

# REMBRANDT'S CHRISTMAS

Prints by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669)

With one exception, the prints by Rembrandt in this exhibition illustrate the subject of Christ's Nativity and Childhood, from the angel appearing to the shepherds in the fields, to the twelve-year old Christ's meeting with the elders in the temple. The exception appears at the end, with the artist's only print depicting contemporary seasonal festivities: carol singers on Twelfth Night celebrating the visit of the three Magi to the stable.

Almost all the Biblical subjects narrate the Christmas story; the prints of Christ's later childhood have been added only where they seem to have formed part of a series with the Christmas prints. These subjects had been treated many times in Northern European prints, sometimes as part of a complete series of a more-or-less established set of episodes depicting Christ's life. Rembrandt had a keen interest in earlier prints; indeed he collected them himself. So it is no surprise to find the influence of earlier artists, not only on specific compositions, but also in the idea of creating sets. We find therefore that Rembrandt must have had prints by Andrea Mantegna, Federico Barocci and Lucas van Leyden in mind, and probably to hand, when he etched his plates of *The Virgin and Child with the cat and snake* (nos. 38-9), *Virgin and Child in the clouds* (nos. 24-5), and *The Rest on the Flight* (no. 23).

Judging from several occasions when Rembrandt seems to have started to etch groups of plates of the Christmas story of uniform size, he was planning to emulate the production of earlier sets narrating episodes from Christ's life, such as those by Albrecht Dürer and Lucas van Leyden, even though these more typically concentrated on the end rather than the beginning of Christ's life. Rembrandt himself started a series in 1654 concentrating on Christ's Passion, but including, as was often the case, a prefatory scene illustrating the Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple (nos.31-2). In the same year he embarked on a uniform series of smaller plates, finishing five (nos. 33-44), and showing Rembrandt at the height of his powers, typically making something fresh and personal with an informal directness of style and method that



seems to break with tradition, even when he had specific models in mind. This was partly achieved by paying direct attention to narrative texts of revelatory events but managing to present them as acute observations of a young family going about their everyday life.

Rembrandt turned to Christmas related subjects for printmaking throughout most of his working life. This exhibition starts with one of his very earliest prints, dating from around 1626 (no.11), and continues

with a number of very small prints made in the early 1630s, which themselves may have been conceived as a sort of informal series (nos. 12, 15-16, 26, 28). These beautiful little prints manage to encompass detailed references to the Biblical texts. They show Rembrandt's delicacy of touch and his ability to work on a miniature scale, but they hardly prepare us for the drama and originality of what was to come.

It is with the prints of the 1640s and 50s that Rembrandt left his mark as one of the most innovator printmaking of all time, and probably the most expressive. The range of expression stemmed from the way he extended the language of printmaking, experimenting with his techniques and materials. Not satisfied with the basic elements of black etched lines and white paper, he sought to increase the tonal range available by using various oriental papers, the differing tones of which modified the intensity of his highlights and cast a glow over the mood of the print. Complementing this was Rembrandt's use of acid applied (sometimes with a brush) directly to the plate, creating pits in the surface which trapped specks of ink that created the effect of a textured mid tone. Another way of creating mid-tone was to leave a film of ink on the surface of the plate between the lines, only wiping away the areas of highlight, with the result that impressions could vary from one to another. As with the use of paper, Rembrandt was going beyond the creative input of most printmakers by continuing to evolve the image after the plate was created: printing and materials became extra creative tools. He also used the medium of drypoint in an unprecedented way. Drypoint is very delicate and the

The Fitzwilliam Museum

furry deposits of ink that it traps are only evident in the earliest impressions; but Rembrandt evidently thought it was worth it as the velvet density of black that drypoint burr spread on the plate helped him escape the traditional rigidity of hatched lines. With etching Rembrandt could create prints that approached the informality of sketches; combining etching with drypoint and directly bitten acid and printing with films of tone on oriental paper, he could create nocturnes that rivalled any in the history of art and that could compete with the new technique of mezzotint which appeared in the 1640s (see no. 48).

Nocturnes play a large part in this exhibition, for three main reasons. Firstly, the Nativity narrative included a sequence of dramatic night-time events: the angel appearing to the shepherds, the shepherds visiting the stable, and the Holy Family fleeing by night to Egypt. The first wall of the exhibition is almost entirely taken up with this nocturnal sequence. Secondly, as an artist Rembrandt was increasingly interested in organising his compositions in terms of light and dark, so that exterior scenes lit by moonlight or lamplight, and interior scenes lit by lamps or candles were grist to his mill. Again, the first wall of the exhibition shows him subsuming narrative detail to the point where we barely glimpse the main protagonists as the drama is played out in terms of brief flashes of light in the darkness. Thirdly, there was a fashion for so-called 'Night prints' or 'black prints' among collectors. They compiled whole albums of such works by Rembrandt and his predecessors Hendrik Goudt and Jan van de Velde; examples of these older artists' prints that clearly influenced Rembrandt are included in the exhibition to show how they paved the way (nos. 47, 49).

Their example served Rembrandt not only artistically but also commercially. His development in his print of the 1640s of a more flexible and expressive way of creating prints of darkness was no doubt also influenced by the knowledge that they held a particular appeal as a category of print for collectors. The way that Rembrandt produced his prints show him catering for sophisticated collectors who were not presumably primarily concerned with being taught the Biblical narrative, but who would be keen to get hold of the latest 'night print' as much as they might seek out an unfinished proof of the print, or a proof on special paper, or be prepared to buy a whole sequence of different states printed as Rembrandt made a succession of minor adjustments to the same plate.

But the great success of Rembrandt's Christmas prints comes from something larger than these combined artistic and commercial factors. When applied to this subject matter by Rembrandt, the nocturne becomes more than just a poetic mood setting, or a means of patterning the night with swinging lamplight, or even a way of focussing on the faces in an intimate family drama. It becomes a way of telling the Christmas story by metaphysics: the light illuminating the darkness is a metaphor announcing Christ's coming to save the world from sin. So that even in the print that rounds off the exhibition, where

we are not in the Biblical Holy Land, but on the streets of contemporary Amsterdam (no. 47), the star-shaped lamp that lights the revellers on the darkest of nights stands for the star that showed the Magi the way to the stable, but on another level it reveals the meaning of what they found there.

### The Fitzwilliam Museum's collection

The Fitzwilliam Museum's collection of Rembrandt's prints came from two major sources. The first was the album compiled by the founder of the Museum, Richard, 7th Viscount Fitzwilliam (1745-1816), between about 1794 and 1804. In these years several of the great 18th-century Rembrandt collections came on the London market, and Fitzwilliam bought extensively, often through the assiduous and respected dealer Thomas Philipe (the person responsible for putting the British Museum's collection in order). The scholarly attention to cataloguing and the careful description of states advocated by Philipe in his preface to the sale of John Barnard's Rembrandt collection in 1798, was exactly the model followed by Fitzwilliam in his album. He pasted variant states and impressions on opposite pages, and, as he noted on the title page, everything was *Arranged according to Gersaint*, the first catalogue of Rembrandt's prints published in 1751. Gersaint's numbers were written above the prints (this was later altered to a simple sequential numbering). To gain some idea of the high reputation of this collection among Fitzwilliam's contemporaries, we can turn to Thomas Dibdin's description of the Reverend Cracherode's famous Rembrandt collection (bequeathed to the British Museum in 1799): 'a collection, which I believe was second to none, including even that of the late Viscount Fitzwilliam' (*A Biographical Decameron*, 1817).

The Fitzwilliam's Rembrandt collection was considerably enhanced by the transfer to the Museum in 1876 of the albums of prints in the care of Cambridge University Library. Four of the albums contained Rembrandts, although just two of them held the major part of the collection. Different impressions of the same prints were divided between albums, so although only one of the albums survives, it is pretty certain that they came to the Library from more than one Rembrandt collection. One missing album in particular (AD.12.39) was full of beautiful rare impressions, generally in exceptional condition, and with, so far, only two collectors' marks revealed during conservation, both from the seventeenth century: the dealer Pierre Mariette<sup>1</sup> (dated 1667) and the painter Prosper Henry Lankrink<sup>2</sup> (1628-1692), whose prints were sold in London in 1693-4. This album may therefore have come with the library of Bishop John Moore (1646-1714), which was presented to the University by George I in 1715. It was this or another of the University Library albums that was described by the Rembrandt scholar Charles Middleton in 1878, as 'a mysterious folio, seventeenth-century in appearance, in which was a somewhat miscellaneous collection of

Rembrandt's etchings'. The unblemished condition of almost all of the Library prints suggests that they did not pass from collection to collection in the 18th century, but there is evidence that a number of impressions, probably acquired loose, were added to album AD.12.38 by a Library assistant in the years between 1751 and 1770.

