

Albrecht Dürer's *The Desperate Man*: Fleeting Images and the Creating Hand

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Introduction

This paper focuses on a mysterious print by Albrecht Dürer called *Studies of Five Figures* or *The Desperate Man* (fig. 1).¹ In the middle of the print, a man, naked except for his loincloth, sits with his right knee drawn up. He is twisting his muscular body and tearing his hair with both hands. Curiously, his face is hidden by the hair, and it is thus difficult to read his emotions in it. Other elements, however—the twisting body, especially, combined with the action of tearing his hair with both hands—indicate that this faceless man is suffering from some great anxiety or distress.

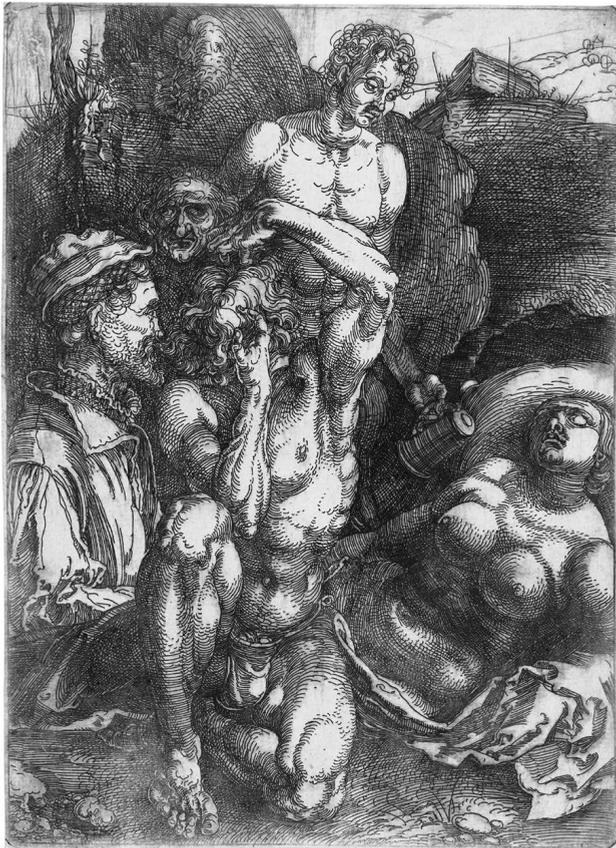


Fig. 1 Albrecht Dürer, *Studies of Five Figures* or *The Desperate Man*, ca. 1515–1516, etching, 18.6 x 13.3 cm, without monogram, no date, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

The distressed man squats down on a desolate field, with rugged rocks rising up behind him. Between the man and the rocks, a naked woman is sleeping with her head on a pillow while a naked young man with a beer tankard in his hand gazes at her. On the left side, the upper half of a bearded man in neat clothes and headgear and the face of a bald old man with gloomy eyes appear. A large cloth, like a bedsheet, is laid between these four figures and the man tearing his hair in the foreground. Neither monogram nor date is observed in the print. Based on an analysis of style and technique, however, scholars agree that the German painter and printmaker Albrecht Dürer made this print around 1515.²

Compared with the usual copperplate prints by Dürer, *The Desperate Man* looks a little softer and milder in form. This impression is the result of a new technique of making printing plates that was applied in this work. Dürer usually engraved his copperplate prints (see, for example, figs. 4, 12, and 20). In this technique, printing plates are carved directly with a burin. The plate of *The Desperate Man*, on the other hand, was made with the etching technique on iron plate. In etching, a plate is first coated with an acid-resistant ground; a needle or metal point is used to draw on the plate, removing some of this ground; and then the plate is finally put into acid. As the result, only the parts drawn on by the needle are corroded by the acid to become grooves.³ The differences in the processes of biting the composition into the printing plate create the differences in character of the printed lines observed between these techniques. In engraving, lines carved directly by a burin tend to be linear, mechanical, and strong. Motifs contoured and hatched by such lines then gain plastic and static values. In etching, on the other hand, lines drawn gently with a needle become curvy and irregular, which provide motifs with more spontaneous and dynamic forms that evoke the movement of the artist's drawing hand.

