

Where Has Paris Gone? Sebald Beham's *Fountain of Youth* Reconsidered

Ayumi Yasui

Sebald Beham (1500–1550), a German engraver, designer for woodcut and stained-glass, and painter was one of the most prolific artists of the first half of the sixteenth century. He is also known as a little master (Kleinmeister) along with his younger brother Barthel Beham, Georg Pencz, and Heinrich Aldegrever, because they made very small engravings. Some scholars maintain that Sebald and Barthel Beham worked at Albrecht Dürer's workshop, though there is no documentation about it.¹ In any case the Nuremberg-born brothers were under the considerable influence of this great master.

Fountain of Youth (fig. 1) is Sebald Beham's masterpiece, and one of the most presentative large size woodcuts of this era. It consists of four blocks. The four pasted impressions are in a frieze-like format. The woodcut measures ca. 40 cm high by over 100 cm wide.² It was first issued in 1531 by Albrecht Glockendon in Nuremberg. There are two states. The first state, which has a text, printed separately and pasted under the image, is unicum in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. At the end of the text, we find a date and "Albrecht Glockendon Illuminist³" as author's name of this text. This first state is also the only known hand-colored impression. The second state differs from the first in two points. Firstly, instead of "Albrecht Glockendon Illuminist³" as the publisher's name in the upper left as in the first state, there is the HSB monogram of Sebald Beham under a flying bird (figs. 2–3). Secondly, a young woman urinating in the foreground of the right side of the woodcut has been altered (figs. 4–5). The reason for alteration of the block is perhaps modesty.⁴ But this does not mean that the second

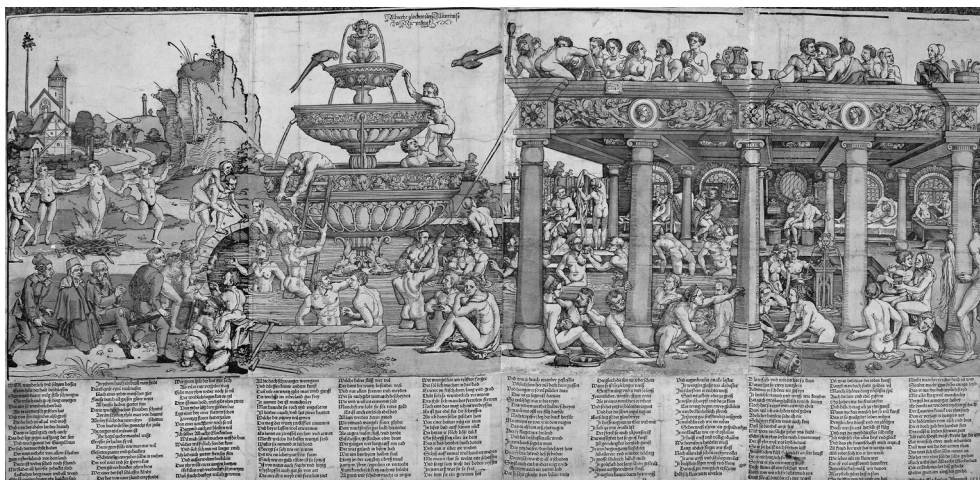


Fig. 1 Sebald Beham, *Fountain of Youth*, 1531, woodcut (1st state), Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, Oxford.

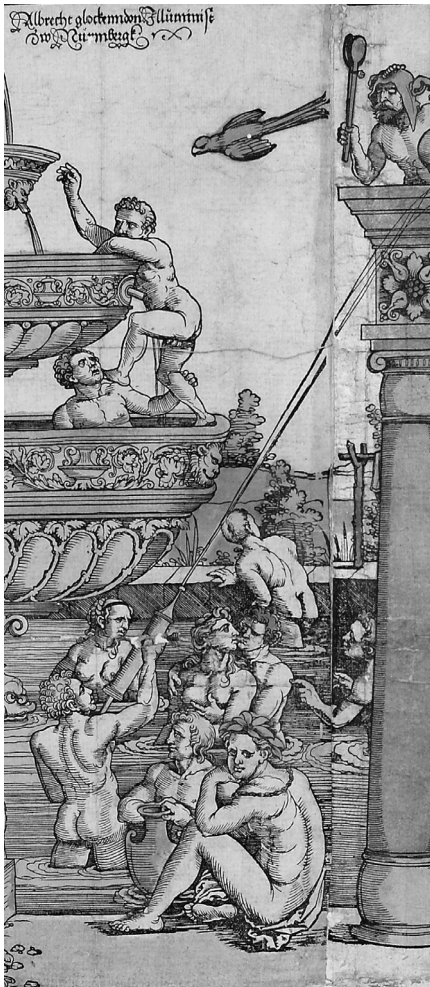


Fig. 2 Detail of Beham's *Fountain of Youth* (1st state).



