

REMBRANDT AND THE NUDE

Prints by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669)

In the naked form male or female Rembrandt was an esquimaux. His notions of the delicate forms of woman would have frightened an arctic bear.

Benjamin Robert Haydon

This exhibition opens with a print in which a naked woman stares self-consciously out at us, seemingly aware of our presence as spectators, or *voyeurs*. It closes with two prints in which a naked woman turns away, absorbed in a private world where we can play no part.

These are the earliest and latest of Rembrandt's prints of nudes, separated by some thirty years. Midway between them in date is a group of studies of a naked male model, posed and observed with cool objectivity in the studio. These three groups of activity, with their distinct approaches to the depiction of the naked human figure, account for almost all of the prints in this exhibition. The remainder are those that feature the nude in a narrative or allegorical context (excluding Crucifixions); in two instances the nude appears in the guise of a statue.

A modern spectator, whose conception of the nude is probably as much influenced by the naturalism of Degas as by the classicising idealism of the Renaissance, will be touched by the humanity of Rembrandt's depiction of the naked body and moved by the beauty of the prints. But in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Rembrandt's treatment of the nude was subjected to a series of fierce attacks (of which Haydon's, quoted above, is only one), and the etchings were right in the firing line. As early as 1681, a Dutch commentator attacked Rembrandt's naturalism, with a barely disguised reference to the first print in this exhibition: 'He chose no Greek Venus as his model but rather a washerwoman, or a treader of peat from the barn, and called this whim 'imitation of nature'; everything else to him was idle ornament. Flabby breasts, ill-shaped hands, nay, the traces of the lacings of the corsets on the stomach, of the garters on the legs must be visible if nature was to get her due; This is *his* nature which would stand no rules. No principle of proportion in the human body.' In the middle of the eighteenth century, the first cataloguer of Rembrandt's prints wrote of his *Adam and Eve* (no. 8): 'As Rembrandt did not understand at all how to draw the nude, this scene is rather incorrectly treated, and the heads are altogether ugly.'

Yet the prints show that Rembrandt understood very well how to draw the nude, and we can deduce from them the importance he placed on the study of the nude in his studio. The group of male nudes of the mid-1640s show the results of drawing sessions in front of a male model which also yielded a number of drawings by his pupils of the same model in the same pose viewed from slightly different angles. We can also see this process underlying his less prosaic prints of the female nude made in the last decade of his life. The more we look at these late prints, the more ambiguous the settings become, so that a title such as *Woman bathing her feet at a brook* fails to take into account the vestiges that still remain of a studio session in which the model was sitting comfortably on a cushioned chair. Similarly, with the last print in the exhibition, a model observed in the studio seated on a chair has been moved in the same pose onto the somewhat indeterminate edge of a bed. In the recesses of the bed lurks a male companion, and the woman holds aloft an arrow. It is possible that there was never a clear iconographical intent for these scenes, the meaning of which has puzzled scholars for centuries. With his imaginative transmutations of these naked models Rembrandt removes them to an indeterminate world which is only really made consistent by the subtly observed playing of light on form and texture. And in the final prints the evocation of light becomes the most tangible thing in the picture: we are no longer presented with 'the traces of the lacings of the corset on the stomach' which troubled Andries Pels in 1681.

Of course, the reactions over the centuries reveal probably more about the attitudes and preconceptions of the writers, and the age in which they lived, than they reveal about Rembrandt. What has mainly troubled people is that Rembrandt did not idealise his models, or stick to Renaissance exemplars. His prints always appeal to generations more comfortable with realism than classicism. Yet as recently as 1956 Kenneth Clark, in his book *The Nude* (1956), suggested that in the much abused etching of 1631 Rembrandt 'as a sort of protest has gone out of his way to find the most deplorable body imaginable and emphasise its least attractive features... We can hardly bring our eyes to dwell on her: and that, I imagine, was exactly Rembrandt's intention.' Yet this is surely Clark's distaste rather than an accurate reflection of the

The Fitzwilliam Museum

reaction of Rembrandt's contemporaries. After all, the 'flabby breasts' despised even by 1681 were not enough of a hindrance to stop Rembrandt selling his prints, or to stop artists such as Wenzel Hollar etching a copy of the offending print in 1635, only a few years after Rembrandt etched the original plate. The wide dissemination of prints reproducing Rubens' designs no doubt helped prepare an audience for females liberally endowed with flesh.

