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## Feasting and Drinking: Proverbs in Early Sixteenth-Century Woodcut Illustrations

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# Formelhaftigkeit in Text und Bild

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Herausgegeben von

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*Feasting and Drinking:*

Proverbs in Early Sixteenth-Century Woodcut Illustrations

Der Artikel behandelt zwei Sprichwörter, die in der Nürnberger Druckgraphik zwischen den Jahren 1524 und 1535 veröffentlicht wurden. Die im Zentrum stehenden Drucke wurden von Hans Sebald Beham angefertigt, einem Schüler Dürers, der auch als ‚gottloser Maler‘ bekannt war. Sowohl die Bedeutung der Wendungen *durcheinander wie Kraut und Rüben* und *die trunken Metten* werden anhand dieser Drucke erforscht, als auch die Quellen, die zur Identifikation vornehmlich des zweiten, heute nicht mehr gebräuchlichen Sprichwortes dienen. Weiterhin werden die weit verbreiteten Darstellungen von Trinkgelagen näher untersucht. Wichtige Quellen, die zur Identifikation dieser Sprichwörter führen, sind Titelblätter und Textillustrationen von gedruckten Flugblättern und Büchern. Von großer Bedeutung ist, dass es sich bei diesen Drucken ausschließlich um Holzschnitte handelt. Die Wendung *die trunken Metten* wird in diesem Artikel weiter verfolgt, unter anderem in den Kupferstichen bis zum Jahr 1550 bei Beham in Frankfurt am Main, und in Radierungen nachfolgender Jahre bei Pieter van der Borcht in Antwerpen. Die an diesem Beispiel angestellte mikrogeschichtliche Quellenforschung ergibt, dass gedruckte Werke, Bild wie Text, als fruchtbare Hinweise zum Verständnis von Sprichwörtern in der Zeit ihrer kulturellen Formation und Kodifizierung dienten.

Proverbs and proverbial expressions addressing peasant festivals are sprinkled throughout German printed books and pamphlets of the early sixteenth century within the context of peasant festivals. Johannes Agricola, for example, described the frequency and popularity of kermis/Kirchweih in his book of proverbs from 1530: ‘There is no village so small that it does not have a kermis once a year’ (‘Es ist kain dörflein so klain/es wirdt des jars einmal kirchweyhe darjnnen’), and ‘Germans go together to church festivals four, five villages at a time, [and] as it [sic] happens only once a year, it is praiseworthy and honorable, because people are created for that purpose, to live friendly and honorably together.’ (‘Zu den kirchmessen/odder Kirchweyhen/gehen die Tewtschenn Vier/Fünff dorff schafft zu sammen/es geschicht aber des jars nur einmal/darumb ist es loblich vnnd ehrlich/syntemal die lewtte dazu geschaffen sind/das sie freuntlich vnd ehrlich vnter eynander leben sollen”).<sup>1</sup> Martin Luther also recorded

1 AGRICOLA, Sprichwörter, f. 44v, no. 342, and f. 45r. The ideas discussed in this article were earlier published in expanded form in STEWART, Before Bruegel. For more information on any topic discussed here, see that publication, especially chapter 2. Throughout this text reference to illustrations in STEWART, Before Bruegel, will be given for brevity’s sake as STEWART followed by a figure number, for example, as STEWART, fig. 1.

a proverb around 1520 likening kermis to drinking and celebrating: 'Where there is kermis, there will also be a tavern and fair' ("wo ein kirchwey ist, da wil auch eyn tabern und iarmarckt seyn").<sup>2</sup> And Erasmus of Rotterdam recommended in 1511 using proverbs and adages to decorate the home, including 'paintings on bedroom walls and proverbs and adages on rings, cups, and gates as aids to memory.'<sup>3</sup> It is clear from these examples that proverbs addressing peasant festivals were part of the verbal and written discourse in early sixteenth-century Germany, but what about proverbs in visual form? What role did they play?