Fig. 3 Detail of Sebald Beham, *Fountain of Youth*, woodcut (2nd state), Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, Dresden (inv. no. A3016).

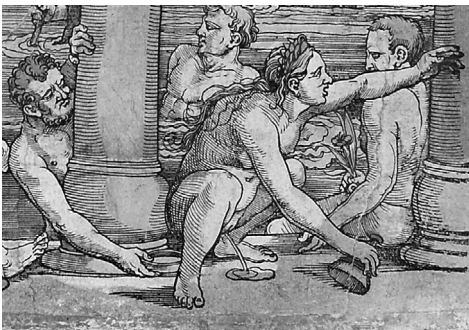


Fig. 4 Detail of Beham's *Fountain of Youth* (1st state).

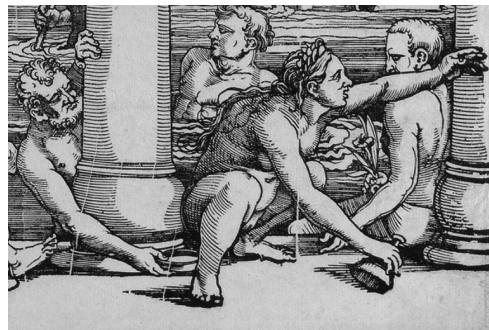


Fig. 5 Detail of Beham's *Fountain of Youth* (2nd state).

state soon replaced the first state. The first state seems to have been still known for a certain period, because a small reversed engraved copy by Jan Theodor de Bry around 1600 was made from the first state. Beham's rather indelicate expression has been kept in this small image.

The fountain of youth has a magical power. Whoever bathes in it, regains his or her youth. It is generally believed that water not only cleans or cures the human body, but also mystically purifies it. In Christian rituals water purifies the human soul,⁵ but the effect of the fountain of youth is merely physical. Later it clearly means sexual potential. Although the legend of the fountain of youth was known from the middle of the twelfth century, representation of this theme flourished in fourteenth century French manuscripts, and especially ivory sculptures, which show old men and women coming to the fountain to bathe, and in the fountain young couples bathing or embracing next to the fountain.⁶ This courtly theme celebrated youth. But from the middle of the fifteenth century a fool appeared in the theme. He is a symbolic figure who turns this theme into a satire on the folly of the old people searching for youthfulness, as well as the folly of love.

Looking at Beham's *Fountain of Youth* more closely, we find on the left side of the woodcut the enormous Renaissance style fountain, which has three basins with lion's-head decoration, and the base with dolphin decoration. Old men and women are coming to the fountain to bathe. One walks alone with a crutch. Others are transported by litter. An old woman is carried on a man's back. In the middle ground at the left of the woodcut a young nude woman and young men with underpants are dancing delightedly before a fire with crutches that have already become unnecessary. In the back ground a man leads an old man on the way to the fountain. On the right side of the woodcut there is a magnificent Renaissance style Loggia with grotesque ornaments, decorated with faces in profile. Ten Ionian style columns support the roof, on which we find the gallery in which many nude men and women are relaxing, listening to music, and drinking. At the far left of the gallery a bearded fool with typical fool's cap with bells is holding in his right hand two ladles seemingly combined like a fool's marot. At the far right of the gallery a woman in clothes is playing hurdy-gurdy. Hurdy-gurdy also symbolizes folly. Under the gallery there is a big bath, in which many men and women are bathing together. Besides bathing, we find various pleasures in the bathhouse. A man is having his beard trimmed by a barber. People are sleeping, drinking and playing games. The embracing couple are about to begin an erotic act. Because they are in clothes in the bathhouse, their lascivious activities are underscored.

Beham's *Fountain of Youth* is an exceptional work, because two themes, *fountain of youth* and *bathhouse*, are combined. This original composition is his work's most distinctive character. This work is also well known for visual references to other works, especially Italian Renaissance art. Many scholars have studied this work in various contexts. Alison Stewart's primary study supplied basically the pictorial tradition of the two themes and the issue of voyeurism or gaze (1989).⁷ Recently Jürgen Müller studied it from an anti-Classical point of view (2007).⁸ And most recently Jan-David Mentzel proposed a religious interpretation related to a discussion on baptism in the Reformation (2011).⁹ In this paper I focus on formal analysis of Beham's *Fountain of*



Fig. 6 The Master of Banderoles, *Fountain of Youth*, ca. 1460–1470, engraving, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

Youth returning to its essential characteristics, and reconsider it showing some hitherto unknown pictorial sources.

