27, 1993
ABSTRACT

In the mid-seventeenth century, printers in the city of Amsterdam began to publish and disseminate prints which depicted, with images and words, the fictional story of Jan de Wasser. Jan de Wasser is a hen-pecked husband: his wife Griet wears the pants in their household, and forces Jan to carry out numerous domestic tasks. In this way, Jan takes on the prescribed role of the seventeenth-century Dutch housewife. The Jan de Wasser prints became extremely popular with the Dutch public: numerous printers put out their own versions of the story, and the prints maintained their popularity until the beginning of the twentieth century.

This thesis seeks to explore the complex relationship between the Jan de Wasser prints and their mainly middle class Dutch audience, within the social and cultural context of seventeenth-century Amsterdam. Taking the prints themselves as a starting point for this study, I have analyzed the forms of the prints: their layout, images and texts, for insights as to how they would have been understood by a seventeenth-century public. The Jan de Wasser prints draw on previous cultural traditions and transform these traditions by investing them with domestic and didactic meanings. As the prints were issued by different printers, they were edited, reworked and injected with new uses and new meanings. Because of their production, contradictory meanings coexist within the forms.

The themes of the prints link them to concepts of
marriage, women's roles, the education of children and the importance of the home and family which were being reworked in the late seventeenth century. This thesis will examine connections between the Jan de Wasser prints and shifting understandings of the importance of domestic life in defining both the individual and the nation. The contradictory meanings inherent in the prints reveal the struggle involved in redefining these issues. While they present the reader with the dominant ideologies of the day, the prints also retain vestiges of previous ways of life.

In the final analysis, the conflicting meanings of the Jan de Wasser prints allow for various readings and uses of the prints. The cultural consumption of the prints indicates a range of subject positions which were possible in the social and cultural context of seventeenth-century Amsterdam. Thus the Jan de Wasser prints played an important role in constructing middle class identity at this historical moment.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract
Table of Contents iv
List of Figures v
Acknowledgements vi
Introduction 1

Section One Production, Dissemination and Longue Durée 10
Section Two The Imprints of Popular Festive and Theatrical Traditions 22
Section Three Audience: The Contested Boundaries of The Burgher Class 37
Section Four The Gendered Subject: Women, the Domestic and Marriage 51
Section Five The Comic and the Didactic: Children, Education, Games and the Ambiguous Body 65
Section Six Carnivalesque Inversions: Social Protest or Social Control? 81

Endnotes 87
Bibliography 101
Figures 111
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Figure 1</td>
<td>Here Young People May View at Leisure The Career and Life of Jan de Wasser</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2</td>
<td>Section of fig. 1, Here Young People May View at Leisure The Career and Life of Jan de Wasser</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 3</td>
<td>Children, Here You See Before You the Life of Our Klaas and Griet</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 4</td>
<td>Children, Here You See the Life of Jan and Griet</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 5</td>
<td>Here is the Career and Life of Jan de Wasser and His Wife</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 6</td>
<td>Detail from The Life of Jan de Wasser and His Wife</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 7</td>
<td>The Revised Jan de Wasscher</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 8</td>
<td>Lamme Goedzak. Le Bon Guillaume</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 9</td>
<td>Everything is Here, The Old Jan Dressed Up in the New Style. What's in Store for Him is Certainly the Same Joy and Sorrow</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 10</td>
<td>The World Upside Down</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 11</td>
<td>The Battle for the Pants</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 12</td>
<td>The Theatre of the Crazy People of Amsterdam</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 13</td>
<td>Children's Games</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have contributed to this work. My advisors, Rose Marie San Juan and Maureen Ryan, have shared many creative insights and suggestions. Leslie Nordtvedt, Christine Kooi, Bronwen Wilson and Joseph Monteyne have been supportive and generous with ideas and resources.

My curiosity about Dutch folktales stems from stories told by my parents, André and Iet Vanhaelen. Their interest and enthusiastic help in offering translations have been invaluable. I thank my sister, Joanne Ernest, for her understanding and support, and also my brother, Jean Baptiste, who doesn't quite see the humour of 'Sint Jan de Wasser'.

I am especially grateful to Ray Geurkink, for all of his help and tireless encouragement.
Introduction

The commercial success of the group of woodblock prints depicting the theme of "Jan de Wasser", or John the Washer is indisputable. First published by Amsterdam printers in the second half of the seventeenth century, this type of print was a staple in the repertory of over thirty different Dutch and Belgian publishers of 'catchpenny prints' for well over two centuries. What was the appeal of these prints for their readers? All of the prints present a version of the story of Jan de Wasser and his wife, Griet. Most begin with scenes of the courtship and marriage of Jan and Griet. Soon after the wedding celebration, however, Jan comes to regret his choice of marriage partner, for the couple begins to fight over who will rule their household. The domineering Griet gains the upper hand in this battle, and forces Jan to give up his trousers in exchange for her apron. From then on, Griet 'wears the pants' in their family, while the 'hen-pecked' Jan takes on the prescribed role of a Dutch housewife, and is constrained to do a variety of mundane domestic chores, from scrubbing pots to washing dirty diapers.

This theme of marital inversion was certainly familiar to seventeenth-century publics, for it was derived from centuries-old carnival traditions, comic farces and oral tales, and appeared in numerous forms of visual representation throughout Western Europe. The Jan de Wasser prints, however, are distinctive in that they rework the well-established theme of
marital inversion in order to address particular domestic concerns. Choosing a marriage partner, raising children, and, strangely enough, doing housework, were crucial issues for members of the seventeenth-century Dutch middle class as they struggled to fashion a coherent identity for themselves in the midst of political, social, economic and cultural shifts.

In 1648, the United Provinces of the Netherlands signed the Treaty of Münster, ending an eighty-year war with Spain. Having overcome the domination of their Roman Catholic rulers, the United Provinces organized themselves as a sovereign Protestant republic, resulting in a weakening of the traditional nobility and clergy of the Netherlands. As established social hierarchies broke down, a newly empowered group of middle class burghers, a literate and wealthy group, emerged as the leaders of the new republic.¹ One of the ways in which this new ruling class redefined the operation of social power was through the reworking of cultural traditions. I will be examining how the popular Jan de Wasser broadsheets functioned in Dutch society as they actively participated in these social shifts, and operated as a site for the continuous reformulation of the status of the middle class Dutch subject during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Almost every major study of seventeenth-century Dutch society and culture argues that issues surrounding domestic life were crucial to the fashioning of a specific Dutch middle class identity. In the course of my research, I have drawn on the
works of Simon Schama, A.T. van Deursen, Alice Clare Carter, Mary Frances Durantini, David Smith and Bertha Mook for their interpretations of Dutch domesticity. While these studies are filled with insights into the character of seventeenth-century Dutch society and culture, the question of the actual processes through which Dutch subjectivity was constructed at this historical moment still requires attention. It is towards this end that I undertake this analysis of the range of readings and uses which the Jan de Wasser prints allowed. As will be developed in this thesis, the often contradictory meanings of the prints reveal that the growing importance of domestic life was a process fraught with anxieties and ambiguities, and a new cultural identity did not completely wipe out previous ways of life. Thus, while the Jan de Wasser prints functioned as a locus for the hold that the ideologies of middle class identity had on Dutch subjects, the diverse uses and perceptions of the prints also suggest ways in which readers could resist the dominant ideologies of the day. Consequently, the 'Dutch subject' emerges as a divided and provisional entity, who occupies shifting and contradictory positions. As Paul Smith theorizes, resistance can take place in culture. But he stresses that, "it takes place only within a social context which has already construed subject-positions for the human agent." This study explores some of the disparities between prescribed behaviour and how people lived, between the constraints imposed by the Jan de Wasser prints and individual,
subjective experience. In this way, the Jan de Wasser prints function as a site of struggle and resistance as well as a location of appropriation and acceptance, indicating the processes by which middle class identity was fashioned and the range of subject-positions which were available to Dutch middle class subjects within the social and cultural context of this time.

The vitality of the Jan de Wasser prints can be linked to peculiarities of their production. There were no strict controls governing print production in seventeenth-century Amsterdam and these types of prints were cheaply and hastily produced by profit-seeking printers who pieced together bits and pieces which they culled from various genres. This process generated complex cultural mixtures, giving the prints their disparate character and facilitating their numerous contradictory readings and uses. As a result of the variables of their production, the prints resemble what Roger Chartier has termed "a mix of forms and themes, invention and tradition, literate culture and folklore." Consequently, the prints operated as dynamic forms with great potential for further development, allowing them to survive for centuries.

The prints borrow from a number of communal festive traditions, such as the carnival and the theatre, and combine them with themes usually found in household advice books. Because of this contradictory mixture, practices of oral culture linger in the forms and mingle with attributes of written
culture. As we shall see, the prints were edited to construct a reader who was less of a communal member engaged with festive oral forms, and more of a moral private citizen influenced by didactic literature. It should be noted here that throughout this thesis I have used a broad definition of 'reading' as a creative practice which encompasses various uses and understandings of images as well as words. Implicit in this concept of reading is the notion that the reader is never the compliant subject of a monolithic text, but an agent with the freedom to resist or accept imposed meanings. In this way, while the prints participated in a shift from oral to written culture, because they retained many oral characteristics, they allowed readers to reassert communal and festive practices.

My understanding of traditional festive practices has been influenced by Mikhail Bakhtin's analysis of the sixteenth-century carnival in *Rabelais and his World*. According to Bakhtin, the carnival embodied the festive life of the people as it opposed official culture. Carnival was linked to cyclical time, with emphasis on birth and death, change and renewal and the suspension of hierarchies. Because the Jan de Wasser prints combine popular festive forms linked to carnival and theatre traditions with specifically Dutch middle class concerns regarding domestic life, they become what Bakhtin has called 'bourgeois truncated festive forms' and lose many of the subversive meanings of the carnival. For example, the ancestors of the characters Jan and Griet lived in Netherlandish farces
that were connected to annual festive celebrations. However, in the prints, these characters shake off their carnivalesque associations as they are transformed into a burgher couple plagued by domestic concerns.

As Stuart Hall points out, culture is not merely a 'way of life', but also a 'way of struggle' as "differently oriented accents intersect in every ideological sign". A struggle for meaning goes on in the very forms of the Jan de Wasser prints. The prints cannot be understood as 'pure' forms of popular culture. In many ways, they were the products of 'official culture', for these broadsheets were distributed in schools and played a role in the education of children. Thus they were invested with constraints and controls which dictated didactic uses for them. However, readers also maintained the comic and festive associations of the prints by using them to play games of chance. My analysis of the Jan de Wasser prints demonstrates that 'print culture' operates as a shifting network of practices and uses of printed objects which contributed to the definition of middle class culture in Dutch society. However, printed matter was also given meaning by the cultural and social practices of the day. Therefore, 'culture' emerges as a complex network of meaning that was generated from a variety of discourses and practices.

This issue is central to current debates in the field of popular culture. Theorists such as Bakhtin have argued that the inversion of a fixed hierarchy such as the husband/wife
relationship has subversive meanings and can function as a criticism of the social order. However, other scholars state that these types of inversions ask to be righted rather than changed. Thus, should the Jan de Wasser prints be understood as criticisms of larger political structures, or as a means of reasserting social norms? I hope to show that there might be more productive frameworks for understanding the operation of Jan de Wasser prints in Dutch society. A close analysis of the forms and their uses reveals the multiple ways in which the prints functioned as a site where subjectivity was formulated and redefined, revealing a range of subject-positions available to Dutch subjects who neither completely accepted nor totally resisted the social structures of their day.

As the starting point for an investigation of the Jan de Wasser broadsheets, it is necessary to understand the range of prints in question. The first section of this thesis explores the prints as objects and investigates their production, duration and dissemination mainly within the context of the flourishing printing industry of Amsterdam. Section II examines the imprints of oral and communal festive traditions. A close analysis of the forms of the prints gives insights into the intermingling of oral and written cultural practices and points to the diverse constituency which this cultural mixture reached.

The various reading practices which the prints permitted indicate a range of readers. Section III investigates how the contradictory ways in which the prints could be read reveal a
society which was not homogenous. While the prints participate in the attempts of official culture to smooth over internal divisions within the middle class and to distinguish this class from perceived inferior and superior groups, they also take part in schisms within the Dutch middle class and blur boundaries between this class and those who were considered outsiders.

Section IV and V both explore the ways in which the Jan de Wasser prints were infused with domestic and didactic concerns and the particular importance which these issues had in the fashioning of individual and national identity. Section IV links the emergence of the prints in the second half of the seventeenth century to changing definitions of marriage and gender roles. In this section, some of the particular meanings that the domestic sphere had for the Dutch Republic are outlined with an emphasis on women's roles. Section V looks at the prints' didactic functions in the context of the education of children. These didactic functions struggled against the contradictory comic and festive ways in which the prints were used in children's games. This struggle between comic and didactic understandings of the prints also takes place in depictions of the body and bodily functions. The visual and textual editing of representations of the body introduce new meanings into the prints and give insights into the shifting seventeenth-century understanding of the body.

In a brief conclusion, I will address the debate over whether the prints functioned as a form of social protest or as
a mode of social control. The late seventeenth century was a time of political crisis in the Netherlands, and the possibility of the subversive potential of the Jan de Wasser prints will be examined in this context. This section questions the usefulness of the social protest/social control debate and points to other approaches for analysing the operation of popular culture.
I. Production, Dissemination and *Longue Durée*

In the mid-seventeenth century, when the first Jan de Wasser prints were published, there were four hundred and eighteen known booksellers and printers in Amsterdam, which was the largest centre of catchpenny print production in the Netherlands. The substantial production of printed material operated as both a response and a stimulant to the demand for reading matter. While much of this output was for the foreign market, a large local market was necessary to sustain such a thriving printing industry.

The size of the audience for printed publications led to increased specialization by printers. Based on the surviving inventories of many of the workshops that published the Jan de Wasser prints, it seems that these firms were able to make a living by specializing in the printing of ephemera such as catchpennies and chapbooks. Printers often were backed by wealthy publisher-patrons to cover the cost of producing expensive books. However, ephemera were not generally supported by patrons, and as printers produced these types of prints at their own expense, the costs for generating this material was kept quite low. Catchpenny prints were usually printed on poor quality paper from woodcuts and wornout fonts of type. While woodcuts required initial labour and cost to engrave, they were reusable and could last for centuries.

In the case of Jan de Wasser (see, for example, figure 1), each small scene is a separate woodblock. The basic layout of
all the different versions of the prints follows a formula. The images are organized in rows in a grid-like structure; each image depicts a scene in the story and is surrounded by heavy dark lines. Beneath each scene is one or two lines of simple descriptive text, printed from moveable type. As the blocks were passed down to different printing houses, the familiar images could be updated by being combined with different text. To keep costs down, the prints were hastily produced and proofreaders were a luxury that only the most prosperous firms could afford. Thus, errors were the status quo, and blocks were sometimes arranged in the wrong order, or accompanied by text which had grammatical and spelling errors.

Knowledge of the market was crucial as printers could only afford to publish what would sell. Therefore they frequently reworked previous popular traditions into a new format, and often augmented their stock by copying successful prints that were put out by their competitors. Decisions to print a particular text, format and press run depended mainly on the character and extent of the public that the printers perceived to constitute a potential clientele. It seems that Amsterdam printers and booksellers had a reputation for printing for profit. In 1662, a Dutch writer cited the following adage, "'Men will always seek their own interests, even to the disadvantage of others'", and added, "No one practices this more than certain profit-seeking booksellers." Printing for profit resulted in prints that were filled with multiple errors and
inconsistent mixtures of elements from disparate genres and different times. These variables endowed the prints with numerous contradictory readings, giving them great vitality.

