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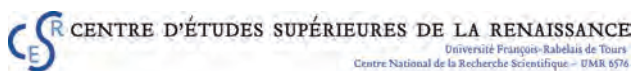
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Supervisit
Tilman Seebass

edenda curavit
Björn R. Tammen cum Gabriela Ilnitchi Currie,
Nicoletta Guidobaldi atque Philippe Vendrix

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Alison G. Stewart, *Before Bruegel. Sebald Beham and the Origins of Peasant Festival Imagery*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008. 358 pp., 4 colour plates, 111 figures (b/w). ISBN 978-0-7546-3308-2 (hardcover) £ 55,-

During the 1970s and '80s the visual representation of peasants in general, and of peasant festivals in particular, in the art of the Northern Renaissance was the subject of lively scholarly debates. The well-known series of prints and paintings by Pieter Bruegel the Elder offered one of the main points of departure for the investigation of art historians. The fact that a significant part of the imagery had been produced in the format of woodcuts was of particular interest. This is not because scholars meant to rescue an aesthetically less demanding art form from neglect and offer grounds for a reevaluation; rather, because such relative simplicity made woodcuts cheap to produce and acquire: they could therefore express taste and meanings accessible to and shared by a large proportion of the population, rather than by particular patrons (Moxey 1989: 4). Where the line of interpretation most noticeably split the art history community into two neatly distinct groups was on the meaning of those representations and of the attitude they implied, on the part of artists and viewers alike. Some critics, on one side, have valued the sympathetic eye to which the choice of representing the lower ranks of society and their world may testify (as examples of this group, see Alpers 1972/73 and Carroll 1987); others stated quite the contrary, namely that both specific details and the general attitude displayed in such visual representations of peasants suggested moral disapproval and the wish of reforming customs (for the latter see Moxey 1989 and Raupp 1986). In more recent times neither theory has proved entirely convincing, sometimes on the grounds of the limited documentation that is available to us in order to prove either point (Zagorin 2003). A first departure from the clear-cut opposition between interpretations of the festive imagery as implying a positive or negative attitude toward its subject has been made by critics who have stressed the importance of humour and laughter in the artists' orientation and in viewer response, an element that calls for attention to nuance and complexity of meaning (Gibson 2006). Alison Stewart's new book brings back some of the visual material that was at stake in those discussions. It aims at a systematic examination of the surviving documents it censuses, and suggests an overall interpretation of them as a specific graphic genre. It is relevant to the field of music iconography, at least for the significant presence of music and dance as themes within the festival imagery.

The author has engaged with the topic for some time, before choosing to give her findings the format of a substantial monograph. Woodcuts representing peasant festivals were the subject of her doctoral dissertation (Columbia University, 1986) and of a subsequent substantial article for the *Sixteenth Century Journal* (Stewart 1993).

At the beginning, the volume sets the scene by introducing the protagonist, Sebald Beham, together with the places and times of his activity. Beham was born in Nuremberg in 1500 and worked there until the early 1530s, when he moved to Frankfurt am Main, where he stayed until his death in 1550. In his home town he trained as an ap-

prentice in Albrecht Dürer's shop. When Nuremberg adopted the Reformation, Beham sided with its radical fringe, the spiritualists Hans Denck and Sebastian Franck – the latter became also the artist's brother-in-law. Religious history is directly relevant to the interpretation of the series of images examined in the book under review since it affected the celebration of the religious festivals, which those prints reproduce. Traditional feast days in Nuremberg included kermis, the celebration of a church's anniversary or of a church's name saint. When the town adopted Lutheranism, only Sundays and twenty other feast days were retained, all other holidays being abolished. The radical position shared by Beham could only give additional weight to an orientation to reform popular culture, by controlling such Catholic customs which were perceived to lead to unacceptable excess in all sorts of behaviour. Festivals offered, therefore, a topical subject for visual representation, attracting both love and hatred. Dürer had represented peasant couples, and particularly dancing ones, in drawings and engravings. Beham was thus partly following the footsteps of his master, although the peasant festival as a topos in graphic art was a creation of his own.

According to contemporary patterns of collaboration, Beham produced the Nuremberg festival prints by working on their design with Erhard Schön, as well as with several woodcutters, printers and publishers. A variety of kermis woodcuts, produced by Beham in Nuremberg and Frankfurt during the 1520s and 1530s, sometimes including a text in German or Latin, proves to have become quite a popular theme. The *Large Kermis* of 1535 is the most prominent artefact in the whole story. It comprises four sheets measuring in the extant copies roughly 36 x 115 cm. It describes in detail a number of secular activities set at a festival in front of a tavern, with a church in the background. One of the most obvious elements is excessive drinking and its effects, including vomiting and defecating – a presence that is likely to convey moral criticism, and is reinforced by the depiction of animals often symbolically associated with the sins of gluttony and lust (a dog, a rooster and a pig). While from this perspective the image seems to militate against drinking considered as a social problem, other details of the woodcut do not automatically solicit moral reproach. Joyful celebrating is represented by a wedding fair, music, dancing and game playing. On the whole, Stewart finds the woodcut “enjoyable, sometimes excessive, and more entertaining than religious”, a document of “the resilience of kermis and popular culture in a period of religious transition, reevaluation, and reform” (p. 121).