In Germany, engraving had been the primary technique used for printmaking since the middle of the fifteenth century, when copperplate prints flourished as an art form. As mentioned above, in engraving, copperplates are directly carved with a burin. This technique is quite difficult and takes several years to master. Engraving as a printed art form is thought to have been derived from the metal-carving technique used by goldsmiths. The great early masters of German printing, such as Master E.S., Israhel van Meckenem, Schongauer, and Dürer, had all been involved in the craft of goldsmithing in some way. Israhel van Meckenem identified himself as "*Goltsmit*" (goldsmith),⁴ while Schongauer and Dürer also came from goldsmith families and apprenticed as goldsmiths in their early days.⁵ In essence, training as goldsmiths since childhood enabled these artists to realize the excellent burin strokes seen in their engraved prints.

In contrast, the technique of etching does not require any special training in metal carving. In etching, the composition is bitten into the printing plate not through craftsmanship but with the help of a chemical reaction. A coated plate can be marked upon with a needle or metal point in a manner similar to that of drawing, which enables regular painters, even those lacking goldsmithing experience, to easily make printing plates. Rembrandt, the acclaimed seventeenth-century painter and printmaker, for example, executed his marvelous prints with this technique.

In making the printing plate for *Studies of Five Figures* or *The Desperate Man*, Dürer used the technique of etching—unusual for him. As the print's double name indicates, the theme or meaning of the print is highly controversial. It is sometimes even considered to merely be a work made on an experimental basis, gathering nudes without any definite program. In order to understand this work, it is necessary to investigate why Dürer adopted for this print not the established technique of engraving but the newly invented one of

etching. This is a particularly interesting choice, as he had already established his fame as an excellent engraver at the time of this print, while etching was still unfamiliar to him.

The Technique of Etching and Its Potential as an Artistic Expression

During the heyday of the art of printmaking in Germany in the middle of the fifteenth century, engraving was the mainstream technique. The first printed etching, encroaching on this practice, is thought to have been made at the beginning of the sixteenth century, probably by Daniel Hopfer in Augsburg. While engraving as a printed art stems from the metal carving of goldsmiths, the practice of creating printing plates with etching is thought to have developed together with the technique of decoratively eroding iron armor. Augsburg was the center of Germany's armoring industry, which may partly explain why the first printed etching was made in this city. Indeed, iron or steel, rather than copper, plates were used for the earliest German etchings, including Dürer's works.⁶

Interestingly enough, the first etching by Daniel Hopfer, *The Man of Sorrows* (fig. 2), shows a strong linear composition similar to that of contemporary engravings. In this print, etched lines imitate those made via engraving, and it contrasts strikingly with works by later generations, such as those of Rembrandt, who clearly recognized the virtues of etching as a pictorial medium, that is, the ability to reproduce drawing-like images in large quantities.



Fig. 2 Daniel Hopfer, *The Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1500, etching, 21.8 x 15.1 cm, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich.



Fig. 3 Albrecht Dürer, *The Man of Sorrows*, 1515, etching, 11.2 x 6.7 cm, British Museum, London.



Fig. 4 Albrecht Dürer, *The Man of Sorrows*, 1509, engraving, 11.9 x 7.5 cm, British Museum, London.

Who, then, was the first printmaker to notice the potential inherent in etching lines? Art historians consider this visionary to be Dürer,⁷ and I agree with them. In the middle of the 1510s, Dürer concentrated on this new technique and produced six etchings: *The Man of Sorrows*, which is not monogrammed but is dated 1515; *The Agony in the Garden*, monogrammed and dated 1515; *Sudarium Spread Out by an Angel* and *The Abduction of Proserpine*, both monogrammed and dated 1516; *Landscape with a Cannon*, monogrammed and dated 1518; and *Studies of Five Figures* or *The Desperate Man*, which is without either monogram or date.⁸

Among these six etchings, *The Man of Sorrows* (fig. 3) is considered to be the earliest one, likely made on an experimental basis, because of its simplicity of line and composition.⁹ Comparing it with the engraved *Man of Sorrows* of the same size (fig. 4), we notice that the etched print shows curvier, more irregular lines, which are clearly different from those of the engraving. The etched lines are somewhat similar to those of the pen drawings Dürer made to record his ideas swiftly on paper (fig. 5).

The other five etchings by Dürer show more complicated compositions that would require some elaboration in advance. In the case of engraving a printing plate, Dürer usually determined the composition and details in advance via drawings and executed a model drawing of considerable perfection before engraving the plate. The same process was adopted in his etchings. The preparatory drawings of *The Agony in the Garden* and *The Abduction of Proserpine* show almost the same composition as the printed versions



Fig. 5 Albrecht Dürer, *Six Nudes*, 1515, pen and ink on paper, 27.1 x 21.2 cm, Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main.

