REMBRANDT & SASKIA

Prints by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669)

Rembrandt met Saskia Uylenburgh in 1633 through her cousin, the dealer Hendrick Uylenburgh (£.1587-1661), who had been Rembrandt's business partner since 1631. Saskia was born in 1612, daughter of Rombertus Uylenburgh and Sjukje Wieckesdr Aessinga, who died in 1619 when Saskia, the youngest of eight children, was only seven years old. With the death of her father five years later, Saskia was left an orphan. She was brought up by her elder sister and brother-in-law in a rural Friesland village. No doubt Saskia's relationship with Rembrandt developed during visits to her cousin Hendrik's house in Amsterdam, where Rembrandt was living. She quickly became a frequent sitter for the artist.

A reliable touchstone for her actual appearance is the intimate silverpoint drawing on vellum inscribed later by Rembrandt: 'this is the likeness of my wife Saskia aged 21 years old, made the third day after our betrothal, 8 June 1633' (Staatliche Museen, Berlin). She wears a wide straw hat decorated with flowers, holds a flower in one hand, and gazes out with evident happiness. She became Rembrandt's wife on 22 June 1634, the year that she first appears identifiably in his etchings (no. 36). She sat for him many more times, but none of the later images recapture the absorbed pleasure of the early drawing. She is usually playing out a role in period costume or, in the later etchings, we see her confined or ill in bed. Her features appear distracted and increasingly drawn as she suffered three children dying in infancy and approached the final illness of tuberculosis that curtailed her life in 1642, when she was not yet thirty. Her will made Rembrandt sole guardian of their only surviving son, Titus, who had been born just seven months before her death. It also dictated (as was usual) that Rembrandt would forfeit his interest in Saskia's property if he ever remarried; for whatever reason, he never did.

Most portrait prints depicted men, reflecting their place in public life and the essentially public nature of portraiture. The only unequivocal female portrait in Rembrandt's oeuvre is the etching Self-portrait with Saskia (no. 1). Most of the images of Saskia show Rembrandt using her as the prompt for his imagination. She plays an imaginative or historical role rather than simply being herself. This sort of fantasy portrait or character study became a staple of Rembrandt's output and was taken up by his followers.



no. 1

Likenesses done by himself

The term 'self-portrait' did not exist in Rembrandt's time: the phrase for what we call a self-portrait would have been something like 'Rembrandt's likeness done by himself'. For instance, in the 1639 inventory of paintings belonging to Charles I of England, Rembrandt's self-portrait painting of c.1630-1 was called 'his owne picture & done by himself'. The difference between this and the modern usage of 'selfportrait' is that in the seventeenth century there was little distinction made between a likeness of an artist done by himself and a likeness of the artist done by someone else. There was no real premium put on extra insight or psychological engagement, because it would have presupposed a self-awareness that is much more recent in concept. So we must be wary of the idea of looking at the sequence of Rembrandt's 'likenesses of himself' as some sort of autobiography in which the artist lays bare his soul. And when we take into account the elements of fancy dress, disguise and role playing that appear as much in the portraits of himself as of others, we quickly realise that there is an ambiguity in nearly all of the so-called likenesses.

The Fitzwilliam Museum

Rembrandt's earliest etched self-portraits are mostly small studies of the head (and sometimes shoulders), some of which were evidently made to explore the range of emotions passing through a face, using himself as a ready model. Rembrandt probably passed on this method to his pupil in the 1640s, Samuel van Hoogstraten, who himself later recommended the use of a mirror to aid in the representation of the passions or emotions in order 'to be at once performer and audience.' Evidently this study of his own face under various emotions enabled Rembrandt to achieve (in his own words) 'the greatest and most natural emotion' in his history paintings². It is no surprise then that we find Rembrandt using his own features on individual figures in his history paintings. For instance, he inserts himself as an extra (one of the mourners) at the top of the ladder in both the painted and etched version of the Descent from the Cross of 1633 (fig. 1).



Fig. 1

The practice of inserting contemporary figures as witnesses in religious scenes was well-established in Northern European art, and Rembrandt made a practice of including himself in such scenes since his earliest days in Leiden. This is again ambiguous; was the viewer supposed to interpret the artist's presence? Was it a secret investment in the picture? Or was he a readily available model with a face that he knew better than any other? Given the number of his own images that circulated in print we can suppose that he would have expected to be recognised by many viewers, and that perhaps, like his contemporary the painter Joachim von Sandrart (1606-88), he saw it as a way of 'including his own portrait for the sake of remembrance'³.

Rembrandt's grandest self-portrait etching (no. 27) was made at a time when the artist was well established as a successful artist in Amsterdam, with noted patrons and with money to pursue his interests as a collector. In the same year he bought a large house in the Breestraat (now the Museum het Rembrandthuis), and according to their own account he and Saskia were 'quite well off and favoured with a superabundance of earthly possessions (for which they can never express sufficient gratitude to the good Lord)'. This was a riposte to a claim by one of Saskia's relatives that she had 'squandered her parents' legacy on ostentatious

display and pomp'. The 1639 image comes as the climax of a number of self-portraits from the 1630s in which Rembrandt seems to promote his status in society. The idea that printmaking could be used to massage the artist's image and status may well have been stimulated by the self-portrait that Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) employed Paulus Pontius (1603-1658) to engrave in 1630. Rubens was a consummate manipulator of printmaking to project his image in the eyes of public and patrons (great care was taken as the print went through several states to adjust the length of the artist's moustache!). In producing self-portrait prints and reproductive prints after religious pictures in the years 1630-35, Rembrandt was following Rubens' example.

This was also the period in which Antony van Dyck (1599-1641) began his series of portrait etchings, which may have circulated as proofs when Rembrandt embarked on his own printed portraits in the early 1630s. Van Dyck visited the court at The Hague in the winter of 1631-2, and it is even possible that proofs were exchanged with Rembrandt, whose own self-portrait of 1631 (no. 21) seems to show awareness of the delicate early states of Van Dyck's portraits, before they were elaborated by professional engravers. A Rembrandt may have seen Van Dyck as a model of an artist whose portraits started as expressive autographic etchings, even if they were not formally published during his lifetime. 5

It happens, coincidence or not, that the period between the Rubens print of 1630 and Sækia's death in 1642 saw Rembrandt's most fertile activity in making self-portrait prints. He made only a few after Saskia's death (see nos. 28, 29, 57). The extraordinary self-scrutiny of Rembrandt's final years was made in paint rather than print. In these late paintings the characteristic lack of polished finish and the physicality of the painted impasto seems to become one with ageing flesh. It is impossible not to stare into the eyes and feel involved in a sense of personal introspection, perhaps too personal for the public medium of print.

Like the facture of the paintings, the very way that Rembrandt used etching and drypoint became part of his recognisable identity as an artist. Nobody else had pushed the medium so far in new directions, handled the needle so personally, created prints so close to the unfinished look of a sketchbook page. To his contemporaries the lack of finish and sketchy style was very new. The Italian writer on art Filippo Baldinucci called Rembrandt's etching technique 'a most bizarre manner' with its 'irregular lines', referring to the free way of drawing against blank paper, instead of using the closely hatched systems of shading familiar from more conventional engravings⁶. Looking at the selfportrait prints, we will never know whether we are really seeing Rembrandt as he saw himself, or as Saskia saw him, but like Rembrandt's contemporaries, we sense the identity of the artist as much from the method of making marks as from the face that they appear to portray.