Around the same time Beham also designed some smaller and simpler versions of the kermis subject, testified by several prints. While the University Library Erlangen-Nuremberg holds the only surviving copy of one impression, this was on its turn copied at least twice in prints of lower quality. The three known versions show more emphasis on scatology. Oddly, two of them come with Latin inscriptions. In one case this is an imperial privilege. The other is a quote, which Stewart identifies as deriving from Virgil's *Georgics* (II, 458–59): *O fortunatos nimium / sua si bona norint / Agricolas* (“Ah, fortunate the peasants, if they were to know their blessings”). She interprets the reference in terms of what has been called “didactic irony” (Correll 1996): “by ironically authorizing coarseness and indecency”, it “encourages reversals through aversion” (p. 147).

Around 1528 and 1534 two versions of the *Kermis at Mögeldorf* were printed, a frieze-like band over two meter wide, with the addition of selective colouring and German text by Hans Sachs. The location is a reference to a small village near Nuremberg, the site of a festival which was very popular with town residents during the early sixteenth century. The text “describes peasants at kermis with carnival play-like exuberance and color. The peasants are shown to be boisterous, earthy, and eager for drink, love, and a fight” (p. 155). Members of all classes could have delighted in both text and an imagery which, available in colour or black and white, “offered different options to its viewers based on their varying tastes and the amount of change in their pockets” (p. 157).

A woodcut of Beham’s dating ca. 1534, the *Nose Dance*, “offers a new perspective into the sixteenth-century obsession with the body” (p. 165). The print shows a group of large-nosed men and women, and a fool who exposes himself. The dance appears to have been a real folk dance at the time, and not merely literary convention (although “it is unclear whether the nose dance participants had naturally occurring large noses or wore masks”, p. 171). Three prizes hang on a pole: the dancer with the largest nose will be crowned king of the dance and awarded a garland; second prize is a nose mask, third a pair of male underpants. Stewart has no difficulty in identifying the associations of sensuality and folly attached to the print and its details, from the long-standing link between nose and male member to the lack of intelligence of those with large noses. Here too an impression, now lost, was completed by a text by Hans Sachs, which set the dance at kermis. As with other themes, Stewart proves the popularity of Beham’s invention in a series of subsequent prints (including somewhat sanitized versions with smaller noses).

In 1527 Beham’s associate, Erhard Schön, printed a double woodcut showing a peasant wedding celebration – peasant feasting inside and celebrating outside – which seems to have created a new theme in European art and predates Pieter Bruegel’s *Peasant Wedding Feast* and *Kermis* paintings in Vienna by some forty years. Bruegel eliminated the interest in scatology, which early Flemish prints had borrowed from their German models. Schön’s images are accompanied by an extensive text describing “peasants who eat and drink inordinately and who wish that everyone at the wedding celebration would get drunk” (p. 190).

Spinning bees were festive occasions that took place indoors in winter, and originally were meant to be attended by women only. Around 1524 Beham designed a woodcut on this subject too, though in his representation men also feature, two women only are actually shown spinning, while the rest of the company “eat and drink, dance, and are engaged in a variety of sexual antics” (p. 219).

After an analysis of the specific prints produced in Nuremberg and Frankfurt (beside other elements, with adaptations to local audiences, including those to specific regional German dialects), the book proposes a reconsideration of Beham’s output as a whole: from the choice of the technique (for their limited cost, “woodcuts were *the* place to experiment with new subjects in Beham’s time”, p. 241), to the division of labour inherent in such production, to issues of quality and colouring, print runs and prices, distribution and audience. Viewing locations also offer a topic deserving specific atten-

tion: a number of peasant festival woodcuts appears to have been displayed, for instance by hanging them on walls as wallpaper or decorative friezes – a practice which is documented by sixteenth-century artworks showing prints hanging in such places as shops and inns, and which may help explaining why several of these prints survive in unique impressions.

The overall result of Stewart's research points to a success of Beham's initiative in establishing a market for peasant festival imagery. After 1535 the artist published three series of festive peasant images, this time engraved: they were disseminated and widely copied across Europe. With her attention to individual impressions, their technical details and historical circumstances of design, production and distribution, Stewart's method is comparable to the quality and character of the iconographical research, for the purpose of a renewed approach to Reformation history, remarkably carried out by the late Bob Scribner, a scholar whom Stewart appropriately and repeatedly cites.

In the light of the above mentioned scholarly debates of the recent past, Alison Stewart's book marks a significant new departure. Her approach, together with the results of her detailed analyses, makes most of the literature of the 1970s and '80s look as if it was arguing around a *question mal posée*. The issue is not that we should not ask ourselves what attitudes led sixteenth-century artists to produce those pictures, or their public to buy them, or in any case to view them. Such an enquiry is *per se* legitimate, provided that we are aware of its intrinsic difficulties – from the complexity of documentation, to the circularity of much *histoire des mentalités* (by which what is assumed to be within a given culture's mental horizon becomes in turn evidence of its nature and limits). Stewart's main point – which she expresses to the reader from the start, at the end of a short historiographical section of her introduction (p. 7) – is a departure from the “either/or approach” and the suggestion that more than one meaning and reaction was solicited and expected by the artists who invented that figurative genre. The historical success of their creation may bear witness to the fact that their choices – as inventors and entrepreneurs – were timely and productive. The subsequent oblivion that obscured the original creators provides us just with the evidence of a variety of historical trends, from the selectivity of our memory to the impact made by successful followers, who take up from the exploratory work of beginners and give their ideas a more mature and highly considered expression.

Naturally, one of Stewart's aims is to restore Sebald Beham's role in the story, by firmly positioning him on the road that led to better-known works of art, such as Bruegel's Netherlandish paintings. While this result seems reasonably achieved, it is significant to register that, at the same time, the author has offered us a successful model of research on a variety of cultural objects, which one hopes may stimulate research on other fields of our heritage still awaiting further investigation.

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