(figs. 6–9). Contours and hatching lines are laid out in the preparatory drawings and then transferred quite exactly onto the printing plates. Intriguingly, each line becomes more powerful and lively through this procedure. The drawing-like soft lines are bitten increasingly irregularly, and therefore become more lively, through chemical corrosion. Consequently, branches in Gethsemane bending in the wind, Proserpine's frightened face, and Pluto's gaze burning with dark desire are each represented in a more dramatic tone in the prints. As a result, the scene of agony becomes more pathetic, while the scene of abduction becomes fiercer, in the etched versions.

Dürer clearly noticed that lines created by etching were suitable for representing passionate scenes full of emotion and movement. In the etched *Sudarium Spread Out by an Angel* (fig. 10), Sudarium flutters in the strong wind in the sky and displays its reverse—the unique representation of the holy cloth never seen in his engravings. In addition, David Landau and Peter Parshall pointed out that Dürer successfully demonstrated in his *Landscape with a Cannon* that the organic lines of etching are particularly suited to minute depictions of natural features. Inspired by Dürer's work, Altdorfer and other German artists of later generations adopted the technique of etching into their landscape prints.¹⁰

Dürer, an expert engraver, did not have to use the new technique of etching as a substitute for the engraving technique, as did Daniel Hopfer in his first etching.¹¹ Instead, he ventured to pursue new artistic expressions that only etching lines could realize. In his attempt, the following three tendencies are observed:

1. However spontaneous his etching lines seem to be, Dürer elaborated an idea into a definite composition with details in preparatory drawings before he etched printing plates.



Fig. 6 Albrecht Dürer, *Preparatory Drawing for The Agony in the Garden*, 1515, pen and ink on paper, 29.6 x 22.1 cm, Albertina, Vienna.



Fig. 7 Albrecht Dürer, *The Agony in the Garden*, 1515, etching, 22.2 x 15.8 cm, British Museum.



Fig. 8 Albrecht Dürer, *Preparatory Drawing for The Abduction of Proserpine*, ca. 1516, pen and ink on paper, 25.1 x 20.3 cm, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.



Fig. 9 Albrecht Dürer, *The Abduction of Proserpine*, 1516, etching, 30.7 x 21.2 cm, British Museum, London.



Fig. 10 Albrecht Dürer, *Sudarium Spread Out by an Angel*, 1516, etching, 18.5 x 13.6 cm, British Museum, London.

2. Dürer noticed that the technique of etching can create curvy, irregular, lively lines similar to those of a drawing and that the lines become more irregular and vibrating through the chemical biting process.
3. Dürer considered the lines and forms created by etching to be suitable for representing passionate scenes full of emotion and movement or a landscape with minute natural features, and he intentionally chose the themes appropriate to these virtues of etching as a pictorial medium.

Keeping these points in mind, I return to *The Desperate Man*.

Three Men of Three Ages and Their Seductress

The Desperate Man (fig. 1) measures 18.6 cm high by 13.3 cm wide, which is almost as large as the etched *Sudarium Spread Out by an Angel*. Judging from the monogram and date added in the proper manner to the latter work, it is certain that Dürer published and sold the *Sudarium* as a finished artwork. *The Desperate Man*, on the other hand, has neither monogram nor date.¹² Its subject is not easy to understand, whereas the other five etchings by Dürer show usual Christian or mythological themes or current affairs. As mentioned above, *The Desperate Man* is sometimes regarded merely as a study of nudes without any definite program or coherent meaning. Adam Bartsch's proposal of the neutral title *Cinq études de figures* or *Studies of Five Figures* has been accepted until now.¹³ In fact, preparatory drawings that would demonstrate Dürer's struggle to compose the complicated piece do not exist. Judging from the work's size and elaborate composition, however, I still assert

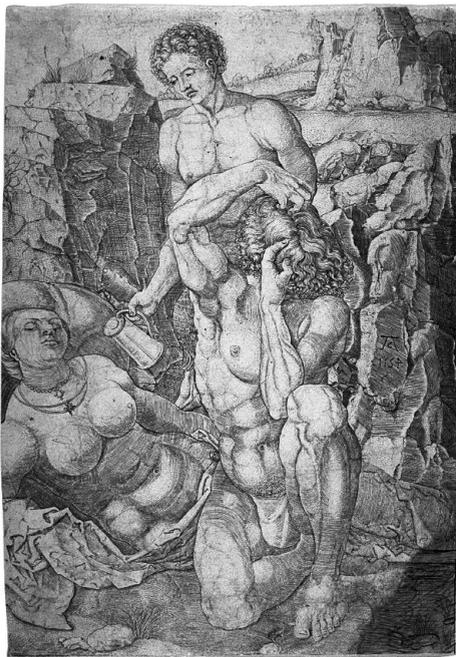


Fig. 11 Allaert Claesz, *Two Naked Men and a Sleeping Woman*, 1554, engraving, 18.8 x 13.1 cm, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, Legion of Honor Museum, San Francisco.