In 1878, the Fitzwilliam Museum Syndicate was unable to resist the temptation of raising money by selling at auction 300 so-called 'duplicate' University Library Rembrandts (a policy that would not be sanctioned today). This was done with some care, the impressions being chosen by a panel of experts, but the process of determining duplicate Rembrandts is fraught with difficulty, and it seems that in some cases they may have erred, at least in the retrospective light of modern scholarship. In reference to the prints in this exhibition, new knowledge about watermarks show that the impression of *Christ seated disputing with the elders* on European paper that was kept (no. 41) came from the eighteenth-century edition published by Pierre-François Basan (1723-97) in 1789, a mere five years before Fitzwilliam started compiling his album; one wonders what the two Library impressions that they sold were like (one of them being described in the sale catalogue as 'fine impression, with burr.'). but at least they kept the wonderful Library impression on oriental paper (no. 40). In any case, more than enough of the Library impressions remain to offer the possibility of studying an extraordinary range of variant impressions of the same print, even in the same state. As a study collection it is probably without equal.

The display in this exhibition of comparative impressions from the same plate gives a glimpse not only of the different stages in etching the plate, but of the different results possible with the manipulation of printing effects, the use of different papers, and the salutary effects of wear that diminish the effect of a print from a later printing. The present programme of conservation is allowing new opportunities to study more precisely the paper that Rembrandt used.

### Rembrandt's paper

Before the late 1640s Rembrandt mainly used European papers from Swiss and south German sources.<sup>3</sup> He sometimes tried coarser or greyer papers for the sake of their different colours and textures. By around 1650 he used French papers for standard impressions of new plates and for reprints of plates made some years earlier. He had already experimented with various warm-coloured oriental papers. Some at least of these were probably from cargo brought back to Amsterdam from Japan by the Dutch East India Company in the 1640s; two official shipments have been identified for 1643-1644 but there were very probably others.<sup>4</sup> The majority of the oriental papers that appear in this exhibition are medium-weight and warm-toned, probably Japanese *torinoko* paper made of *gampi* fibre. Sometimes two sheets of this paper were laminated back to back at the time of manufacture to

create a thicker paper (as in no. 21). Two prints in this exhibition (nos. 7 and 46) are on extremely thin white papers with close-knit chainlines (20mm apart) of a type that recent studies have shown to contain a mixture of bamboo and *mitsumata* fibres, which means that they are very similar to those used in China for calligraphy but were probably made in Japan in conscious Chinese-style (*gasenshi*).<sup>5</sup>

In the late 1640s Rembrandt also started printing on vellum (calfskin) and on European papers that had been toned with a coloured wash (see no. 6), the latter probably inspired by the colours of vellum and oriental papers. Oriental paper no doubt attracted him for its distinct, and very beautiful, printing qualities, which allowed a greater potential variety of printing effects, and a greater number of variants for collectors to buy. In 1699 Roger de Piles noted that impressions on oriental papers were dearly sought by collectors, and this must already have been true during Rembrandt's lifetime. Warm-coloured thick oriental paper was also attractive because of its similarity of colour and finish to vellum (or parchment), which was associated with special luxury impressions; although there are no examples within the group of prints in this exhibition, vellum was used by Rembrandt for prints that he also printed on oriental paper (such as no. 21).

The immediate appeal of oriental papers to a contemporary of Rembrandt in London is recorded in John Evelyn's diary entry for 22 June 1664:

'One Tomson a Jesuite shewed me such a Collection of rarities, sent from the Jesuites of Japan & China to their order at Paris (...but brought to Lond[on] with the East India ships for them) as in my life I had not seene: The chiefe things were ... A sort of paper very broad thin, & fine like abortive parchment, & exquisitely polished, of an amber yellow, exceeding glorious & pretty to looke on, & seeming to be like that which my L[ord] Verulame describes in his *Nova Atlantis*; with severall other sorts of papers some written, others Printed...'

This passage is important for establishing that the Dutch East India Company was still bringing these papers to Europe in the 1660s; that some came from China; that different types of oriental paper were imported; and that a print connoisseur with Evelyn's technical interest had never seen them before. His reference to *Nova Atlantis* (1627) alludes to Francis Bacon's imaginary description of an ideal parchment, based on travellers' accounts brought back from the orient: 'somewhat yellower than our parchment, and shining like the [ivory] leaves of writing tables, but otherwise soft and flexible.'

The earliest reference to Rembrandt's use of oriental paper, and the novelty of its tonal effect, apparently dates from 5 September 1668 when the English traveller Edward Browne wrote to his father from Amsterdam:

'Here is a strange variety of excellent prints... Here are divers good ones of Rembrandt and some upon Indian paper that look like washing [as though they were painted in washes], though scratched [etched or drawn in

drypoint] in his manner?

The reference to 'Indian' is undoubtedly an abbreviation of 'East Indian' - that is, brought from the East Indies (a term used generally for the orient), on East India Company ships.

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### NOTES

1. Mariette's signature, dated 1678, also occurs at least once in the album AD.12.38-247.
2. Lankrink moved from his native Flanders to London in the 1660s and worked as an assistant to Sir Peter Lely.
3. The section on paper has been written with advice from Bryan Clarke. The information on Rembrandt's use of European papers is deduced from the study of watermarks; see Ash and Fletcher 1998.
4. An invoice of 1 October 1643 lists two casks of Japanese paper on the ship *De Swaen*, and a memo of 6 November 1644 notes 3000 sheets of Japanese paper bound for the Netherlands and for India (see Biörklund in Barnard and Biörklund 1968, p.173). For the probability that this was only part of what was imported, see Van Breda 1997 n.10, p.31.
5. Van Breda 1997, p.29.

### FURTHER READING

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**T. Laurentius, H. M. M. van Hugten, E. Hinterding, J. P. Filedt Kok**, 'Het Amsterdamse onderzoek naar Rembrants papier: radiografie van de watermerken in de etsen van Rembrandt', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, no. 4, 1992, pp.353-84.

**A. W. Lowenthal**, *Rembrandt's Holy Family with Angels*, Toledo 1987, fig. 2.

**C. H. Middleton**, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Etched Work of Rembrandt van Rhyen*, London 1878.

**L. Münz**, *Rembrandt's Etchings*, 2 vols., London 1952.

**R. de Piles**, *Abregé de la vie des peintres, avec des réflexions sur leurs ouvrages*, Paris 1699.

**Rembrandt: Experimental Etcher**, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1969.

**G. W. Nowell-Usticke**, *Rembrandt's Etchings, states and values*, Narbeth 1967.

**M. Royalton-Kisch**, *Rembrandt and the Passion: Prints and Drawings*, British Museum, London 1984.

**M. Royalton-Kisch**, *Drawings by Rembrandt and his Circle*, London 1992.

**C. P. Schneider**, *Rembrandt's landscapes: Drawings and Prints*, Washington 1990.

**C. Schuckman, M. Royalton-Kisch, E. Hinterding**, *A Collaboration on Copper: Rembrandt & Van Vliet*, Museum het Rembrandthuis-Rembrandt Information Centre, Amsterdam 1996.

**D. Scrase**, *The Golden Century; Dutch Master Drawings from the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge*, Schirmer/Mosel, Munich, 1996, no. 107.

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**H. Voorn**, *De papiermolens in de provincie* [Noord-Holland, vol. I, Haarlem 1960][Zuid-Holland, vol II, s'Gravenhage 1973]

**C. White**, *Rembrandt as an Etcher*, London 1969.

### Technical terms

#### BURIN

The v-shaped tool used for *engraving* a plate. Rembrandt occasionally used the burin to add heavier accents to a plate started in *etching* or *drypoint*.

#### CHAINLINES

Lines impressed at regular intervals in 'laid' paper during manufacture, caused by the chains that supported the wires of the mould.

#### COUNTERPROOF

An offset produced by running a freshly printed wet impression back through the press with a blank sheet of paper; the image is therefore reversed from a normal impression. Sufficient counterproofs survive to indicate that there was a market for them among collectors.

#### DRYPOINT

A sharp point used to scratch directly into the copper without the use of an etching ground or acid. The copper displaced from the scratched line is thrown up to either side in a rough *burr*. When the plate is inked the *burr* traps rich deposits of ink, which are then printed on the paper as soft velvety areas around the line. The use of harder cold-hammered (rather than rolled) copper for Rembrandt's plates meant that a few dozen good prints could be expected before the *burr* wore significantly.