Rembrandt's paper

Before the late 1640s Rembrandt mainly used European papers from Swiss and south German sources.⁷ He sometimes tried coarser or grever 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 in cargo brought back to Amsterdam from Japan by the Dutch East India Company in the 1640s; two official shipments have been identified for 1643-4 but there were probably others.8 The only example of oriental paper in this exhibition (no. 30) is 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. Elsewhere in the collection are prints 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).9

In the late 1640s Rembrandt also started printing on vellum (calfskin) and on European papers that had been toned with a coloured wash, 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.

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. But what is most important is that paper had become another way in which Rembrandt cultivated an identity through the methods he used. Just as with his 'bizarre manner' of etching, which encompassed leaving films of ink on the surface of the plate to print like a wash of tone, the use of exotic papers or vellum became a recognisable feature of Rembrandt the artist.

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). Recent research watermarks confirms that one of Fitzwilliam's impressions of Self-portrait, drawing at a window (no. 33) 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; presumably even modern impressions were desirable in trying to build a collection that aimed to be complete in every state. 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 Museum'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 Mariette¹⁰ (dated 1667) and the painter Prosper Henry Lankrink¹¹ (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, but not in relation to the prints in this exhibition. 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.

Although the collection contains great rarities, a few of the very scarcest prints are missing. So there is no example of Rembrandt's last self-portrait etching, dating from 1658 and surviving in only two

impressions. There is also no impression of the Self-portrait with plumed cap and lowered sabre in the state before the plate was cut and reduced to an oval (as in no. 25); this first state is known in only four impressions. And there is room for regret in the case of Self-portrait in a beret and scarf with dark face (no. 22), as recent research into watermarks shows that the Library impression is a reprint from the late 1650s, some 25 years after the plate was etched. The Fitzwilliam impression is earlier and rather fresher in its rendition of contrast and modulation of shading, but it is sadly damaged, so the Library impression has been included in this exhibition.

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NOTES

- 1 Hoogstraten 1678.
- 2 Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, no. 1639/11.
- 3 Quoted in White and Buvelot, p.22.
- 4 See Depauwand Luijten 1999, p.92.
- 5 The 1656 inventory of Rembrandt's possessions shows that he collected portrait prints by Rubens, Van Dyck, Goltzius and Muller, among others.
- 6 Baldinucci 1686, p.78
- 7 The section on paper has been written with advice from Bryan Chrke. See also Hinterding 2006.
- 8 An invoice of 1 October 1643 lists two casks of Japanese paper on the ship *De Swæn*, and a memo of 6 November 1644 notes 3000 sheets of Japanese paper bound for the Netherlands and for India (see Barnard and Börklund 1968, p.173). For the probability that this was only part of what was imported, see Van Breda 1997 n.10, p.31.
- 9 Van Breda 1997, p.29.
- 10 Mariette's signature, dated 1678, also occurs at least once in the album AD.12.38.
- 11 Lankrink moved from his native Flanders to London in the 1660s and worked as an assistant to Sir Peter Lely.

FURTHER READING

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Technical terms

Burin

The v-shaped tool used for *engraving* a plate. Rembrandt sometimes used it 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 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 to either side in a rough *burr*. When the plate is inked, the *burr* traps rich deposits of ink, which then print on the paper as velvety black. Rembrandt's use of harder cold-hammered (rather than rolled) copper meant that a few dozen prints could be printed 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 *hites* (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.

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 is the fifth exhibition in a series allied to a long-term programme of conservation of the Fitzwilliam Museum's Rembrandt collection. The first four exhibitions dealt with Rembrandt's prints of landscapes, nudes, and subjects connected with Christ's Passion and Nativity, which were the themes of exhibitions in 1994, 1996, 1999 and 2005-6. 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.

Explanation of catalogue information

Bartsch/Hollstein [reference to White & Boon, Hollsteins Dutch and Flemish etchings, engavings and noodcuts, 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 Hinterding 2006.

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).

Abbreviations of references to other collections

Kassel Gemäldegalerie, Kassel
London The National Gallery, London
Ottawa National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

Nuremberg Germanisches Narionalmuseum,

Nuremberg

Paris Musée du Louvre, Paris Rembrandthuis Museum het Rembrandthuis,

Amsterdam

Rotterdam Boijmans van Beuningen Museum,

Rotterdam

Washington National Gallery of Art, Washington

1 Self-portrait with Saskia 1636

Bartsch/Hollstein 19 I/III

Etching (104 x 95), printed in black ink on wire side of laid

paper (109 x 98) chainlines horizontal (22/24) SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt. f. 1636.

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso)

23.K.5-26

SURVIVING PLATE: 107 x 96 x 0.97; Private Collection,

Netherlands

This is the only portrait of Rembrandt and Saskia together. They had married two years before this etching was made. The scene is apparently Rembrandt's workshop, and he wears the feathered hat that was either to hand in his studio, or a ready prop in his imagination garnered from sixteenth-century prints. Saskia also wears old-fashioned clothes and seems to gaze beyond Rembrandt into the mirror as he presumably prepares to draw the outlines of this print on a copper-plate. He holds an etching needle or a porte-crayon (holder for chalk) loosely in his left hand. The reversal of the printing process would correct the reversal of the image observed in a mirror, so Rembrandt, who was right handed, must not have intended to show himself in the act of drawing.

If Saskia was also depicted from observation in the mirror, this would be the only printed image of her in which her appearance is not reversed. But it is also possible that Rembrandt did not intend a double portrait from the beginning and that he started the plate with only the image of Saskia, in the manner that he might start to etch her head on a plate of studies (no. 51); he might subsequently have decided to add his own image, which goes partly over the top of Saskia. This would help to explain the slightly odd dislocation of space between the two figures. In any case, he was careful to keep the lighting consistent so that the two figures appeared as a double portrait.

The antiquated costumes hint that the print may have been intended as something more than simply an intimate portrait of the young married couple, and it has been suggested that the image might illustrate the Dutch maxim *Liefde baart kunst*, or 'love brings forth art' (de Jongh 1986, p.58), which was depicted by seventeenth Dutch painters in family and double portraits (although not hitherto in a print).

2 Self-portrait with Saskia 1636

Bartsch/Hollstein 19 II/III

Etching, counterproof in black ink on wire side of laid

paper (106 x 85) chainlines vertical (26/27) SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt. f. 1636.

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 28 (graphite); [L L27] trimmed (brown

ink)

PROVENANCE: John Barnard (Lugt 1419 verso); Fitzwilliam

Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-28

This is a counterproof printed directly from a fresh, wet impression of the print. The counterproof is usually paler than a normal impression, as there is less ink deposited on the paper. The counterproof reverses the image, which in this case has the advantage of showing Rembrandt and Saskia as they would have appeared in a mirror, and as he drew them on the

plate. This would have helped the artist if contemplating further work on the plate. Another reason for printing counterproofs must have been that there was a market for unusual impressions among collectors (for another example see no. 35).