Fig. 12 Albrecht Dürer, *Melencolia I*, 1514, engraving, 23.9 x 18.5 cm, British Museum, London.

that Dürer made this print as an artwork with a definite program or a coherent meaning, even though he might not be satisfied with the finished work and abandon full-scale sale of it. An engraved copy made by Allaert Claesz in 1554 testifies that Dürer's etching circulated outside of his workshop (fig. 11).¹⁴ Dürer's program seemed too difficult for the copyist to understand. Claesz deleted the upper half of the well-dressed man and the eerie face of the old man, while adding charming necklaces to the woman. In consequence, the copied version gained a clear plot in which two men react to the seduction of an attractive woman respectively—the one stares at her with passionate eyes, while the other tries to resist the seduction while tearing his hair.

Art historians who considered the etching to be a finished artwork have tried to assimilate all five figures into a coherent meaning. Erwin Panofsky focused on the fact that this etching was created in the year after the famous, engraved *Melencolia I* (fig. 12) and interpreted the etching based on the theory of the four humors and melancholy. According to him, the work represents the four types of insanity caused by melancholy. The desperate man tearing his hair suffers from choleric melancholy, while the haggard, mask-like face emerging weirdly from the dark background belongs to the melancholy of the black choler. The youth, giddy with delight over his drink and the sight of a nude woman, shows the sanguine type of melancholy, and the sleeping nude herself is the phlegmatic melancholic. The clothed man on the left represents a normal, healthy individual.¹⁵

Panofsky's stimulating interpretation is, however, unacceptable in that it places the man tearing his hair in the same category as the other four figures. The fact that he is the only one depicted in full length with a substantial body should not be ignored. Fully

formed, he kneels down steadily on the ground. The other four figures are only depicted as parts of bodies, floating in the vague space separated by the bedsheet-like cloth from the substantial dimension where the full-bodied man squats down. Ralf Leopold von Retberg, a contemporary of Gustav Courbet who painted sensational self-portraits such as *Le Désespéré* and *Le Fou de peur* (1844–1845, oil on canvas, 45 x 54 cm, private collection; ca. 1848, oil on paper pasted on canvas, 60.5 x 50.5 cm, National Museum for Art and Architecture, Oslo), paid attention to the man with the full body and entitled this etching *Der Verzweifelnde* based on his impressive gesture.¹⁶ Influenced by the psychoanalysis theory, Otto Schneid and Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub interpreted the etching as a depiction of a dream that Dürer actually dreamt, in other words, an unconscious vision of the artist.¹⁷ Unexpectedly, my interpretation is similar to these romantic or psychoanalytical ones, but I minutely examine each depiction of the etching in the art historical context of the early sixteenth century.

First of all, the difference in the ages of the three male figures in the background is crucial for deciphering the print. The drunken man with the beer tankard, who is beardless and has a full head of hair, is clearly a youth. The strange face appearing from the dark background is that of an old man, as his bald head indicates. The neatly clothed man is modeled after a sketch-like portrait drawing of Dürer's brother Endres at the age of 30 (fig. 13). In the etching, a heavy beard, a common symbol of manhood, is added to Endres' beardless face, which discloses Dürer's intention to depict this clothed figure as a man in the prime of life. Thus, the three male figures behind the desperate man represent adolescence, manhood, and senescence, respectively, and the Three Ages of Man collectively.

The Three Ages of Man is a popular theme in sixteenth-century European painting. In Italian works, the Three Ages of Man tend to be represented as male figures. In Titian's



Fig. 13 Albrecht Dürer, *Endres Dürer in Profile*, 1514, pen and ink on paper, 27.8 x 21.7 cm, Albertina, Vienna.