#### ETCHING

A thin copper plate is coated with an acid-resistant ground. The artist draws with an etching needle, which easily scrapes through the ground to leave lines of exposed copper. The plate is then immersed or covered in acid, which *bites* (corrodes) into the copper where it has been exposed. If the artist wants some lines deeper than others so that they will print more heavily, these lines can be exposed for a second time to the acid whilst protecting the other lines with some kind of acid-resistant varnish. When the ground has been cleaned off, the plate is then ready for printing. Upwards of 500 good prints could be printed from a reasonably deeply and evenly etched plate.

#### IMPRESSION

An *impression* is a single pull printed from a plate.

#### OPEN BITE

Acid is applied directly to the surface of the plate, roughening the metal in pits that held enough ink to print as a textured pattern of grey tone. Pale spots often occur where bubbles formed in the acid. In later examples Rembrandt seems to have applied the acid with a brush in some sort of paste. He sometimes burnished the tone to create highlights.

#### SCRAPING, BURNISHING

The means by which lines in a plate are altered, or the surface of a plate is smoothed and polished so that it tends to retain less ink. Rembrandt's use of a very thin copper made it easier to beat up the surface from the back after making an alteration.

#### STATE

The condition and appearance of the plate when a number of impressions were printed. If alterations were subsequently made to the plate, any further impressions would represent a different or later *state*.

#### SURFACE TONE

After ink has been forced into the lines in the plate, the surface of the plate is wiped clean with a cloth, or with the side of the hand, to remove excess ink. Especially after 1650, Rembrandt varied individual impressions by leaving films of ink on the surface of the plate, which printed as tone: the areas of tone could be varied within an individual impression by selectively wiping different parts of the plate.

#### WATERMARKS

Marks in paper caused during manufacture by a pattern formed of wire attached to the wires of the mould. The mark usually denotes maker, size, or place of origin.

## CATALOGUE

This exhibition coincides with the completion of the fourth part of a programme of conservation of the Fitzwilliam Museum's Rembrandt collection. The first three parts dealt with Rembrandt's prints of landscapes, nudes, and subjects connected with Christ's Passion, which were the themes of exhibitions in 1994, 1996 and 1999. The removal of the prints from the mounts that they were given in the nineteenth century, when they were taken out of albums, has allowed an initial study of the paper. This will eventually contribute to a more complete understanding of the circumstances in which Rembrandt's plates were printed. A fuller analysis awaits the eventual completion of the conservation of the entire Rembrandt collection, together with a planned programme to photograph the watermarks with the aid of radiography. It is hoped that this research will eventually be published to add to the ambitious surveys of Rembrandt's papers being undertaken by other major collections. The Fitzwilliam also intends making a further analysis of various oriental papers to determine their origins more precisely.

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### Explanation of catalogue information

Bartsch/Hollstein [reference to White & Boon, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts*, vol. XVIII, *Rembrandt van Rijn*, Amsterdam 1969, catalogue number] [state]/[total number of states]

[Medium (measurement of platemark) support (measurement of support) direction of chainlines (spacing of chainlines)]

WATERMARK: [description with references where applicable to the listing in Ash and Fletcher, 1998, Schuckman *et al*, 1996 and van Breda 1997]

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: [the artist's printed inscription]

INSCRIPTIONS: [handwritten inscriptions in addition to original album numbers]

PROVENANCE: [previous collectors where known (reference to F. Lugt, *Les Marques de Collection de dessins et estampes*, Amsterdam 1921, *Supplément*, The Hague 1956) and source of acquisition]

SURVIVING PLATE: [measurement of copper]; [location recorded in Hinterding, 1993]

All measurements are in millimetres, height preceding width (preceding thickness in the case of copper plates).

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### Other collections cited

<b>Amsterdam</b>	Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
<b>St Petersburg</b>	Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg
<b>Washington</b>	National Gallery of Art, Washington

## 1 The Angel appearing to the Shepherds 1634

Bartsch/Hollstein 44 III/III

Etching with open bite, engraving and drypoint (262 x 218), printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (262 x 222) chainlines horizontal (23/24), parts of offset from the same plate visible at edges on *verso*.

WATERMARK: Arms of Württemberg type 9.B'a [1632; related watermarks 1630-34].

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1632*.

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 61 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*)

23.K.5-61

SURVIVING PLATE: 265 x 222 x 1.02; Private Collection, USA

*'And there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night. And, lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them: and they were sore afraid. And the angel said unto them, Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord. And this shall be a sign unto you; Ye shall find the babe wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in a manger. And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men' (Luke 2:8-14)*

Rembrandt's print encompasses all the narrative and emotional elements of the passage from Luke's gospel. Although the figures are small, the drama is grandly conceived in one of the artist's most Baroque compositions, with movement and light cascading diagonally across the dark landscape. Illumination emanates from the angel and the Heavenly host, striking panic in the fleeing figures below. This was Rembrandt's first etched nocturne, and elements such as the tiny figures camped by a fire on the far riverbank recall the poetic mood and details of Goudt's engravings after Elsheimer's night scenes (see no. 49). Rembrandt created the darkness with a dense network of cross-hatched lines, and earlier states (not in the Fitzwilliam) show that he finished the dark background areas before he finished the details of the figures. In addition he seems to have applied acid to the surface of the plate to create a patchwork of tone in the foliage of the trees: this makes the other areas of highlight appear all the brighter. The watermark on this impression suggests that it was printed soon after Rembrandt dated the plate in 1634, and the quality of the impression, with crisp lines and rich blacks, confirms that it was printed when the plate was new.

## 2 The Angel appearing to the Shepherds 1634

Bartsch/ Hollstein 44 III/III

Etching with open bite, engraving and drypoint (257 x 218) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (281 x 231) chainlines horizontal (23/24).

WATERMARK: Foolscape with 5-pointed collar and bell on centre point, type not catalogued [similar types used 1639-*c*.1650].

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1632*.

INSCRIPTIONS: *recto*: 126 (brown ink); *verso*: 164 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.39-164

The watermark and the quality of this impression suggest that this was printed later than no. 1. The lines of shading are a little worn, and perhaps to compensate, an oilier, browner ink has been used to leave a veil of tone on the surface of the plate, between the lines. The effect is less crisp and less contrasted.

## 3 The Angel appearing to the Shepherds 1634

Bartsch/ Hollstein 44 III/III

Etching with open bite, engraving and drypoint (262 x 221), counterproof printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (262 x 221) chainlines horizontal (23/24), reinforced with ink wash.

WATERMARK: Fragment, possibly Arms of Regensburg [1634-41]

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1632*.

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 43 (graphite); 63 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*)

23.K.5-63

This is a counterproof, printed by running a newly printed wet impression back through the press with a blank sheet of paper, to create an impression in reverse from a normal impression, and therefore in the same sense as the drawing on the plate (the printing process reverses the image). As is usual, the counterproof is greyer, as there is less ink deposited on the paper than in a normal impression. The arches in the middle distance, which are often blurred due to wear on the plate in normal impressions (see no. 2), have been strengthened by hand with wash. Counterproofs often survive of prints with topographical or portrait content, as they corrected the reversal of the image. In this case, the counterproof has the advantage of correcting which arm the angel raises in blessing (traditionally it was the right arm). Counterproofs could also help if the artist was contemplating further work on the plate. The reason for this print's survival, and probably also the main reason for its creation, must have been that there was a market for unusual impressions among collectors (for another counterproof see no. 44).

## 4 The Adoration of the Shepherds: with the lamp *c*.1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 45 I/II

Etching (105 x 113) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (105 x 113) chainlines horizontal (22).

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f.*

INSCRIPTIONS: *recto*: 1-6 (ink); unidentified collector's mark consisting of a 5-petaled flower stamped in blue ink; *verso*: 65 (graphite); N<sup>o</sup> 44. (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*)

23.K.5-65

SURVIVING PLATE: 106.5 x 130.5 x 0.5; Private Collection, Germany.

## 5 The Adoration of the Shepherds: with the lamp *c*.1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 45 II/II

Etching and engraving (106 x 130) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (106 x 130) chainlines horizontal (27)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f.*  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 64* (graphite); *no 44* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: FITZWILLIAM BEQUEST 1816 (Lugt 932  
VERSO) 23.K.5-64

*'And it came to pass, as the angels were gone away from them into heaven, the shepherds said one to another, Let us now go even unto Bethlehem, and see this thing which is come to pass, which the Lord hath made known unto us. And they came with haste, and found Mary, and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger.'* (Luke 2:15-16)

This plate is often associated with a group of small plates of uniform size made in 1654 and possibly intended as a series on the Childhood of Christ (displayed on the opposite wall); but although the handling and printing of this plate is similar it actually differs from that series in being smaller and squarer in format. Like two of the plates in that series (nos. 35 and 39) the earliest state of this print (no. 4) has blank patches at the top caused by a technical failure. Rembrandt was apparently not bothered by these blanks, but they were later filled in with etched shading, probably when the plates were printed in 18<sup>th</sup> century editions by Claude-Henri Watelet (1718-86) or Pierre-François Basan (1723-97). Evidence of paper used for other impressions of the first state suggests that some were printed by Clement de Jonghe (1624/5-77), possibly within Rembrandt's lifetime, and that the plate left Rembrandt's possession in this state.