3 Self-portrait with Saskia 1636

Bartsch/Hollstein 19 II/III

Etching (cut inside platemark), printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (103 x 93) chainlines horizontal (23/7). SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembundt. f. 1636.

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 27 (graphite); N^a. 24 (graphite); 2^{nd(?)} (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-27

The only difference between this second state and the first state (no. 1) is that the curved slipped stroke above Saskia's right eyebrow has here been removed.

4 Self-portrait with a broad nose c.1628

Bartsch/Hollstein 4

Etching (71 x 58) printed in black ink with surface tone on felt side of laid paper (73 x 59) chainlines vertical.

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt. f.

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 13 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: George Hibbert (Lugt 2849 reato); John Barnard (Lugt 1419 verso); ?Robert Dighton (Lugt 727 reato, partially ensed); Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-14

Rembrandt made his first etched and painted self-portraits around 1626-7. This rare etching (known in five surviving impressions) was made soon afterwards. At first glance the emphasis seems to be on the face, but it has been observed that the collarless cloak and hint of decoration (smocking) on the shirt identify the costume as sixteenth century. There are later records of Rembrandt keeping historical costumes in his studio, but he may also have adapted such features from earlier prints. Even in this tiny print, he is playing the sort of game with his identity that became more elaborate in larger prints of the 1630s (nos. 22-27).

5 Self-portrait with curly hair and white collar c.1629

Bartsch/Hollstein 1 II/II

Etching (58 x 50) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (60 x 52) chainlines vertical

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: RHL

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 3 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso)

23.K.5-3

From the group of small self-portraits etched around 1630. The hair, costume and lighting show similarities with the painting *Self-portrait with gorget* (Nuremberg) and a drawing (British Museum) made around the same time.

6 Self-portrait in a fur hat 1630

Bartsch/Hollstein 24 IV/IV

Etching (61 x 52) printed in black ink on wire side of laid

paper (64 x 65) chainlines vertical SIGNED IN THE PLATE: RHL 1630

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: N9 a 6H (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso)

23.K.5-451

From the group of small self-portraits etched around 1630. The fact that the hair is visible through the hat indicates that this etching was drawn first without the hat, although no examples without the hat survive.

7 Self-portrait in a fur hat and dark coat 1631

Bartsch/Hollstein 16

Etching (63 x 57) printed in black ink on felt side of laid

paper (63 x 58) chainlines horizontal

WATERMARK: unidentified fragment

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: RHL 1631

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 314 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-314

As in no. 6, the fact that the hair is visible through the hat indicates that this was drawn first without the hat, although no examples without the hat survive. In no. 7 the fur collar also seems to have been added later.

8 Self-portrait in peaked beret c.1634-5

Bartsch/Hollstein 2

Etching (49 x 43) printed in black ink on laid paper (51 x 45) chainlines vertical

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 360 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-360

No. 8 was probably made a little later than the group of small self-portraits of around 1630; it probably dates from the same time as a red chalk drawing with a similar beret and hairstyle (Washington).

9 Self-portrait with cap pulled forward c.1631

Bartsch/Hollstein 319 VI/VI

Etching (50 x 42) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (52.5 x 44) chainlines vertical (25/26)

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 411 (graphite); [illegible price]/ rane (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-411

As in nos. 12-15, no. 9 has been reworked, probably by Rembrandt's pupil Jan van Vliet (c.1610-1668), although Rembrandt's likeness still remains.

10 Self-portrait with long bushy hair ε.1631

Bartsch/Hollstein 8 II/VI

Etching (cut inside platemark) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (61 x 56) chainlines horizontal (26) INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 20 5 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.38-205

11 Self-portrait with long bushy hair ε.1631

Bartsch/Hollstein 8 IV/VI

Etching (64.5 x 61) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (66 x 61) chainlines horizontal (22)

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 315 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-315

No. 11 was printed later than no. 10, after the plate had been coarsely reworked by another hand, perhaps by Rembrandt's pupil Jan van Vliet (c.1610-1668) who also reworked a number of other small self-portrait heads by Rembrandt (nos. 12-15). These two impressions give some idea of the transformation that took place in the reworking of the other prints.

An earlier state than no. 10 shows that the plate was originally larger; Rembrandt may have initially intended to make a half-length portrait rather than just a head.

12 Self-portrait in a slant fur cap c.1630-1

Bartsch/Hollstein 14 III/III

Etching (64 x 57) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (79 x 69) chainlines horizontal (24).

Signed in the plate: [not by Rembrandt] RH 1631

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 326 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-326

13 Self-portrait with bushy hair ε.1630-1

Bartsch/Hollstein 25 II/III

Etching (60 x 56) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (61 x 57) chainlines vertical

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: RH 1631

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-331

As with nos. 14-15, these prints only survive in states that have been reworked by another hand, probably by Jan van Vliet. The etched initials and dates were probably added by Van Vliet when publishing the prints. Rembrandt may have left the plates with Van Vliet when he left Leiden for Amsterdam.

14 Self-portrait in cap and dark cloak c.1630-1

Bartsh/Hollstein 6 II/III

Etching (67×60) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (70×63) chainlines horizontal (21/22), with brown ink outline drawn around print.

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 8 (graphite); 7 (graphite); 7 (brown ink) PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-8

15 Self-portrait in a cloak with a falling collar 1630-1

Bartsch/Hollstein 15 IV/V

Etching and drypoint (cut inside platemark) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (61 x 53) chainlines vertical (22).

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: RHL 1631

INSCRIPTIONS: verso 21 (graphite); 20 (graphite); See No 20 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-21

Both nos. 14 and 15 have been reworked by another hand, probably by Jan van Vliet (c.1610-1668). As with nos. 12-13, these prints only survive in reworked states. These reworked states were printed in large numbers, and it is probable that this was done by Van Vliet with Rembrandt's instruction. The etched date in no. 15 has

been altered from 1630 to 1631. Van Vliet's alterations seem to remove the image further from a direct likeness of Rembrandt, reinforcing the idea that these small prints were not valued primarily as likenesses.

16 Self-portrait, wide-eyed 1630

Bartsch/Hollstein 320

Etching (cut inside irregular platemark) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (52×42) chainlines horizontal

WATERMARK: unidentified fragment SIGNED IN THE PLATE: RHL 1630 INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 344 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-344

17 Self-portrait, laughing 1630

Bartsch/Hollstein 316 IV/VI

Etching (49 x 42) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (49 x 43) chainlines horizontal

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: RHL 1630 INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 408 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso)

23.K.5-408

Around 1630 Rembrandt etched four small self-portrait heads, in which he depicted himself in a variety of moods (nos. 16-19). He also adopted this approach in a number of paintings from the same period. The fascination obviously lay in exploring the relationship between facial features and implied emotion, rather than in creating portraits as such. These studies helped Rembrandt when calculating the effect of facial expression in his figure compositions, and may also have served as models for students. Occasionally we find Rembrandt's features on onlookers or participants in his early biblical or historical paintings and etchings.