Before Beham's work, two examples of the fountain of youth are known in graphic art. The earliest is an engraving by the Master of Banderoles ca. 1460–1470 (fig. 6). In the middle of the scene there is a large hexagonal fountain surrounded by a tall thick wall. A knight is standing on the wall as the keeper of the fountain. On the left side many old men and women with money bags are coming to the fountain. In the fountain young men and women are bathing. On the right is the love garden, in which a fool with a bagpipe is also depicted. The bagpipe is a symbol of man's genitals.¹⁰ Some people in the fountain and the garden represent directly lascivious activities. Banderoles are written in Latin. Those of the old people show their desire for their youth. Their money bags also emphasize their worldly-desire.

The next example is a woodcut by Erhard Schön ca. 1525 (fig. 7). Its main elements are almost the same as those of the Master of Banderoles. But the type of fountain is different. In this work the fountain has a big basin with lion's-head decoration. On the top of the fountain a fool is standing and pissing. His genitals' top is amazingly a head of a cock. At the left side of the fountain there is a young man with a cup of wine, and at the right side a young woman looking into a mirror. An embracing couple is also depicted. Here again the head of cock is a sexual symbol of male genitals.

We also find sexual symbols in Beham's work. Many details indicate obvious and indirect sexual connotations. For example, as is well known, bird in German is "Vogel"



Fig. 7 Erhard Schön, *Fountain of Youth*, ca. 1525, woodcut, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.

and its verb “vögeln” means sexual intercourse. And a fool plays an important role, too. However, the most distinctive difference from the earlier two prints is that the part showing amorous couples is enlarged to half of the entire woodcut, and transforms into a bathhouse.

For the bathhouse scene the most important precedents are those by Dürer. After his first journey to Italy, Dürer dealt with the nude figure. In fact Dürer made a drawing, *Women's Bath* (fig. 8), dated 1496 and a woodcut *Men's Bath* (fig. 11) the same year or so. They are firstly studies of the human body. In *Women's Bath* six women in different poses with children are in a steam bath.¹¹ The women's poses evoke the classical Venus, though they don't have ideal proportions yet. A quite ample elderly woman sitting to the right is rather ridiculous. A woman in the middle looks at the viewer as if she notices his gaze. Another woman behind her also turns wonderingly her eyes to the viewer. When we find in the dark background upper left an old bearded man peeping at the women, we recognize that we ourselves are also voyeurs. Voyeurism is an essential theme of the bath scene.

Dürer himself never made a woodcut from this drawing, but its composition was well known, because there are rather coarse woodcuts by anonymous artists. One of them emphasizes the voyeur by depicting clearly a man looking through the window (fig. 9). In this copy woodcut four women are after Dürer's drawing, but the other two women are after Beham's *Women's Bath* (fig. 10) ca. 1535. In Beham's original a woman exposing her genitals is sitting in the middle of the woodcut, while the expression of the

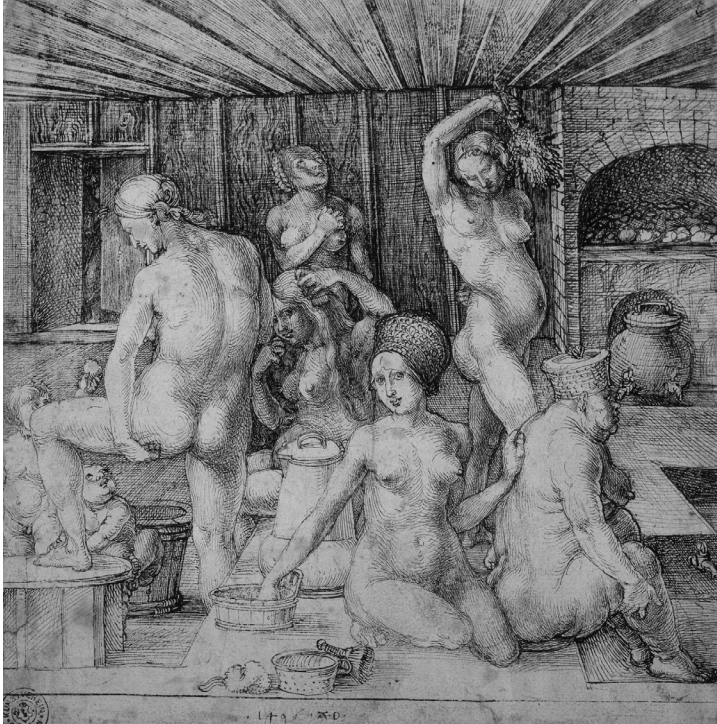


Fig. 8 Albrecht Dürer, *Women's Bath*, 1496, drawing, Kunsthalle Bremen-Der Kunstverein in Bremen, Kupferstichkabinett (inv. no. KL 57).