Because of their versatility of form and theme, the Jan de Wasser prints remained a much-published and widely distributed print from the seventeenth up to the beginning of the twentieth century. Throughout their longue durée, different groups and individuals utilized, appropriated and transformed the prints, creating a large public for them. Jan de Wasser woodblocks were owned by more than thirty different printing houses during the three centuries of their production. Given the large output possible with woodblocks, and the fact that some printers distributed different renderings of this subject, thousands of Jan de Wasser prints must have been disseminated throughout the Low Countries over the course of three centuries. Only a minute number survive, however, as the prints were not treated as precious objects to be saved, but as possessions of little value which had a transient existence.

That a number of Jan de Wasser prints have endured until today is largely due to the efforts of C.F. Van Veen, a twentieth century Dutch collector of popular prints. Several of the prints that I will be examining were part of Van Veen's collection. He reproduced many of his prints in two publications: Dutch Catchpenny Prints: Three Centuries of Pictorial Broadsides for Children of 1971, and Catchpenny Prints: Dutch Popular and Children's Prints of 1976. His
collection was auctioned off in 1984 after his death and some of the Jan de Wasser prints are reproduced in the Sotheby's catalogue, *The Van Veen Collection of Children's Books and Juvenilia*. Other Jan de Wasser prints have been reproduced in two major studies of Dutch and Belgian prints: Emile van Heurck and G.J. Boekenoogen's *L'Imagerie Populaire des Pays-Bas: Belgique-Holland* of 1930 and Maurits de Meyer's *De Volks- en Kinderprent in de Nederlanden van de 15e tot de 20e Eeuw* of 1962. The works of Van Heurck, Boekenoogen and de Meyer also describe a few Jan de Wasser prints which are not reproduced in their books. Thus, while I am aware of the existence of some different editions of this subject, I have not been able to locate published copies of these versions.

Although there will be some gaps in my analysis, it is possible to trace the development of the Jan de Wasser prints through several generations of printers. All sources agree that the earliest known print of this popular subject entitled, *Here Young People may View at their Leisure the Life and Career of Jan de Wasser* (fig. 1), was published in the mid-seventeenth century by an anonymous printer. The Sotheby's catalogue states that the forty-eight woodblocks of this version later were used by the de Groot firm of Amsterdam (1656-1757). According to Meyer, a few prints survive that were printed from these seventeenth-century woodblocks by the eighteenth-century Amsterdam firms of Kannewet (1725-1780), which took over the stock of de Groot; and Ratelband and Bouwer (1774-1799), which
often copied prints by de Groot and Kannewet. Van Veen's collection includes a sixteen block print (fig. 2) which illustrates a segment of this version and would have been sold at a lower price.

The de Groot firm published a later version of the Jan de Wasser story entitled, *Children, Here You See Before You the Life of Our Klaas and Griet* (fig. 3). De Groot was one of the largest seventeenth-century producers of catchpenny prints and the earliest known firm to publish the Jan de Wasser theme. Four generations of the de Groot family operated the company from 1656 to 1759. Figure 3 was put out by the firm of the Widow Gysbert de Groot and A. Van Dam (1692-1739) of Amsterdam. The Widow de Groot was Hendrina Blaeu of the Blaeu family who ran one of the largest and most influential publishing businesses of Amsterdam. Hendrina Blaeu also had relatives in the firms of Lootsman and Van Der Putte, which were the other two most important seventeenth-century producers of catchpenny prints in the city. Thus, there were significant family and business connections between the different firms that published the Jan de Wasser prints. The stock of de Groot was taken over by the firm of Kannewet (1710-1780), which, as we have seen, also published the forty-eight block version of Jan de Wasser. Kannewet's blocks became the stock of Stichter, another large Amsterdam firm (1646-18--) and were later used by J. Noman (1814-1830). In the nineteenth century, many Belgian publishers of popular prints formed their stock by buying up
woodblocks at the liquidation of Dutch firms. Thus, the original stock of de Groot eventually became the property of the large Belgian printer, P.J. Brepols of Turnhout.

In the eighteenth century, the Amsterdam firm of Van der Putte, the large establishment that was connected to the de Groot family firm, published another new version of the Jan de Wasser theme. I have only found a detail of this rendition which was printed by Hendrick Van Der Putte (1761-1767) and is entitled The Life of Jan de Wasser and his Wife (fig. 6). Wendel of Amsterdam (1788-1842) copied the text of this print but had new blocks carved to update the story which was given the title Here is the Career and Life of Jan de Wasser and His Wife. The blocks that were used by Wendel may have been passed on to the Widow de Roode and Son of Zaandam (1796-1798) (fig. 5), and later were given updated text by Van Kolm of Amsterdam (1785-18--) (fig. 7). Broese and Company of Breda used the text of Van Kolm and had new blocks carved to give the story a nineteenth-century setting (fig. 9).

P.J. Brepols of Turnhout, the nineteenth-century firm which inherited the seventeenth-century stock that originally belonged to the de Groot family, published a few revised versions of Jan de Wasser. Turnhout was a nineteenth-century centre of popular image making in the northern Belgian province of Anvers, which is near the Dutch border. Other Belgian firms such as Wellens and Delhuvenne, and Glenisson and van Genechten also published
versions of the Jan de Wasser theme in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Throughout the history of their production, the Jan de Wasser prints were continuously altered. By examining the various representations in more detail, certain patterns of change emerge. Several later prints seem generally more linear, with a recognizable narrative sequence. They also appear to be less abusive and sexual, and increasingly moralizing. Their language is refined and they tend to focus on details of domestic chores and childrearing.

In the earliest renditions of the Jan de Wasser story, Jan is only slightly victimized by his wife. While he does all of the housework, he also beats his spouse and she does not dominate him. In the first Jan de Wasser print (fig. 1), Jan's wife is named 'Bottheid', which plays on Dutch words for stupid and noisy. She does not play a major role, appearing in only a few scenes in which Jan beats her (1:13 and 1:23) and ends his day by getting into bed with her (1:48). There is no easily discernable narrative sequence in the early versions. Many of the scenes do not seem connected to each other. Van Veen suggests that this is because the story of Jan de Wasser is a shortened account of a longer folk tale. In this way, the print depicts highlights of the story and the readers would have been able to fill in the gaps from their knowledge of the oral tale. Possibly, the story of Jan de Wasser was an oral tale, for the first line of the print, "Here comes Jan de Wasser" resembles
formulas that were traditionally used to begin ballads of folktales.\footnote{15}

In the next rendering of this subject (fig. 3), Jan's wife Griet plays a much larger role. The story begins with the courting and marriage of Jan (named Klaas in this account) and Griet. Then their relationship turns sour as Jan/Klaas comes home to find that supper is not ready. He goes after his wife with the shovel and tongs, but she manages to get the upper hand and forces him to surrender his trousers. From then on, Griet dominates her husband and forces him to spin, cook and care for the child and beats him if he does not comply. The narrative of this version is somewhat more linear than that of earlier prints, although the couple still beats each other repeatedly. In a later printing of these blocks (fig. 4), sexual references are edited out of the text.

By the early eighteenth century, the story took on a more definitive form, with a discernable narrative sequence comprised of introduction, climax and conclusion. A twenty-four block version (fig. 5) begins with the wedding of Jan and Griet. They then exchange pants and apron and Griet instructs Jan on how to do a variety of domestic tasks, such as cooking, scrubbing pots, polishing the windows, sweeping the floors and washing the linen. The sexual nature of marriage is denied as the couple travels to Volewyk, a mythical island where the residents of Amsterdam went to get babies.\footnote{16} After this, it is Jan who lies in the childbed, cares for, and teaches the child, while Griet
punishes Jan for any mistakes. While Griet beats Jan in several scenes, he no longer abuses her in this account. The story ends with Jan and Griet arguing over the future of their child.

In the nineteenth century, many firms began to put out revised versions of Jan de Wasser. In 1784, a society called the Maatschappij voor het Nut van het Algemeen (Society for Public Welfare) was formed. This society studied educational methods and aims, and therefore had a direct influence on printers of children's ephemera and books. According to the Maatschappij voor het Nut van het Algemeen, all prints should be patriotic, virtuous, useful and instructive. At this time, many old prints were deemed inappropriate for use in the schools and were reworked by printers. Among these were the Jan de Wasser prints. In some cases, seventeenth-century blocks were given updated text (fig. 7), and in other cases completely new blocks were made, with contemporary costumes and settings (fig. 8 & 9).

Since there was no censorship of print production in the Dutch Republic, the numerous editing and reworkings of the Jan de Wasser prints were based mostly on the printers' understandings of what would be acceptable to their audience. The changes to the prints were not merely market-driven, however, but also played a role in transforming cultural practices. As Roger Chartier points out, because this type of reading material imposed certain social and cultural norms, it operated as a means of regulating the conduct and thought of the
readers. Thus, the Jan de Wasser prints were not 'pure' forms of popular culture, for many of their meanings were in keeping with the dominant ideologies of the day. However, the meanings of the prints were not determined solely by printers or institutions. There is a gap between the norms that were dictated and the actual uses of the prints. In this gap, the imposed cultural model was appropriated, reformulated or avoided. While the prints exerted ideological pressures, this does not curtail practices which resisted the established meanings.

The Jan de Wasser prints were circulated in a number of ways. The most admissible means of distributing prints in seventeenth-century Amsterdam was by selling them in bookshops. Often printers had their own shops, but booksellers could also be independent business people who bought stock from printers or hired printers to produce certain texts. The Jan de Wasser prints were probably also distributed by less legitimate means. Itinerant pedlars purchased inexpensive printed material from printers and then travelled to markets, fairs and cities to sell their stock. Pedlars were unwelcome competition for the booksellers. Throughout the seventeenth century, the bookseller's guild of Amsterdam complained of pedlars who sold books, courants, tidings, songs, ballads, verses, almanacs, prognostications, leaflets and folktales in the public spaces of the city. For example, in the mid-seventeenth century, the Amsterdam bookseller's guild protested:
It is well known that more than ever complaints are heard among our guild brothers of the decline in the book trade...These complaints are legitimate, and can be redressed, namely, by STEMMING THE ILLEGAL BOOK TRADE. It is generally known that there are almost no bridges or canals without a table--in some places practically a shop--filled with books, where all can purchase books at a modest price, to their hearts' content.13

This quote gives important insights into the book trade of Amsterdam. First of all, the fact that pedlars were perceived as dangerous competition by the booksellers' guild implies that pedlars did not cater to 'popular buyers' at the bottom of the social scale, but rather had the same urban clientele of merchants and artisans who patronized the bookshops.

Although the bookseller who made this statement may have exaggerated the situation for emphasis, it does give an indication of the extent of people involved in the book trade of Amsterdam and also of how the printing industry transformed the public spaces of the city. Amsterdam emerges as an urban centre where printed material was present everywhere. Prints were not contained in bookshop windows, but they were sold in the streets, bridges, and church doorways, posted on the walls of taverns, workshops, churches and homes, carried on the person, passed from hand to hand and discussed in the markets and squares. Thus, printed material was visible and familiar to everyone who lived in the city, providing at least some degree of exposure to written culture for the inhabitants of Amsterdam.14

Recent scholarship on Dutch print culture argues that books and pamphlets published in Amsterdam were often meant for a
national market rather than for a regional or local one. Itinerant booksellers bought small, low-priced, quick-profit titles in one city and then transported and distributed them in many Dutch cities. If their stock ran low, pedlars would pay printers in the different towns they visited to reprint the items that needed to be replenished. 'Foreign' works, published outside of Amsterdam, were also sold legally by local booksellers. Records of contacts between printers and booksellers reveal that an extensive commercial network was established between those involved in the print industry in various Dutch cities. Amsterdam printers sent agents to other Dutch cities and towns with lists of titles which they distributed and posted. These agents also set up bookstalls at markets and fairs which became focal points for book selling activity. This interaction between printers and booksellers in different urban printing locations explains the dissemination of the Jan de Wasser prints to other Dutch cities such as Zaandam and Rotterdam, as well as to Belgian publishing centres. While the Jan de Wasser prints probably were known in various Dutch cities, for the purposes of this study, I will focus mainly on issues pertaining to Amsterdam as a context in which to examine the prints.
II. The Imprints of Popular Festive and Theatrical Traditions

While the precise origins of the Jan de Wasser prints remain unclear, we do know that the Amsterdam printers who first published these broadsheets did not invent the theme. In fact, it was to be found in communal festivals, theatrical farces, and popular prints. Drawing on these familiar cultural forms, the prints address specific seventeenth-century Dutch concerns revolving around the domestic and the "national fetish of washing everything". The patching together of bits and pieces from different genres and different times gives the prints a disparate character and facilitates the number of contradictory readings which they allow. Like the peculiarities of production noted above, this eclectic use of sources opens up room for different readings and uses. The reworking of older material also points to a shift in the assumed public for the prints. Thus, the sixteenth and early seventeenth-century material was modified and invested with new themes in order to address a late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth century audience. However, through the revising of cultural forms and practices, the Jan de Wasser prints also transformed their audience. In this way, the Dutch subject was, to borrow Jonathan Crary's terms, "both the historical product and the site of certain practices, techniques, institutions, and procedures of subjectification."

As the Jan de Wasser prints borrowed from and transformed communal festive forms, they participated in a larger shift
which took place throughout Western Europe in the seventeenth century. A number of historical studies have shown that during the course of this century, societies moved away from community interaction in the streets, markets and neighbourhoods to a social life which was increasingly centred on the home and family. At this time, state apparatuses began to intervene in several traditional family and kinship roles such as education, the policing of the community, aid and welfare and the control of sexuality and marriage. As a result, the private came to mean that which was outside of the purview of the state. As the state took on a larger role in local affairs, space and time were reorganized and available for private activities. The family withdrew into the home and began to concentrate on the few traditional roles that it had retained such as running a household, maintaining a satisfying partnership between spouses and childrearing.43 As we shall see, in the Dutch republic, the public/private split was also a gendered division, as women and children were increasingly confined to the private sphere of the home while men retained active roles in public life.

Therefore, as the Jan de Wasser prints were reworked by different printers, the numerous editions took part in this larger shift away from communal social life towards private domestic life. The many changes that were made to the forms did not merely reflect this transition, but rather participated in it as the prints actively constructed a reader who was more of a private individual and less of a communal member. Indeed,
through the editions of the prints, we see Jan undergo this same conversion. In the earliest Jan de Wasser print (fig. 1), Jan is often depicted outside, socializing with neighbourhood people (See especially fig. 1: 15, 17, 20, 21), while in later ones (fig. 5), he is increasingly confined to interior domestic spaces.

The grid format of the Jan de Wasser prints would have been familiar to the seventeenth-century reader from popular sixteenth-century broadsheets of the 'World Upside Down' (fig. 10). This indicator of genre links the Jan de Wasser prints to the theme of a 'topsy-turvy world' and could have called up expectations and anticipations of understanding in a seventeenth-century reader. The 'World Upside Down' was a popular theme in print culture throughout Europe from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Dutch versions of this theme were often printed by the same firms that published the Jan de Wasser prints. These broadsheets consist of a number of motifs depicting symbolic reversals, which were derived from medieval farces, oral tales and carnival themes. Roger Chartier has classified eight categories of inversion: social roles, gender roles, adult/child relations, associations between people and animals, relations among animals, order among the elements of nature and the position of people and things. The reversal of gender roles was most often portrayed by women taking on traditional masculine roles, such as going off to battle, while their husbands stayed behind and cared for the children and the
home (see, for example, fig. 10: 3, 23). This theme of 'Women on Top' which resulted in an inversion of marital roles commonly occurred as a single vignette in gridded broadsheets of the 'World Upside Down' or as the sole subject of sixteenth-century broadsheets throughout Europe.