18 Self-portrait, frowning 1630

Bartsch/Hollstein 10 II/III

Etching (72 x 62) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (73 x 65) chainlines horizontal (25)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: [RHL 16]30 [full inscription only visible in first state

INSCRIPTIONS: recto: 308 (faded brown ink); verso: 308 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-308

19 Self-portrait, open-mouthed 1630

Bartsch/Hollstein 13 II/III

Etching (73 x 62) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (75 x 64) chainlines vertical

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: RHL 1630

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 18 (graphite); 17 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso)

23.K.5-17

From the series of small, self-portrait heads, etched around 1630, in which Rembrandt depicted himself in a variety of moods (nos. 16-19). The fascination obviously lay in exploring the relationship between facial features and implied emotion, rather than in creating a portrait as such.

20 Beggar seated on a bank 1630

Bartsch/Hollstein 174

Etching (116 x 70, irregular) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (117 x 71) chainlines horizontal (22/24)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: RHL 1630

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 253 (graphite); No. 168 (graphite) PROVENANCE: John Barnard (Lugt 1419 verso); Nathaniel Smith (Lugt 2298 recto, letter code only); Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-253

Rembrandt probably used himself as a model for this image of a beggar, or borrowed the features from selfportrait etchings such as no. 19, adding a ragged beard.

Beggars featured strongly in Rembrandt's prints and drawings of this period, probably influenced by the etchings of beggars by the French printmaker Jacques Callot (1592-1635) made in the early 1620s.

21 Self-portrait in a soft hat and patterned cloak

Bartsch/Hollstein 7 VII/XI

Etching and drypoint (148 x 131) printed in black ink with surface tone on felt side of laid paper (151 x 133) chainlines horizontal (24/26)

WATERMARK: fragment probably of Single headed eagle with Basel Crozier, unidentified type

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: RHL 1631

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 9 (graphite); 8 (graphite); 8 (brown ink); I.R. (graphite, unidentified collector's mark?)

PROVENANCE: George Hibbert (Lugt 2849 recto); John Barnard (Lugt 1419 verso); Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-9

This is Rembrandt's first ambitious self-portrait print (the earlier self-portrait heads and character studies are displayed in the central cases), presenting himself in affluent costume with his hair arranged in courtly fashion. He probably added the long lock of hair down one shoulder from his imagination, as it does not seem to have been usually part of his hairstyle. The long lock or cadenette, was fashionable exclusively in aristocratic circles, and Rembrandt adopted it in several of his prints of the 1630s (see nos. 9, 25 and 26). This print is a rare example of the artist in contemporary dress, rather than the forms of fancy dress that he generally adopted in portraits of the 1630s (see nos. 23-27). This may well have been linked with the young artist's desire to promote his place in society around the time of his move from Leiden to Amsterdam in 1631.

Rembrandt's image was built up through numerous states, starting with the head only and then adding the costume with increasingly luxurious detail. Later, Rembrandt returned to the plate, added a shaded background, and eventually (probably not until 1633) added the new form of his full signature. The pattern on the sleeve added in the state exhibited here seems to turn a simple cloak into one made from the fur-lined woven velvet known as caffa (see De Winkel in White and Buvelot, p.63).

The print was made shortly after his first dated self-portrait paintings, and it predates any of his portrait prints of other sitters (his first portrait etching of another sitter was the 1633 print of Saskia's

guardian Jan Cornelis Sylvius). The idea may well have been stimulated by the self-portrait that Rubens employed Paulus Pontius to engrave in 1630. This was also the period in which Van Dyck embarked on his series of portrait etchings, and the first state of Rembrandt's etching seems to suggest that he may have seen early states of Van Dyck's prints, in which only the head was etched (see p.2 above).

There is a fingerprint, perhaps Rembrandt's, in the top right of the image.

22 Self-portrait in a beret and scarf with dark face 1633

Bartsch/Hollstein 17 II/II

Etching (133 x 103) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (139 x 111) chainlines horizontal (26/27).

WATERMARK: fragment showing top of Arms of

Amsterdam, unidentified variant

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt f. 1633

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 162 (graphite); +L (ink)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.38-162

SURVIVING PLATE: 135 x 105 x 1.03; Private Collection,

United States

Rembrandt wears the sort of 'East Indian' scarf that appears in some of his other works, and the oldfashioned beret that features in many of his selfportraits (the beret had not been fashionable since the sixteenth century). On the shoulder is a button with laces for attaching armour. We may therefore suppose that the artist is not wearing everyday dress and that the print is not intended as a straight portrait. It is the sort of fancy portrait that grew more elaborate in prints of the next few years (see nos. 23-26). In keeping with this is the daring use of shadow, probably influenced by the vogue for dramatic lighting in works influenced by the Italian artist Caravaggio (1571-1610); plain portraits are not usually lit so that shadow renders most of the face's features difficult to read.

The watermark suggests that this is a reprint dating probably from the late 1650s, when Rembrandt reprinted a number of earlier prints on the same papers that he used for printing newly etched plates. In the best early impressions there is more modulation of tone in the shading on the face.

23 Self-portrait with raised sabre 1634

Bartsch/Hollstein 18 I/II

Etching and engraving (cut inside platemark) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (121 x 107) chainlines vertical

WATERMARK: Basel Crozier type A.a.a [1634] SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt f. 1634

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 180 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.38-180

The costume suggests that Rembrandt is in the guise of an oriental potentate. The sword, with its wavy blade, is an Indonesian kris, while the ermine collar and chain indicate the status of its bearer. It was recorded in 1656 that Rembrandt owned a number of Indonesian weapons, and the same sort of sword

appeared in his paintings of Samson's capture and blinding, dating respectively from 1628 and 1636.

This impression was evidently printed soon after Rembrandt dated the plate in 1634, and before he reduced it in size (see no. 24). It is printed on the same sort of paper that Rembrandt used for other impressions of the first state of this plate (no other paper has so far been recorded for this state), and also for several other prints dated 1634 and earlier.

24 Self-portrait with raised sabre 1634

Bartsch/Hollstein 18 II/II

Etching and engraving (123 x 102) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (125 x 103) chainlines vertical (27) SIGNED IN THE PLATE: [R] embrandt f. 1634

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 239 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-239

Before printing this second state, Rembrandt cut the plate down, removing half of the first letter of the signature and the second borderline on the right; he also burnished away the end of the sabre that originally protruded beyond the first borderline on the right (see no. 23). Most of the fine horizontal polishing scratches in the back ground have now worn from the plate. This impression is printed with more ink than no. 23, probably to compensate for wear to the finer etched lines; the more deeply engraved lines have worn less, so that the engraved accents on the lips and eyes now stand out rather starkly in relation to the etched shading around them.

25 Self-portrait with plumed cap and lowered sabre 1634

Bartsch/Hollstein 23 III/III

Etching and engraving (130 x 107 oval) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (133 x 111) chainlines vertical (24)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt f. 1634 INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 257 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-257

This plate began life as a rectangular, three-quarter length portrait before being cut down to this oval format. Only four impressions of the uncut first state are known. Whether or not it is a self-portrait has been the subject of some debate; it comes into the category of work in which Rembrandt apparently started with his own features but then elaborated the image with elements of invention that turned it into another genre of work. The wart or mole by the nose is not found in any other self-portrait, and elements of the exotic costume may have been imitated from earlier prints rather than just relying on props available in his studio.

The oriental appearance gives the impression that the figure illustrates a personage from the bible or history, but there is no clear evidence that this was the intention. There is even less indication of a specific role in the trimmed version, given that the sword and military frogging on the coat are longer visible. The other military element of the costume, the gorget round the neck, survives in the oval version.