## 6 The Adoration of the Shepherds: a night piece *c.*1652

Bartsch/Hollstein 46 IV/VIII  
Etching, drypoint and engraving (150 x 197) printed in black ink on felt side of tinted laid paper (158 x 205) chainlines vertical (24/26).  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 26* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.39-26  
SURVIVING PLATE: 151 x 200; Private Collection, Switzerland.

In contrast to his previous plate of this subject, which is bathed in light (nos.4-5), this plate exploits the poetry and symbolism of light emerging out of darkness. This is the earliest of four successive states of this plate exhibited here. Alterations mostly consisted of adjusting the balance of the two sources of light (one of them hidden behind Joseph on the extreme right) and refining the focus on the Virgin and Child. This impression is printed on European paper that was probably tinted to give it the warm tone of oriental paper.

## 7 The Adoration of the Shepherds: a night piece *c.*1652

Bartsch/Hollstein 46 V/VIII  
Etching, drypoint and engraving (149 x 196) printed in black ink on thin white oriental paper, probably Chinese-style (*gasenshi*) from Japan (150 x 198) chainlines horizontal (20)  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 66* (graphite); *45* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) 23.K.5-66

In this state shading is added to model the Virgin's face

and reinforce the outline of her cuff. The pale oriental paper, probably Chinese-style (*gasenshi*) paper made in Japan from bamboo and *mitsumata*, gives a cooler light than the warmer Japanese *torinoko* paper (made of *gampi* fibre) that was used for nos. 8 and 9. A similar paper was used to print no. 46.

## 8 The Adoration of the Shepherds: a night piece *c.*1652

Bartsch/Hollstein 46 VI/VIII  
Etching, drypoint and engraving (149 x 192) printed in black ink on medium-weight warm-toned vellum-like oriental paper, probably Japanese *torinoko* (172 x 211)  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 167* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.39-167

In this state a plank partition is added behind and between Mary and Joseph, and the sheaves behind Mary are reworked in drypoint. This impression is printed with a lot of ink left on the surface of the plate, combining with the warm-toned oriental paper to give a mellow glow.

## 9 The Adoration of the Shepherds: a night piece *c.*1652

Bartsch/Hollstein 46 VII/VIII  
Etching, drypoint and engraving (149 x 192) printed in black ink on medium-weight warm-toned vellum-like oriental paper, probably Japanese *torinoko* (179 x 225)  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 46* (graphite); *26* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.39-40

The planks are here better defined by burnishing, and curved lines of drypoint are added on the pillow above Christ's head. The drypoint has worn a little and the burr traps less ink than in no. 8; it is also printed with less surface tone, and the figures therefore show clearer. The paper is probably identical to that used for no.8, with the difference in colour caused by variable oxidation over time.

## 10 The Adoration of the Shepherds: A night piece *c.*1652

Bartsch/Hollstein 46 VIII/VIII  
Etching, drypoint and engraving (149 x 197) printed in black ink on felt(?) side of laid paper (152 x 200) chainlines vertical (27/28)  
WATERMARK: Shield type 39.A.a. (18<sup>th</sup> century ?Basan's edition)  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 67* (graphite); *45* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) 23.K.5-67

In this final state, Joseph's hat has been redrawn and the fence is burnished lighter around it. Rework above the planks almost obliterates the fence posts. It is printed on an 18<sup>th</sup> Century paper such as was used for Basan's edition in 1789, and it is likely that the rework was done on that occasion. The accidental perpendicular white lines lower right were caused by the paper creasing when it went through the press.

## 11 The Circumcision c.1626

Bartsch/Hollstein S398 II/II  
Etching (213 x 167) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (219 x 173) chainlines horizontal (25/26)  
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt fecit I.P. Berendrecht ex.*  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 31* (graphite)  
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.39-31

*'And when eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called Jesus, which was so named of the angel before he was conceived in the womb.'* (Luke 2:21)

Traditional iconography placed the Circumcision in the Temple. The Gospels do not mention the location although because the Law of Moses forbids the mother to enter the temple until forty days after giving birth, the apocryphal books generally locate the circumcision in the stable. In his early plates of the subject (nos. 11-12) Rembrandt followed traditional iconography; it was only in his later plate that he placed the event in the stable, perhaps taking account of the comments of 17<sup>th</sup> century Bible scholars (see nos. 33-5, displayed on the opposite wall). No. 11 is one of Rembrandt's very first etchings and was published in Haarlem by Jan Pietersz. Berendrecht, who also published the earliest etchings of Jan Lievens, which share a loose open style unlike Rembrandt's later prints.

## 12 The Circumcision: small plate c.1630

Bartsch/Hollstein 48  
Etching and drypoint (89 x 64) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (90 x 66) chainlines horizontal (24).  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: N<sup>o</sup> 47 -gl =* (graphite); *69* (graphite); *N<sup>o</sup> 908* (graphite); *ff[?]400* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) 23.K.5-69

For the subject, compare no. 11. This was evidently an early impression as the smudges of ink around Christ's mouth show that the touches of drypoint burr had not yet worn from the plate.

## 13 The Flight into Egypt: a sketch c.1626

Bartsch/Hollstein 54 II/VI  
Etching (78 x 57) printed in black ink on laid paper (84 x 61) chainlines vertical (c.26).  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 284* (graphite)  
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.39-284

## 14 The Flight into Egypt: a sketch c.1626

Bartsch/Hollstein 54 V/VI  
Etching (78 x 50) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (79 x 51) chainlines vertical (22)  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: JB* (ink); *P Mariette 1669* (ink); *R* [scribble] *1749* (brown ink); *163* (graphite); *247*.  
PROVENANCE: P Mariette (Lugt 1789 *verso*); Pierre Remy 1749 (Lugt 2173 *verso*); John Barnard (Lugt 1419 *verso*); Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) 23.K.5-247

This is the figure of Joseph, which Rembrandt cut from the plate of an early attempt at making a print of *The Flight into Egypt*; a photograph of one of the two

surviving impressions from the uncut plate is shown alongside. No. 13 was printed soon after the plate was cut. In the later state (no. 14) additional shading was added to the figure. Inscriptions on the reverse show that no. 14 passed through the hands of several prestigious collectors before entering Lord Fitzwilliam's collection; the earliest of these was Pierre Mariette, who dated his signature 1669. If this inscription is genuine (Mariette's signature was sometimes forged to add lustre to prints in collectors' eyes, but the paper seems early), it is important evidence to show that the alterations evident in this state were made during Rembrandt's lifetime.

## 15 The Flight into Egypt: small 1633

Bartsch/Hollstein 52 I/II  
Etching with open bite (89 x 62) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (91 x 65) chainlines horizontal (25).  
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *9 Rembrandt · inventor et fecit · 1633*  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: No 52 Gers* (graphite); *52* (graphite); *52* (graphite); *76* (graphite); *N<sup>o</sup> 52 1<sup>er</sup> epr.* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) 23.K.5-76

## 16 The Flight into Egypt: small 1633

Bartsch/Hollstein 52 I/II  
Etching with open bite (90 x 63) printed in black ink on wire(?) side of laid paper (100 x 74) chainlines vertical (23).  
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *9 Rembrandt · inventor et fecit · 1633*  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 90* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.38-90

*'And when they [the wise men] were departed, behold, the angel of the Lord appeareth to Joseph in a dream, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother and flee into Egypt, and be thou there until I bring thee word: for Herod will seek the young child to destroy him. When he arose, he took the young child and his mother by night, and departed into Egypt.'* (Matthew 2:13-15)

This small but highly atmospheric nocturne was carefully etched in stages. Behind the tree can be discerned a first stage of drawing in thinner more delicate lines. The etching ground was apparently then reapplied and the main lines of the tree drawn and bitten deeper by leaving the plate longer in the acid, with the thinner preliminary lines masked by the etching ground. A third stage involved adding a number of accents that were bitten even deeper, and these stand out peculiarly from the rest in the later impression from the worn plate seen below (no. 16); by the time this was printed the finer lines had worn so that they print as grey rather than black. As well as etching lines, Rembrandt made use of the tonal effect of acid applied over the surface of the plate, roughening the surface so that is held enough ink to print as a pale grey tone; pale spots occur where bubbles formed in the acid. This has often been seen as an accident, but its effect is so well exploited that it is likely that Rembrandt brushed acid on the surface of the plate to create this wash of tone, and burnished areas of highlight like the figure of the Virgin and the foreground.