The 'World Upside Down' and the various themes that fall under the category of 'Women on Top' (for example, the 'Battle for the Pants', the 'Hen-pecked Husband', marital beatings, unequal lovers, etc.) are all manifestations of a long tradition of ritual inversion found in forms of popular culture associated with public festivals. According to Mikhail Bakhtin, the festive laughter of role-reversal had the power to invert social structures in order that they could be examined, criticized and regenerated." The incorporation of recognizable motifs from the 'World Upside Down' in the Jan de Wasser prints had the potential to draw on the reader's previous knowledge of festive forms and guide the ways in which these prints were understood. Yet, these forms were transformed and radically altered as they were invested with specific domestic concerns. The Dutch were the first to place the theme of 'Women on Top' in the 'World Upside Down' grid format and fashion from these genres a continuous, linear narrative which centred on the domestic life of two named individuals." These new themes were foreign to traditional festive forms and were usually expressed in other ways in Dutch emblem books and didactic literature. This radically alters traditional festive forms and plays a role in
the specifically Dutch reworking of domestic life, which will be taken up in more depth in Section IV. Because of this transformation, the prints played an active role in the larger shift from exterior communal life to interior private life. While these prints borrowed from and reworked communal festive traditions, they were edited in explicit and implicit ways to give them didactic value. In this way, they became what Bakhtin has termed 'bourgeois truncated festive forms', never wholly liberated from the practical and utilitarian.

Early prints of the theme of the 'Battle for the Pants' almost always feature some sort of spinning apparatus (see, for example, fig. 11). Women use their spindles as weapons in the struggle for the pants, and afterwards force the subdued men to do the traditional women's work of spinning and weaving.

Often scenes of 'Women on Top' and the 'Battle for the Pants' took place in spinning rooms. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, spinning rooms were places where women gathered to work and tell stories. These precincts evolved into centres for village social life as men joined women after work. As a woman's domain, spinning rooms were ideal settings for world-upside-down scenes of the power of women. However, by the mid-seventeenth century, Dutch spinning rooms were no longer a workplace for women and a meeting place for the sexes. Rather, a spinhuis became a house of correction for female offenders. In the Jan de Wasser prints, the woman's work of spinning is confined to the private sphere of the home.
Not only the themes, but also the characters of the Jan de Wasser prints emerge from familiar conventions. Jan and Griet have a long history in the festive traditions of the Low Countries. Griet, the name of Jan de Wasser's wife, was a common Netherlandish appellation for an unruly woman. In fact, the names Margaret, Greta, Margot, Griet and Magrite had pejorative connotations throughout Europe. These names were given to women in prints, paintings and farces to communicate the idea of the fool. In the popular comic tradition that is described by Bakhtin, Griet is related to the material bodily lower stratum. In this way, she debases, brings down to earth and destroys, but she also gives birth and reasserts. Her naturally grotesque body interrogates and inverts the closed body of the private home and acts as a symbol of temporary release from traditional and stable hierarchies.

The name Jan de Wasser also had a place in Netherlandish folk tradition. 'Sint Jan de Wasser' was a popular name for Saint John the Baptist. Wasser in this case refers to the cleansing powers of the waters of baptism. The summer festival of St. John's Day and Eve, which commemorates the birthday of the saint, developed out of the older celebration of midsummer and occurs near the summer solstice on June twenty-third and twenty-fourth. St. John's Day was an important festival in the Low Countries because the annual carnival was often postponed until this more temperate season. During this festival, it was believed that water had special healing powers, and symbolic
links to purification, renewal, regeneration and fertility. These ideas are mocked in the Jan de Wasser prints as 'Sint Jan de Wasser' is transformed into a hen-pecked husband who is reduced to washing the floors, the street, the laundry, the dishes and the baby's bottom. Although, as we shall see, all of these housewifely tasks did have a somewhat sacred significance in seventeenth-century Dutch society.

As the St. John's Day festival lost its popularity and strength in the late seventeenth century, it seems that many of its themes were adapted and transformed in the Jan de Wasser prints. For example, the St. John's festival was a love feast. Many of the games played during the festival were connected with marriage and choosing a mate. Games of chance were associated with the theme of the folly of marriage, and the outcome of the games was understood to determine the players' future marriages. Marriage itself was understood as a game of chance, because of the uncertainties of choosing a compatible mate. Each year a battle between summer and winter was enacted with games of tug-of-war, fighting and pulling hair. According to Mikhail Bakhtin, these festive thrashings had a regenerative symbolism: while they put to death the old season, they also brought about the rebirth of the new in the cyclical repetitive time of the carnival. The battle between the seasons was also linked to the folly of marriage: the dominated or cuckolded husband, "assume[d] the role of uncrowned old age, of the old year, and the receding winter. He [was] stripped of his robes, mocked and
beaten." The Saint John's Day themes of the folly of marriage and festive beatings are especially evident in some of the earliest Jan de Wasser prints (figs. 1, 3 & 4).

A popular fifteenth-century song and dance of this festival was called the *paterken*, or 'little monk'. In the first verse of the song, the players form a circle and a boy is chosen to go into the middle and act the role of the little monk. He goes around the circle once and then chooses a girl to play the role of the little nun and leads her into the middle of the circle while the other players sing the first verse of the song:

"A little monk wandered by the side [of the road];
He took a little nun by the hand.
Chorus: It was in the middle of the day,
It was in May."

In the second verse, he kneels before the girl while the players sing:

"So, little monk, you have to kneel;
And little nun, you have to stay standing."
Chorus...

In the third verse, he embraces the nun while everyone sings:

"So, little monk, give your little nun a son.
You can do that three more times."
Chorus...

Then, the boy takes his place in the circle again and the girl stays in the middle while the players sing the final verse:

"So, little monk, you have to depart;
And little nun, you have to stay standing."
Chorus..."

Bakhtin argues that this type of mocking of religious authority was typical festive behaviour."
A theatrical farce of the sixteenth century which is probably derived from the paterken dance features the amorous misadventures of a nun and monk couple who are named Sister Margriet and Brother Jan. Possibly, these are the ancestors of the Jan and Griet of the Jan de Wasser prints who are transformed over time into a domestic burgher couple. The characters Jan and Griet became stock comic figures in the seventeenth century and there were a number of farces at this time that featured the marital troubles of a couple named Jan and Griet.

Theatrical farces dating back to the thirteenth century frequently dealt with the theme of domestic quarrels, and domineering wives and hen-pecked husbands were common in seventeenth-century comedies as well. In Amsterdam, rederijker's kamers, or chambers of rhetoric, made up of craftsmen, artisans and small shopkeepers, performed at public and private celebrations such as weddings, civil and religious processions and carnival revelries. The theatre was prevalent in Dutch urban life. Almost every town had a dramatic club and towns competed to compose and perform the best play. The rederijkers often reacted to current events and the topics dealt with in their performances were closely linked to themes that appeared in print culture at this time.

Both the popular theatre and the prints were directed at the same broad middle-class audience. However, the two mediums invoked different experiences of similar themes and
stories. Theatrical farces and festivals were communal activities that encouraged the participation of the audience. Practices related to printed material differed from the theatrical process, for many traits of oral culture were retained in prints and intermingle in complex ways with attributes that are characteristic of written culture.

The availability of printed material in Amsterdam and the increased literacy of the city's inhabitants contributed to a shift from oral to silent reading practices. Private reading and writing are acts which set a person apart and cause the individual to retreat into the self, while oral reading functions as a sociable, communal practice. However, while printed material redrew boundaries between the self and the community, it did not obliterate oral practices. Complex trajectories between oral and written culture operate in the very forms of the Jan de Wasser prints. Thus, a close analysis of the forms is necessary to understand some of the ways in which the Jan de Wasser prints constructed a private reader, and the ways in which that reader was able to resist this construction by reasserting oral practices.

For example, while the Jan de Wasser narrative has linear and objective traits of the written form, many of its attributes link it to oral forms. The linear narrative tells the story of the burgher couple as they move through space and time, pausing to describe landmarks such as their wedding day, the arrival of their first child and their discussions of the child's future.
However, the story also has many repetitions, a trait of oral culture, as Jan performs chore after chore, punctuated by the routine of beatings and disputes (see especially figs. 1 & 3). The earliest Jan de Wasser prints (figs. 1 & 3) are more repetitive, while the later prints (figs. 5 & 6) tend to assert the linear narrative. However, all of the prints have elements of both oral and written culture. For example, while fig. 1 is extremely repetitive and disjointed, it does have a conclusion in which order is reestablished in the chaotic household, as Jan ends his day happily by climbing into bed with his wife.

The mnemonic devices contained in the prints also reveal the vacillation between written and oral processes of storytelling and between internal and communal experiences of narrative. The simple rhyming couplets of the text are descriptive of the gestural images above them. This would serve as an aid to those learning to read, allowing the private subject to interiorize exterior information in a practice which constructs an individual that is increasingly separate from the world. Yet, this didactic literary function can be undermined by the reader. As Roger Chartier points out, while mnemonic devices serve as aids for those learning to read, they also make narrative easily memorizable, which destines the text to return to oral form. In this way, the same forms engender contradictory practices and the Jan de Wasser prints elicit a range of responses which fluctuated between oral and written reading practices. Thus, printed broadsheets such as these lie
somewhere in between the two traditions of oral and silent reading practices. Indeed, these two forms of sociability cannot be treated as totally separate customs. There is a wide range of attitudes towards and uses of print culture that function between private individual reading and passive listening to the spoken word. In this way, the Jan de Wasser prints act as a site where different reading practices overlap.  

A series of late-seventeenth and early eighteenth-century plays that were performed in Amsterdam have themes and characters that bear a resemblance to those of the Jan de Wasser prints. Maurits de Meyer points out the similarity between the story of Jan de Wasser and a klucht, or farce, by Cornelis de Bie entitled Jan Goethals en Griet syn wyf (Jan, the Good Simpleton and Griet, his Wife) of 1670 which deals with the marital problems of a couple named Jan and Griet. Een Kwa Griet Getemd of 1649 (A Difficult Griet is Tamed) is about the marriage of a woman named Griet and a lawyer. Griet's parents are Jan Goedbloedt (Goodblood) and Griet. The farce begins with Jan Goedbloedt telling of his unhappy marriage to Griet. Then the lawyer takes over and decides to tame his wife Griet. He does this by tying her up in a cradle and treating her like a baby until she agrees to behave. This play is referred to in another farce called Rombout and his Wife in which the husband indicates that if his wife acts like a 'kwa Griet' he will take his cue from Jan and tame her. This offhand reference to Jan
and Griet seems to indicate an expectation that the audience would have been familiar with these characters and their marital struggles.

In *Broekdragende Griet Genezen* (Griet who Wears the Trousers is Cured) of 1683, Griet pretends to be dead and listens for her husband's reaction to the news. Needless to say, the husband, who has been hen-pecked by Griet throughout their married life, is quite glad to hear of her demise. In *De Feeks* (The Shrew) a couple named Jan and Griet have a fight. Jan goes to his mother and Griet's father to get them to talk with her. She convinces them that it is Jan's fault. At the end, the sheriff comes to collect a fine from Griet (who was found guilty of breaking Jan's nose) and the family quickly hushes things up. This is an interesting indication of how marital quarrels became the jurisdiction of the state rather than of the community.

Aspects of the Jan de Wasser prints were probably derived from these types of popular farces. Visually, the prints bear the imprint of the theatre. In the late seventeenth-century print published by Hendrina Blaeu (fig. 3), Klaas and Griet are wearing different costumes in every scene. In all of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century prints, the scenes are contained in shallow box-like spaces, which resemble stage sets. The action is directed outward for the audience through the vivid rhetorical gestures and expressions of the characters, which seem to recall a comic dialogue.
These rhetorical gestures create a second unwritten performative narrative. The texts below the images are simple descriptions: Jan de Wasser scrubs the street / Jan teaches the child to walk / Jan and Griet argue, etc. However, the bodily gestures of the figures function as signs for missing words. This indicates the link between the prints and contemporary theatre, where well-known gestures recall a dialogue between characters. For example, the pointing finger of the minister calls up for a seventeenth-century public the familiar words of the wedding ceremony as Jan and Griet join hands in the *dextrarum iunctio*, a gesture which indicates the solemnization of marriage (fig. 5: 1). Dialogue is also indicated as Griet points as she gives instruction on how to do the housework (fig. 5: 4), Jan and Griet argue over the future of their child (fig. D: 24), Jan gossips with the women (fig. 1: 20), Jan makes fun of the neighbours (fig. 1: 21), and so on. These performative gestures act as pictorial representations of narrative. This allows for the story to be reenacted by the reader. In addition, the reader can invent her or his own narrative based on the gestural images. Possibly, the simple descriptive texts that accompany the images also serve as an attempt to deny the dialogue between characters and thus censor the abusive language that accompanies festive forms. In this way, the text acts as a subtle form of closure on the meaning of the prints.

As a result of the disparate traditions that are combined in the Jan de Wasser prints, attributes of oral and written
culture intermingle in the forms of the prints. Because traits of the written form tend to assert themselves in the later prints, we can conclude that the numerous editing of the prints participated in the shift from oral to written culture. However, the oral characteristics of the prints are never completely disavowed. They continuously reassert themselves and allow for a multiplicity of reading practices. As we shall see, the overlapping of written and oral traits also points to the diverse constituency which the prints reached.
III. Audience: The Contested Boundaries of the Burgher Class

The complex trajectories of oral and written practices inscribed in the Jan de Wasser prints indicate the range of readers who engaged with the prints in various ways. The format of combining images with texts would have appealed to the literate and semi-literate alike, for all those who took up the prints did not read them in the same manner. As a result, the market extended beyond those who knew how to read, for the semi-literate could have used the images as an aid to deciphering the text. As we have seen, the mnemonic devices used in the prints would have helped readers to transform the text back into oral form. The story could have been read aloud or acted out by groups of readers. A single reader could also bring contradictory or successive attitudes to the text and engage in the same plurality of readings. Multiple connections operated between the prints and human actions. In the seventeenth century, the relation to the printed word was inextricably linked to social and communal relations.

In light of this, a broad definition of the 'reading' audience is needed. Reading was not just the intimate, intellectual act of private comprehension of the text. As argued above, Amsterdam was a city whose residents could not avoid some contact with the printed word, and the deciphering of printed matter encountered in the city was also a form of reading. Ephemeral prints, which formed the bulk of printing production, were aimed at the urban bourgeoisie. Inventories of
the possessions of merchants, artisans and shopkeepers reveal that this group did not own many books. However, this does not signify that reading was not an important means for this class to establish its cultural identity, for they were involved in other types of reading, and ephemera were more present and more influential in their lives than were books."

While the Jan de Wasser prints were directed at this urban class of merchants and artisans, this was not the exclusive audience for them. As Roger Chartier points out, because these sorts of prints were so widely distributed, they crossed social boundaries and drew readers from different social and economic levels. As a result, various social groups could approach the same printed material in diverse practices that ranged from the basic deciphering of signs to fluent reading." However, just as cultural objects cannot be assigned to specific classes, certain ways of reading were not exclusive to distinctive social groups either. Rather, there was some fluidity in the circulation of shared cultural practices and objects."

Therefore, it is difficult, if not impossible to separate 'popular' from 'elite' culture, for there is no absolute boundary between these two concepts. This is especially true of the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. After fighting and emerging victorious from the Eighty Years War with Spain of 1568 to 1648, the Netherlands were transformed from a small feudal territory governed by the Catholic Spanish into an independent Protestant republic. The breakdown of feudalism meant that the
place of the individual in society was relatively undefined and a person's social status was not fixed. The social and religious shifts brought about by the war also resulted in a weakening of traditional elites, the aristocracy and clergy of the Netherlands.

The Netherlands emerged from the Eighty Years War as a world empire which dominated the seas and excelled in trade and commerce. Due to the rise of merchant capitalism, the middle class became the most wealthy, powerful and dominant group in the Republic. In Dutch, this class was called the brede middenstand: a broad stratum which ranged from small shopkeepers and artisans to wealthy trading merchants and civic leaders. Because of the weakened aristocracy, the new elites of Dutch society came out of this middle class group.