26 Self-portrait in a velvet beret with plume 1638

Bartsch/Hollstein 20

Etching (135 x 104) printed in black ink on wire side of laid

paper (138 x 108) chainlines horizontal (24/25)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt. f 1638 INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 225 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-225

SURVIVING PLATE: 135 x 105 x 1.03; Private Collection,

United States

This is another example of Rembrandt dressing himself up in historical or fantastical costume, but this time he gives himself a more luxuriant beard than usual. The pose is related to more than one sixteenth-century portrait print of an artist. On the one hand this can be seen as the artist presenting himself in the tradition of grand portraiture, but on the other it can be seen as him creating a costume subject using himself as a readily available model.

27 Self-portrait leaning on a stone sill 1639

Bartsch/Hollstein 21 II/II

Etching and drypoint (cut to platemark) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (205 x 162) chainlines vertical (22/24)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt f 1639 INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 31 (graphite); 26 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso)

23.K.5-31

This is Rembrandt's grandest self-portrait etching, made when the artist was established as a successful artist in Amsterdam, with noted patrons and with money to pursue his interests as a collector. In the same year he bought a large house in the Breestraat (now the Museum het Rembrandthuis), and according to their own account he and Saskia were 'quite well off and favoured with a superabundance of earthly possessions.'

The use of historical costume builds on his earlier self-portraits in this vein (nos. 21-5), and the motif of the artist leaning on a parapet or sill places the image within a tradition of earlier printed portraits. Nevertheless, the Renaissance costume and the pose were probably directly inspired by two paintings: Titian's so-called Portrait of Ariosto (London), and to a lesser extent, Raphael's portrait of Baldassare Castiglione (Paris), both paintings then visible in Amsterdam collections or salerooms (Rembrandt made a sketch of the latter when it was sold at auction in 1639). He repeated the format in a self-portrait painted the following year (London), but with no suggestion of the exterior setting apparent in the etching. The formula was repeated in numerous works by his pupils and followers.

28 Self-portrait in a beret and embroidered dress c.1642

Bartsch/Hollstein 26

Etching (94×62) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (102×75) chainlines vertical (20/24)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt f.

INSCRIPTIONS: recto: 295 (brown ink); verso: 295 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-295 SURVIVING PLATE: 95 x 63 x 1.42; Fogg Museum of Art, Cambridge (Mass.)

Compared to the swagger self-portrait of 1639 (no. 27) the artist here appears grim and resolute in a more modestly scaled print. One should be wary of reading biographical detail into Rembrandt's treatment of his own face, given that he was such a master of disguise in his self-portraits, but it is perhaps pertinent that the etching probably dates to the period around Saskia's final illness and death in 1642.

29 Self-portrait, drawing at a window 1648

Bartsch/Hollstein 22 II/V

Etching, drypoint and engraving (160 x 130) printed on felt side of laid paper (161 x 131) chainlines horizontal (24)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt. f 1648

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 2 (graphite); 25 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-2

Surviving plate: $162.5 \times 131.5 \times 0.93$; formerly with

Artemis, London

One of the few self-portrait prints made after Saskia's death. For the first time in Rembrandt's larger self-portrait prints, the artist presents himself without pretence or fantasy (compare no. 27). Rather than elaborate historical costume, he appears here in his working clothes as an artist. He wears a similar hat and coat in the drawing of c.1650, which according to a late seventeenth-century inscription shows him 'as he was attired in his studio' (Rembrandthuis). He looks into a mirror and draws his portrait on an etching plate (or sheet of paper) lying on a folded cloth apparently supported by two books. The reversal of the image in the printing process corrects the reversal in the mirror, so Rembrandt appears correctly as right-handed in the print.

The etching is composed of a subtly modulated range of etched shading that captures the way forms are modelled softly by light coming through the window and reflected in the mirror. In this second state he added the cloth at the top of the window, bearing his signature, with a corresponding shadow hatched on the window frame. This cloth is similar to one that he hung above the window in his workshop in order to modify the light. Rather than just being a compositional change in this state of the print, it may account for the more subdued light, with the hat thrown more into shadow.

30 Self-portrait, drawing at a window 1648

Bartsch/Hollstein 22 IV/V

Etching, drypoint and engraving (154 x 130) printed in black ink on medium-weight warm-toned vellum-like oriental

paper, probably Japanese *torinoko* (160 x 135) SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt. f 1648

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 1 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-1

In this later state Rembrandt has shaded the hands and cuffs, darkened other areas of shading, and added the

fanciful landscape seen through the window. The changes were probably made in or shortly after 1648, when Rembrandt was active as an etcher of landscape prints. This impression is printed on the warm-toned Japanese paper that Rembrandt used for a small number of impressions of certain prints in the late 1640s and 50s. Compared with impressions of this state printed on European paper (no. 31), the contrasts are subtler and the half-lights more gently glowing.

31 Self-portrait, drawing at a window 1648

Bartsch/Hollstein 22 IV/V

Etching, drypoint and engraving (159 x 130) printed on felt side of laid paper (162 x 132) chainlines horizontal SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1648*INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 33* (graphite); *1-1-0* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: John Barnard (Lugt 1419 *verso*, crossed through); *CG*[?] (unidentified collector's mark *verso*); Nathaniel Smith (Lugt 2298 *redo*, name only); Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-33

This impression is printed from the plate in the same state as no. 30, but on off-white European paper.

32 Self-portrait, drawing at a window 1648

Bartsch/Hollstein 22 IV/V

Etching, drypoint and engraving (160 x 130) printed on felt side of laid paper (162 x 132) chainlines vertical (23/24) WATERMARK: Arms of Amsterdam type B.d [1650s/60s?] SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Renbrandt. f 1648

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 3 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.38-3

This impression was printed later than no. 31, probably in the 1650s or 60s, at a time when the plate had worn and the lines held less ink.

33 Self-portrait, drawing at a window 1648

Bartsch/Hollstein 22 V/V

Etching, drypoint and engraving (cut to platemark) printed on felt side of laid paper (160×130) chainlines horizontal (25/28)

WATERMARK: Shield with *Paris 1680* type (miscellaneous) Ab SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Renbrandt. f 1648

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 32 (graphite); 27 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-32

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

34 The Artist drawing from the model *i*.1639

Bartsch/Hollstein 192 state II/II

Etching, drypoint and engraving (229 x 183) printed on felt side of laid paper (236 x 189) chainlines horizontal (25) WATERMARK: Basle Crozier with initials M[?] P below, undescribed type

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 21 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (AD.12.39-21)

SURVIVING PLATE: 235 x 185 x 1.1 (thicker on left); Private

Collection, Netherlands

The content and meaning of this unfinished print has been much discussed. Is it simply an artist in his studio drawing a female nude who poses for him with some studio props? Is the artist Rembrandt? This was believed by some writers when it was thought that the print dated from the 1650s, when Rembrandt's appearance might have more closely accorded with the features of the depicted artist; but recent research on watermarks shows that it was first being printed around 1640, thus confirming an earlier date. In eighteenth-century Holland the plate was known as Pygmalion, and the pose of the model is close to the appearance of a print of Pygmalion by Pieter Feddes van Harlingen of 1615. But the depiction of the artist hardly accords with the king who fell in love with his own statue of Aphrodite. Attempts by later writers to produce an allegorical meaning are only partly convincing. The best suggestion is that it was intended as some sort of allegory on the visual arts, perhaps on the Truth of Drawing.