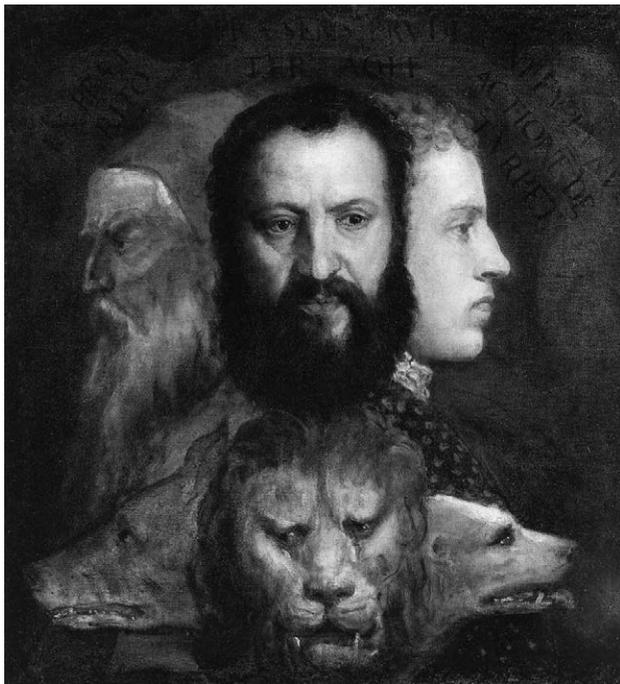


Fig. 14 Titian and workshop, *Allegory of Prudence*, oil on canvas, 75.5 x 68.4 cm, 1550s, National Gallery, London.



Fig. 15 Hans Baldung, *Three Ages of Man*, 1539, oil on panel, 151 x 61 cm, Museo del Prado, Madrid.

work (fig. 14), for example, the Three Ages of Man are connected to the prudence that human beings learn over time and hand down to younger generations. The Latin inscription added to the upper part of the painting says “*ex praeterito praesens prudenter agit ni futur actione deturpet*” (the present does well to profit from the past lest future conduct go astray).¹⁸ Here, aging is understood in a positive way.

In contrast to Titian, the German painter Hans Baldung represented the theme with three female nudes standing in the wilderness with Death, with something of a connotation of Vanitas (fig. 15). The painter unmercifully depicts how female bodies change through aging. Baldung and Dürer share a similar approach to the theme of the Three Ages of Man in that they connect aging with subtle sexual issues. Baldung depicted the maturation and deterioration of the female body through the curious and sardonic gaze of a man, while Dürer boldly focused on male sexual desire itself, declining as time goes by but everlasting. In his etching, the youth never conceals his desire for the voluptuous body of the naked woman. Adding satyr’s horns and legs, Dürer demonstrates that this deeply drunken youth has already lost his self-restraint and succumbed to desire.¹⁹ Upon reaching manhood, man learns to control himself and behave properly, as the bearded, well-dressed man indicates. In contrast to the drawing upon which the bearded man is based, however, the face in the etching becomes a perfect profile and the man’s gaze remains fixed on the naked woman. Through this ambivalent attitude, Dürer expresses that even a sophisticated man in the prime of life cannot abandon his natural interest in the female body. It is difficult to guess what so deeply depresses the old man with no corporeal body. It might well be

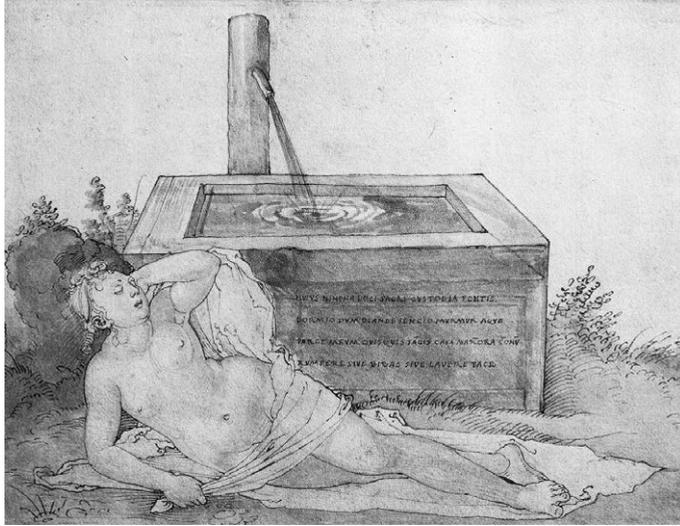


Fig. 16 Albrecht Dürer, *Sleeping Nymph of the Fountain*, 1514, pen, brush and watercolor on paper, 21.6 x 31.3 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

an obdurate attachment to what had been seducing him since his youth, even when he becomes aged and his body almost decays. The seductress is derived from the antique imagery of the Sleeping Nymph of the Fountain, which had already been known by the 1510s among German artists (fig. 16).²⁰ In the etching, the mythological nymph changed into a worldly woman, stripping to the waist and sleeping like a log with a pillow, a traditional symbol of lust.