Fig. 9 Anonymous (after Albrecht Dürer and Sebald Beham), *Women's Bath*, woodcut.

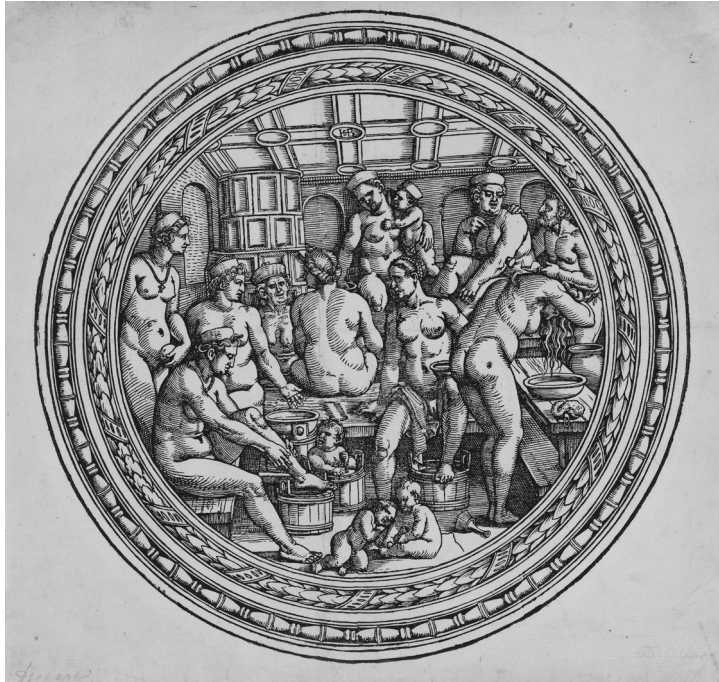


Fig. 10 Sebald Beham, *Women's Bath*, ca. 1535, woodcut, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.



Fig. 11 Albrecht Dürer, *Men's Bath*, ca. 1496-1497, woodcut, British Museum, London (inv. no. E,2.378).



Fig. 12 Marcantonio Raimondi (after Raphael), *Judgment of Paris*, 1510–1520, engraving, British Museum, London (inv. no. H,2,25)

copy woodcut is more modest by covering her with a cloth. Stewart indicated that this woman's pose can be generally compared to that of the woman crouching in *Fountain of Youth*.¹² Beham also suggests voyeurism by depicting the scene in the round frame as a peep window.

Dürer's *Men's Bath* woodcut (fig. 11), contrary to the women's closed indoor steam bath, is an open outdoor bath with a thatch roof. In this bath six men with underpants, including two musicians, are in various poses. It is humorous that a cock atop the long tap is placed near the man's genitals; the man leans on the post and supports with his right arm his bearded head. This cock is the same symbol as in Schön's woodcut. In this group of men there is homoerotic atmosphere.¹³ We find here also a young man as onlooker, or voyeur, behind the bath. To this woodcut, which is one of the earliest works which bears Dürer's famous AD monogram, many interpretations have been proposed.¹⁴ But I here treat this woodcut as a formal precedent of Beham's *Fountain of Youth*.

Returning to Beham's work, I have to discuss its best known aspect; the use of figures from other works. From the beginning of the modern study of Beham's works, it has always been suggested that he used as model Marcantonio Raimondi's prints after the great Renaissance masters such as Raphael and Michelangelo.¹⁵ People who knew Italian Renaissance art in Beham's age also would have enjoyed finding these well-known images.

The most prominent figure is a sitting man in the midst of the foreground, who looks at the viewer (figs. 2–3). He and a man behind him are river gods in Marcantonio's



Fig. 13 Marcantonio Raimondi (after Raphael), *Descent from the Cross*, engraving, 1520–1530, British Museum, London (inv. no. M,1.25).

famous *Judgment of Paris* after Raphael (fig. 12). From this print Beham also used three goddesses; the figure of Minerva taking off her clothes is transformed into a woman holding pieces of cloth in the back of the bathhouse. Venus and Juno are women standing near the small fountain in the big bath.

Beham also borrowed figures of Marcantonio's *The Climbers* after Michelangelo's *Battle of Cascina*. One is pointing, and the other is climbing up between the second and third columns from the left of the bathhouse. The pointing man appears again in front of the big fountain. We also see a man like the climbing man behind the fountain.

A sleeping man's pose in the back of the bathhouse is depicted after Marcantonio's *Cleopatra (Ariadne)* after Raphael.