The new leaders of the Republic were faced with the task of making sense of the social realignments and the sudden rise to power and prosperity of the nation which were the results of the Eighty Years War. Moralists of the day constructed Dutch society as a mutable world. In this way, the Dutch defined themselves as a people who had struggled and worked hard for survival and were rewarded by God with material success. However, they also understood the transience of wealth and there was an underlying fear that if the nation or individuals became complacent or dishonest, the Lord could punish them by taking away personal or collective fortune and might. For there was much fluidity within the boundaries of the middle class, and as
social positions and occupations were not fixed, individuals had opportunities to climb, and descend, the social ladder." This was unprecedented in Western Europe at this time.

As discussed above, the Jan de Wasser prints drew on and reformulated the festive and theatrical traditions of their predecessors, which contributed to the redefinition of the status of the middle class Dutch subject. In this way, printed material played a significant role in constructing a new social structure and in reeducating Dutch citizens to function efficiently in a merchant capital system. What Stuart Hall has said of the twentieth century is equally applicable to the seventeenth century: "Capital had a stake in the culture of the popular classes because the constitution of a whole new social order around capital required a more or less continuous, if intermittent, process of reeducation, in the broadest sense." However, while the middle class sought cultural domination, it would be simplistic to believe that they were a homogeneous group who understood exactly how to line up culture and society." Their own confusion as to how to restructure society emerges in the Jan de Wasser prints and the contradictory ways in which they could be read.

While print culture attempted to formulate a homogeneous society, by its very nature it also revealed and precipitated many social cleavages. The Dutch middle class did not have a uniform identity. As we shall see, it was fractured by multiple differences such as wealth and social status, residence, gender
and age. In various ways, the Jan de Wasser prints dramatize these schisms in Dutch society.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a battle over social and cultural status split the middle class. Because the Dutch elites came from the *brede middenstand*, they needed to find ways to establish their elevated status and set themselves apart from the rest of this group. One of the strategies by which the wealthiest and most powerful burghers redefined their social position was by distancing themselves from the national language and culture of the burgher class and embracing French culture. In the late seventeenth century, the French were the republic's greatest political enemy. However, while the Dutch struggled against the military power of the French nation, the upper classes did not resist French culture and the French language became the favoured means of communication among this group. After Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, many Huguenots fled to the religiously tolerant Netherlands. These Protestant refugees were often well-educated members of the upper classes and came bearing French culture. It became fashionable for wealthy Dutch families to engage Huguenots as tutors and governesses for their children.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, the new upper class also began to invest in homes, estates and securities rather than in ships, merchandise and manufacturing. Thus, money made from trade was not returned to trade and the
ruling class lost touch with issues concerning trade and industry which were vital to the economy of the city. Public offices became private property as the regent families forged agreements to reserve civic appointments for themselves and their relations."

The middle class had a number of grievances with this group, which they often published in political pamphlets. They complained that the regents profited while poverty increased. By the late seventeenth century, food and housing costs were quite high, while wages lagged behind prices. The gap between rich and poor widened as unemployment, poverty and the exploitation of labour increased. The regents responded with growing intolerance to numerous riots protesting food shortages and tax burdens which occurred during the first half of the eighteenth century."

This resulted in a burgher movement against the elites of Dutch society, which was inspired by the French Revolution and its ideals of democracy, political rights, and freedom of the people. Thus, in 1793, when the French National Convention declared war on the Netherlands, the Dutch middle class 'Patriots' aided the French. The Patriots were encouraged by the French revolution and in response to a political situation which they found intolerable, they waged a revolution against their ruling classes in 1795. The regents were deposed and revolutionary committees were set up with the aim of abolishing class differences."
This class struggle which continued through the late seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century was linked to a battle over Dutch culture. In 1668, a society called *Nil Volentibus Arduum* had been formed in Amsterdam. This group sought to cleanse the Dutch language of all perceived vulgar impurities and colloquialisms. The society 'purified' a number of traditional farces and helped to enforce decency regulations which were imposed by the Amsterdam government on the theatre. *Nil Volentibus Arduum* looked to French culture as an ideal and their notions of classicism and decorum included allowing a number of French words to enter the language, and introducing more French plays into the theatre, while reducing the number of Dutch farces being performed.

The ideology of *Nil Volentibus Arduum* is obviously linked to the cultural aspirations of the elites. Many middle class burghers resisted French culture and saw themselves as the protectors of Dutch culture. A number of writers from this group worked to popularize the vernacular by producing plays about daily life written in the language heard on the streets of Amsterdam. The writers of these types of plays saw themselves as the defenders of the virtues of the Dutch language. Popular language was also maintained in print culture of the day. The Jan de Wasser prints would have played a role in this struggle to assert Dutch language and culture. The *Nil Volentibus Arduum* society sought to standardize the Dutch language and suppress dialects, thus endowing the language with
national status in order to unify the state. Because the Jan de Wasser prints were written in the vernacular, they assert the language of the streets. In this way, the prints reveal a schism, and their ideological message is imbedded in their language, grammar and syntax.

The materials and the content of the Jan de Wasser prints reveal printers' itineraries of circulation for different clientele. In this way, publishing strategies culturally defined printed products, fragmented the market and drew new cultural boundaries. For example, the use of the vernacular also defined class boundaries. Dutch elites could have established their cultural identity by distancing themselves from the Jan de Wasser prints. Because of the use of the vernacular in the prints and their links to Dutch theatrical and festive traditions, their content would have been deemed unworthy reading by these members of the middle class.

The material qualities of the prints reveal the same class distinctions. One of the ways in which the wealthy middle class distinguished themselves was through the ownership of material possessions. With the rise of capitalism, personal wealth took on new importance in determining an individual's place in society and that person's capability to negotiate the way up the social ladder within the boundaries of the broad middle class. Outward signs of wealth and taste, such as clothing, the decor of the home and cuisine functioned as means of indicating individual social status as appearance in the eyes of the
community became increasingly important." Therefore, the elites would have favoured expensively bound French or Latin books, which carried much more prestige than cheaply printed broadsheets. However, because the elites of Dutch society were also burghers, they would have had contradictory and conflicting cultural impulses. The elites were not completely segregated from the rest of the middle class, and their very struggle to separate themselves from burgher culture indicates their familiarity with these cultural practices.

The Dutch middle class also attempted to distinguish themselves from their perceived inferiors. This distinction was centred around the issue of residence. The burghers of Amsterdam defined themselves as an urban, house-pride and family-centred group. To become a burgher, one had to purchase citizenship, or poorterschap. Poort literally means doorway, threshold or gate. Poorterschap allowed membership to religious congregations, guilds, the civic militia, and gave one the right to give and receive charity. Basically, one had to purchase poorterschap to be able to play an active role in the urban community. However, proof of residence was required in order to procure this citizenship. As a result, the burghers defined outsiders as those who were without residence or occupation—literally, as those outside of the home."

In this way, the burgher class demarcated its boundaries. A 'foreigner' was defined, not just as someone who was not a native-born Netherlander, but also as anyone born outside of the
city of Amsterdam or the province of Holland. Thus, there was a hierarchy of types of foreigners. While newcomers who moved to Amsterdam were somewhat discriminated against, they had the right to purchase *poorterschap*, and therefore they could be absorbed into society. One in four Amsterdammers originated from outside the Netherlands, consequently there must have been a great deal of toleration and assimilation of this group."

For example, while there were guild regulations which discriminated against foreigners in favour of native-born Amsterdammers, these regulations were not strictly enforced and outsiders with useful skills were welcomed into trade and craft guilds."

Rural groups who lived in the countryside surrounding Amsterdam were especially marked out as being culturally and politically different from urban dwellers. Throughout the seventeenth century, there was a great deal of competition between Amsterdam and neighbouring agrarian villages. As Amsterdam wielded political power, it continually attempted to restrict the dangerous competition of rural industries. Numerous regulations were drafted against rural trades which kept village industries local, restricted in growth and subordinated to the interests of the urban centre."

The content of the Jan de Wasser prints played a role in helping the residents of Amsterdam to fabricate their cultural identity as being distinct from rural culture. In this way, the prints' focus on residence and family would have enabled readers
to set themselves apart from groups with different cultural traditions. The familiarity of the residents of Amsterdam with printed materials would have served as another way to distinguish urban culture from the rural way of life. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, printed material was largely restricted to urban centres, and cities became islands of a different culture. Printed matter was scarce in rural areas, where reading and writing were the domain of clerics and notaries, and culture was based on gesture and oral traditions. This resulted in urban scorn for rural traditions and rural hostility towards urban life.99

Indeed, rural groups were mocked and constructed as the 'others' of the urban middle class in numerous prints, paintings and plays in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Amsterdam. The burghers defined as their absolute opposites those who were without residence or occupation. Groups such as beggars, vagrants, criminals and gypsies were associated with the countryside and rural ways of life.100 Because they were without residence, they were refused poorterschap and hence excluded from the urban community. Representations of these rural groups could call up the binary opposite of the ideal burgher for a seventeenth-century public. In a world upside down, they committed the sins of the fool: gluttony, lust, drunkenness, dirt, greed, self-indulgence, inconsistency and uninhibited behaviour. In some instances they also were portrayed as happy and free. For example, a catchpenny print
entitled *The Theatre of the Crazy People of Amsterdam* (fig. 12), depicts homeless people playing instruments and dancing in the streets. In this representation, the bodies of the other are portrayed as open and unobstructed, which opposed the closed and enclosed bodies of the burghers. The 'animal impulses' attributed to rural groups were increasingly spurned by the middle class, although they may have secretly envied this freedom from constraint.

The Dutch Republic was known for its numerous charitable organizations which looked after the poor. However, 'the poor' did not include the group outlined above. In order to receive charity, one had to be an honest citizen who had purchased *poorterschap* and remained within the bounds of *burgherlijk* behaviour.¹⁰¹ Charitable institutions defined the official poor as pious, grateful, obedient individuals who were working to get ahead. Thus the poor who were deemed to be deserving of charity comprised individuals who were understood to be burghers fallen on hard times, such as widows, orphans, the maimed, the blind, the wounded and prisoners. Those who were perceived as able-bodied individuals who refused to work and had no fixed residence were not granted charity.¹⁰²

While beggars and vagrants were perceived as the most threatening rural group, the urban middle classes also differentiated themselves from other groups associated with the countryside. For example, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, numerous theatrical farces which mocked
farmers, or boeren, were performed in Amsterdam, and in this context boeren were fabricated as stock symbols of foolishness and immorality. Rural women were also constructed in denigrating ways. Maids and prostitutes were often unmarried country women who came to the city to find work. In farces, prints and genre paintings of the day, these women were portrayed as unrestrained by the responsibilities of marriage and family, and as dangerous homewreckers—a threat to urban residential culture. The boundary between maid and prostitute could be obscured as both were represented as dangerously seductive. According to Simon Schama, prostitutes were needed in Dutch society to absorb dangerous masculine lust and keep the rest of the community pure. While in reality, corruption and innocence mingle ambiguously, brothels were tolerated because they functioned as a means of marking off boundaries between virtue and vice and made it easier to distinguish betweenburghers and their others.

However, while the burghers raised barriers between themselves and those whom they perceived as their others, these boundaries were never absolute. This is revealed in the intricate cultural mixtures of the Jan de Wasser prints. While the prints focus on urban middle class issues such as residence, marriage and family, they also borrow from the oral and gestural traditions related to rural culture. And, as we have seen, the range of readings which they elicited link them to the written culture of an urban milieu, as well as to oral and gestural
traditions which were increasingly associated with rural ways of life. In fact, many Amsterdam burghers had recently raised themselves out of the rural classes. As a result, while they desired to erect barriers between the 'civilized' urban culture which they embraced and the 'uncivilized' rural culture which they were leaving behind, the burghers themselves were contradictory combinations of both ways of life. Therefore, not only is the notion of a homogeneous and distinct middle class not feasible, but each Dutch subject did not have a single, unified identity.
IV. The Gendered Subject: Women, the Domestic and Marriage

While the Jan de Wasser prints dramatize differences which fractured the community such as wealth, social status and residence, they also expose gender differences which were being redefined in the late seventeenth century. The prints were first produced at a time when women's roles and concepts of marriage were being reworked and they operate as a locus for the production of gender roles. However, the content of the Jan de Wasser prints also reveals and contributes to conflicts surrounding the shifting concept of gender.

Because the prints drew upon and reformulated themes that were popular in didactic literature of the time, they targeted a female readership. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, literacy spread to new sections of the population, and Dutch printers increasingly perceived middle class women as an important market. As these printers were always on the lookout for new markets, they realized that by directing reading material specifically at women, they could perhaps double their output. Emblem and advice books which dealt with domestic matters and gave detailed instructions regarding a housewife's duties were the type of literature that was most often aimed at female readers. While domestic advice books date back to antiquity, the inexpensive ephemeral format that was made possible by the printing press gave this sort of material unprecedented popularity. The new format contributed to shifts in the character of domestic life as women
internalized precise codes of behaviour that were known by relatives and neighbours as well as the self. The collective morality taught in domestic advice books was not limited to women, however, nor was this didactic literature exclusively for a female readership. Husbands, fathers and teachers would also have been familiar with the contents of these popular works. In this way, this type of literature constructed gendered subjects.

In the Netherlands, the most prolific writer of marriage and household guides was Jacob Cats. Cats was a wealthy Calvinist from a regent family who rose to the position of the Grand Pensionary of Holland, one of the highest political positions open to a Dutch subject. Apparently, Cats was recommended for this appointment because of his readiness to follow the wishes of the Stadholder, who was the quasi-monarch of the Netherlands. His high position did not preclude Cats from intervening in the domestic lives of Dutch citizens, however. This points to the significance which private life had in the political sphere. Cats wrote over 120,000 hexameters on domestic matters and always addressed his middle class audience in the vernacular. In works such as *Maagdeplicht* (The Duties of a Maiden), *Houwelyck* (Marriage), and *Verstandige Kok of Zorvuldige Huishouder* (The Wise Cook or the Careful Householder) Cats offered homely, proverbial, religious and moral advice to women regarding their duties in the home, and their relationships with their husbands, children and the community.
Cats' publications must have been quite popular, for, next to the Bible, they are the most numerous books found in seventeenth-century Dutch household inventories.\textsuperscript{110}

With their detailed lists of household chores, and their delineation of marital roles and childrearing techniques, the Jan de Wasser prints drew on the subject matter of these advice and emblem books. Thus, the reader's preknowledge of these domestic works would have determined some of the ways in which the prints were read. Because they were infused with the subject matter of advice books, the prints were given didactic content. In this way, for a female audience, the prints could have been read as an admonition against improper behaviour within the home. The prints constructed a gendered reader, for through the example of the unruly Griet, they taught prescribed female roles by demonstrating how a woman must not act. For a male reader, they may have served as a warning against choosing an unsuitable mate. However, because the prints bear the imprint not only of domestic advice books, but also of public festivals, contradictory readings would have been possible. While they warned readers against abnormal marital situations, they also mocked the official culture of domesticity.

The domestic content of the prints would have appealed to a middle class audience because of the critical role which issues of family and home played in the fashioning of Dutch identity.\textsuperscript{111} As recent studies of Dutch culture have shown, the domestic played a very important role in defining, not only the
Dutch citizen, but also the Dutch state. To quote Simon Schama: "When properly established and run, the family household was the saving grace of Dutch culture that otherwise would have been indelibly soiled by materialism." In this way, the broad Dutch middle class defined itself as being different and separate from outside groups such as the Dutch elites, rural classes and peoples from foreign nations. In the moral haven of the home, the Dutch merchant or trader could retreat from the corrupting world with all of its sensuous and lucrative temptations. Thus, housework came to symbolize the exclusiveness of Dutch middle class citizens. The propensity of the Dutch to go into the world to acquire, prosper, explore and understand was contradicted by Calvinist morality which reminded the Dutch citizen that, just as God raised up the Republic, God could also lay it low. The partitioning of the domestic space as a secluded and purified haven in which the middle classes could withdraw from the world and its polluters was of paramount importance to the Dutch understanding of themselves and their nation. In the Republic, the social and the political were perceived to be inseparable. Moralists continually reminded citizens that the ideal family was a small state and a moral home was the most fitting microcosm of an inviolate Republic.  