The Desperate Man and Fleeting Images in His Thought

The last figure to be examined is the protagonist of the etching, that is, the man with a substantial, full body in the foreground. He has a good build, is wearing only his underpants, and has no face. The gesture of sitting with one knee drawn up, twisting the body, and tearing the hair with one's hands is a unique invention of Dürer, for which no exact visual source is found in the pictorial tradition. In *Melencolia I*, Dürer adopted the traditional pose of agony and meditation of resting the chin on a hand in the personification of Melancholy and generated an ingenious image of the creative melancholy of the artist. In *The Desperate Man*, in contrast, he invented a new gesture to represent the traditional theme of the Three Ages of Man in a unique way. The gesture of tearing the hair is found among the condemned in the Last Judgment (fig. 17). This pose has also been adopted by the personification of Envy. These pictorial traditions assure us that our first impression is correct: The man is so depressed as to squat down, twist his body, and tear his hair. What thought is he then suffering from?

To answer this question, I inquire how artists in the premodern era represented a thinking person and what is thought by him/her in a picture. A modern cartoonist would do this quite easily by using a pictorial device of speech or thought bubbles. As to the premodern era, the pictorial convention of representing a dreamer and his/her dream gives us a clue. Figures in dream were usually depicted as parts of bodies and separated



Fig. 17 Master of the Glorification of Marry, *The Last Judgement*, detail, late fifteenth century, Fondation Rau pour le Tiers-Monde, Zurich.



Fig. 18 Maso di Banco, *St. Peter and St. Paul Appear to Emperor Constantine in a Dream*, early fourteenth century, fresco, Bardi di Vernio Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence.



Fig. 19 Michelangelo, *The Dream*, ca. 1533, black chalk on laid paper, 27.8 cm x 39.8 cm, Courtauld Institute Gallery, London.

by clouds from the dreamer and the real world to which he/she belongs (fig. 18). *The Dream* by Michelangelo is the most famous example of the representation of dream in the Renaissance (fig. 19). In the foreground, a young man, inspired by a divine creature, is awaking from his dream; behind him, figures which appear in his dream are depicted as

parts of bodies and in various scales, floating in a cloud. Michelangelo masterly drew the dreamer and the contents of his dream in different drawing modes, namely, the former in definite and firm lines and the latter in vague and soft lines.²¹ Some figures in the latter's category have only a face depicted solely by outline and without shading, the successful depiction which indicates they are not of a substantial existence but a metaphysical one.²²

Referring to the pictorial convention of the dream in the premodern era, I interpret the etching of Dürer. The three male figures of three ages and the female nude seducing them are depicted as parts of bodies in various scales. They are separated from the man with the substantial body by the bedsheet-like cloth which substitutes for a cloud. By quoting the pictorial code of the dream, Dürer intended to represent these figures as the components of the thought which the faceless man in the foreground conceives and is suffering from. The desolate, rocky landscape indicates that his anxiety is quite serious.

Thus, the novel character of the etching is that the male figures of the three ages and the seductress are represented as unsubstantial experiences belonging to the metaphysical level. Namely, they are meant to be images that ebb and flow ceaselessly in the thoughts of the man tearing his hair. The man is suffering from the idea that sexual desire would never release him throughout his life, all the way to senescence. This obsession is depicted via the floating fragments of figures behind him, which make successful use of the vibrant, lively, and irregular lines of etching, evoking the movement of the artist's hand as it creates the images on display.

Dürer had once tried to represent a dreamer and his dream with the technique of engraving. In the engraved *The Temptation of the Idler* or *The Dream of the Doctor* (fig. 20),



Fig. 20 Dürer, *The Temptation of the Idler* or *The Dream of the Doctor*, ca. 1498, engraving, 18.8 x 11.9 cm, British Museum, London.

the linear and mechanical lines of engraving shaped the figures plastically and statically without using the pictorial code of the dream. As a result, it is difficult for the beholder to recognize Venus as an unsubstantial figure who appears in the dream of the sleeping man and seduces him. Equipped with the new technique of etching, Dürer again grappled with the task of depicting a substantial existence and a metaphysical one in *The Desperate Man*. Judging from the fact that Dürer did not add his monogram and date to the finished work, the result might not satisfy him. The work is, however, a rare example of the attempt in premodern times to depict fleeting images of the mind with the dynamic lines of etching, which evokes the creating hand of the artist.