Müller and Menzel noted that Beham's way of using of Renaissance models, such as the same figure repeated simply again, is rather ridiculous or satirical. In this point I agree with their argument. But their interpretations seem to me sometimes too extreme or complicated. Müller related classical or Renaissance motifs to sin.¹⁶ Menzel followed Müller's opinion, and interpreted this work as a secret message about a special discussion on baptism to a limited audience¹⁷. In his article Menzel showed a new pictorial source. It is Marcantonio's *Descent from the Cross* after Raphael (fig. 13). From this religious print Menzel drew his interpretation. He regarded the religious theme as a distinctive element. But I suppose that the model print's theme is not so important. What is interesting about his choice is that a figure other than a nude was used as a model.



Fig. 14 Detail of Beham's *Fountain of Youth* (2nd state).



Fig. 15 Albrecht Dürer, *Presentation of Christ to the Temple*, 1503-1505, woodcut, British Museum, London (inv. no. 1895,0122.633).

Here I show another new example to support my opinion. I pay attention to the man holding the far right column of the bathhouse (fig. 14). This man's source is probably Dürer's *Presentation of Christ to the Temple* (fig. 15) from the series *Life of the Virgin*. In Dürer's woodcut a monk is holding a big column at the far left of the woodcut. His figure and the large tall column are very prominent in this woodcut. Both men are situated in almost the same location in the composition. Dürer's man's face is behind the column and therefore not seen. By this representation his gaze at Christ is suggested. Beham used this device. But there is a very important difference between them. What this man looks at is not a sacred scene, but an amorous couple in front of him. He is a voyeur. A figure from the religious theme is transformed into a voyeur in a typical bath scene. The model print's theme has no impact on Beham's work.

Further, Beham's man holds the column not only by a hand, but also by a leg. Did Beham emphasize Dürer's man's leg under his clothes? Or did Beham intentionally change the pose of the model? In Dürer's woodcut, a board with the AD monogram is hung in a lower position on the column, while in Beham's what seems to be a wig with a comb is hung at the same height as the man's head. Because this wig is like a woman's long hair, this column is reminiscent of a female body. It could be said that the man holds the column as if it would be his partner. A sitting woman showing her back next to another column is perhaps his equivalent. She also looks at the same couple. She holds the column gently like a partner, and at the same time strokes her back by herself.

Many scholars have referred to the images from Dürer's works. They found similar poses from *Women's Bath* and *Men's Bath* (figs. 8, 16 and 11, 17). Rear views of



Fig. 16 Detail of Beham's *Fountain of Youth* (2nd state).



Fig. 18 Albrecht Dürer, *Hercules at the Crossroad*, engraving, 1498, British Museum, London (inv. no. E,4.136).

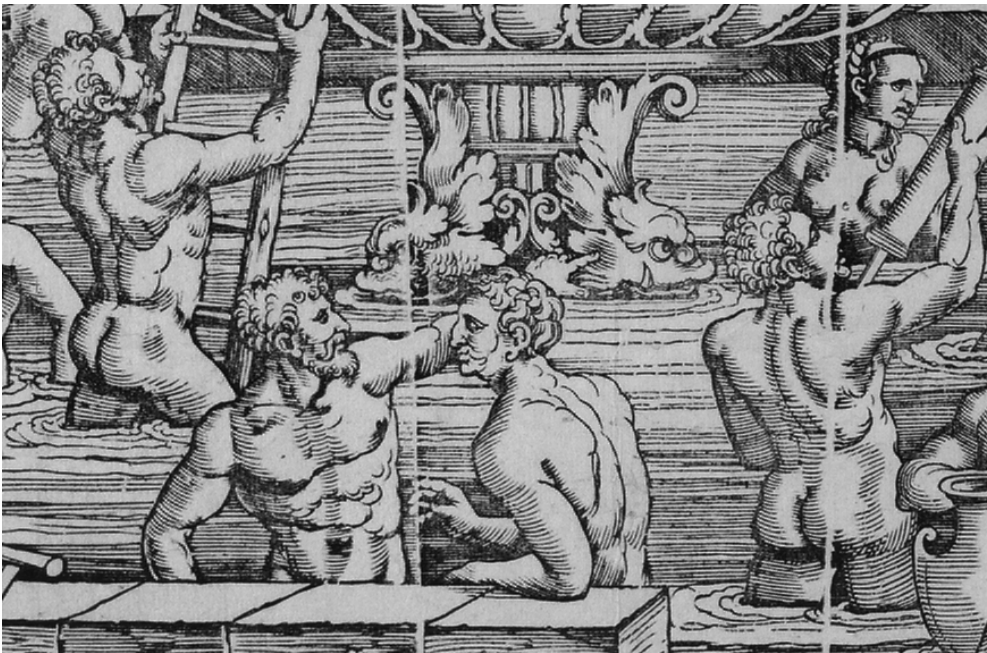


Fig. 17 Detail of Beham's *Fountain of Youth* (2nd state).