In my work on printed images of peasant festivals, in particular woodcuts designed by Sebald Beham during the 1520s and 1530s and printed at Nuremberg, prints that pre-date Pieter Bruegel the Elder's better known paintings of the theme from the 1560s, I came across two proverbs in visual form that had not yet been recorded in written or printed form. In this presentation I will address these two proverbs and their appearance in single-leaf printed woodcuts, which were independent of a larger context like printed books of pamphlets, which show peasant festivals and peasants celebrating. I will discuss both proverbs, the second in more detail with the formulaic conventions I have been able to trace for that more prominent proverb. I will also address it within the context of a large woodcut by Beham dated 1535, designed for a Nuremberg printer-publisher after Beham had moved to his new home at Frankfurt am Main. Finally, I will address the continuation of the proverb in Beham's later engravings he designed and published himself at Frankfurt am Main and in German and Flemish examples dating into the years following mid century. The ideas I present here are included in my recently published book with Ashgate, 'Before Beham. Sebald Beham and the Origin of Peasant Festival Imagery'.

## 1. Spinning Bee

The first proverb Beham visualized that I have been able to identify in his peasant festival prints is seen in his 'Spinning Bee/Spinnstube' woodcut (fig. 1) he designed around 1524 at Nuremberg. Although traditionally given to Barthel Beham, Sebald's older brother, I agree with Gustav Pauli's attribution to Sebald Beham (1901 and 1911).<sup>4</sup> And as Kurt Löcher pointed out in his monograph on Barthel Beham (1999), Barthel specialized in printed compositions with only a few figures and he did not really compose a single printed work with a unifying narrative.<sup>5</sup> The 'Spinning Bee' is thus the work of Sebald Beham, not Barthel Beham, an important point for anyone wishing to pursue this image.

The proverb shown in Sebald's print is still known today, thus late twentieth-century patterns of speech allowed the identification of the pictorial form. That proverb *durcheinander wie Kraut und Rüben* indicates chaos or a topsy-turvy world and offers a proverbial subtitle to Beham's print along with an understanding of the women and men shown at lower right. There one woman bends over cabbages and turnips,

2 KOHLER, Luther, p. 140 n. 6.

3 THOMPSON, Colloquies, vol. 1, 47, cited in GOLDSTEIN, Artifacts, n. 7.

4 See PAULI, Sebald Beham Verzeichnis, and PAULI, Sebald Beham Nachträge.

5 LÖCHER, Barthel Beham, p. 4.

the Kraut and Rüben in the proverb, as another woman lies on the floor. Two men attempt to look under their skirts. On one level Beham makes use of the cabbages and turnips from the proverb to figuratively indicate the less-than-orderly behavior shown generally throughout the print. On another level Beham appears to sexualize these vegetables by likening cabbages to the backsides of the woman bending over, and possibly the turnips to the male member and the men nearby throughout this spinning bee. The men have turned the female spinning bee into the setting for chaotically sexualized activities, a view also expressed in Nuremberg town council documents of the time. The *durcheinder wie Kraut und Rüben* proverb is included in Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm's 'Deutsches Wörterbuch' (1854 ff.), Friedrich Wilhelm Becker's 'Kraut und Roub'n' (1918), in Lutz Röhrich's 'Lexikon der sprichwörtlichen Redensarten' (1974), and in 'Langenscheidts Handwörterbuch Englisch' (2000) (the German-English volume).<sup>6</sup> Beham's printed visual image appears to predate the earliest written and printed recorded references of the proverb, thus the identification of this formulaic phrase and its genesis can be traced back at least to Beham's woodcut dating ca. 1524.