### 17 The Flight into Egypt: a night piece 1651

Bartsch/Hollstein 53 VI/VI

Etching, engraving and drypoint (127 x 110) printed with surface tone in black ink on felt side of laid paper (151 x 119) chainlines horizontal (23/25)

WATERMARK: Fragment showing bottom of shield with letters LC below. Similar to Strasbourg Lily type 36.A.L.C: b. (c.1650)

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 76 (graphite); 5 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.40-76

SURVIVING PLATE: 129 x 111 x 1.07; formerly with Artemis, London

Whereas the figures in Rembrandt's earlier print of this subject (nos. 15-16) appear as though bathed in moonlight, here the darkness of light is broken only by the light from Joseph's lantern. By the time the plate reached this final state, much of it was obscured by the network of lines and burr, creating a sense of night from which few highlights emerge. In rich early impressions like this, not only are the signature and date hidden by shading, but the face of the Virgin and the suggestion of Christ's head are also lost in the darkness.

### 18 The Flight into Egypt: a night piece 1651

Bartsch/Hollstein 53 VI/VI

Etching, engraving and drypoint (127 x 110) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (130 x 112) chainlines horizontal (23)

WATERMARK: Foolscape with seven pointed collar type 20.D.b (c.1654). Another impression of this state with Da watermark (twin mould) in Washington.

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: H (graphite); 78 (graphite); 53 (graphite); 52 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-78

The paper suggests that this may have been printed a few years after no. 17, and the less rich impression probably reflects wear on the plate (the extra pale patches on the right are due to ink being rubbed from the paper). This does however make it easier to see the lines, especially those defining the Virgin's face.

### 19 The Rest on the Flight: a night piece c.1644

Bartsch/Hollstein 57 II/IV

Etching and drypoint (82 x 59, cut inside platemark at top) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (82 x 60) chainlines horizontal (23).

INSCRIPTIONS: verso 145 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-145

SURVIVING PLATE: 93 x 60 x 1.21; formerly with Artemis, London

### 20 The Rest on the Flight: a night piece c.1644

Bartsch/Hollstein 57 III/IV

Etching and drypoint (92 x 59) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (93 x 60) chainlines horizontal (spacing indistinct)

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 86 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-86

The episode of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt is not mentioned in the Bible, but appeared in numerous apocryphal texts and was a popular subject in art. Rembrandt here imagines the family resting at night, rather than following the noonday setting mentioned in the texts (compare no. 23). No. 19 is a fine impression of the earlier state, before the addition of the Ass's head seen on the right of no. 20, but the top portion of no. 19 has been cut off at some stage, so its full effect can only be imagined by looking at both of these prints.

### 21 The Flight into Egypt: altered from Seghers c.1653

Bartsch/Hollstein 56 state IV?

Etching, drypoint and engraving (209 x 283) printed with surface tone in black ink on heavy-weight warm-toned vellum-like oriental paper, probably Japanese *torinoko* laminated from two sheets (217 x 294).

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 100 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.40-100

Rembrandt owned the copperplate for Hercules Seghers' print of *Tobias and the Angel*, and he reworked it in a succession of states to turn it into this *Flight into Egypt*. By the time this impression was printed he had burnished away the figures and added the trees on the right, although the angel's wing remains visible as part of the foliage at top right. No. 21 is printed with so much surface tone that some of the burnished highlights visible in no. 22 are not evident. Rembrandt has here used the printed tone and the mellow oriental paper to recapture something of the mysterious atmosphere of Seghers' original (known in only two impressions both printed in olive-coloured ink). Seghers' softly modelled etching remains most intact in the wooded hillside on the left. His print was in turn based on one by Goudt after Elsheimer.

### 22 The Flight into Egypt: altered from Seghers c.1653

Bartsch/Hollstein 56 state IV/VII

Etching, drypoint and engraving (212 x 283) printed in black ink on laid paper (227 x 292) chainlines horizontal (28)

WATERMARK: Strasbourg Lily type 36.C.a (c.1653) Other impressions of this state with same watermark in Washington and Amsterdam

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 179/6 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-179

A typical cleanly wiped impression of the fourth state printed on the paper used for other impressions of this state. The burnished highlight on Joseph's face, obscured by surface tone in no. 21, is clearly evident.

### 23 The Rest on the Flight: lightly etched 1645

Bartsch/Hollstein 58

Etching and drypoint (131 x 115) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (133 x 116) chainlines horizontal (23).

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1645*

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 87* (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.39-87

*'And it came to pass on the third day of their journey, while they were walking, that the blessed Mary was fatigued by the excessive heat of the sun in the desert; and seeing a palm tree, she said to Joseph: Let me rest a little under the shade of this tree. Joseph therefore made haste, and led her to the palm, and made her come down from her beast. And as the blessed Mary was sitting there, she looked up to the foliage of the palm, and saw it full of fruit, and said to Joseph: I wish it were possible to get some of the fruit of this palm. And Joseph said to her: I wonder that thou sayest this, when thou seest how high the palm tree is; and that thou thinkest of eating of its fruit. I am thinking more of the want of water, because the skins are now empty, and we have none wherewith to refresh ourselves and our cattle. Then the child Jesus, with a joyful countenance, reposing in the bosom of His mother, said to the palm: O tree, bend thy branches, and refresh my mother with thy fruit. And immediately at these words the palm bent its top down to the very feet of the blessed Mary; and they gathered from it fruit, with which they were all refreshed.'* (Apocryphal Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew 20).

In contrast to his earlier depiction of the Rest on the Flight (nos. 19-20), this is not obviously a nocturne, but fits in more with the noonday heat of the description in the apocryphal texts, which are also reflected in the depiction of Joseph peeling fruit (although Rembrandt's Northern landscape does not admit a palm tree). Rembrandt may have borrowed this motif from an engraving by Lucas van Leyden (c.1494-1533). The very lightly etched plate is one of several in which Rembrandt seems to have intended to achieve the silvery line of a metalpoint drawing. Presumably the drypoint burr was mostly removed from the plate to help create this effect, but ink printed from remaining patches of burr on the basket show that this is an early impression (it is earlier than another impression in the Fitzwilliam which is printed on paper that Rembrandt was probably using in 1652).

## 24 Virgin and Child in the clouds 1641

Bartsch/Hollstein 61

Etching and drypoint (168 x 106) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (169 x 110) chainlines horizontal (24/25).

WATERMARK: fragment, probably bottom of foolscap, type not catalogued.

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f./1641*

INSCRIPTIONS: *recto: 32* (brown ink); *verso: 32* (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.39-32

This subject is highly unusual in 17<sup>th</sup> century Dutch art, being more typical of art from Italy promoting the prominence of the Virgin in Catholic theology. In fact Rembrandt must have based this print on an etching by the Italian artist Federico Barocci (1526-1612), which he had in his collection. He seems to have reused a plate that he started to etch the other way up: an inverted face is visible in the cloud covering the Virgin's knee.

## 25 Virgin and Child in the clouds 1641

Bartsch/Hollstein 61

Etching and drypoint (168 x 106) printed with surface tone in black ink on felt side of laid paper (192 x 132) chainlines vertical (20/23).

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f./1641*

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 36* (graphite); *a* (faded ink).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.38-36

This was printed later than no. 24, when the plate was slightly worn and the lines held less ink. Perhaps to draw attention away from this it was printed with soft (oily) ink, a lot of which was left on the surface of the plate to give a richness of effect.

## 26 The Holy Family c.1632

Bartsch/Hollstein 62

Etching (96 x 70) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (97 x 74) chainlines horizontal (24)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *RHL* [monogram]

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 91* (graphite); ~~91~~ (graphite); ~~91~~ (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) 23.K.5-91

Such representations of the Holy Family that have no direct basis in the New Testament may have developed from apocryphal texts describing the nativity and childhood of Christ, such as those that were the source for the rest on the flight into Egypt (see no. 23). But the weight of thought in the Virgin's face recalls the passage from Luke's gospel in which she dwelled on the significance of Christ's birth: *'But Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart.'* The motif of Joseph reading a book, which Rembrandt later repeated in one of his plates of the adoration of the shepherds (nos. 6-10), had appeared earlier in Italian art. In Rembrandt's 1645 painting of *The Holy Family with Angels*, it is Mary, looking at Christ in the cradle, who holds the book, apparently a Bible.

## 27 The Holy Family sleeping, with angels

c.1645/51

Pen and brown ink, heightened and corrected in white bodycolour, on paper.

WATERMARK: Paschal Lamb in shield, type not catalogued.