Whatever the intended meaning, we can be sure that the nude was not modelled on Saskia, whose social position would have been severely compromised by such immodesty. It would have been thought improper for a married woman to pose naked, either in Hendrick Uylenburgh's house or later in Rembrandt's studio full of pupils. Artists would generally use paid models, often prostitutes, for naked posing. It is notable that Rembrandt made almost no studies from naked models during his marriage to Saskia, and in this instance the nude may have been taken from the 1615 print of Pygmalion, rather than from a live model.

This is an early impression of the second state, with the drypoint burr producing rich deposits of ink around some of the lines. The first state, known only through impressions in London and Vienna, lacks the shading on the easel and the drapery hanging over the model's arm; there is also a small press (not an etching press) between the artist and his model, which has been erased in this second state. A drawing in London (Benesch 423) was almost certainly made *after* the second state of the plate had been printed, possibly with a view to deciding what to do next with the plate. This suggests that Rembrandt intended to finish the plate at that point but for some reason never did so. After a few impressions were printed around 1640, the plate was laid aside until around 1652 (see no. 35).

35 The Artist drawing from the model 6.1639

Bartsch/Hollstein 192 state II/II counterproof Etching, drypoint and engraving (cut within image) counterproof in black ink on felt side of laid paper (227 x 173) chainlines vertical (23)

WATERMARK: countermark WK in a monogram type WK'a.a Ic 1652l

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 265 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-265)

This is a counterproof printed around 1652 directly from a fresh, wet impression of the print seen in no. 34. The counterproof reverses the image, showing it the same way round that it appeared on the plate. It

may have been made when Rembrandt was reconsidering completing the plate.

36 Saskia with pearls in her hair 1634

Bartsch/Hollstein 347

Etching (87 x 67) printed in black ink on ?wire side of laid paper (89 x 68) chainlines horizontal (24)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt f. 1634

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 278 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-278

In this closely observed and delicately rendered etching, Saskia is shown in the year of her marriage, wearing an elaborate dress, triangular lace shawl (*fichu*), and pearls adorning her hair, ear and neck. The image is poised between straight portraiture and the more elaborate character studies in historical dress that subsumed Saskia's features in a more generalised depiction. The image evidently had commercial as well as artistic appeal; it was one of only two of Rembrandt's etchings that were copied by Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-77) during his trip to Amsterdam in 1635.

Rembrandt had painted several portraits of young women in strict profile (not slightly turned as in this print), two of which feature pearls and sixteenth-century dress. The first of these dated from 1632 and the other, a portrait of Saskia in a red hat (Kassel), was started in 1633 or 1634.

37 'The great Jewish bride' 1635

Bartsch/Hollstein 340 III/V

Etching (221 x 169) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (224 x 173) chainlines horizontal (22/24) WATERMARK: Strasbourg Lily with initials BA type A.a.a

[£1635] SIGNED IN THE PLATE: R *1635* [reversed]

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 177 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-177

This is Rembrandt's most ambitious etched depiction of Saskia, whom he had married the previous year. The traditional title stemmed from the custom of Jewish brides receiving their husbands with their hair loose on their shoulders, and it was erroneously supposed that the sitter was the daughter of Ephraim Bonus. There have been various suggestions of a specific iconography beyond a portrait in a fantastical costume. The most convincing is that Saskia represents the biblical figure of Esther who 'put on her royal apparel' before showing her husband, the Persian King Ahasuerus the decree that exposed Haman's intention to slay the Jews (Esther 4:8 and 5:1). It is possible that Rembrandt's slightly earlier painting of a heroine from the Old Testament (Ottawa) may also show the subject of Esther. The subject had been popular in Holland because of perceived parallels between the plight of the Jews and the Dutch fight for freedom against Spanish rule.

38 'The great Jewish bride' 1635

Bartsch/Hollstein 340 V/V

Etching, drypoint and engraving (221 x 168) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (251 x 203) chainlines vertical (27/28)

WATERMARK: Strasbourg Bend type A.a.a [c1646]

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: R 1635 [reversed] INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 176 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-176

Rembrandt developed the plate through five successive states (with the help of a working drawing) in a short period of time. By this final state, Rembrandt had added more shading to the hand and sleeve, and lines defining the stone wall in the right background. An impression of this state in the British Museum is printed on similar paper.

39 Saskia as Saint Catherine ('The little Jewish bride') 1638

Bartsch/Hollstein 342

Etching and drypoint (111 x 79) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (114 x 82) chainlines horizontal (22/24) SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembandt. f. 1638 [reversed] INSCRIPTIONS: recto: 243 (brown ink); reno: 243 (graphite) PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-243

Traditionally known as 'The little Jewish bride', this etching clearly uses Saskia as a model to depict Saint Catherine, who is identified by her attribute, the wheel seen on the right. Catherine's story was told in the Golden Legend, a source book combining apocryphal gospels and legends of the saints, compiled by Jacobus de Voragine around 1260. As Queen of Alexandria she converted to Christianity and in a vision underwent a mystic marriage with Christ. She spurned the love of Emperor Maxentius and converted the philosophers sent to undermine her faith. Surviving torture on a wheel studded with iron spikes, she was then beheaded with a sword.

The traditional title stemmed from the custom of Jewish brides receiving their husbands with their hair loose on their shoulders (see also no. 37).

40 The married couple and Death 1639

Bartsch/Hollstein 109

Etching and drypoint (109 x 79) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (112 x 81) chainlines horizontal (28/30)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt f. 1639.

INSCRIPTIONS: recto: f (brown ink); rerso: 263 (graphite) PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 rerso) AD.12.39-263

The subject of this print comes from the tradition of the *danse macabre* and was evidently inspired by earlier prints by artists such as Dürer and Holbein the Younger, in a skeletal figure of Death appears to a young pair of lovers, holding an hourglass with the sands of time running out on earthly existence.

It was once supposed that the young couple in this print were portraits of Rembrandt and Saskia, and while the profile of the man looks nothing like Rembrandt, Saskia may well have modelled the figure of the woman. Rembrandt depicted her several times in the sort of elaborate costume seen here, and in one

painting (Kassel), the costume (particularly the hat) is strikingly similar. In both painting and print, she holds a flower, denoting love, but in the print she offers it not to the young man, but to Death, emphasising the flower as a metaphor for the brevity of life. It is pushing the interpretation too far to suggest that there was a link between the content of this print and the bouts of illness that Saskia may have suffered in 1639 (see no. 43), but the message of mortality turned out to be only too pertinent for Saskia: within three years, she was dead.

The significant amount of drypoint used in drawing the image meant that it wore very quickly, and the lines became faint in all but the earliest impressions. In this impression the bottom left corner plate has not printed properly, possibly because it was accidentally masked during printing.

41 The Death of the Virgin 1639

Bartsch/Hollstein 99 II/III

Etching and drypoint (410 x 314) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (448 x 369) chainlines horizontal (26/27).