## 2. The 'Large Kermis'

The second proverb illustrated in the Nuremberg peasant festivals of Sebald Beham is 'the drunken matins,' *die trunken Metten*. This expression belongs to the subject area of drunkenness and drunkards, images of which abounded in early 16<sup>th</sup> century Germany at a time when peasant festivals were both extremely popular and voices across German society – church, state, and learned writers – expressed concerns about peasant festivals and the drinking that took place there, with its deleterious effects on the drinker's body, soul, and ability to work. The *truncken Metten* proverb ironically and irreverently refers to the expelling or vomiting of a drunkard as singing in church during one of the very early hours of the canonical day, matins. This expression thus calls on the very late time of the day, approximately two hours after midnight, when celebrating might end an evening of drinking with drinkers stumbling home and vomiting. Beham pictures this proverb prominently at the bottom center of his four-part print, the 'Large Kermis' dated 1535 (figs. 2, 3). Here, in the impression from the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, Beham has dated and signed this woodcut at upper left as his own design: 1535 and HSB, his Frankfurt monogram. Also included is the address of the printer-publisher, Albrecht Glockendon: „Illuminist zu Nürmberg bey dem Sunnen bad“. Glockendon thus gives the location where prints such as this one were produced and could be purchased and he firmly dates the print to 1535, not 1539 as in much of the literature. Beham's monogram indicates his new home of Frankfurt am Main where he moved in the early 1530s presumably to seek a more hospitable and tolerant environment over conservative Nuremberg. Beham appears to have given his design for the 'Large Kermis' woodcut to Glockendon who printed it in Nuremberg. These locations, Nuremberg and Frankfurt am Main point to the fact that the central 'drunken matins' image was known in at least both of these German locations.

6 GRIMM, Wörterbuch, vol. 5, col. 2109, and vol. 8, cols. 1334–5, BECKER, Kraut, and RÖHRICH, Lexikon, vol. 1, p. 537.

Beham's large print shows, from left, a booth where purses and other wares are offered for sale, a church in the background with wedding procession in front and kermis/Kirchweih flag hanging from the tower, and at lower left, from left to right: a couple embracing, a barrel tapped for beer or wine, a dentist operating on a patient while his assistant robs the latter, and peasants who appear to reach an agreement while carrying wild boar or pig on their backs. To the right, an inn that is old or in need of repair as seen by the cracks in the stucco, shows a man in the second floor window, lovers in the arched doorway, men and women eating, drinking, and talking around a table, as grape vines grow on a trellis attached to the inn. A minister or learned man, seated before the inn doorway, is greeted by a peasant who raises his hat in respect and offers him a beaker with drink. Below, a peasant man lying on the bench before the table expels his drink onto the ground, and a dog laps up what the peasant emits (fig. 3). This man and dog illustrate the *drunken matins* proverb to which I shall soon return.

In the right half of Beham's 'Large Kermis' woodcut, again before the inn, a 'Landsknecht' embraces the minister, while a man at right with box or container over his shoulder, who has been identified as a peddler, offers dice to two peasant men and two women, one of whom is more formally dressed. To the right and above, couples dance, bagpipe and shawm players provide music, as a group of men fight with swords around a Maypole and two men bet below, as suggested there by coins. One man lies on the ground, his severed hand clearly visible to the viewer. Women try to stop the fight by separating the men and by attempting to hit one on the head with a ninepin or Kegel pin. And at far right above, men and women walk on swords and women compete in foot races for the prizes displayed at upper right: garland, purse, and shoes.

The inn or tavern forms the center of Beham's composition and the backdrop for the *drunken matins* proverb.<sup>7</sup> This inn serves food and drink, a fact indicated by the pole hanging from the window that holds both cloth and tankard. Food and drink are shown on the table before the inn and throughout the left half of the composition. When I first began studying this print, the drunken peasant so centrally located seemed merely to be part of a large body of drinking imagery included in early 16<sup>th</sup>-century printed book and pamphlet illustrations. These illustrations provide an important background to and context for the *drunken matins* proverb, one that allowed an identification and understanding of it within its cultural context. Several examples of such drinkers that pre-date Beham's 'Large Kermis' of 1535, which I will now present, make this point clear. But I need to include a mild warning that the pictures I am about to show may be deemed objectionable by readers unused to graphic representations of drinkers and the effects of drinking.