LITERATURE: Benesch 569; Lowenthal 1987, fig. 2;

Scrase 1996, no. 107.

PROVENANCE: Christie's, London, 17 July 1911 lot 70, bought Parsons; Sir E.J. Poynter (Lugt 874), his sale, Sotheby's, London, 25 April 1918, lot 286, bt. Agnew for C.B.O. Clarke, by whom bequeathed (1935) to Louis Colville Gray Clarke; Bequeathed by Louis Colville Gray Clarke 1960 (PD.42-1961)

Usually dated in relation to a drawing of *The Holy Family in the carpenter's workshop* (Benesch 567), which was made as a study for the painting of 1645, *The Holy Family with angels* (St Petersburg). Whereas in this drawing Mary and Joseph are sleeping, in the other two works Joseph is busy with his carpentry and Mary is attending to the sleeping Jesus. The paper of no. 27 bears a watermark that suggests that it is more likely to

date from around 1651-4, when Rembrandt was using similar papers for printing. It may therefore be more closely related in date to drawings and prints of the Holy Family with the Virgin and Child asleep made in the early 1650s (see for instance no. 38). The sleeping Joseph is presumably seeing the angels in a dream, either in the stable warning him to flee to Egypt to escape Herod's wrath (Matthew 2:13), or in Egypt telling him that it was safe to return to Israel (Matthew 2:19-20).

### 28 Presentation in the Temple with the angel: small plate 1630

Bartsch/Hollstein 51 II/II  
Etching (103 x 78) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (103 x 78) chainlines horizontal (22/23)  
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: RHL [monogram] 1630  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 74 (graphite); 51 (graphite); N<sup>o</sup>51 (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-74

*'And when the [40] days of [Mary's] purification according to the law of Moses were accomplished, they brought [Jesus] to Jerusalem, to present him to the Lord ... And to offer a sacrifice according to that which is said in the law of the Lord, a pair of turtledoves, or two young pigeons, And, behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and the same man was just and devout, waiting for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Ghost was upon him. And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came by the Spirit into the temple: and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law, Then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word: For mine eyes have seen the salvation, Which thou has prepared before the face of all people; A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel. And Joseph and his mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him. And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel; and for a sign which shall be spoken against.... And there was one Anna, a prophetess... a widow of four-score and four years, which departed not from the temple, but served God with fastings and prayers night and day. And she coming in that instant gave thanks likewise unto the Lord and spake of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem.'* (Luke 2:22-28)

Simeon is holding Jesus, praising the Lord, while an Angel points the Messiah out to Anna; Mary and Joseph kneel. Rembrandt depicted the same moment in one of his later versions of the subject (nos. 29-30).

### 29 The Presentation in the Temple: oblong print c.1639

Bartsch/Hollstein 49 I/III  
Etching with open bite and drypoint (214 x 290) printed with surface tone in black ink on laid paper (216 x 293) chainlines horizontal (23/24)  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: J. Barnard/ April 11<sup>th</sup> 1760/ This print in which the Head of Simeon/ is without a cap, & the Hair stands upright is extremely scarce. (brown ink, evidently Barnard's

hand); 71 (graphite); 328 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: George Hibbert (Lugt 2849 *recto*); John Barnard (see Lugt 1419); ?Robert Dighton (Lugt 727, partially erased); Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-71

SURVIVING PLATE: 217 x 294 x 1.15; Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam

Simeon is holding the Jesus, praising the Lord, while the Holy Spirit descends above Anna; Mary kneels and Joseph stands beyond, holding the turtle doves to be sacrificed. Rembrandt depicted the same moment in his earlier version of the subject (no. 28). In this plate he seems to have developed further his technique of biting the surface of the plate with directly applied acid to etch pits that would trap ink and print as tone. In contrast to earlier plates (nos. 1-3 and 15-16) he seems here to have bound the acid in some sort of paste that has left horizontal striations of tone where it was brushed on the plate.

### 30 The Presentation in the Temple: oblong print c.1639

Bartsch/Hollstein 49 II/III  
Etching with open bite and drypoint (213 x 288) printed with surface tone in black ink on felt side of laid paper (221 x 296) chainlines vertical (28)  
WATERMARK: Fragment of shield over 4W(R) above a diamond-shaped point, probably Strasbourg lily, type not catalogued.  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 13 (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.39-13

In this state Simeon's head is covered with a skull cap, there is shading added to his and the Virgin's clothes, and Joseph's beard is shortened by burnishing.

### 31 The Presentation in the Temple in the dark manner c.1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 50  
Etching and drypoint (209 x 161) printed on felt side of laid paper (264 x 194) chainlines vertical (24)  
WATERMARK: HP, countermark not catalogued.  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 2 (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.38-2

Scenes of Christ's childhood were sometimes included in 16th-century printed Passion series, and this was part of what was apparently an unfinished series on the Life and Passion of Christ, etched by Rembrandt in 1654. This plate depicts a later moment in the narrative to nos. 28-30. Rembrandt uses dramatic lighting not only to focus attention on the figure of Simeon presenting Jesus to the High Priest, but also to give metaphysical expression to Simeon's prayer of gratitude for Christ as 'a light to lighten the Gentiles...' Mary and Joseph kneel on the left.

### 32 The Presentation in the Temple in the dark manner c.1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 50  
Etching and drypoint (208 x 161) printed with surface tone

on medium-weight warm-toned vellum-like oriental paper, probably Japanese *torinoko* (209 x 165), with an offset from the same plate on the *verso*.

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.39-102

The oriental paper and the surface tone of ink give this impression far more mellow lighting than no. 22.

### 33 The Circumcision in the Stable 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 47 state before I/II  
Etching (95 x 145) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (106 x 156) chainlines vertical (22/23)  
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f 1654* [twice]  
INSCRIPTIONS: *recto: 93* (faded brown ink); *verso: 93/6* (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.39-93  
SURVIVING PLATE: 97 x 147 x 1.15; Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam

In 1654, the same year that he started a series of larger format prints on the Life and Passion of Christ (nos. 31-32), Rembrandt embarked on a series of small plates of uniform format illustrating the nativity and childhood of Christ. These may have been intended as part of a formal set, but he only completed five subjects, which are displayed along this wall as nos. 33-44 (a sixth, slightly smaller, print is often associated with the set, see nos. 4-5). In these plates Rembrandt draws us into the intimacy of a domestic family scenes by the direct simplicity of his draughtsmanship and the tenderness of the gestures.

Luke's Gospel tells us that the circumcision took place when Christ was 8 days old. In his earlier plates of this subject (nos. 11-12), Rembrandt followed traditional iconography by locating the scene in the Temple, but in this plate he may have taken account of the comments of seventeenth-century theologians, who pointed out that it must have taken place in the stable as a mother would not have been allowed by the Law of Moses to enter the temple until she was purified: forty days after giving birth. Apocryphal texts also placed the circumcision in the stable. The ladder on the left is probably intended as a reference to the Crucifixion, which was often associated with the Circumcision, juxtaposing Christ's first and last pain.

### 34 The Circumcision in the Stable 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 47 I/II  
Etching (94 x 145) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (107 x 155) chainlines horizontal (23/25).  
WATERMARK: large shield not identified.  
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f 1654* [twice]  
INSCRIPTIONS: *recto: before the hatchings under y<sup>e</sup> name at the Top-* (graphite). *verso: 487* (graphite); *not in cat* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) 23.K.5-487

In this state the accidental blotches etched at the top of no. 33 have been removed by burnishing. Burnishing was also used to adjust the shading to the left of the man on the right turning to talk to his neighbour. The Pro Patria watermark on another

impression of this state in the Fitzwilliam (not exhibited) is evidence that the plate was still being printed in this state until the 18<sup>th</sup> century and therefore that the work added in the later state (no. 35) was not done by Rembrandt.

### 35 The Circumcision in the Stable 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 47 II/II  
Etching and engraving (95 x 145) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (97 x 147) chainlines horizontal (28)  
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f 1654* [twice]  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 488* (graphite); *Not in Cat* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) 23.K.5-488

The blank patches at the top of no. 34 have been filled in with etched shading. Like similar repairs of such perceived 'defects' in other plates (see nos. 5 and 39), this was done in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This impression was printed before a patch of diagonal scratching appeared to the right of the ladder, which is evident on some impressions.

### 36 The Flight into Egypt: crossing a brook 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 55  
Etching with open bite and drypoint (94 x 144) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (97 x 147) chainlines horizontal (23/24).  
WATERMARK: Foolscape with 5-pointed collar, possibly type 19.K.b. (1650)  
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1654*  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 67* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.40-67  
SURVIVING PLATE: 96 x 146 x 1.09; Private Collection, Switzerland

The representation of the Holy Family fording a stream was not a traditional part of the iconography of the Flight into Egypt. Rembrandt's innovation is typical of the fresh approach he made to the treatment of Biblical subject matter in this series. This is evidently an early impression with the drypoint burr trapping rich deposits of black ink. Acid has been applied directly to the surface of the plate to create the pools of tone that represent water at the bottom of the plate.