WATERMARK: Strasbourg Bend similar but not identical to type A.aa [1646]

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt f. 1639

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 11 (graphite).

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.20.15-11

This subject had been frequently depicted in Renaissance prints by Dürer and others, but Rembrandt gives it a particularly individual twist by depicting the dying Mary, not as a blissfully transported idealised figure, but as a seriously sick woman. The tone and demeanour may well have been informed by Rembrandt's observation of his sick wife (compare no. 43).

The story of the death of the Virgin was told in the Golden Legend. After an angel appeared to her announcing that her death was imminent, the Virgin requested that the apostles were miraculously brought transported to her deathbed from all corners of the world

42 Sick woman with a large white headdress *c*.1641-2

Bartsch/Hollstein 359

Etching and drypoint (62 x 51) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (64 x 52) chainlines horizontal INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 443 (graphite); *No* 327 (graphite) Provenance: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-443

The woman is Saskia, probably depicted during the final months of the illness that led to her early death in 1642. After the birth of Titus in September 1641, it seems Saskia never properly recovered. Her will, written on 5 June, describes her as 'ailing in bed', and she died nine days later. The drawn, sunken-cheeked face is in awful contrast to the appearance of a fresh, rather plump-cheeked young woman a few years earlier (compare nos. 36-39).

43 Sheet of studies, with a woman lying ill in bed £1639-42

Bartsch/Hollstein 369

Etching (138 x 151) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (159 x 174) chainlines vertical (24)

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 71 (graphite)

Provenance: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.40-71

The woman in bed is Saskia, perhaps during her final illness in 1642, but possibly during bouts of prolonged or recurring illness a few years earlier. The intervals between her four confinements were longer than usual, suggesting that there were perhaps problems with her health in the late 1630s and that she may already have been suffering from the tuberculosis that killed her. Taken together with numerous drawings and prints by Rembrandt showing her in bed, this suggests that she may well have spent prolonged periods bedridden and ill. Around 1639 Rembrandt made a series of closely related drawings of Saskia in bed, and this print may date from that period. This would explain the affinity of the sleeping Saskia with the figure of Mary in The Death of the Virgin (no. 41) made in the same year.

The unveiled intimacy of the artist's observation of his prone wife is remarkable. It would seem that Rembrandt's numerous sketches of Saskia in bed throughout their marriage may have been intended to go into the album of 'women's lives with children' (het vrouwenleven met kinderen) that later belonged to his friend, the artist Jan van de Cappelle (1626-79).

44 Sheet of studies, with a woman lying ill in bed £1639-42

Bartsch/Hollstein 369

Etching (152 x 138) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (156 x 141) chainlines horizontal (22/23)

WATERMARK: Top fragment of Strasbourg Lily, unidentified type

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 450 (graphite); 336 graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso)

23.K.5-450

Printed from the same plate as no. 43, but displayed at 90 degrees to show more clearly the woman drawn at a different angle. Prints that needed to be turned to be appreciated fitted the contemporary habit of keeping them in portfolios, or even in bound albums, rather than hanging them framed on the wall. The intention of etching plates of studies such as nos. 43-58 seems to have been to produce prints with the appearance and appeal of sketchbook pages, imitating the sort of drawings that combined different views of the same figure or figures on one sheet.

45 Fragments cut from the print Sheet of studies, with a woman lying ill in bed £1639-42

Bartsch/Hollstein 369

Etching, 5 fragments from impression printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (chainlines 24)

WATERMARK: Arms of Amsterdam, unidentified type

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 105 (graphite); 237 graphite); 106 (graphite); 238 (graphite); 102 (graphite); No 196 (ink) PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso)

AD.12.38-105/237/106/238/102

These fragments were cut from different parts of the same impression, printed from the plate seen complete in nos. 43-4. This was presumably done by a dealer who thought he could sell the fragments better individually or by a collector who wanted to arrange them in an album as individual studies. These studies were mounted in different parts of the same University Library album. This sort of cutting seems to have been quite common practice with some of Rembrandt's study sheets (see also nos. 47-8)

46 Three heads of women, one asleep 1637

Bartsch/Hollstein 368

Etching (cut inside platemark) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (130 x 97) chainlines horizontal (30) WATERMARK: fragment of Strasbourg Lily similar to type D.b [1641]

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt f 1637 INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 246 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-246

Around 1636 Rembrandt returned to the idea of studying the varied expressions and attitudes of a face, as he had done in his earlier self-portrait prints (nos.16-19). This time his model was usually Saskia, and the heads were combined on one sheet. Not only do the poses and headdresses differ, but the degree of finish varies between each head. There was an established tradition of depicting studies of heads in different poses on the same sheet to provide models for aspiring artists, but Rembrandt added a new note of informality and intimacy, transforming an academic demonstration into personal observation. Prints such as nos. 46, 49 and 51 are a great contrast to the more formal and elaborate portrait format employed by Rembrandt elsewhere. Indeed they were not really intended as portraits, but to provide collectors with the opportunity to acquire prints that looked like informal drawings. This was part of a trend in his prints in the period after 1635, when he stopped his business relationship with Hendrik Uylenburgh and finished working with Van Vliet; his prints generally became less formal in appearance and were no longer directly related to paintings. The print dealer Clement de Jonghe (1624/5-1677) owned a print such as no. 46 or 49, which he called 'three tronie heads', without identification of sitter; the element of imaginative character study would have been what counted with collectors, rather than any likeness to Saskia.

This impression is trimmed slightly at the bottom (the missing part can be gauged by looking at the fragment no. 48).

47-8 Fragments cut from the print Three heads of women, one asleep 1637

Bartsch/Hollstein 368

Etching, 2 fragments cut from impression printed in black

ink on wire side of laid paper, chainlines horizontal (23) INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 226 (graphite); 242 (graphite) PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 *verso*) AD.12.38-226/242

Fragments cut from different parts of an impression of the print seen complete in nos. 46.

49 Three heads of women, one lightly etched

Bartsch/Hollstein 367 II/III

Etching (127 x 102 cut inside platemark on left) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (129 x 104) chainlines horizontal (23)

WATERMARK: Fragment of Strasbourg Lily with initials BA nearly identical to type A.a.b [a:1635-7]

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 164 (graphite); No 334 (brown ink) PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.38-164

One of the study sheets of Saskia etched in 1636-7 (see also nos. 46 and 51). The head at the top was etched first and a number of impressions printed before Rembrandt added the other two heads, transforming the nature of the image. All three were studies of his wife Saskia's features, with varied hair or headdress, and with varying degrees of finish. The veil on the head at the top was worn by Saskia in other prints made at this time (see nos. 1 and 51).

50 Three heads of women, one lightly etched c.1636-7

Bartsch/Hollstein 367 III/III

Etching (cut to platemark) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (127 x 103) chainlines vertical WATERMARK: Arms of Baden Hochberg type A'.a [c1635-7]

WATERMARK: Arms of Baden Hochberg type A.a [£1635-INSCRIPTIONS: versø: 164 (graphite); No 334 (brown ink) PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-446

A later impression than no. 49; the lines, scratches and faint signature have been burnished away from the top half of the plate. The same paper was used for printing other plates of the mid to late 1630s, indicating that this cleaning of the background was probably done around 1638. The plate obviously sold well and was reprinted in the 1650s.