The protectress of the pure household was the Dutch housewife. It was understood in seventeenth-century Dutch society that keeping women in the home was in fact a status symbol, for only the well-off could afford to keep wives and
daughters out of the work force, as housewifery was an unpaid position and therefore a luxury. However, given the larger implications of domestic cleanliness, housewifery was also a heavy burden. Perhaps the behaviour of the unruly Griet of the Jan de Wasser prints, who is not a huisvrouw (housewife), but an 'anti-housewife' or, uithuisigevrouw, which literally means 'woman outside of the home', picks up on the apprehension of leaving such a great responsibility in the hands of women.

As women were commonly thought of as being naturally unruly, it was feared that their authority over the domestic also bestowed them with the power to upset the home. This anxiety reveals some of the ambiguities surrounding issues of gender at this time.

Traditionally, it was believed that women were naturally prone to unburgherlijk behaviour and therefore had to be policed by fathers and husbands. This surveillance applied mostly to three areas: the mouth, chastity and the threshold of the home. Within this construct, the ideal woman had a closed mouth, a closed body and was enclosed in the home. Accordingly, a gossiping woman who frequented public spaces was connected to ideas of wantonness, while a quiet woman who stayed in the home was a symbol of chastity. Thus, in cultural traditions, an unruly woman could be recognized by her gaping mouth, a body that transgressed limits, and her proximity to an open window or door.
Given these beliefs, one function of domestic advice books was to confine the perceived 'natural' unruliness of women within a system of moral regulation. This was extremely important, for the character of the state was defined, not just by the morality of the home, but also by the virtue of Dutch women. The ideal woman defined by male moralists was a perfect and impermeable container. As such, she was a map of the integrity of the nation. Male moralists consistently stated that the Republic stood or fell by the untarnished purity of its women. In this way, the behaviour of Dutch women was central to the definition of the Dutch state as separate and cleansed from the dirt of the world. There was much anxiety about women at this time, which was manifested in the numerous depictions of the unruly household in prints and genre paintings, as well as in the many misogynist anecdotes, poems and farces which became especially popular in the second half of the century.

The Jan de Wasser prints can be included in this genre as well. In this context, the portrayal of Griet in the Jan de Wasser prints exemplified the notion of the unruly woman for a seventeenth-century public. For example, the gestures of the figures in the prints could be read as codes which defined gender inversion and thus indicated to the reader or viewer that Griet was anything but an ideal woman. According to David Smith, in Dutch marriage portraiture of this time, the husband conventionally was depicted on the left of the picture plane so that the eye sees him first. In the Jan de Wasser
prints, Griet, in her unruly masculine role, is often on the left and her gestures lead the eye to Jan. (See fig. 5: 4, 6, 14, 17, 23) While portrait conventions dictated that women were to be represented in passive positions, Griet stands with arms akimbo, or with one hand on her hip (for example, fig. 5: 4; fig. 3: 3), which was used to denote a defiant masculine pose. When she is not moving, Griet often sits with her hands in her lap (See fig. 5: 6, 19, 24), a gesture which would indicate her idleness to the reader/viewer. This type of inactivity was the cardinal sin of the Dutch housewife. Also, Jan is confined in the domestic feminine space and is juxtaposed to hearth, cradle and bed (for example, fig. 1: 18, 27, 31, 43; fig. 3: 7, 8; fig. 5: 4, 5, 14, 15, 16, 18, 22), while it is Griet who moves at will from open to closed spaces and back out again.

These juxtapositions of 'female' and 'male' gestures reduce Jan and Griet to gendered opposites. If complementary tasks in the home were crucial to the survival of the family group, and the domestic sphere epitomized the nation for the public which the prints addressed, how did Dutch citizens understand the reversals of the Jan de Wasser prints, which turn the household on its head? Once again, it seems that a number of responses were possible and this question will be dealt with more fully in the last section of this thesis. For the twentieth-century reader, the gender inversions of the prints expose more of the underlying tensions and fears which inhabited Dutch society. As Chartier points out, the imagery of gender inversion reveals
what it thought to conceal. The reversals of traditional gestures, attributes, spaces and tasks reduced male and female to binary opposites and served to cover up the fact that male and female were blurred categories with vacillating dividing lines. The Dutch lived in an uncompartmentalized world and as much as they wanted their homes to be separate spheres guarded by the ideal housewife, this notion was always threatened. Of course, actual women were neither sealed containers nor unsound vessels. Rather, they occupied spaces in between these two poles of virtue and vice. The Jan de Wasser prints deny the heterogeneous qualities of both categories of female and male by organizing them as fixed and opposed social categories. In this way, the prints are a site where gender is produced. This compulsion to define boundaries reveals the very uncertainty of these distinctions, for Dutch women of the seventeenth century did not conform to prescribed gender roles, but lived out their multiple differences in diverse ways.

Dutch women had a number of unusual legal rights and freedoms which gave them more space to assert themselves than women in other Western European countries at that time. Because of the growing importance of the domestic in the seventeenth century, women's roles both advanced and regressed. While a married woman was formally subjected to the authority of her husband, in certain cases she could contest this authority and advance her own rights, especially if this was done in the interest of her family. Although women were increasingly
excluded from guilds in the seventeenth century, they were given a higher status and greater respect within the structure of the family, as domestic labour was elevated to a special vocation. For example, wife beating was forbidden in the Netherlands and if a woman was a member of the Reformed church, she could take marital problems to the church consistory which had the power to administer church discipline on the husband if he was found to be in the wrong. Women could also take marital grievances to the civic authorities. In cases of adultery, desertion or extreme physical abuse on the part of the husband, the wife had the right to have her marriage annulled. If a husband was foolish or irresponsible in business affairs, his wife was at liberty to step in and take over the business if the welfare of the family was at stake. In fact, wives often handled the business and money affairs of their husbands. Property brought into a marriage was mutually owned by wives and husbands. Thus women maintained some control over their own riches, even after marriage.

While marriage certainly strengthened and secured a woman's position in Dutch society, unmarried women and especially widows had rights as well. Legally, single women and widows could run their own businesses with the understanding that this would cease upon marriage. Widows, rather than male kin, controlled family property which also gave them authority over their children. Unmarried women had the right to sue for paternity. If the woman won her case, the father of the child might be
obliged to marry her, or provide a dowry, birth costs and maintenance costs for the child's upbringing.¹²⁷

Thus, while Dutch women had no official political power, they did manage to gain an unusual number of rights and freedoms. There is much evidence to prove that Dutch women did not quietly and obediently stay at home, as much as this was advised by male moralists. For example, women played a significant role in public life. They acted on the boards of management of institutions such as orphanages, old people's homes and houses of correction, and they served as deaconesses in the church. Dutch women were quite literate and read and discussed political pamphlets. There were some well-known women intellectuals in the seventeenth century, and much discussion on the issue of learned women ensued, with some going as far as to say that women could equal if not surpass men as scholars.¹²⁸ The rights of Dutch women seem to be linked to the important role which home and family played in the new social system based on merchant capitalism. As men went out to earn a living, women were left in charge of the domestic sphere and they were given the powers they needed to protect the home and, when necessary, the family business, against threat. In this way, the role of the wife complemented and was crucial to the career of her husband.

The Jan de Wasser prints first appeared in the late seventeenth century and coincided with a shift in the understanding of marriage. The growing importance of the
domestic was linked to changes in the understanding of the marital relationship. Because seventeenth-century Dutch society was not centred around the court or the aristocracy, lineage ceased to be important and arranged marriages were no longer the norm among members of the middle class. Medieval and sixteenth-century marriages were usually a collective decision of family and kin and were understood to be a political, social or economic contract between family groups. Thus expectations of marriage were different. While marrying for love was not unheard of, it was not the norm, and in some cases, could lead to being disinherited.¹²⁹

Because of changes in the social and economic structure of the Netherlands, by the second half of the seventeenth century, marriage transactions shifted. Marriages were established by personal choice and 'companionate marriages' based on affection, mutual comfort and the reciprocal duties of wife and husband became common.¹³⁰ In theory, the structure of this new type of marriage was clearly defined. Calvinist teaching in the Netherlands did not subordinate love to marital obedience. While it was understood that the husband was the head of the household, his position was conditional on his accountability to family members. He was to give his wife the freedom to govern the home and it was expected that he behave responsibly towards his family. The wife in turn was supposed to efficiently and capably manage the household, care for the children, and to lovingly advise and even correct her husband.¹³¹
Issues surrounding marriage also shifted from being a communal concern to being open to the intervention of the state and the church. Previously, breaches of marital norms such as wife and husband beating, adultery and marriages between partners who were unequal in age or wealth were the jurisdiction of the community. Rituals such as the charivari mocked domestic arrangements and punished sexual offenses that threatened the social order of the community. In this ritual, offenders such as hen-pecked husbands were ridiculed by being paraded backwards on a donkey through the neighbourhood. Couples who transgressed marital norms were serenaded with ketelmusik, the 'rough music' of clashing pots and pans. In this type of community discipline, the punishment usually fit the crime and domestic disputes were made into public spectacles. Slowly popular initiative was usurped by state punishment which was more formal and removed. In this way, marriage shifted from a communal concern to a private institution, dictated by the state.

The Jan de Wasser prints sharpen the public/private split and reveal the tensions of this distinction. The titles of the prints offer the reader/viewer a glimpse into the life and career of Jan de Wasser and his wife, which must have been quite tantalizing as marriage and domestic life were increasingly hidden from view. And the curtain is lifted from their private lives to reveal socially unconventional behaviour hidden in the home. The prints expose the ambiguity of the private sphere,
which could be used to cloak secret sins. Jan, the hen-pecked 
husband, is not disciplined by the community through the ritual 
of charivari, for the abnormalities of this marriage were 
private matters which were continuing unpunished. Thus, public 
and private could also be understood as openness and secrecy or 
outward morality and inner evil. In this way, the Jan de Wasser 
prints unveil the hidden truths of private life and the fear 
that as the jurisdiction over marriage was taken over by the 
state, relationships that breached conventional norms could be 
concealed in the private spaces of the domestic realm.

Increasingly, Dutch sociability centred on the new ideals 
of companionate marriages and family life. However, this shift 
was not without anxiety, and it was accompanied by changes in 
the representation of marital relationships. In the late 
seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a prolific genre 
shared the Jan de Wasser theme of unhappy marriage, revealing 
some of the tensions surrounding the shift in marriage 
transactions. For example, a question often dealt with in 
literature and the theatre was how to make a suitable choice of 
partner. Several plays that treat the issue of parents forcing 
their children to marry actually ridicule the excessive 
strictness of the parents. Apparently, plays with this theme 
were extremely popular. Many farces also dealt with the theme 
of unsuccessful marriages. While wives were most often blamed 
for an unhappy marriage, there are instances where drunken or 
adulterous husbands are at fault. The range of treatment of
the popular themes of choosing a mate and living with the consequences of that choice no doubt have to do with the uncertainties of a changing definition of marriage.

The Jan de Wasser prints participated in the conflicts surrounding the reworking of the social definition of gender difference. The growing importance of private domestic life and the shift to companionate marriages precipitated a fear of unclear boundaries between the sexes and a loss of conventional male authority. While merchant capitalism required that women be given the freedom to protect the home, this shift was fraught with tensions and uncertainty. Although the subjugation of women was still the norm, in actual marriages, this was always moderated, which resulted in a tension between prescribed roles and actual lived experience. The world-upside-down construct of the Jan de Wasser prints defines male and female as separate and opposite. In defining male and female as fixed dominant and subordinate social positions, the Jan de Wasser prints conceal the instabilities and malleability of the categories 'woman' and 'man'. In a reaction to the ambiguities and uncertainties of shifting gender roles, they attempt to reinforce norms of sexual authority by defining male and female as fixed oppositions.
V. The Comic and the Didactic: Children, Education, Games and the Ambiguous Body

Although the imprint of the subject matter of domestic advice and emblem books indicates a female readership for the Jan de Wasser prints, they also were aimed at children. The titles of most versions of the prints address 'the youth' and inventories listed Jan de Wasser blocks with those dedicated to young people. As the education of middle class children grew in importance in the Republic, printers targeted this increasingly literate group as a new audience for printed material. Children's prints originated in the Netherlands in the late seventeenth-century and were linked to the importance of the family and education in the Republic. However, while these prints were directed at youth, this was not the exclusive audience for them. The Jan de Wasser theme was one of the best-selling children's prints of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and undoubtedly was enjoyed by adults as well as children of the middle class.\textsuperscript{135}

Children's prints were cheaply produced and inexpensive to purchase. Often called 	extit{centsprenten} or 'catchpenny prints', these sheets sold for a few cents and if that was still too expensive for the buyer, the sheets could be divided and sold for one cent,\textsuperscript{136} making them very accessible. For example, as noted above, fig. 2, which has sixteen scenes, is a smaller fragment of fig. 1, which is made up of forty-eight scenes, and was probably printed and sold as a cheaper version of the print. The prints were usually 31 x 40 cm in size, though the earliest
examples were somewhat smaller at 28 x 36.5 cm. Catchpenny prints could be purchased at toy stalls at fairs and markets, and were also sold door-to-door by hawkers and pedlars.

By targeting children as a separate audience for printed material, the Jan de Wasser prints reveal another cleavage in seventeenth-century Dutch society. As the domestic sphere took on new meanings in the seventeenth century, generational gaps widened as attitudes towards middle class children shifted. Because social and political positions in the republic were no longer determined by a person's birth but were based on new understandings of moral superiority and personal aptitude, the education of children became crucial to the future of the family. Philippe Ariès points out that the education of children played an important role in the turn away from the collective, as the private family began to take the place of traditional social relationships. At this time, middle class children were increasingly separated from the rest of society and were constructed as a special status group. Children were given their own costumes, toys and literature, and portraits of individual children became more common. The mean household size in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century was extremely low and averaged two offspring. This allowed families to concentrate on the upbringing of children.

Elementary schools were another context in which the Jan de Wasser prints functioned. The prints were given out by teachers as rewards for diligence at school or in learning the
catechism," a practice which underlined the popular teaching that citizens were rewarded according to their obedience and personal ability. Van Veen points out that children's prints were often folded in four in order to fit them in school boxes. These were wooden boxes with sliding lids which were kept on the wall of the classroom and only taken home on holidays. Sending children to school at an early age served to separate them from the adult community. By the mid-seventeenth century, there was advanced education in almost every town of the Republic, although education also took place in homes and was centred around family devotions such as Bible reading, hymn singing and learning prayers. The schools were institutions for the children of the broad middle class to develop skills which were perceived as being useful to society. This educational system was another way for the middle class to define its boundaries as poor and rural children usually had to work rather than attend school, and the children of the elites were often taught at home by private tutors.