### 3. Drinking and Drunkenness

Of the numerous illustrations of drinkers and drunkards dating from the early sixteenth century, many – but not all – show drinkers who expel their drink from top or

7 On taverns, see STEWART, Before Bruegel, 112ff., and STEWART, Taverns; KÜMIN and TLUSTY, Tavern; and TLUSTY, Bacchus, and TLUSTY, Defining Drunk.

bottom, thus they vomit or defecate.<sup>8</sup> In Hans Franck's 'Gluttons' woodcut (Stewart fig. 2.12), from Geiler von Kaisersberg's 'Sins of the Mouth', published in 1518, the man at center shoots what is probably wine from a long-necked bottle into his mouth; and in an anonymous woodcut (Stewart fig. 2.3) illustrating the title page of the pamphlet entitled "On Toasting/Vonn zutrincken Laster vnnd myzsbrauch/dye schendlichen darausz Erfolgen, Damit jetz/dye gantz Teutsch Nation beflecht ist", published without location in 1524 (today in the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel) two men and one woman drink, and another man vomits onto the floor under the table. Note the man of higher social station with a very large glass, which looks rather like a Weissbier glass, indicating that regardless of social class people drank and in good quantities in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>9</sup> And the title page woodcut by the Petrarch Master (Stewart fig. 2.2) to Sebastian Franck's pamphlet entitled "On the Horrible vice of drunkenness/Von dem greüwlichen laster der trunckenhayt" (published at Augsburg by Heinrich Steiner, in 1528), two elegant couples dressed in furs and jewelry at right are served food and drink at a round table before which wine sits in a cooler. At left another member of the party, who has left the table, vomits heftily in the kitchen. Below a quotation from Luke XXI:34 adds moral support to Franck's warning against immoderation and making one's heart heavy from the effects of too much food and drink. It is interesting to note that Franck is believed to have married Beham's sister Otilie, thus Franck and Beham were related by marriage, a possibility I explore in my 'Before Bruegel' book.<sup>10</sup>

And in the Petrarch Master's illustration (Stewart fig. 2.5) for the book the 'German Cicero', from 1535 (today in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek), men from various social stations guzzle from large if not trophy-sized drinking vessels in both foreground and background. In addition, a man vomits over a fence near the men at upper left and to the right, while another man to the left crouches and appears to defecate, as a result of one of the effects of wine. Similar drinking practices and physical results are seen in Erhard Schön's 'Four Effects of Wine' woodcut published at Nuremberg in 1528 (Stewart fig. 2.4). The table there at lower left is surrounded by men who act like the two four-legged pigs shown before the table. One man vomits onto the table, another onto the ground with the pigs, while a third drinker, at lower left, has defecated outside his clothing. The drinker on the ground also appears to have soiled his pants unpleasantly, judging from the look on the face of the woman tending him. The accompanying text by Hans Sachs describes such drinkers under the third characteristic of wine: ones who overeat and drink (*fressen, schlampen*), and are drunk (*trunken* and *stüddvol*), and engage in filthy language (*Erst lat er die sew glocken klingenn*). Sachs also mentions farting (*er lest hindter im ein gestanck*), staggering (*dorckelt er hin und herwider*), lying in filth (*bsult sich im kot, wie ein schwein und Ligt etwan ein wil inn eym mist*), belching and farting like pigs (*gröltzt und fartzt er wie ein saw*), and urinating in bed (*Vielleicht pruntzt er auch in das pett*). Such drinkers were believed to belong to the phlegmatic temperament and, because of their excess bodily fluids, to lose control of their bodily

8 For more on drinking imagery and drinking customs in sixteenth-century Germany, see STEWART, *Expelling from Top and Bottom*, and STEWART, *Before Bruegel*, ch. 2 and 3, especially pp. 73–83 and 86–98. See also TLUSTY, *Gender*.

9 For more on drinking practices, see STEWART, *Before Bruegel*, pp. 87, 91, and 93–94.

10 On Franck and Beham, see STEWART, *Before Bruegel*, pp. 28–34.

functions when drunk. Note at center a grape vine, considered to have been invented by Noah who is shown tilling the soil at the top of the print. A similar grape vine is shown in Beham's 'Large Kermis' in front of the inn.