51 Studies of heads including Saskia 1636

Bartsch/Hollstein 365

Etching (cut to platemark) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (127 x 103) chainlines horizontal (24) WATERMARK: Fragment of Arms of Amsterdam type B.a

[c.1659]

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: Rembrandt

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 167 (graphite); No 332 (brown ink)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.38-167

One of the study sheets of Saskia etched in 1636-7 (see also nos. 46 and 49). All but the oldest (top left) of the heads on this plate seem to be based on Saskia's features. It is very similar in type to a sheet of four studies of women drawn in red chalk around the same time (Rotterdam). The type of paper suggests that this

impression was one of the later printings that Rembrandt made from the plate in the late 1650s.

52 Sheet of studies with the head of the artist, a beggar couple, and heads of an old man and old woman ε.1631-2

Bartsch/Hollstein 363 II/II

Etching (100 x 105) printed in black ink on felt side of laid paper (102 x 108) chainlines vertical (24)

INSCRIPTIONS: recto: 252 (brown ink); rerso: 252 (graphite) PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-252

Some of Rembrandt's earliest small studies started life as part of a freely etched plate of sketches such as this. Some such plates were later cut into sections so that individual studies could be printed separately, but not in this case. In fact there is no evidence that Rembrandt initially intended to print impressions from this plate to sell. The earliest known impressions printed after the plate had been trimmed and imperfections burnished out, probably date from the 1640s, when sheets of studies had become part of Rembrandt's printed repertoire (nos. 43-51 and 55-7).

The self-portrait is the most resolved and finished study on the plate, and it is no surprise that later collectors might cut down the printed sheet to focus on the self-portrait (see the fragment, no. 54). The top of the head is obviously unresolved; it was apparently masked by varnish when the plate was immersed in acid, and the shadow over the eyes suggests that the artist may have intended to etch a hat.

53 Sheet of studies with the head of the artist, a beggar couple, and heads of an old man and old woman ε.1631-2

Bartsch/Hollstein 363 II/II

Etching (105 x 100) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (106 x 102) chainlines horizontal (25/26)

INSCRIPTIONS: recto: 252 (brown ink); verso: 444 (graphite); verso: 330 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-444

Printed from the same plate as no. 52, but displayed at 90 degrees to show more clearly the figures drawn at a different angle. They are typical of the studies of beggars and street people made around 1630.

54 Fragment cut from a sheet of studies, showing only the head of the artist £.1631-2

Bartsch/Hollstein 363 II/II

Etching (cut inside platemark) printed in black ink on ?wire side of laid paper (50 x 61) chainlines horizontal (25) INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 346 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-346

A fragment cut from an impression of the print seen in its entirety in nos. 52-3. It was presumably cut out by a dealer or collector so that it could serve as a self-portrait without the distraction of the other studies. The result is that it has the appearance of the small self-portrait heads made around 1630-4 (see nos. 7-9).

55 Sheet with studies of a tree and the upper part of the head of the artist in a velvet cap c. 1638-45

Bartsch/Hollstein 372

Etching (cut to platemark) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (68×79) chainlines horizontal

WATERMARK: Fragment of Strasbourg Lily with initials *BA* nearly identical to type A.a.b [£1635-7]

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 454 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (Lugt 932 verso) 23.K.5-454

This rare etching may have been compiled over several years. The head bears comparison with Rembrandt's self-portraits of around 1638 (compare no. 26), while the landscape is comparable to etchings made in the mid 1640s. The plate may originally have been larger, with the intention of including more of the face.

56 Sheet with studies of a tree and the upper part of the head of the artist in a velvet cap c.1638-40

Bartsch/Hollstein 372

Etching (79 x 68) printed in black ink on ?felt side of laid paper (79 x 69.5) chainlines vertical (22.5)

INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 409 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-409

Printed from the same plate as no. 55 and on similar paper, but displayed at 90 degrees to show more clearly the landscape study.

57 Sheet of studies with the head of the artist, a beggar man, woman and child 1651

Bartsch/Hollstein 370

Etching (112 x 92) printed in black ink on wire side of laid paper (128 x 110) chainlines horizontal (24)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: RL 16[5]1 INSCRIPTIONS: verso: 251 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.39-251

This is the latest image of Rembrandt in this exhibition, showing the artist as he appeared around the age of 45. He lived another eighteen years, but only made one more self-portrait print, an etching dated 1658 that is known in only two impressions.

58 Sheet of studies with the head of the artist, a beggar man, woman and child 1651

Bartsch/Hollstein 370

Etching (93 x 112) printed in black ink on wire side of laid

paper (102 x 121) chainlines vertical (23) SIGNED IN THE PLATE: RL 16[5]1 INSCRIPTIONS: verso. 82 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (Lugt 2475 verso) AD.12.40-82

Printed from the same plate as no. 57 and on similar paper, but displayed at 90 degrees to show more clearly the studies drawn at a different angle.

Impressions not included in exhibition

Arranged according to Bartsch/Hollstein number. An acquisition number prefixed '23.K.5' indicates that the print was in an album bequeathed by Lord Fitzwilliam in 1816. The prefix 'AD' indicates that it came from an album transferred to the Fitzwilliam Museum from Cambridge University Library in 1876. The remaining prints were bequeathed by Charles Brinslay Marky in 1912, except for P.448-1943, which was given by Frank Brangwyn in 1943.

P.448-1945, which was given by	Frank Brangwyn
B2 23.K.5-4	B26 23.K.5-12 23.K.5-13
B3 23.K.5-5	B99 II/III 23.K.5-165
B4 copy 1 23.K.5-15	B99 III/III 23.K.5-164
B7 copy 1 23.K.5-10 AD.12.39-212	P.448-1943 B109
B8 IV/VI 23.K.5-11	23.K.5-184 B174 copy 1 AD.12.40-3
B8 V/VI AD.12.40-81	B316 IV/VI 23.K.5-408
B10 II/II I 23.K.5-7	B316 copy 2 AD.12.39-340
B10 III/III 23.K.5-6	B319 VI/VI 23.K.5-412
B13 III/III 23.K.5-16 AD.12.38-212	B320 23.K.5-413
B14 III/I II 23.K.5-18 23.K.5-19	B320 copy 3 23.K.5-414 AD.12.39-345
B15 IV/V 23.K.5-20	B340 V/V 23.K.5-422
AD.12.39-355	B342 23.K.5-423
B16 23.K.5-22 23.K.5-23	B347 23.K.5-429
B17 II/II 23.K.5-24	B363 II/II AD.12.39-349
P.2252-R B18 II/II 23.K.5-25	B365 23.K.5-445 23.K.5-448
B20 23.K.5-29	B368 23.K.5-447
23.K.5-30 P.2256-R	B368 fragment AD.12.40-110
B21 copy 8 AD.12.39-226	B369 AD.12.39-35
B23 III/III 23.K.5-34 23.K.5-35 P.2251-R	B369 fragment AD.12.38-224 AD.12.39-136 AD.12.39-335 AD.12.39-348
B23 copy 2 23.K.5-36	AD.12.39-348 B370
B23 copy 5 AD.12.38-181 AD.12.39-258	23.K.5-449 B372 AD.12.38-265