The elementary schools were not centrally administered, but came under the jurisdiction of the local Reformed Church. However, as recent historical studies have shown, religious pluralism, rather than strict Calvinism was the norm in the Republic during the seventeenth century. The government of Amsterdam took several measures to ensure that Calvinism never had much political power. For example, new predicants had to be approved by the burgomaster of the city and a minister could be
banished for preaching on political matters. Religious observance was typified by the gap between the strict theory and the actual practice of Calvinism. A clear boundary between the church and popular belief could not be drawn, for old traditions held on and many were assimilated by the Reformed church. As a result, social ethics were regulated by an extensive array of classical, scriptural and folk influences which were usually given a dusting of Calvinism.¹⁴⁵

Therefore, while the schools were officially controlled by the church, strict Calvinist doctrine was probably not always taught. This was partly because the schoolmaster's salary came from tuition money. Presumably, the instruction of Calvinism was watered down somewhat in order not to alienate parents from other Protestant sects, or even those with Roman Catholic or Anabaptist beliefs who wished to send their children to these schools. A seventeenth-century schoolmaster's report describes what must have been a common problem: "Parents remove their children from the schools and send them elsewhere, unless popish books are used in instruction."¹⁴⁶ Thus, while Calvinism certainly played a role in the education of Dutch children, its influence was probably indirect.¹⁴⁷

Under the guidance of the church, children learned the skills which would equip them to function productively in capitalist society. Moral training was an especially important aspect of elementary education, as pious and virtuous adults
were most likely to advance in society. Thus, schools emerged as the:

state apparatus by and within which the social body was regimented and trained into a social discipline based on individuating the subject within the social collective. Individual self-discipline was seen as a prerequisite to greater social cohesion and discipline.

This individual self-discipline operated differently for girls than it did for boys as schools also socialized children to internalize prescribed gender roles. Junior schools, for children aged seven to eleven, taught the alphabet, handwriting, basic math, and religious fundamentals such as the Lord's Prayer, hymn tunes and in some cases, the Heidelberg catechism. Both boys and girls were sent to school, though they were taught separately and less was expected of girls, whose formal education was normally stopped at the age of twelve, when boys went on to the Latin schools. The daughters of the aspiring middle class were educated in such a way as to make them desirable marriage partners. For example, as Petty Bange points out, while subjects like math were emphasised for boys because of its importance in commerce, girls were taught rudimentary dressmaking, knitting and needlework in preparation for their futures as housewives. However, girls were also given some training in commerce, as a good wife often helped her husband in business affairs. It was important that girls learned these skills, for with the shift from arranged to companionate marriages, they would be competing in an 'open marriage market'. Foreign visitors to the Netherlands often remarked
that the Dutch youth of both sexes were better trained in language, speech, geometry and arithmetic than other European children, and were especially impressed with the education and business skills of women.\textsuperscript{152}

Reading was taught during the first three years of a child’s education. After this time parents had to pay more in order for their children to be taught to write. As a result, many citizens of the Republic who could not write often had rudimentary reading skills. This was especially true for women, as girls were usually sent to school for a shorter time than boys.\textsuperscript{153} This affects the literacy statistics of this time period which are usually based on signatures in registers. Literacy rates for the Netherlands were consistently higher than those of other European countries during the seventeenth century. Amsterdam marriage registers of 1630 show that 64% of women and 85% of men were able to sign their names.\textsuperscript{154} These figures would be even higher if it were taken into account that reading skills are probably underestimated by these findings.

The rise of pedagogy was accompanied by a large body of didactic printed material that created a discourse on childhood.\textsuperscript{155} In some ways, the Jan de Wasser prints can be located within this discourse. While these prints are part of a festive tradition, they were edited in explicit and implicit ways to give them practical didactic value. For example, the rubrics and images of the Jan de Wasser prints warned children against making an over-hasty marriage which might result in what
would be taken to be the 'unhappy' situation of Jan and Griet. This was especially important as nuptial traditions shifted from arranged to companionate marriages. One of the Jan de Wasser rubrics warns, "Here you see the life and career / of Jan de Wasser and his wife / and you learn that an unequal marriage / will long be regretted." These warnings undoubtedly served to form a citizen who would respect the tremendous political importance of a well-run moral household. However, children might also mimic the improper behaviour of adults. A theme dear to moralists of the time was that infant virtue is always jeopardized by the decayed manners of adulthood. In this way, the prints can also be read as a warning against the inevitable—a satirical view that looks back from adulthood with pessimistic acceptance and reminds the viewer that, just as the infant republic cannot remain uncorrupted by the world, it is inevitable that children will repeat the mistakes of their parents."

"Struggles of competition" also occur between comic and didactic understandings of representations of the body. Editions of the Jan de Wasser prints reveal how bodily functions were increasingly denied. An early version of one of the first Jan de Wasser prints (fig. 3) shows an image of Jan (whose name is Klaas in this account) feeling Griet's breasts. This image is accompanied with the verse, "Klaas loves Griet and feels her bare breasts". In later printings (fig. 4), this verse is edited to read something like "Jan loves Griet and will love her
until death". In this way the text, in attempting to close off the body, actually denies the image. As communal and private life became increasingly separate, the body disappeared from public view. The changes in the prints suggest that later versions were adjusted to address a different public. In this way, the prints were made compatible for a constituency with a different set of expectations. However, while the prints were reworked to appeal to an audience that had a higher "threshold of shame and repugnance", they also transformed their readers and instilled in them new notions of bodily decorum.

In the earlier Jan de Wasser prints (fig. 1 & 3), while Jan does all the housework, he also still beats his wife. In later ones (fig. 5 & 6), she beats him and he does not retaliate. According to Bakhtin, carnivalesque blows have a broad, symbolic and ambivalent meaning. They both kill and regenerate; end the old life and start the new. As such, these blows have sexual connotations. Brides traditionally received erotic, or "bridal creative" blows. While these blows kill the old, they also generate new life and the punishment is transformed into festive laughter. This meaning is lost in the later Jan de Wasser prints. Griet no longer receives bridal creative blows and she no longer gives birth. In a complete denial of the reproductive body, Jan and Griet travel to Volewyk (fig. 5: 13; fig. 6: 4), a mythical island where the inhabitants of Amsterdam went to
find babies. Then it is Jan who lies in the childbed, while Griet can take it easy (fig 5: 14; fig 6: 5).

This censoring of representations of the body was not simply an editing of printed forms. Rather, through forms such as the Jan de Wasser prints, interior censorship became implicit in the newly privatized citizen. According to Francis Barker, this new subject was profoundly self-conscious, with a deep sense of corporeal guilt and a need to repudiate the body. However, the body could never be completely denied, as merchant capitalism required a productive and reproductive body. Barker describes the uneasy equilibrium of the seventeenth-century body, which always threatened insurrection:

Neither wholly present, nor wholly absent, the body is confined, ignored, exscribed from discourse, and yet remains at the edge of visibility, troubling the space from which it has been banished.

Consequently, the seventeenth-century body is always ambiguous and contradictory, and can never be entirely obscured by text.

The construction of a private middle class citizen in the seventeenth century required that the subject learn to dominate the disruptive "mess of the body". According to Bakhtin, the traditional grotesque body of sixteenth-century festivals was an unfinished, open body, that emphasized the parts through which the world entered or emerged: the mouth, genitals, breasts, phallus, potbelly and nose. Within this construct, the body was of the earth, and represented all members of the community. It was a body which focused on the lower stratum with all of its degrading and regenerating aspects. The grotesque body
defecated, copulated, conceived and gave birth in an endless cosmic cycle. As demonstrated by the editing of the Jan de Wasser prints, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the grotesque body was increasingly denied. Its unfinished parts were disavowed; its protuberances and apertures were closed off. The new body was constituted as complete, isolated, alone and fenced off from other bodies.¹⁶⁶

In the seventeenth-century Netherlands, the process of constructing a private body was linked to the education of children. A number of pedagogical treatises which codified social behaviour circulated at this time. Most of these were based on De Civilitate Morum Puerilium, a book of etiquette for children written by Erasmus in 1530. Erasmus' work advised children on how to behave in everyday situations encountered at table, church, school, while going to bed, etcetera. The book advocated an even-tempered disposition accompanied by outward bodily decorum.¹⁶⁷ Erasmus believed that bodily gestures and postures expressed a person's inner state in an intelligible fashion, revealing the disposition of the soul. According to De Civilitate Morum Puerilium, gestures should vary according to gender so that there would be no confusion of the sexes. As described above, the Jan de Wasser prints played on this notion as they signified gender inversion by reversing the gendered gestures of Jan and Griet. Thus, gestures were understood as signs which could be organized into language, interpreted and read. According to Erasmus, these signs should be readable to
all, forming a common code of manners. As the seventeenth century was a period of social and cultural realignment in the Netherlands, Erasmus' book was extremely popular as it taught a common social language and provided familiar points of reference. Naturally, this book was altered and edited throughout the century as needs changed.168

In 1625, the teaching of rules governing social conduct, or civility, was made compulsory as part of the basic curriculum of Dutch schools.169 Elementary instruction was combined with the teaching of outward bodily decorum. For example, the physical discipline of mastering skills such as writing was linked with learning civility. Thus, a child's training in control of her or his physical gestures was obtained in school, where it was associated with arithmetic, writing and prayer as part of a hierarchical program of education.170 Some of this training also took place in the home as children learned to imitate the gestures of their parents.

The teaching of civility participated in the seventeenth-century shift to private life as relationships between people and their bodies and the bodies of others became more discreet and understated. Increasingly, a protected zone surrounded the body as prohibitions against touching and looking at other bodies increased. For example, bodily contact was censored in children's play and a taboo was placed on certain actions and words. Specific body parts and bodily functions were increasingly hidden from view.171 Gestures of intimacy became
concentrated on a few people, usually family members, and were understood as private behaviour. Public displays of anger and contempt were no longer acceptable. As noted above, the character of Jan de Wasser underwent these same social changes. In early Jan de Wasser prints, Jan insults the neighbours and beats the neighbourhood boys (see fig. 1: 17, 20). This type of abusive behaviour ceases in later prints. Bodily functions also were hidden. In later versions of the scene 'Jan teaches the child to shit', (fig. 5: 21) Jan and the child are no longer out in the open but hide behind a tree (fig. 7: 21). The language describing this scene is refined to something like "Jan holds the little girl until she has done her business." Thus, the prints participate in the process of denying the body as they inscribe censorship in private citizens by editing comic and festive representations of bodily functions. In this way, external distinctions between types of acceptable private and public behaviour were interiorized by individuals. However, there was a constant tension between instinct and social control, emotions and repressive forces.

An analysis of the forms of the prints also reveals a struggle between comic and didactic uses and meanings. Implicit in the form of the prints (the heavy dark lines around each scene) is an invitation to cut out the different episodes and thus completely fragment the narrative. In fact, children did just this and these types of prints were commonly referred to as bla assanctjes, stiksanctjes, ste kesanctjes or ste eksanctjes.
Sanctje means 'saint', as early prints often depicted religious subjects. This name or the term heilig, which also means 'saint', or 'holy' continued to be applied to popular prints even after their subject matter changed. The term blaassanctje, (blaas meaning 'blow') is a reference to a game played with these prints in which the cut up episodes are blown into the air, while the players guess which side will fall face up. Steek, steke and stik are all terms for 'stab', and refer to another game in which one player hides the fragments at random between the leaves of a book. The other players take turns pricking at hazard between the pages with a knife, pin or door key. Whoever finds a fragment gets to keep it as a prize.173

As a response to this practice, printers began to include rhymes with instructions on how to play with the prints. Interestingly, these often direct the reader to cut up the prints but then to glue them down again. For example, Maurits de Meyer quotes directions such as "Cut them out neatly and paste them onto to stiff paper", "for the scrapbook", or "You can decorate your book with these / and thus spend your time wisely".174 This is a good example of a very overt way in which certain oral practices were discouraged. The pasting down of the cut up fragments of the prints reasserts their linear narrative which could be read in isolation by a private citizen and completely disallows the group practice of playing games with fragments of the prints.
Games of chance had a long carnivalesque history and were closely related to the popular-festive atmosphere, as we have seen in the case of the St. John's Day festivities. Games of chance, such as those played with catchpenny prints, were used to divine the future, and to predict personal or collective destinies. To quote Bakhtin,

The images of games were seen as a condensed formula of life and of the historic process: fortune, misfortune, gain and loss, crowning and uncrowning...games drew the players out of the bounds of everyday life, liberated them from usual laws and regulations, and replaced established conventions by other lighter conventionalities. Thus, they had great subversive potential and one can understand the attempts to suppress this function of catchpenny prints.

Bakhtin points out that in the sixteenth century, games of chance were not thought of as part of ordinary life and thus retained their philosophical meaning. However, beginning in the seventeenth century, games became increasingly absorbed by the sphere of private life, and started to lose this significance. Many games ceased to be considered adult activities and were relegated to children. In the Netherlands at this time, games were assigned a host of moral meanings. For example, tops, which needed to be whipped, came to signify the toil and pain required to get anywhere in life; toy windmills represented undesirable restlessness; balloons or bubbles illustrated the inflated emptiness of earthly affairs, or the ephemerality of life; kites soared to the heavens, but always fell back to earth; the hoop signified the futility of life, or its predictability. Writers of didactic literature and emblem
books also increasingly justified children's games by stressing their role in a child's physical, moral and mental development. Playing for the sake of recreation was severely criticized (especially by Calvinists) as mere idleness that would lead to more serious vices. Theoretically, recreation time in school was limited to thirty minutes per week, and play was offered only to make instruction more palatable.¹⁷⁸

Increasingly, the enjoyment of play was used to socialize children. Girl's toys tended to focus on home life, while boy's games allowed them fantasies of power and superiority.¹⁷⁹ Works such as Jacob Cats' Houwelyck sought to instill these values. A print entitled Kinderspel, or Children's Games, by Adriaen van de Venne illustrates Cats' teachings regarding children's play (fig. 13). In the centre of the print, a large and noisy crowd of boys play at marching off to war, equipped with makeshift weapons, fifes and drums. In the bottom corner of the print, juxtaposed to this central group, a few little girls play quietly with dishes and dolls.

Toys were also linked to the rise of capitalism in a number of ways. Social and economic developments of the time created a large market of middle class parents with money to buy luxuries for their children.¹⁸⁰ Like homes, clothing and household goods, children's toys and prints were consumer goods which made a statement about the social status of the owner. As toys were private possessions with exchange value, they also taught children the values of capitalism. For example, Van Veen
provides this translation of a message written on the back of an eighteenth-century children's print: "This is Abe Roord's print / who finds it will return it / for an apple or a pear / and who fails to do so / will get blows on his hat / and will sit on the wheel / with a hundred nails in his bum."181

The struggle between the comic and didactic aspects of play is implicit in the very forms of the Jan de Wasser prints. While they were used in children's games, this was increasingly censored as rubrics and instructions were added to the prints in attempts to curtail some of their subversive uses. This was a way of coming to terms with traditional forms which constructed a communal subject and of establishing new distinctions to create a private individual. However, the reader could always subvert the imposed uses of the prints and continue to use them in communal activities. The numerous adjustments, arrangements and resistances went two ways between the institution and the community.182
VI. Carnivalesque Inversions: Social Protest or Social Control?

Because they were linked to education, the Jan de Wasser prints were invested with a number of didactic meanings. However, many comic aspects, derived from carnival and popular farces, were also maintained in the forms and content of the prints. Themes of the 'World Upside Down', with their carnivalesque inversions, have been theorized by a number of scholars as forms of social protest. Both Mikhail Bakhtin and Natalie Zemon Davis claim that in the sixteenth century, the hierarchical husband/wife relationship stood for all superior/subordinate structures. According to Davis, themes of 'Women on Top' and the 'World Upside Down' could be explicit criticisms of the social order which inverted the structure in order to criticize, correct and renew it. Bakhtin argues that the laughter of festive role reversals mocked, derided, denied and buried, but it also asserted and revived and was hopeful and triumphant. Within this construct, conflicts between opposites were understood as having the power to regenerate time, nature and society. However, these rituals also functioned as a means of social control. As Roger Chartier points out, "Clearly the function of the world turned upside-down was to conserve social order, since the reversal of hierarchies is presented as just as impossible and absurd as to see sky and earth or air and sea change places."