#### 4. The 'drunken matins'

It is clear from this survey of images that a substantial body of drinking imagery in printed form existed in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. And it is against this background of attention to drunkenness that we should consider the cultural formation of the *drunken matins* expression that seems to have first appeared within the context of printed book and pamphlet illustrations well before Beham's 'Large Kermis' of 1535 and before the first recorded written version of the proverb. Sebastian Franck can be credited with placing the *drunken matins* into print in his book 'Proverbs/Sprichwörter', a collection of proverbs published at Frankfurt am Main in 1541 by Christian Egenolff, a professional colleague if not friend of Beham's who published many of Beham's designs for book illustrations. Franck describes a person who is done working for the day, drinks, then slips down from his bench, and sings the drunken matins – that is, he vomits – drawing interested and hungry animals to the scene. Franck wrote, in an unflinchingly direct language, that:

Oh, it is a great honor, for whoever finishes working for the day and has a bowel movement is with the grace of a buck martyr a good fellow, and his body is his hero. He may still [...] wait for another good fellow and wine hero until Bacchus throws him under a bench that he begins to sing the drunken matins with long notes, such that all dogs and pigs run to him, and devour the song.

(O das ist dann ein grosse ehr, wer eh feier abent macht, vnd den wust her ausz thut, der ist sammer bocks marter ein gut gesel, seines leibs ein held, er darff doch in stich sitzen, vnd einem guten gesellen vnd weinhelden eines gewarten, bisz dasz jn der Bacchus (So noch stercker ist dann er, vnd nit gern mit jm zegrob schertzen laszt) under die banck wirfft, dz er anfahet die truncken mettin mit den langen noten zu singen, dasz all hund vnd sew zulauffen, vnd sich des gesangs vnd der mettin frewen.)<sup>11</sup>

Franck includes Bacchus, a bench, dog, and pig in his discussion of the *drunken matins*, which he called debauchery when sung fully. However, Beham chose to showcase a dog although a pig appears to be carried by a man left of center, bottom. The dog's indiscriminate eating habits were well known, thus the prominent placement at center bottom of Beham's print.

A few years later the *drunken matins* expression was used to underscore the incongruence and inappropriateness of drunkard and church setting by Walter Rivius in his 'German Vitruvius' published in 1548. Rivius singled out as unsuitable the placement of specific images in several contexts: what he called the *drunken matins of peasants* in a

11 FRANCK, Sprichwörter, part 2, f. 148v. GRIMM, Wörterbuch, vol. 6, col. 2147, cites the text in slight variation. FRANCK, Sprichwörter, pt. 1, f. 30, also cites: "LVXVS ET MOLLICIES / Wollust, vnd paffen leben, / Die vollen mettin singe."



church, as well as the ship of fools in a town hall, or a crucifix in a bathhouse.<sup>12</sup> Rivius's comments on peasant imagery fall within his discussion of Vitruvius and subjects proper to wall paintings. He addresses the appropriateness of the subject of peasants drinking to excess to the function of the particular space where it was shown. When Rivius mentioned the *drunken matins* expression showing peasants expelling drink from both top and bottom within the context of a church, the inappropriate church setting for such a subject may well have been understood by the reader. Today the *drunken matins* expression is no longer known, thus its meaning has been lost.