### 37 The Flight into Egypt: crossing a brook 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 55  
Etching with open bite and drypoint (95 x 145) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (96 x 145) chainlines horizontal (24/26).  
WATERMARK: Foolscape with 7-pointed collar, type 20.K.a. (1654), another impression with this watermark is in the Art Institute of Chicago.  
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1654*  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 55* (graphite); *82* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) 23.K.5-82

Compared to no. 36, it is evident that the burr on the drypoint was worn by the time this was printed, but the paper suggests that it was printed quite soon after

the plate was created; evidently the burr wore quickly.

**38 The Virgin and Child with the cat and snake**  
1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 63 I/II  
Etching (96 x 145) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (109 x 160) chainlines vertical (24).  
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1654.*  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 82* (graphite); 3 (ink).  
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.39-82  
SURVIVING PLATE: 96.5 x 146 x 1.04; Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Ostensibly this is a domestic scene of the Holy Family, but it also contains numerous spiritual and theological symbols. Mary has her foot on a snake, a reference to a passage in *Genesis* when God says to the serpent: *'I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed: it shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel.'* This text was applied to Mary as the New Eve who would redeem the sins of the original Eve: in Rembrandt's time it was interpreted as a symbol of the victory of Christ over Satan. The placing of the Virgin on the ground rather than on the chair that is raised on a dais beneath a curtain suggesting a throne, alludes to the tradition of the Madonna of Humility which stressed her humanity and simplicity; Rembrandt based the group of Virgin and Child on a print he owned by the Italian Renaissance artist Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506).

**39 The Virgin and Child with the cat and snake**  
1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 63 II/II  
Etching (95 x 145) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (98 x 147) chainlines horizontal (26/27).  
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1654.*  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 92* (graphite); 62 (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) 23.K.5-92

The blank patches evident at the top of no. 38 have here been filled in with etched shading. Like other plates in which similar perceived technical defects were 'corrected' (see nos. 5 and 35), this tidying-up was probably carried out for 18<sup>th</sup> Century editions printed by Claude-Henri Watelet (1718-86) or Pierre-François Basan (1723-97).

**40 Christ seated disputing with the elders** 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 64  
Etching (94 x 144) printed in black ink on medium-weight warm-toned vellum-like oriental paper, probably Japanese *torinoko* (95 x 146)  
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1654.*  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 98/6* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.39-98  
SURVIVING PLATE: 97 x 146 x 0.92; Private Collection, Holland

*'And when he was twelve years old, they went up to Jerusalem after the custom of the feast... And it came to pass that after*

*three days they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions. And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers.'* (Luke 2: 42/46-7)

This is an early impression with smudges of ink on the legs of the man standing in the centre showing that the drypoint burr had not yet worn away.

**41 Christ seated disputing with the elders** 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 64  
Etching (95 x 145) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (98 x 148) chainlines horizontal (27/28).  
WATERMARK: Small shield with numbers/letters type 39.A.a. (Basan)  
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1654.*  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 490* (graphite); *not in catalogue* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) 23.K.5-490

This impression is printed on the type of paper used by Pierre-François Basan (1723-97) in his edition of 1789.

**42 Christ returning from the temple with his parents** 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 60  
Etching and drypoint (95 x 143) printed in black ink on medium-weight warm-toned vellum-like oriental paper, probably Japanese *torinoko* (95 x 143)  
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1654*  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 96/6* (graphite).  
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.39-96

*'And he said unto them, How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business? And they understood not the saying which he spake unto them. And he went down with them, and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them: but his mother kept all these sayings in her heart.'* (Luke 2: 49-51)

This is a similar impression to no. 43, with just a touch more ink and tone. The main difference is the colour and quality of the oriental paper used for this impression, which may have contributed to the richness of the printing. They are both very early impressions.

**43 Christ returning from the temple with his parents** 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 60  
Etching and drypoint (95 x 145) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (96 x 145) chainlines vertical (24)  
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1654*  
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 79* (graphite); 84 (graphite); 54 (graphite); *N 54* (graphite); *f96* (graphite); *H1111111* (brown ink).  
Provenance: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) 23.K.5-79

**44 Christ returning from the temple with his parents** 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 60 counterproof

Etching and drypoint (95 x 144), counterproof printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (96 x 146) chainlines vertical (24)

WATERMARK: Fragment with 3 balls, probably Foolscap, type not identified.

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1654*

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 16* (graphite); *80* (graphite).

Provenance: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-80

This is a counterproof, printed by running a newly printed impression back through the press with a blank sheet of paper, to create an impression in reverse from a normal impression, and therefore in the same sense as the drawing on the plate (the printing process reverses the image). This was evidently taken from an impression printed early, with the drypoint burr surviving on the plate; perhaps from an impression similar to no. 43. As is usual, the counterproof is greyer, as there is less ink deposited on the paper than in a normal impression (for another counterproof see no. 3).

#### 45 The Star of the Kings: a night piece

c.1651-4

Bartsch/Hollstein 113

Etching and drypoint (94 x 144) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (95 x 145) chainlines vertical (24).

WATERMARK: Foolscap with 5-pointed collar close to type 19.Fa (1654)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 190* (graphite); *112* (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-190

SURVIVING PLATE: 95 x 144.5 x 0.84; formerly with Artemis, London

*'And, lo, the star, which they saw in the east, went before them, till it came and stood over where the young child was. When they saw the star, they rejoiced with exceeding great joy.'* (Matthew 2:9-10)

The feast of Epiphany on the Twelfth Night after Christmas, known in Dutch as the Feast of the Three Kings, was a time to celebrate the arrival of the three Kings or Magi who had followed the star to the stable to honour the Christ child. It was the custom in Rembrandt's day to parade through the streets with a paper lantern in the shape of a star and sing carols. As well as the group in the foreground, a second star is visible in the distance on the left. The date assigned here is based on the affinity of format with the 1654 Nativity and Childhood of Christ series. Rembrandt had previously made a drawing of this subject in 1645-7, and it had been depicted in prints by Jan van de Velde (see no. 47).

#### 46 The Star of the Kings: a night piece

c.1651-4

Bartsch/Hollstein 113

Etching and drypoint (94 x 144) printed in black ink with surface tone on thin white oriental paper, Chinese or Chinese-style (*gasenshi*) from Japan (97 x 146) chainlines vertical (20).

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 84* (graphite); *45* (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.39-84

This is printed with more tone than no. 45, making the overall effect darker and the figures less distinct. The pale oriental paper, probably Chinese-style (*gasenshi*) paper made in Japan from bamboo and *mitsumata*, creates a glow and contributes to the richness of the impression (a similar paper was used to print no. 7). The fact that the figures can barely be glimpsed adds to the sense that the image is not only an observation of life in Rembrandt's Amsterdam, but is a symbol of Christmas as the appearance of a miraculous light in the darkness. As in many of the prints in this exhibition, the play of light and dark tells a metaphysical story.

### Prints by other artists

#### 47 Jan van de Velde 1593-1641

##### The Star of the Kings c.1620s

Engraving after Pieter Molijn (1595-1661)

Hollstein 149 II

PROVENANCE: Bought from the S. G. Perceval Fund 1961. P.117-1961

For the subject, see Rembrandt's etching (nos. 46-7). Rembrandt was greatly influenced by Van de Velde's prints of night-time subjects, particularly the way he built up a dense network of lines to create the black of night (although Rembrandt's version of this type of shading was always less regularised). Their prints were often linked with those of Hendrik Goudt (see no. 49) as suitable for collectors compiling a special album of 'night-pieces' or 'nocturnes' or 'black prints'.

#### 48 Cornelis Dusart 1660-1704

##### The Twelve Months of the Year

Mezzotint, finished by Jacob Gole (1660-1737)

Hollstein 20-31 II and III

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816. 32.I.7-39/58

The print for January (top left) shows the Star of the Kings (see nos. 45-7). Dusart belonged to the next generation of printmakers, and often collaborated with his friend Gole. They worked mainly in the medium of mezzotint, the technique in which a plate was roughened to trap ink and then burnished to create highlights. This allowed the printmaker to work from dark to light in a way that facilitated the creation of effective night-pieces as well as giving a great tonal range. The first mezzotints were made in the 1640s at the time that Rembrandt was experimenting with extending his tonal range for 'night-pieces' by innovative combinations of etching, drypoint and toned paper.