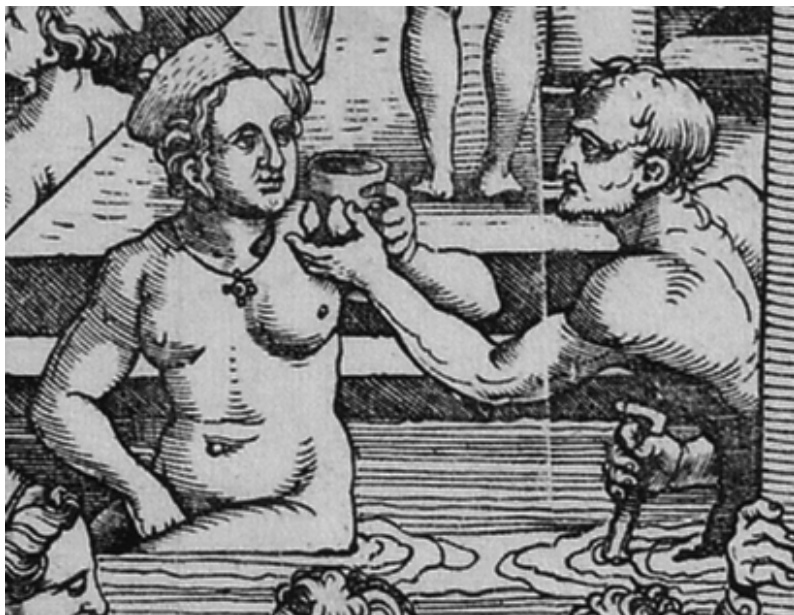


Fig. 19 Detail of Beham's *Fountain of Youth* (2nd state).



Fig. 20 Detail of Beham's *Fountain of Youth* (2nd state).

standing men have been related to Dürer's engraving *Hercules* (figs. 17–18).¹⁸ But this man holding the column has been overlooked, probably because its model is not nude.

Beham of course knew Dürer's work well. When he used Dürer's work as model, Beham depicted it more freely than Renaissance art. In the case of Renaissance art, he imitated its figures more strictly, perhaps to indicate the pictorial source.

Mentzel's discussion about Beham's choice of figures from Marcantonio's *Judgment of Paris* is worth reconsidering. According to Mentzel river gods are related to water, and the three goddesses symbolize *vita triplex*, and as Paris listened to temptation and selected Venus (*vita voluptaria*), people in the bath cannot repress their lust. But Paris is one of the main protagonists in this theme. Where has Paris gone? Did Beham omit Paris from this scene? No, he is here.

At the second column from the left of the bathhouse we find a curious male bather who offers a cup of wine to a woman (fig. 19) and she accepts it. He is the only person who has a crutch in the bath. A crutch is a symbol of old people, as we see on the left side of the woodcut. His face is not so young. Looking closer, we recognize his crutch's form is different from other T-shaped crutches (fig. 20). It looks like a cane. He is the very person modeled after Paris (fig. 21). Bulging muscles around his shoulder, the form of the arm offering the cup, and above all the right hand with cane are coincident with Paris with a shepherd's crook. Although some scholars have referred to this extraordinary bather, his model has been curiously overlooked.¹⁹ The print *Judgment of Paris* as model has been so repeatedly described for a long time that perhaps no one pays any more attention to it.

Beham once used the figure of Paris as a model, when he made a small engraving *Adam* 1519 (fig. 22).²⁰ His first dated work appeared in 1518. So Adam is one of his earliest works. When he was young, he used the model naturally. Paris is suitable for

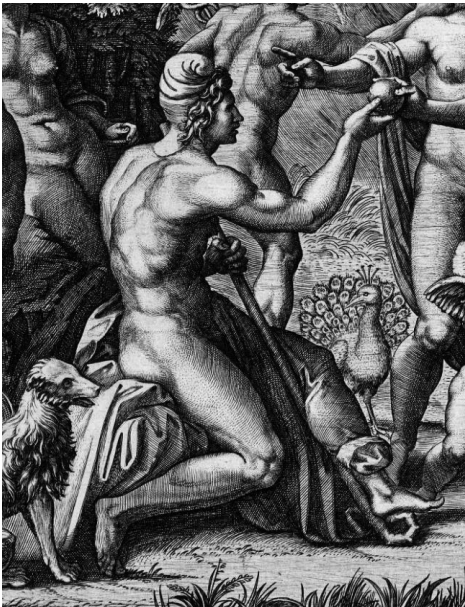


Fig. 21 Detail of fig. 12.