Franck's textual explanation of this proverbial expression from 1540 is most helpful for the understanding of Beham's central drinking image, but Franck's was not the source that allowed me to identify the proverb and meaning behind Beham's image. The *drunken matins* proverb was included somewhat earlier in woodcuts illustrating the title pages of pamphlets and single-sheet woodcuts, thus in both visual and textual form. In particular, the identification of the proverb was made from the title page to a pamphlet entitled 'A New Song. The Song is Called the Drunken Matins/Ein neues Lied. Das lied ist die truncken Metten genant/Ist manchen guten gsellen wol erkant' (fig. 4), undated but probably printed in the 1530s at Nuremberg by Hans Guldenmund, judging from his dates of activity. Although the original is located today in the Vatican Library, I came across reproductions of the pamphlet's title page and text while engaged in research at the Volksliedarchiv in Freiburg im Breisgau. The subtitle proclaims that there is a new song called the 'drunken matins'/'die truncken Metten' that is well known to the 'good buddies' or *guten gsellen*. These men are illustrated on the woodcut below where a group of men, dressed like 'Landsknechte', appear to be served by the man at right with a pitcher in one hand. Three of the men drink from glasses or beakers they hold in hand or to their lips, as the man at the back of the table vomits onto the table, and one of the men in front of the table slides off the bench and vomits onto the floor, as a dog shows his interest in what he expels.

At much the same time, during the 1530s, Hans Weiditz from Augsburg designed a single-sheet woodcut that both illustrates the drunken matins proverb and identifies it (fig. 5). There a fat abbot sits in a horse's jawbone and nuns push him across ice. In visual imagery of the time, playing the jawbone of a horse denoted guzzling and revelry, even folly. The text above Weiditz's print explains that the abbot, who is very cold, wishes to be pulled off the ice and go drinking, after which all the monks and nuns, some shown below, will sing the drunken matins.<sup>13</sup> The Albertina's collection in Vienna includes the colored impression illustrated here, with the color making the image all the more vivid.

The genesis of the *drunken matins* expression in visual form alone, without text, goes back several decades to the years around 1505, as shown by the title page woodcut illustration for a drinking tract from 1505 by Hieronymus Emser (Stewart fig. 2.8),

12 FORSSMANN, Vitruvius, p. viii and fol. ccxxxi–v: "... das man in ein Kirchen die truncken metten der bawren mahlen wolt/oder ein Narrenschiff oder Gredla müllerin jarzeit in ein Rathstuben/oder den Passion in ein drinckstuben/oder ein Crucifix in ein Badstuben." See also STEWART, Before Bruegel, p. 268.

13 ANDERSSON, Popular, pp. 145–6, illustrates the Weiditz woodcut and its earlier woodcut inspiration. She dates the Weiditz ca. 1530.

published at Leipzig by Melchior Lotter. Eight men from various social stations are placed around and before a table and they drink from an assortment of variously shaped drinking vessels. Two men have literally drunk themselves under the table and they lie on the floor in discomfort and drunkenness. The man at lower left has vomited onto himself and a dog licks the man's mouth, if not what he expels. Standing above these two drunken men is a man who may be the servant, judging from the large tankard he holds and the fact that he is the only man standing. In the prominent lower center position of the image, next to one of his hands, is a banderole, or scroll with text, that explains "Alle fol" everyone is drunk. Clearly alcohol is the cause of the drunken state of several of these men, as indicated by the barrel with tap below the table, at lower right.

Although it has not been my purpose here to trace a full history of the *drunken matins* expression, I would like to mention two additional examples. First, an etching by Daniel Hopfer from Augsburg dating ca. 1535 (Stewart fig. 8.7), which is contemporary with Beham's 'Large Kermis' and appears to draw on Beham's division of inn and eating at left and dancing at right. At bottom, left of center, a man has fallen from the wooden bench and expels onto the ground, as a dog cleans up undoubtedly illustrating the *drunken matins* expression. Hopfer includes additional examples of drinking if not eating to excess: at upper left before the inn, lower right in front of the fence, and above at far right behind a fence. The latter man simultaneously vomits and defecates undoubtedly from the effects of drink, especially the third effect of wine on individuals with the phlegmatic temperament, as seen in the print by Schön discussed above, and in writings of the time. But it is the drinker at bottom center, who is aided or supported by three men, and who is patted by three men on the shoulder and arm in support, who specifically suffers the *drunken matins*. Included here are the bench from which he has fallen, his drunkenness, and a dog who laps up what he has expelled. All these individuals are men, with the exception of the woman at lower right who appears to be a first for her sex for such drinking imagery.