Notes

1 Albrecht Dürer, *Studies of Five Figures* or *The Desperate Man*, etching, 18.6 x 13.3 cm, without monogram, no date (ca. 1515–1516). For basic information about the print, see Walter Strauss (ed.), *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 10 (formerly vol. 7): Sixteenth Century German Artists, Albrecht Dürer, New York, 1980, pp. 155–156, cat. no. B. 70 (84); Rainer Schoch, “Studienblatt mit fünf Figuren (Der Verzweifelnde),” Rainer Schoch *et al.* (ed.), *Albrecht Dürer: Das druckgraphische Werk*, vol. 1: Kupferstiche, Eisenradierungen und Kaltnadelblätter, Munich, 2001, pp. 198–200, cat. no. 79.

2 *Ibid.* Hans Jelinek carefully examined the etching and recognized the numerals of “1514” on the right foot of the man in the foreground. Hans Jelinek, “Dürer’s Etching *The Desperate Man*: Discovery of a Date and Some Thoughts about an Old Controversy,” *Print Review*, 4, 1975, pp. 4–13. His assertion is, however, not accepted by scholars. High-resolution digital images enable close observation of the etching. These show that the curve lines representing the wrinkles coincidentally shape the digits of “151,” while the alleged digit of “4” cannot be deciphered as such when compared to other examples of this number in Dürer’s handwriting.

3 As to the techniques of engraving and etching in general, see Amy Namowitz Worthen, “Engraving” and M.B. Cohn, “Etching,” in *Grove Art Online* (http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T026291?q=engraving&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit; http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/search_results?q=etching&search=quick&button_search.x=0&button_search.y=0. Access: 01/05/2017).

4 Israhel van Meckenem signed “*Israhel Van Meckenem Goltsmit*” in his engraved *Head of an Oriental*. Regarding his relation to goldsmithing, see Achim Riether, “Israhel van Meckenem, Kupferstecher zu Bocholt,” Asuka Nakada *et al.* (ed.), exh. cat. *Sacred and Secular: Israhel van Meckenem and Early German Engraving*, The National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 2016, pp. 12–36 (in Japanese, translated by Noriko Chinono), 231–249 (in German), esp. pp. 20–22, 236–237.

5 Albrecht Dürer, “Familienchronik,” Hans Rupprich (ed.), *Dürer: Schriftlicher Nachlass*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1956, pp. 27–34, esp. pp. 30–31; Johann Michael Fritz, “Martin Schongauer und die Goldschmiede,” Albert Châtelet (ed.), *Le beau Martin: Études; Actes du colloque organisé par le Musée d’Unterlinden à Colmar les 30 septembre, 1er et 2 octobre 1991*, Colmar, 1992, pp. 175–182.

6 David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550*, New Haven and London, 1994, pp. 323–332, esp. pp. 323–324.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 327–329; Rainer Schoch, “Albertvs Dvrer Noricvs Faciebat: Bemerkungen zur Rolle der Druckgraphik im Werk Albrecht Dürers,” Schoch *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 9–23, esp. pp. 18–19.

8 Albrecht Dürer, *The Man of Sorrows*, etching, without monogram, dated 1515; *The Agony in the Garden*, etching, monogrammed and dated 1515; *Sudarium Spread Out by an Angel*, etching, monogrammed and dated 1516; *The Abduction of Proserpine*, etching, monogrammed and dated 1516; *Landscape with a Cannon*, etching, monogrammed and dated 1518. Schoch *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 197–198, 200–202, 205–208, 210–212, cat. nos. 78, 80, 81–83, 85.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 197; Landau and Parshall, *op. cit.* (note 6), p. 328.

10 *Ibid.*, pp. 329, 342–347.

11 Afterwards, Daniel Hopfer developed a unique decorative etching style by combining various techniques of line-work, stippling, dotting, and scratching. *Ibid.*, pp. 323–327.

12 A sheet in the British Museum (inv. no. E. 4.171) shows Dürer's monogram on the rock above the sleeping woman. The difference between the ink tone of the monogram and that of the printed images clearly shows that the monogram was written later by another hand.

13 Adam Barsch, *Le peintre-graveur*, vol. 7, 1808, no. 70. Schoch, adopting this neutral title, maintained that an immanent logic determines the combination of figures: male and female, clothed and nude, etc. Schoch *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 198–200. Peter Parshall regarded the etching as a completed but spatially and iconographically incoherent image. Peter Parshall, "Graphic Knowledge: Albrecht Dürer and the Imagination," *The Art Bulletin*, 95:3, pp. 393–410, esp. pp. 400–401.