#### 49 Hendrik Goudt 1583-1648

##### The Flight into Egypt 1613

Engraving after the painting by Adam Elsheimer (1578-1610), the inscription attached from another impression and

the top edge restored.

Hollstein 3

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816. 24.I.5-15

Goudt was a highly influential figure in the urge to create 'nocturnes' or 'black prints' in seventeenth-century Dutch printmaking. The fact that six of his seven engravings reproduced designs by the German painter Elsheimer made him doubly important for Rembrandt, who was strongly influenced by Elsheimer's poetic nocturnes. This print undoubtedly influenced Rembrandt's biblical night-pieces (see nos. 1-3, 17-18 and 21-22). Elsheimer's painting is in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

## Impressions not included in exhibition

### Bartsch/ Hollstein

#### 44 III/III

Printed on mould side of laid paper (257 x 218) chainlines horizontal (25/26).

WATERMARK: Basle crozier type 11.A.b. [1634-c.1635]

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 6193 (graphite); *ae/i/i* (graphite); *B44 W49* (graphite); *Na. 336 0:15:0* (ink)

PROVENANCE: Bequeathed by Charles Brinslay Marlay 1912 (P.2263-R)

#### 44 III/III

Printed on felt side of laid paper (277 x 233) chainlines horizontal (24/25).

WATERMARK: part of Basilisk with undescribed countermark *PL* closest to type 12.A.a [c.1639-1647]

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 11 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) (AD.12.38-11)

#### 44 III/III

Printed on felt side of laid paper (259 x 219) chainlines horizontal (24).

WATERMARK: Paschal Lamb on Shield close to type 29.A.a. [1651]

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 26 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) (AD.12.40-26)

#### 44 III/III

Printed on mould side of laid paper (262 x 217) chainlines vertical (32); late.

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 62 (graphite); 43 (graphite); illegible squiggle (ink).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) (23.K.5-62)

#### 46 VIII/VIII

Printed on felt side of laid paper (152 x 198) chainlines vertical (26/27)

WATERMARK: Fragment of Grapes, unidentified (18<sup>th</sup> century).

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 45 (graphite); 68 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) (23.K.5-68)

#### 47 I/II

Printed on felt side of laid paper (107 x 155) chainlines vertical (26/27).

WATERMARK: Fragment of Dutch 'pro patria' mark top of sheet (18<sup>th</sup> century)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: *Daulby 46* (graphite); *W.S.* (ink)

PROVENANCE: William Sharp (Lugt 2650 verso); Given by Sir Frank Brangwyn 1943 (P.449-1943)

#### 47 II/II

Printed on felt side of laid paper (102 x 148) chainlines horizontal (30/32)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 486/6 (graphite); *not in Catalogues* (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) (23.K.5-486)

With patch of diagonal scratching to right of ladder present in some (later?) impressions of the second state, and additional horizontal shading at top right (3 cm from right edge), apparently subsequent to 23.K.5-488.

#### 48 copy in reverse

Etching and drypoint (87 x 63) printed on felt side of laid paper (92 x 68) chainlines horizontal (26).

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 138 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) (AD.12.39-138)

#### 48 copy in reverse

Etching and drypoint (87 x 63) printed on felt side of laid paper (88 x 64) chainlines horizontal (26)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE:

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 108 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) (AD.12.40-108)

Later impression from same plate as AD.12.39-138.

**48 copy in reverse**

Etching and drypoint (87 x 62) printed on felt side of laid paper (87 x 62) chainlines horizontal (26)

WATERMARK: Undeciphered fragment.

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 485 (graphite).

Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) (23.K.5-485)

Similar impression to AD.12.40-108.

**48 copy in reverse (oval)**

Etching and drypoint (85 x 65, oval) printed on wire side of laid paper (86 x 66) chainlines horizontal (23)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 98 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.38-98

**49 II/III**

Printed with surface tone on felt side of laid paper (215 x 289) chainlines vertical (24/26)

WATERMARK: Foolscape with 4-pointed collar, type not catalogued.

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: *B*. 22 (graphite); *no* 49 (graphite); 49 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) (23.K.5-72)

**50**

Printed on felt side of laid paper (210 x 161) chainlines vertical (24-26)

WATERMARK: Foolscape with 7-pointed collar, not identified.

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 92 (graphite); 2 (graphite); 73 (graphite); 61 (graphite); *Iu* (graphite); 87 (ink, crossed out in graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) (23.K.5-73)

**51 II/II**

Printed on felt side of laid paper (102 x 79.5) chainlines horizontal (20/22).

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 86 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) (AD.12.38-86)

**52 copy in reverse (by Pietro Novelli?)**

Etching (90 x 62) printed on mould side of laid paper (106 x 77) chainlines vertical (24/25)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 106 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) (AD.12.40-106)

**52 copy in reverse**

Etching (85 x 63) printed on mould side of laid paper (85 x 63) chainlines horizontal (27) (18<sup>th</sup> Century).

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 75 (graphite); 53 (graphite); *copy* (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) (23.K.5-75)  
Different plate to AD.12.40-106.

**53 VI/VI reworked (Nowell-Usticke VI/IX)**

Printed in black ink on mould side of laid paper (131 x 112) chainlines vertical (c.30) 18<sup>th</sup> Century

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 53 (graphite); 77 (graphite); 66 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) (23.K.5-77)

**55**

Printed on laid paper (95 x 147) chainlines horizontal (24)

WATERMARK: Foolscape with 5-pointed collar with 4 bells, type not catalogued [similar types used 1650s]

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 55 (graphite); 55396/*idf* (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Bequeathed by Dr Brian Hope Taylor 2001 (P.9-2001)

Burr a bit worn, impression between AD.12.40-67 and 23.K.5-82.

**55**

Printed on felt side of laid paper (96 x 144) chainlines horizontal (26/27) ?18<sup>th</sup> century.

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 55 (graphite); 81 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) (23.K.5-81)  
Later impression than others in the collection; absolutely no burr.

**56 VI/VII**

Printed on mould side of laid paper (216 x 285) chainlines horizontal (24.5)

WATERMARK: indistinct small shield in single circle

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 83 / 150C / 56 (graphite) and undeciphered cursive squiggle.

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) (23.K.5-83)

**56 VI/VII**

Printed on mould side of laid paper (224 x 292) chainlines vertical (24.5)

WATERMARK: Unidentified shield in double circle

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: *very scarce first imp.* (graphite) *£. s/4 4* (graphite); *Kog [dot within circle]* (graphite); 5861 (brown ink)

PROVENANCE: A Donnadieu (Lugt 726 *verso*); Jean-Louis-Henri Le Secq (Lugt 1336 *verso*); Marlay Bequest 1912 (P.2268-R)

**56 VII/VII**

Printed on mould side of laid paper (210 x 284) chainlines horizontal (25)

WATERMARK: *IHS* with cross in centre (unidentified variant)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 84 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Martin Ffolkes (Lugt 1034 *verso*; not identifiable in 1756 sale); Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) (23.K.5-84)

**57 IV/IV**

Printed on felt side of laid paper (91 x 58) chainlines vertical (27).

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 85 (graphite); *fine* (trimmed, graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) (23.K.5-85)

**58**

Printed on felt side of laid paper (132 x 117) chainlines horizontal (22/23).

WATERMARK: Fragment of Strasbourg Lily type 36.E'.a (c.1652)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 87 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) (23.K.5-87)

**61**

Printed with surface tone on felt side of laid paper (167 x 107) chainlines vertical (30). Late (18<sup>th</sup> Century?).

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: *no* 60 (graphite); 90 (graphite); *B* (graphite); *r.r.* 101 (ink); *P\*B\** (collector's stamp not in Lugt).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) (23.K.5-90)

**62**

Printed on felt side of laid paper (100 x 76) chainlines horizontal (23).

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 131 (graphite); *H95* (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) (AD.12.39-131)

**62**

Printed on felt side of laid paper (102 x 79) chainlines horizontal (28/31).

INSCRIPTIONS: *recto*: 5 (ink); *verso*: 5 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) (AD.12.40-5)

**63 II/II**

Printed on felt side of laid paper (96 x 145) chainlines horizontal (29) Italian?.

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 93 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) (23.K.5-93)

**S398 II/II**

Printed on felt side of laid paper (222 x 177) chainlines vertical (23/25), shaded with grey watercolour at bottom.

WATERMARK: Undeciphered.

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 19 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Unknown, possibly transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 as AD.12.38-19 (P.2267-R)

**S398 II/II**

Printed on mould side of laid paper (211 x 161) chainlines vertical (24)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: *N* 47 (graphite); 70 (graphite); 1720 (brown ink).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 *verso*) (23.K.5-70)