But it is not always a dog who is included in the *drunken matins* proverb. Beham's tiny engraving dated 1537, from his Peasants' Feast series, re-used in another of his series from 1547 (Stewart fig. 8.1), shows a squatting man who experiences the effects of drink, again from both top and bottom. Here, however, a pig – mentioned by Sebastian Franck – is included, indicating either the *drunken matins* expression or the fact that drunkards were sometimes viewed as pigs, as shown by Cornelis Anthonisz from Amsterdam illustrated in a woodcut dating from the middle of the century (Stewart fig. 2.15). There a boar-headed man stands upright, holds a drinking vessel with open lid in one hand, steps on grapes and grape leaves with one foot, expels clouds of vile flying insect-like creatures from his mouth, and wears cards atop his head, as he brandishes sword in his right hand and armor on that arm. Notable here are the grapes underfoot, the wooden barrel he wears around his body for clothing, and his boar or pig-shaped face and snout. The connection here between wine drinking, card playing and gambling, and the foul physical effects of drink are made abundantly clear and are shown to be socially undesirable and swinish.

Finally, an etching attributed to Pieter van der Borcht, published at Antwerp in 1553, a 'Kermis of St. George' (Stewart fig. 8.13), includes both pig and dog tucked into the lower left corner, the pig in a wooden peg from which its snout can be seen and a

dog walking free immediately to the right. This print also shows, at lower right, what may be a dog, if not a goat, before a man leaning over a tree and expelling his drink. The pig sty and tree frame the composition on both sides and between which men and women dance and stomp to bagpipe music, embrace, and enjoy themselves before an inn. This image points to the very good possibility that the *drunken matins* expression was known not only in German-speaking areas in the sixteenth century, but in Flemish ones as well, especially around the prominent and important port town of Antwerp.

The sources I have included here indicate that printed works, both images and texts, are fruitful sources for the understanding of proverbs during the time of their cultural formation and codification in the early sixteenth century. The printed sources have also shown that visual images, including title page illustrations of pamphlets, can both illustrate and offer information about proverbs that the printed text alone can not. Together, the printed illustrations and texts of pamphlet and books, along with independent printed images like single-sheet woodcuts, engravings and etchings, help us better understand proverbs used during the early Modern period in Germany and the Netherlands. These printed images, and the proverbs discussed, should be included in any study of formulaic patterns in Early Modern Europe. Woodcuts of all quality should be sought out for study, even if art history normally embraces those of higher quality, for these prints offer important visual information for the cultural formation, genesis, and identification of formulaic phrases that were first codified in imagery and later in texts during the first half of the sixteenth century.

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## Figures

- Fig. 1: Sebald Beham, Spinning Bee, woodcut, ca. 1524, 30.45 x 49.8 cm.
- Fig. 2: Sebald Beham, Large Kermis, woodcut, 1535, 36.7 x 115.8 cm.
- Fig. 3: Sebald Beham, Drunken Matins, detail from ‘the Large Kermis’, 1535.
- Fig. 4: Anonymous, Drunken Matins, title page woodcut from ‘A New Song/Ein neues Lied’, ca. 1530s, Nürnberg; Albrecht Glockendon.
- Fig. 5: Hans Weiditz, Satire of an Abbot, woodcut, 1530s, Albertina, Vienna.