The reversals of the 'World Upside Down' have contradictory meanings. While these forms were allowed by
elites to release social and political tensions and to reinforce the boundaries of social order, at times the subversive qualities of these inversions were asserted in attempts to bring about social transformations. Thus, the same codes that were used in rituals and prints also played a role in riots and rebellions. Identical symbols were also used by different groups for dissimilar or even opposing ideological aims.\textsuperscript{136} Although authorities allowed this type of ritual play as a form of social control, it always had the potential to turn to violence against the established order. This is the ambivalent potential of the 'World Upside Down': while it could be used as resistance against the social order, it often also played a part in reestablishing order. Most scholars agree that these forms always mocked authority. However, the question remains, when was this protest 'play' and when was it a real instrument of transformation?\textsuperscript{137}

It has been argued that in times of crisis, themes of the 'World Upside Down' were commonly perceived as inversions of the ruling structure. For example, in 1797, during the revolution in which the Patriots deposed the regents, a children's print of the 'World Upside Down' theme of the 'Battle Between the Rats and the Cat' was printed from a sixteenth-century block. The publisher of this print was arrested, jailed and all of his stock was confiscated; the print was condemned as a "revolutionary and seditious print, which is made to bear upon
Therefore, in certain situations, these forms did threaten the hierarchies of power.

If the critical quality of these forms emerges in times of social crisis and revolutionary change, then it can be argued that the late seventeenth century, when the Jan de Wasser prints first appeared, was just such a time. 1672 is remembered as the *rampjaar*, or 'year of disaster' of the 'Golden Age'. During the course of this year, the Republic was attacked by Britain, France, Cologne and Münster. This lead to internal disorder and the Dutch rose up against their rulers. The grand pensionary Johann de Witt and his brother Cornelis came to a violent end at the hands of a mob. William III was brought to power as the traditional Stadholder, the quasi-monarch and military leader of the Netherlands. This position had been vacant from the time of the death of William's father, William II in 1650. This uncrowning of the old regime and crowning of the new did little to improve the system, however. According to Pieter Geyl, while the regent oligarchy, lead by de Witt, wanted obedient subjects, William III desired useful tools.

In retrospect, the late seventeenth century has come to be regarded as the beginning of the decline of the 'Golden Age'. After 1672, the ruling regent class became increasingly closed and inflexible. Dutch industry dwindled and the Netherlands were overtaken by France and England in trade and naval power. Middle class dissatisfaction with the cliquish regent oligarchies grew at this time:
Decent people now don't mind indulging in reflections like the following: 'I must help my children into offices while I live. Here I haven't much opportunity for advancing my children. There are few vacancies...Just as if it had been written that none but these or those families should govern!...As a rule they get too much, but think it too little.' This must in course of time create an impatient citizenry.'

In this quote, political power is thought of in terms of the family. Indeed, throughout the seventeenth century, the Dutch linked the structure of the family to that of the state, and the family was commonly understood to be a 'small state'. Thus, the Jan de Wasser prints, with their representation of chaotic family life, indirectly criticize the disorder of the nation. However, it is difficult to link the prints to any specific historical event, or to judge what effect they might have had on the political life of the Dutch republic.

I cannot completely rule out the possibility that the Jan de Wasser prints use the age-old carnivalesque formula of the unruly woman who devours and regenerates to criticize ineffective governing bodies. Just as Bruegel's Dulle Griet appears as a symbol of violence and chaos during the Spanish occupation of the Netherlands\textsuperscript{13}, the Griet of the Jan de Wasser prints could have served as an emblem of the internal disorder of the late seventeenth century. However, the regenerative power of festive laughter is reduced in the seventeenth century as the communal qualities of festive forms are blended with the private and their comic aspects are censored and transformed into the didactic. The Jan de Wasser prints are different from the print of the 'Battle Between the Rats and the Cat', which
was understood as a political threat in the late eighteenth century. The 'Rats against the Cat' is a pure theme of the 'World Upside Down' (see, for example, fig. 10: 25) and the print in question was printed from sixteenth-century blocks. As such, it retained the revolutionary possibilities of the 'World Upside Down'. The Jan de Wasser prints, on the other hand, borrow a theme from the 'World Upside Down' but transform this theme through the numerous editing and appropriations from other sources, which are traced throughout this thesis. Because of these changes, the Jan de Wasser prints lose their subversive potential. To quote Bakhtin, "...the ever-growing, inexhaustible, ever-laughing principle which uncrowns and renews is combined with its opposite: the petty inert 'material principle' of class society", resulting in a form which is "half-dead". When combined with didactic warnings, festive laughter loses its power to liberate. The shift to linear narrative eradicates the meaning of cyclical time which continuously destroys and renews. Just as Griet's body loses its reproductive powers, the Jan de Wasser prints forfeit their power to regenerate society. While these forms are reduced, however, they cannot be destroyed. The vitality and dynamism of the prints give them great capacity for further development, allowing them to survive for centuries. Their transformative power works on the reader, as the prints attempt to construct a certain type of subject.
Thus, I would argue that the social protest/social control debate is not the most productive framework for investigating forms of representation linked to popular culture. It is impossible to gauge the capacity of the Jan de Wasser prints to bring about social renewal. However, it is possible to investigate the prints' potential to fashion subjectivity by analysing the forms and themes of the prints and the uses, readings and meanings which they produce. The prints function in terms of the double movement between containment and resistance. They are the site of the revision of the individual into a private citizen as well as the site where the individual struggles against this reform and reasserts traditional communal festive forms. In various ways, the reader finds her or himself inscribed in the text, and in turn, the text is itself inscribed variously in its different readers.¹⁹⁶ Thus, the prints do not function as pure forms of either social protest or social control. The Jan de Wasser prints lend themselves to a multiplicity of uses and meanings, which constantly shift, indicating the range of subject positions which were possible in between the extremes of social protest and social control. The contradictory readings and uses of the Jan de Wasser prints indicate that they are a locus where Dutch subjects could resist and struggle against, or accept and adapt their social structure in the complex process of fashioning identity.
Endnotes


7. Hall 325.


9. For this argument, see Bakhtin 11-12, and also Natalie Zemon Davis, Society and Culture in Early Modern France (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975) 131.

10. See Chartier Cultural History 122.


20. Another print, which was published by Gysbert de Groot-Keur in 1733, is described, though not reproduced in the Sotheby's catalogue, The Van Veen Collection of Children's Books and Juvenilia (London: Sotheby's, 1984). It is printed from the same forty-eight blocks and entitled, Here the Bold Youth have the Life and Career of Jan de Wasser and Bot'heid his Wife.

21. The dates given for various printing firms are based on J.A. Gruys and C. de Wolf's Thesaurus 1473-1800 Nederlandse Boekdrukkers en Boekverkopers. Met Plaatsen en Jaren van Werkzaamheid. (Nieuwkoop: de Graaf Publishers, 1989). While de Meyer, Van Veen, and Van Heurck and Boekenoogen give some dates for various publishers, these are not consistent. The Thesaurus is the most recent source and seems to be based on more thorough research. Unfortunately, however, the Thesaurus does not give dates after 1800.


23. Meyer 34.


25. See Van Veen Dutch i. Common formulas used to introduce oral tales are described in Peter Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (London: Temple Smith, 1978) 127.
26. In the Van der Putte print, the babies of Volewyck hang from a well, while in the Wendel version, they grow on trees.


28. A "New Jan de Wasser" was published by H. Van Munster and Son of Amsterdam, who, together with David le Jolle, joined with the firm of Ratelband and Bouwer in 1809. I have not located a reproduction of this version, but Maurits de Meyer gives a description of it. This sixteen block print is entitled, Housework is for the Wife, Manual Work is for the Husband. The purpose of the print was to instill Christian and moral virtues in the reader by showing how things should not be done. The first four scenes depict boys who act like girls and play with dolls, while the next four scenes portray girls who act like boys and climb trees. The final eight scenes are about Jan and Griet. Jan is a shoemaker who marries Griet and she then forces him to do all the 'woman's work'. For a full description, see Meyer 499.

Another version published by Brepols combines the old Jan de Wasser with the New Jan of Van Munster and Son. Meyer states that this version is a copy of one by T.C. Hoffers of Rotterdam (n.d.). This print begins with the childhoods of Jan and Griet. Young Jan plays with girls, while young Griet, of course, plays with boys. When they grow up, they marry, battle for the trousers, and Griet forces Jan to do all of the housework. Then, as in the eighteenth-century versions of Jan de Wasser, they travel to Volewyck to get a baby, Jan lies in the childbed and then has to care for the children. This print was copied by the Belgian firm of Wellens and Delhuvenne and the stock of Brepols later became the property of Glenisson and van Genechten of Turnout.

Meyer briefly describes one more nineteenth-century variant of Jan de Wasser published by Brepols, but does not reproduce the print. In this version, the 'traditional' story of Jan de Wasser is acted out by apes. Most Belgian printers had a copy of this print which was very popular at the beginning of the twentieth century. For more information on these last two versions, see Meyer 500.

29. In a twenty block bilingual version (fig. 8), Jan has been renamed Lamme Goedzak. Le Bon Guillaume, which translates roughly to "The Worthless Good-guy or Honest William". In this rendition, Lammen/Guillaume does all the housework while his wife Griet sleeps in, dresses up and promenades around town, reads novels and drinks wine with her maid. Then, to make matters worse, she has twins, and he must care for them. In the end, poor Lammen/Guillaume dies of grief and his frivolous wife feels repentant. The costumes, settings and themes of this
version have been updated to appeal to a nineteenth-century audience.

30. Chartier *Cultural Uses of Print* 344.

31. Chartier *Cultural Uses of Print* 7, 9, 145.

32. Febvre and Martin 122, 136.

33. Harline 87-88.

34. Harline 87-88.

35. Quoted in Harline 88. Harline only cites an approximate date for this quote.

36. Roger Chartier's argument that printed matter was prolific and visible in seventeenth-century urban settings certainly applies to Amsterdam. See Chartier "Culture as Appropriation" 251; *The Culture of Print* 1; *Cultural Uses of Print* 166.

37. Harline 83.

38. Harline 89.

39. Febvre and Martin 226; and Harline 82-84.


41. Chartier *Cultural Uses of Print* 280.


44. Chartier discusses how drawing on familiar themes calls up the readers' preknowledge in a theoretical analysis of the ways in which popular prints are read. I think that this conclusion applies to the Jan de Wasser prints. See *The Culture of Print* 167-168.

45. Chartier *Cultural History* 117.
46. Chartier Cultural History 116-119.

47. Natalie Zemon Davis uses the term 'Women on Top', with its obvious sexual connotations, to classify prints depicting women who dominate men in an essay entitled, "Women on Top", in Society and Culture 124-315.


49. Van Heurck and Boekenoogen 35.

50. Bakhtin 276.

51. Seventeenth-century readers would have understood the phallic implications of a spindle, as this was an association commonly made in prints of women spinning. See Linda Stone-Ferrier, "Spun Virtue, the Lacework of Folly and the World Upside-Down: Seventeenth-century Depictions of Female Handwork," Cloth and Human Experience, ed. Annette Weiner and Jane Schneider (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1989) 222.


56. St. John's Day and Eve was also a festival dedicated to publishers, printers and booksellers. See Otto van Reinsberg-Duringsfeld, Calendrier Belge (Brussels: F.Claassen, 1861) 427. For more on the festival of St. John the Baptist, see Maria Leach, ed., Funk and Wagnall's Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology, and Legend 2 vols. (New York: Funk and Wagnall's Co., 1950, II) 723; and Burke 181, 195.

57. Sandra Hindman, "Pieter Bruegel's Children's Games, Folly, and Chance," The Art Bulletin LXIII, 3 (September 1981) 453-455. Hindman quotes Jacob Cats' poem Houwelijk of 1625 to underscore the folly of marriage: "The game it has but one big catch / One keeps forever what one gets!"

58. Bakhtin 198.
59. The presence of a large cat in many of the Jan de Wasser prints may signify marital infidelity, as the cat was a common seventeenth-century symbol of female sensuality. See Mary Frances Durantini The Child in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983) 34. Housekeeping manuals of the time also stated that cats were disgusting and did not belong in a decent household. See Simon Schama, The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age (New York: Knopf, 1987) 377.

60. Bakhtin 241.

61. This dance is described by van Reinsberg-Duringsfeld in Calendrier Belges 418, along with the following version of the song which I have translated:

Daer wandeld’ á patertje langst de kant;
Hy greep á nonnetje by der hand.
Het was in den midderen dey,
Het was in den mei.

Sa, patertje, gy moet knielen gaen;
En nonnetje, gy moet blyven staen.
Het was, enz.

Sa, patertje, geef uw nonnetje een zoen.
Dat meugt gy wel driemael doen.
Het was, enz.

Sa, patertje, gy moet scheyden gaen;
En nonnetje, gy moet blyven staen.
Het was, enz.

62. Bakhtin 212.

63. J. Van Vloten, Het Nederlandse Kluchtspel van de 14e tot de 18e Eeuw Vol. 1 (Haarlem: De Graaff, 1881) 130-149.

64. Burke 103.


66. Gibson 434.

67. Chartier The Culture of Print 160.

68. Chartier Passions 4-5, 111; and "Culture as Appropriation" 236.
69. Meyer 498. Meyer points out that in the farce, Jan Goethals is a shoemaker, and there is no evidence of Jan's profession in the Jan de Wasser prints.

70. Van Vloten, vol 1, 252-255.
71. Van Vloten, Vol 3, 63-64.
74. Titles of other farces which played in Amsterdam in the late seventeenth century, such as Sceele Griet of de Gestrafte Wellust (Cross-eyed Griet or the Severe Lust) and De Broekdragende Vrouwe (The Woman who Wears the Pants) also overlap with the themes and characters of the Jan de Wasser prints. The Jan Klaassen puppet play, which was performed at the annual Amsterdam kermis, or 'carnival' plays on the themes of the Jan de Wasser prints as well. This Punch and Judy type of puppet show incorporated conjugal troubles and also launched political attacks on authority. See Deric Regin, Traders, Artists and Burghers. A Cultural History of Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1976) 124.
76. Alpers 218.
77. Chartier Cultural Uses of Print 180, 345-346.
78. Chartier Cultural Uses of Print 183, 197, 345.
79. Chartier The Culture of Print 2; and "Culture as Appropriation" 231.
80. Chartier Cultural Uses of Print 3.
82. Schama 7-11.
83. Deursen 320.
84. Hall 227.


87. Geyl 190-197.


91. Nil Volentibus Arduum translates roughly as "Nothing is hard for those who will". For more on this society see Pieter Geyl 247-249; E. de Jongh, "Erotica in Vogelsperspectief" Simiolus 3 (1968-9): 73; and Schama 285.

92. Murray 123.

93. Chartier "Culture as Appropriation" 251-252.

94. Chartier Passions 3.

95. Schama 386, 570-573.


97. For more on foreigners see Deursen 11, 33; and Murray 52.

98. Deursen 18.

99. Chartier Cultural Uses of Print 180-1; and "Culture as Appropriation" 251.

100. Deursen 45; Schama 580-581.

101. Schama 579.

102. Carter The English Reformed Church 151; Schama 579.

104. Schama 649.

105. Schama 649.


108. For more on advice books that were marketed for women, see Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979) 134, 429; and Steinberg 118-119, 129, 166.

109. The Grand Pensionary was the legal counsellor of the States of Holland, whose duty it was to protect the interests and privileges of the Republic.


111. The shift from societies that were centred on the street to those which focused on private domestic life resulted in a new emphasis on housing and decorating the home. Homes were built with more private spaces and features such as stairs and hallways were added in order to make it possible to enter one room without walking through another. Seventeenth-century Dutch interiors represented a new ideal: a concept of how the burgher class should live. In this way, taste and sophistication in decorating the home became a means of exteriorizing the new inner life and the private values of the individual. See Chartier *Passions* 6-7.