Fig. 22 Sebald Beham, *Adam*, 1519, engraving, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Fig. 23 Hans Brosamer, *Bathsheba and David*, 1510–1552, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

young Adam. Each holds an apple. But later in his *Fountain of Youth* he used the model ironically. Although Paris is a beautiful young man in the story, this man is an ugly old man. Offering wine is a sign of erotic invitation. Hence the old man pursues a young woman. This couple is reminiscent of the unequal couple. In that theme the ugliness of old people is underscored.²¹

Returning to the theme of the fountain of youth itself, the fool symbolizes the folly of the old people who search for youthfulness, as well as the folly of love. The Renaissance style fountain and Loggia symbolize an unrealistic world, while, to the contrary, the rustic German landscape with the church and tomb indicates the real mortal world. The unrealistic world seems to be delightful, but in fact it is instructive.

Hans Sachs wrote a poem *Der Jungbrunn* (1548), in which he, as an old man, dreams of the fountain of youth, and in the end when he is about to enter the fountain to regain his youth, he awakes from the dream.²² The fountain of youth is merely a daydream. The effect of the fountain does not last long. Young men, who compete to climb up the fountain, should know that the effect of the fountain comes to an end.²³

The third basin does not curiously have a spout. To understand the structure of the same period fountain, I show as an example Hans Brosamer's engraving, *David and Bathsheba* (figs. 23–24), in which she bathes in front of a fountain. The fountain's second basin has spouts, through them water flows down into the trough. The third basin in Beham's woodcut should have spouts, otherwise no magical water would flow into the bath. This is perhaps also Beham's ironical expression.

The sitting man modeled after the river god and the fool are supposedly the two key persons of this whole scene. Both are situated in the middle of the woodcut (figs. 2–3). The sitting man looks at the viewers and invites them to this world of folly that the fool rules. Through this prominent figure, people who knew Renaissance art would

have been reminded of the print of the *Judgment of Paris*, and soon found the other figures after Renaissance great masters. I think, the man after Paris is crucial, because representing Paris as an old man predicts his destiny; He was wounded to death and eventually Troy was destroyed. We can only see the truth in the figure of Paris. The effect of the fountain is fleeting. When one recognizes this detail and its model, one truly understands Beham's innovative work on the theme of the fountain of youth.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1 Martin Knauer, in his article on the little masters, 2010, is skeptical about the brothers' participation in Dürer's workshop; however, in the subsequent exhibition catalogue curated by Jürgen Müller and Thomas Schauerte, their participation is seen as fact. Martin Knauer, "Kupferstiche der deutschen Kleinmeister: Zur Erforschung eines Bildmediums in einer Epoche Kulturellen Umbruchs," Karl Möseneder (ed.), *Zwischen Dürer und Raffael: Graphikserien Nürnberger Kleinmeister*, Petersburg, 2010, p. 15; Jürgen Müller and Thomas Schauerte (ed.), exh. cat. *Die gottlosen Maler von Nürnberg: Konvention und Subversion in der Druckgrafik der Beham-Brüder*, Albrecht-Dürer-Haus, Nuremberg, 2011.

2 Dimension: Oxford's impression, paper 506 x 1095 mm. Height of the text, 117 mm. Dresden's impression (2nd state), image 373 x 1090 mm.

3 For the illuminist and publisher Albrecht Glockendon, see Ulrich Merk, *Buchmalerei in Bayern in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg, 1999, pp. 70–85.

4 David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470–1550*, New Haven and London, 1994, pp. 232–233.

5 For the Christian symbol of fountain, see Karin Döring-Mohr, diss. *Die ikonographische Entwicklung des Jungbrunnens und sein inhaltlicher Wandel in der bildenden Kunst des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, Aachen, 1999, pp. 19–27.

6 For the general tradition of literature and image of the fountain of youth, see Anna Rapp, *Der Jungbrunnen in Literatur und bildender Kunst des Mittelalters*, Zurich, 1976.

7 Alison G. Stewart, "Sebald Beham's Fountain of Youth-Bathhouse Woodcut: Popular Entertainment and Large Prints by the Little Masters," *Register of the Spencer Art Museum*, 6, 1989, pp. 64–88.

8 Jürgen Müller, "Italienverehrung als Italienverachtung: Hans Sebald Behams Jungbrunnen von 1536 und die italienische Kunst der Renaissance," Philine Helas, Maren Polte and Bettina Uppenkamp (ed.), *Bild-Geschichte: Festschrift für Horst Bredekamp*, Berlin, 2007, pp. 309–318.

9 Jan-David Menzel, "Taufe im Sündenbad: Sebald Behams Jungbrunnen von 1531," Müller and Schauerte, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 98–114.