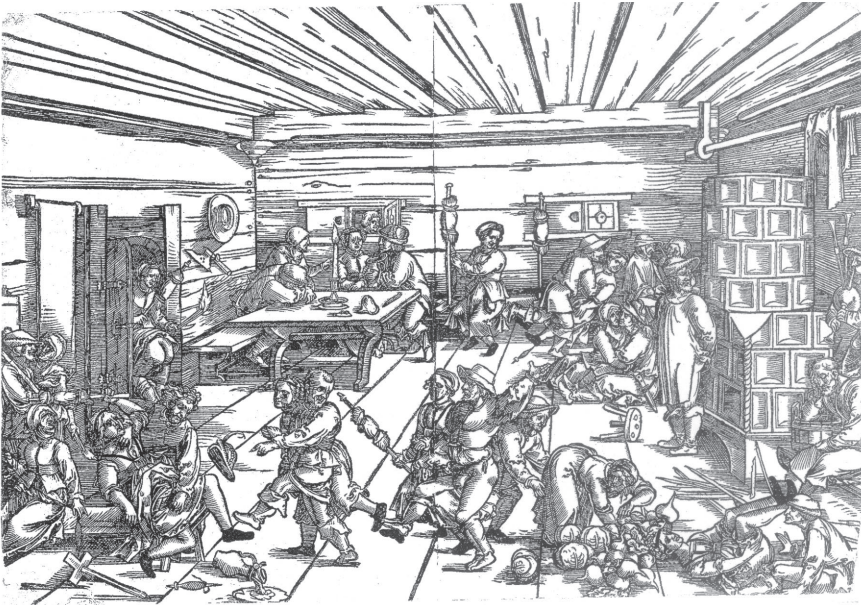


Fig. 1



Fig. 3



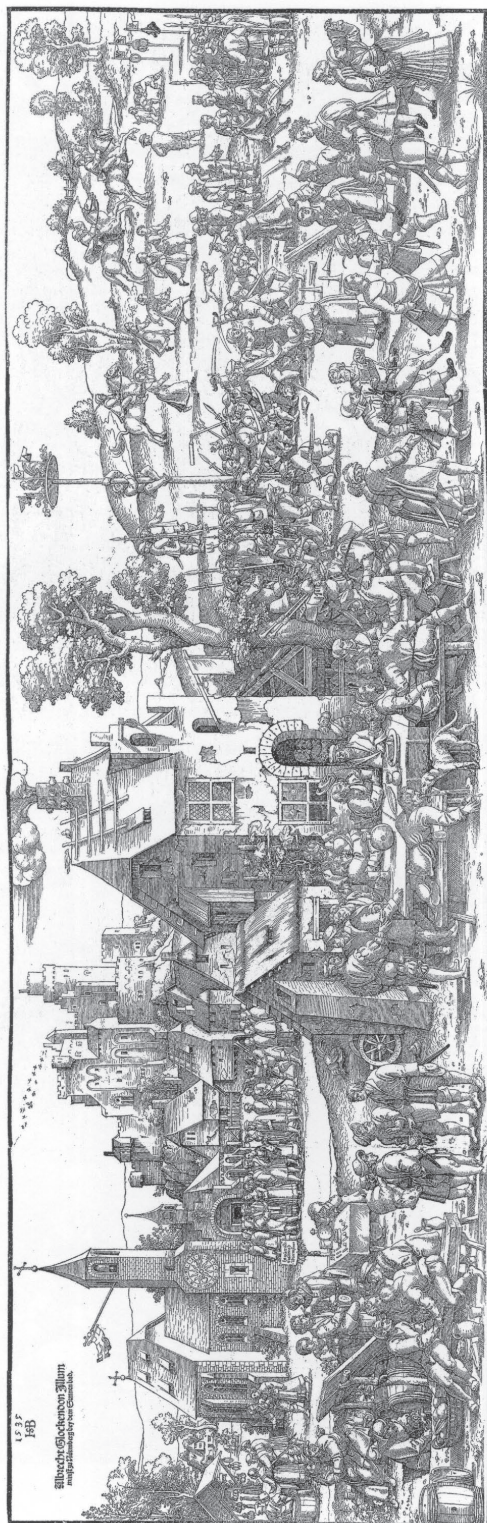


Fig. 2



Fig. 4



Es: Das ich wole güt leben sparen  
Es: So wole er auff an roßlin faren  
Es: So fructe mich vñ an den vñ fassen  
Ziehet schwefers vñ verdrissen  
Nütze jr mich ab dem eyß t an gen  
So well wir cruncken in een singen  
Nütze jr bummel büren all  
Lüge das ich nit vnder eyß vaff

Fig. 5