112. Schama 388.

113. Schama 4, 380-388.

114. Deursen 8.

115. Schama points out this distinction between *huisvrouw* and *uithuisigevrouw* (445).

117. Schama 403; Stallybrass 128.


119. For more on the gestural nature of marriage portraiture, see David Smith's Masks of Wedlock 43-49.


121. Chartier Cultural History 125.


123. From the Middle Ages on, women could inherit family lineage, titles, property and goods. Dutch women also gained greater independence because of the roles they played during the Eighty Years War and the Spanish occupation of the Netherlands. Two essays which deal with the history of the legal rights of Dutch women are Alice Carter's "Marriage Counselling in the Early Seventeenth Century", and Sherrin Marshall Wyntjes' "Survivors and Status: Widowhood and Family in the Early Modern Netherlands," Journal of Family History 7 (Winter 1982): 396-405.


125. Carter "Marriage" 110.

126. For example, Saskia left her portion of her marriage property to her own family in the event of Rembrandt's death or remarriage. Carter "Marriage" 125.

127. For more on the rights of unmarried women and widows, see Carter "Marriage" 109; Schama 405-406 and Wyntjes 401.

128. Carter "Marriage" 96-99. This was stated by Dr. van Beverwijck, although his was certainly an unorthodox view. For more on Beverwijck, see Schama 418-420.


130. Schama 421.
The farce collections of Van Vloten and Moerkerken contain numerous plays that deal with the theme of marriage.

While Roman Catholics and Anabaptists were included in the school system (see Deursen 117), non-Christian groups, such as the members of Amsterdam's Jewish community, would have had their own educational institutions. For more on Amsterdam's Jewish community, see Schama 587-596.

145. See Deursen 234; Schama 124-125; and Haley 88-91.

146. Harline 62.

147. Deursen 117.


152. Murray 92.

153. Deursen 122.


155. These include educational texts, moralizing and didactic literature, medical information, works on social conduct and emblem books. For more on these types of works, see Carmen Luke, Pedagogy, Printing and Protestantism 2.

156. This rubric is quoted in Meyer 215: "Zie hier het leven en bedrijf / Van Jan de Wasser en zijn wijf / Die leere U, dat ras getrouwd / Iets is dat lang daarna nog rouwt". Meyer states that this version was put out by the firm of de Lange of Deventer and dates from around 1750, but gives no other information about this print.

157. Schama 494. Schama also links these ideas to the predestination/free will debate that went on throughout the seventeenth century.

158. This expression is used by Chartier to describe the ways in which these types of prints function. See The Culture of Print 174.
159. This is my translation. I can’t make out all of the words due to the poor quality of the text, but the last few words are "tot in den dood", or, "until death".


161. This is Norbert Elias’ term, which he uses to describe the shift to private life. See Power and Civility, trans. E. Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), vol. III of The Civilizing Process 292.


163. Barker 52, 67.

164. Barker 63.

165. Barker 7.

166. Bakhtin 19-21, 26-29.


170. Verwey 22-23; Chartier Passions 170.

171. Chartier Passions 163.

172. Chartier Passions 58.

173. Van Heurck and Boekenoogen 4-6.

174. See Meyer 18: "voor het plakboek", and "Wilt hier mee uw boek bekleeden / En uw tijd ook wel besteden"; and 44: "snyt ze uit fraei na de zwier, en plakt ze dan op stijf papier".

175. Bakhtin 235. This meaning would have been understood in the Netherlands at this time, as the Dutch version of Rabelais' Gargantua, with its list of games, was first published in 1682.

176. Bakhtin 236.

177. Schama 502-503.
178. Durantini 186-189. Durantini goes on to say that cities repeatedly passed regulations prohibiting potentially damaging or disruptive games in various places. Traveller's accounts also frequently complain of the rambunctious playful nature of Dutch children.


180. Stone 284.

181. Van Veen Dutch iii.

182. Chartier The Culture of Print 173-174; Hall 229.

183. Davis 131.

184. Bakhtin 11-12.


186. For specific cases see Burke 203; and Chartier Cultural Uses of Print 29.


188. Quoted in Kunzle 87.

189. Hall 236; Bakhtin 9.

190. For more on the rampjaar, see Geyl 205; and Regin 184.


192. This is the observation of the diplomat and author, Lieuwe van Aitzema. Quoted in Geyl 202.

193. Natalie Zemon Davis cites Bruegel's Dulle Griet as an example of the unruly woman who signifies the political chaos of her time in her essay "Women on Top" in Society and Culture 129.


195. Hall 236.

196. Chartier The Culture of Print 157.
Bibliography


Fig. 1. Here Young People May View at Leisure the Career and Life of Jan de Wasser. Woodcut, printed from seventeenth-century blocks. Published by Ratelband and Bouwer of Amsterdam. Reproduced in E. M. van Heurck and G. J. Boekenoogen, L'Imagerie Populaire des Pays-Bas, Paris, 1930.

1. Here comes Jan de Wasser.
2. See him standing by the washtub.
3. Jan de Wasser is being crowned.
4. Because he rewarded Bottheid (?)
5. Jan de Wasser scrubs the street.
6. Teaches the child to walk.
7. Jan washes the floors by himself.
8. And he scrubs them.
9. He knows how to wash pots.
10. And clean the snow from the street.
11. He bleaches like a man.
12. And can wash as well.
13. Jan de Wasser hits his wife.
14. Because she wanted to smother him (?)
15. How is the wind blowing?
16. Jan starches the linen.
17. Here he beats the boys.
18. And cleans out the ashes like a woman.
19. He hoops the barrel on the street.
20. He gossips with the women.
21. He mocks the neighbours.
22. His rattle spins merrily.
23. Here he birches his wife.
24. Cries 'lamp-wick!' loud and clear.
25. Jan wrings out the linen.
26. And mangles like a woman.
27. He doesn't mind rocking the cradle.
29. Jan in his apron,
30. Washing the windows.
31. Jan wipes the child.
32. Who pisses into his pocket.
33. Jan plays the boss.
34. What does St. Nicholas bring him? (birches).
35. Jan gives the child a growl.
36. And gets the pussy-cat.
37. Jan gossips with his Sister.
38. Teaches the child to walk.
39. Jan exchanges his wages for bulbs.
40. Here he comes with the child's wagon.
41. Jan looks after his child.
42. Which he swaddles and hugs.
43. Jan gets the fire going.
44. Sends the maid for flax.
45. Jan then spins it,
46. And winds it.
47. Jan de Wasser is done his day.
48. And goes to bed with his wife.
Fig. 1. Here Young People may View at Leisure the Career and Life of Jan de Wasser
Fig. 2. Section of fig. 1, Here Young People May View at Leisure the Career and Life of Jan de Wasser. Woodcut, seventeenth century. Reproduced in C.F. Van Veen, Catchpenny Prints: Dutch Popular and Children's Prints, Amsterdam, 1976.
Fig. 3. Children, Here You See Before You the Life of Our Klaas and Griet. Woodcut, seventeenth century. Published by the Heirs of the Widow G. de Groot and A. Van Dam of Amsterdam. Reproduced in Van Veen, Catchpenny Prints, 1976.

1. Klaas loves Griet, and feels her bare breasts. See behind them Pete the musician plays a great love song.
2. Griet cannot restrain her love, and has given Klaas her Yes. Here people can see them getting married.
3. Klaas comes home late for supper. Griet gets up from the chair She is sitting in, and makes a big fuss.
4. Klaas tells Griet to shut up, and grabs the shovel and tongs. ...and she receives blows...
5. The angry and determined Griet grabs the tongs from him. She hits him hard and tells Klaas that now he must fear her.
6. Now Klaas has to take off his pants, Griet stands there with them in her hand. She makes a fool of him and he hits his head in shame (?)
7. Klaas has to sit spinning and rocking the cradle, because Griet has the upperhand. She threatens the simpleton with a stick.
8. Griet pays Klaas a visit in the kitchen and pulls his hair, Because the pancakes he is baking have not risen.
Fig. 3. Children, Here You See Before You the Life of Our Klaas and Griet
Fig. 4. *Children, Here You See the Life of Jan and Griet.* Woodcut, late seventeenth century. Reproduced in Heurck, 1930.

1. Jan loves Griet and will be faithful to her unto death. See the musicians behind playing a great love song.
2. Griet cannot restrain her love, and has given her Yes to Jan. Here we see them getting happily married.
3. Jan comes home late for dinner, and Griet jumps out of the chair, in which she was sitting and makes a big commotion.
4. Jan tells her to shut up, and grabs the fire tongs and shovel, ...gets beaten...
5. (illegible)
6. Jan is forced to surrender the pants, Griet stands with them in her hand, She is not to be joked with and he feels his shame (?).
7. Jan has to sit and spin, and rock the cradle, because Griet has the upper hand. She threatens the simpleton with a stick.
8. Griet pays Jan a visit in the kitchen and pulls his hair, Because the pancakes have not risen.
Fig. 4. Children, Here you See the Life of Jan and Griet
Fig. 5. Here is the Career and Life of Jan de Wasser and his Wife. Woodcut, seventeenth-eighteenth century. Published by Rood & Zoon of Amsterdam. Reproduced in Heurck, 1930.

1. Jan de Wasser is getting married,  
   But I'm afraid he'll regret it.
2. When the wedding ceremony is over,  
   They go to the wedding feast.
4. Griet teaches Jan how to heat the pot  
   and stoke the fire.
5. Meanwhile, dinner is getting cold  
   and Jan has to make another fire.
6. Jan brings the food / And Griet sits while he must stand.
7. He scrupes out the ashes / After having cooked dinner.
8. It seems that it doesn't suit him,  
   But see how skilfully he washes the dishes.
9. Jan hoses down the windows so hard  
   that the panes fall out.
10. Jan de Wasser has to scrub  
    and keeps the water in the tub.
11. Floor and tiles must be kept clean  
    Or he will receive beatings.
12. After he has finished scrubbing  
    He has to stand by the washtub.
13. Jan and Griet, the happy couple / Sail to Volewyck.
14. Here Jan is in labour / While his wife can take it easy.
15. Jan rocks the child / And loves it more than his wife.
16. Jan gives the child its porridge  
    Which it eagerly laps up.
17. Jan gets whacked on the backside  
    Because the child has cried.
18. Jan is more careful / And plays with the doll.
19. Jan teaches the child to walk / And goes to buy cakes.
20. Jan takes his child / To crawl in the park.
21. See Jan crouch / Helping the child to shit.
22. The child becomes big and wilful  
    And Jan spanks her on the backside.
23. For doing this / Jan gets whipped by Griet.
24. Jan and Griet argue  
    About what they should allow the child to be trained for.
Fig. 5. Here is the Career and Life of Jan de Wasser and his Wife.
Fig. 6. Detail from The Life of Jan de Wasser and His Wife. Woodcut, eighteenth century. Published by Hendrick Van der Putte of Amsterdam. Reproduced in Heurck, 1930. Text similar to that of fig. 5.

1. Jan de Wasser is getting married
   But I'm afraid he'll regret it.
2. When the wedding ceremony is over / The feast begins.
3. Jan and Griet boldly exchange / Pants for skirt.
4. Jan and Griet, the happy couple / Sail for Volewyck.
5. Jan lies in the childbirth / While his wife takes it easy.
6. Because Jan has gone out drinking,
   Griet goes after him with the whip.
Fig. 6. Detail from The Life of Jan de Wasser and His Wife.
1. Through holy matrimony / Jan and Griet become man and wife.
2. After the wedding, it is time / For the wedding feast.
3. Jan, what are you doing? Are you exchanging your pants for Griet's apron?
4. Here Jan learns everything about cooking food above the fire.
5. Now the meal is ready / Jan starts another fire.
6. The meal is brought in by Jan While Griet waits to be served.
7. After the meal the dishes are washed. Really your wife belongs here.
8. Also, when it comes to scooping up the ashes A wife is better suited to the job.
9. If windows are washed haphazardly / They end up in pieces.
10. Scrubbing is not to his fancy But he has to, or he'll be punished.
11. He must keep on mopping because Griet Will later come and inspect his work.
12. Through the work that he's doing / Men will know his name.
13. With their lantern, Jan and Griet / sail to Volewyck.
14. Jan is in the childbed while Griet holds the baby This is the most farcical thing ever seen by men.
15. He never learned how to look after babies But Griet still wants him to do it.
16. The crying newly born family member Is fed porridge by Jan.
17. Here Griet chastises her husband because he let the baby cry.
18. To keep Griet and the baby happy He has to play dolls with the baby.
19. Here Jan is teaching his child to walk, and buys candies for her.
20. Jan is weary from carrying the child So he pulls her in the wagon.
21. Jan holds the little girl Until she has done her business.
22. To stop the child from being bad Jan gives her a stern spanking.
23. But the whip is his reward / For disciplining his child.
24. Here they both debate What the child is capable of in the future.
Fig. 7. The Revised Jan de Wasser

De kaart van de bevolkingen van 't Groot en 't Kleinkind.
Fig. 8. Lamme Goedzak. Le Bon Guillaume (The Worthless Good-guy, or, Honest William). Woodcut, late eighteenth century. Published by Glenisson and Van Genechten of Turnhout. Reproduced in Heurck, 1930.

1. Lammen meets and marries Griet
   Without knowing her faults.
2. At the wedding Lammen is happy / While Griet sings.
3. In the morning, for his own good, Lammen
   Sweeps the street in front of the house.
4. He goes and asks his wife to get up / And have breakfast.
5. While Griet eats and drinks,
   The unfortunate Lammen makes lunch.
6. Lammen, you look after dinner
   While your wife goes out and parades herself.
7. He sets the table at eleven,
   But she does not return until two.
8. Griet makes a fuss / Because the meal is cold.
9. Griet enjoys a good meal,
   And then asks him to serve her coffee.
10. Griet sits and reads / While Lammen scrubs the pot.
11. Lammen sadly sits and spins
   While Griet dresses up and goes out walking.
12. Griet looks unhappy / And Lammen is worried.
13. Griet gives him twins / And he must look after them.
14. Lammen washes the diapers / And is very unhappy.
15. Then maid and mistress drink wine,
   While Lammen gets dry bread.
16. This is crazy! / Lammen has to clean the house.
17. Lammen wipes the child's bum / Can you understand this!?
18. The father must dress the children,
   While his wife diverts herself outside the home.
19. A child is crying! The terrible mother
   Throws Lammen out of bed.
20. Lammen dies of grief / While his evil wife weeps.
Fig. 9. Everything is Here, the Old Jan Dressed up in the New Style. What's in Store for Him is Certainly the Same Joy and Sorrow. Woodcut, nineteenth-century blocks and text. Published by Broese and Comp. of Breda. Reproduced in Heurck, 1930. Text is the same as that of fig. 7.

1. The King goes on foot
2. The child teaches the professors
3. The wife goes off to war
4. The tower stands inside the bell
5. The servant arrests his master
6. The cripple carries the healthy man
7. The blind man leads the seeing man
8. The poor man gives to the rich man
9. The birds eat the man
10. The ass drives its master
11. The child punishes his father
12. The child rocks her father
13. The sheep eat the wolf
14. The farmers pull the plough
15. The ladies pull the carriage
16. The sheep shears the shepherd
17. The wagon pulls the oxen
18. The ox flays the butcher
19. The pig guts the butcher
20. The chickens eat the fox
21. The hen mounts the rooster
22. The fish nest in trees
23. The women storm the building
24. The parrot teaches the master to talk
25. The mice catch the cat
26. The child feeds her mother
27. The little birds eat the big one
28. The fish catch birds
29. The wild animals chase the hunter
30. The world upside down
31. The sick man inspects the doctor's urine
32. The ships travel over the land
Fig. 10. The World Upside Down.
Fig. 12. The Theatre of the Crazy People of Amsterdam. Woodcut, seventeenth-eighteenth century. Published by Kannewet of Amsterdam. Reproduced in Van Veen, Catchpenny.
Fig. 13. *Children’s Games.* Engraving by Adriaen van de Venne, from Jacob Cats, *Houwelijck,* 1628. Reproduced in Schama, *Embarrassment.*