14 According to Parshall, watermark evidence suggests that the plate was printed and distributed in significant numbers only after Dürer's death, although impressions are known before and after the appearance of rust damage. *Ibid.*, p. 409, note 34. Schoch thought that Allaert's engraving indicates that Dürer printed the plate in small numbers during his lifetime, because it is the only copy which exists. Schoch *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 1), pp. 199–200.

15 Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, 2 vols., 2nd edition, London, 1945, vol. 1, pp. 194–195.

16 Ralf Leopold von Retberg, *Dürers Kupferstiche und Holzschnitte: Ein kiritsches Verzeichnis*, Munich, 1871, pp. 87–88, cat. no. 225. Dr. Nicole R. Myers and Dr. Mark Evans kindly brought my attention to Courbet's paintings.

17 Otto Schneid, "Traumdarstellung bei Dürer," *Belvedere*, 8, 1929, pp. 334–337; Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, "Albrecht Dürer's Aberglaube," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 7, 1940, pp. 167–196, esp. pp. 171–176. It is well-known that Dürer depicted a dream he actually dreamed in a watercolor drawing (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. 5127-F).

18 Nicholas Penny, "Allegory of Prudence," David Jaffé (ed.), exh. cat. *Titian*, National Gallery, London, 2003, pp. 160–161, cat. no. 34.

19 Retberg keenly pointed out that the youth has little horns on his forehead. Retberg, *op. cit.* (note 16), p. 88.

20 The similarity between the sleeping woman in the etching and Dürer's watercolor *Sleeping Nymph of the Fountain* is pointed out in Schoch *et al.*, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 198. As to the antique imagery of the Sleeping Nymph of the Fountain, see Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Olitsky Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources*, 2nd edition, London, 2010, pp. 107–108, no. 62, figs. 62–62a. Regarding its spread among German artists, see Mark Evans, "Die Italiener, sonst so ruhmstüchtig, bieten Dir die Hand: Lucas Cranach und die Kunst des Humanismus," Bodo Brinkmann (ed.), exh. cat. *Cranach der Ältere*, Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main and Royal Academy of Arts, London, 2008, pp. 49–61, esp. pp. 56–57; Bodo Brinkmann, "Liegende Quellnymphe,"

“Ruhende Quellnymphe,” *ibid.*, pp. 330–333, cat. nos. 102–103.

21 As to the interpretation of Michelangelo’s *Dream*, see Maria Ruvoldt, “Michelangelo’s *Dream*,” *The Art Bulletin*, 85:1, 2003, pp. 86–113, esp. pp. 99–100.

22 Regarding the pictorial convention of representing dreams, visions, and thought in the middle ages, see Sixten Ringbom, “Some Pictorial Conventions for the Recounting of Thoughts and Experiences in Late Medieval Art,” Flemming G. Andresen *et al.* (ed.), *Medieval Iconography and Narrative: A Symposium*, Odense, 1980, pp. 38–69. Ringbom classifies the pictorial devices of depicting the contents of speech, dream, vision, and thought in medieval book illumination into the four categories: *contiguity*, *juxtaposition*, *differentiation*, and *appendage*. The above-mentioned depictions of dreams/thoughts in the premodern era including Michelangelo’s *Dream* and Dürer’s *The Desperate Man* are thought to stem from the category of *differentiation*.

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Fig. 1 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), fig. 2 (David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print 1470–1550*, New Haven and London, 1994, p. 324, fig. 347), figs. 3–4, 7, 9–10, 12, 20 (©The Trustees of the British Museum), figs. 5–6, 8, 13, 16 (Friedrich Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers*, vol. 3: 1510–1520, Berlin, 1938, figs. 557, 585, 663, 666, 669), fig. 11 (Legion of Honor Museum, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts), fig. 14 (David Jaffé (ed.), exh. cat. *Titian*, National Gallery, London, 2003, p. 161), fig. 15 (Gert von der Osten, *Hans Baldung Grien: Gemälde und Dokumente*, Berlin, 1983, pl. 77), fig. 17 (Frank Günter Zehnder (ed.), exh. cat. *Stefan Lochner Meister zu Köln: Herkunft, Werke, Wirkung*, Cologne, 1993, p. 381), fig. 18 (photo: Kayo Hirakawa), fig. 19 (Charles de Tolnay, *Michelangelo*, vol. 5, Princeton, 1971, pl. 131.).