10 Two couples and a fool are depicted after Master E. S.' engraving *Small Love Garden*. Another couple is presumably after the lost part of this work. For Master E.S.' work and the role of the fool see Holm Bevers, exh. cat. *Meister E.S.: Ein oberrheinischer Kupferstecher*,

Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich and Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, 1986–1987, pp. 81–84.

11 For Women's Bath see Anne Röver-Kann, exh. cat. *Albrecht Dürer: Das Frauenbad von 1496*, Kunsthalle, Bremen, 2001; Jürgen Müller, "Der dritte Mann: Überlegungen zur Rezeptionästhetik von Albrecht Dürers Zeichnung *Das Frauenbad*," Gernot Kamecke (ed.), *Antike als Konzept: Lesarten in Kunst, Literatur und Politik*, Berlin, 2009, pp. 133–150.

12 Stewart, *op. cit.* (note 7), p. 76. To understand the meaning of this pose in *Fountain of Youth*, I think, we should go back to the first state. The young woman would relate to an elderly woman carried on the back of a man (fig. 20). She has uncontrolled elimination. The text of the first state is general description of fountain of youth and does not explain the image. However this elderly woman is the only exception. "A peasant woman was carried to the bath on a man's back. She constantly shat some 100 maggots at once". Although we cannot tell exactly the relation between text and image, there is a possibility that Beham would be inspired from the text. The elimination of the elderly woman must be contrasted to the urinating of the young woman. It is perhaps an expression to emphasize the ugliness of old people. See below my discussion. A summarized translation of the text is in Stewart's article. Stewart, *ibid.*, pp. 82–84.

13 Röver-Kann, *op. cit.* (note 11), p. 32.

14 For Men's Bath see Röver-Kann, *ibid.*, pp. 28–32, Jan-David Menzel, "Körper und Welt: Albrecht Dürers Männerbad in neuer Deutung," Thomas Schauerte, Jürgen Müller and Bartrum Kaschck (ed.), *Von der Freiheit der Bilder: Spott, Kritik und Subversion in der Kunst der Dürerzeit*, Petersberg, 2013, pp. 58–77.

15 In 1901 Gustav Pauli suggested already in his catalogue regarding Beham's borrowing the images of river gods and three goddesses from *Judgment of Paris* and men from *Climbers*. Gustav Pauli, *Hans Sebald Beham: Ein kritisches Verzeichnis seiner Kupferstiche, Radierungen und Holzschnitte*, Strasbourg, 1901, pp. 394–396, P1120.

16 Müller, *op. cit.* (note 8), pp. 317–318.

17 Menzel related this work to the thought of Hans Denk, spiritualist and a friend of Sebald Beham. Denk denied any external baptism and insisted on internal baptism, a contract with Christ through only pure conscience. Menzel, *op. cit.* (note 9), pp. 110–112. Because of his thought Denk was expelled from Nuremberg in 1525. In the same year Beham with his brother Barthel and Georg Pencz were also expelled, but they returned in 10 months. Though it is possible that Beham was influenced by Denk, I wonder if Beham's belief lasted long. In 1527 Beham worked on illustration for a prayerbook of Martin Luther, who accepted baptism as a sacrament.

18 Rapp and Döring-Mohr noted some similarities between Beham's work and Dürer's; two women frontal and sitting to the left and at the far left of the bathhouse and those in the middle and at the right of Dürer's *Woman's Bath*, and a man resting his arm on the rim in front of the fountain and the man in the foreground of Dürer's *Men's Bath*. Further, Döring-Mohr related a man at a ladder and a man with a sprinkler in front of the fountain to Dürer's Hercules. Rapp, *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 113–114; Döring-Mohr, *op. cit.* (note 5), p. 134.

19 Stewart and Menzel pointed out this curious bather, but did not pay any attention to the form of the figure. Stewart, *op. cit.* (note 7), p. 67; Menzel, *op. cit.* (note 9), p. 110.

20 Müller and Schauerte, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 174–175, no. 23A.

21 For *unequal couple*, see Alison G. Stewart, *Unequal Lovers: A Study of Unequal Couples in Northern Art*, New York, 1978. For *ugliness of old people* see Christa Grössinger, "The

Foolishness of Old Age,” Paul Hardwick (ed.), *The Playful Middle Ages*, Turnhout, 2010, pp. 61–80.

22 This poem was first written in 1548, and revised and first published in 1557. See Rapp, *op. cit.* (note 6), pp. 44–46. For Sach’s Text see Karl Goedecke and Julius Tittmann (ed.), *Deutsche Dichter des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts: Mit Einleitungen und Wörterklärungen*, vol. 4, rep. 1974 (1870), pp. 95–97, no.15.

23 Döring-Mohr, *op. cit.* (note 5), p. 136.

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