Clark's Ruskinian distaste at Rembrandt's choice of 'the most deplorable body imaginable' also informs his interpretation of the late nudes, which he sees as studies of the 'inherent pitifulness of the body' of an old woman. This seems strange given his acceptance that the similarly depicted body in Rembrandt's painting of *Bathsheba* is that of a young woman. Visitors to the exhibition must judge for themselves, yet it seems sad to take away from the etching *Young woman bathing her feet at a brook* (which Clark entitles 'Old woman bathing her feet') the idea that the artist 'prefers the Gothic hulk of an old body to the comely proportions of a young one.'

Feminists should take heart that Clark is at least as harsh on Rembrandt's males as his females, but again there is a sense that this derives more from personal preference than from an objective assessment of the nudes from a historical perspective: 'Just as he could have found plenty of girls in Amsterdam with firm young bodies, so there must have been boys with well-developed muscles.'

The book of 1991, *Reading Rembrandt: Beyond the word-image opposition*, by the literary scholar Mieke Bal, has a chapter on the nudes and their relation to the viewer, entitled 'Between Focalization and Voyeurism: The Representation of Vision'. Again this tells us more about the writer's own perspective (and the critical jargon of the age) than it does about Rembrandt's nudes. The book finds both Pels and Clark guilty of 'the typical conflation of representation and object that comes with the eroticization of viewing. If matching the body constructed for the mind's eye inspires lust, the painting is praised; if that body does not, the painting or drawing is criticized.' This is an over-simplified criticism of the two men, and even if this sort of imputation were allowed, what would we then make of Professor Bal's own reading of Rembrandt, which sees a phallus in every bed-post?

The Fitzwilliam Museum's collection

This exhibition coincides with the completion of the second part of a long-term programme of conservation of the Fitzwilliam's Rembrandt collection (generously supported by the Monument Trust); the first part, which dealt with Rembrandt's landscape prints, was the subject of an exhibition in 1993. The removal of the prints from their 19th-century mounts has allowed an initial study of the paper, which will eventually provide a more complete understanding of the circumstances in

which Rembrandt's plates were printed. A fuller analysis of Rembrandt's use of paper awaits the eventual completion of the conservation of the whole Rembrandt collection in the Fitzwilliam, and it is hoped that the watermarks discovered will be photographed and published so that the Fitzwilliam can contribute to the ambitious surveys of Rembrandt's papers being undertaken at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the British Museum in London, and the National Gallery of Art in Washington, the results of which are yet to be published. The Fitzwilliam also intends making a further analysis of various papers of oriental origin - Japanese, Chinese or Indian - in an attempt to identify more precisely their origins and their different characteristics.

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 seems to have bought extensively, often through the assiduous dealer Thomas Philipe. 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 titlepage, everything was *Arranged according to Gersaint* (the first catalogue of Rembrandt's prints published in 1751) and 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).

Fitzwilliam's 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 the albums themselves do not survive, it is evident that they came to the Library from more than one Rembrandt collection. One album in particular (AD.12.39) was full of beautiful rare impressions, generally in exceptional condition, and apparently with no collectors' marks. This last may have come with the library of Bishop John Moore (1646-1714) which was presented to the University by George I in 1715. It is not certain whether 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 condition of many of the 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 one of the Library assistants in the years between 1751 and 1770.

Three hundred of the so-called 'duplicate' University Library Rembrandts were sold by auction in 1878, but the Museum's collection is still able 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 here of comparative impressions from the same plate gives a glimpse of the different results possible with the manipulation of printing effects and the use of different papers.

Rembrandt's paper

Before the late 1640s Rembrandt mainly used European papers from Swiss and south German sources. 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 of these were probably among a cargo recorded as being brought back to Amsterdam from Japan in 1643-4 by the Dutch East India Company; others may be from other parts of the Far and Near East. A number of prints in this exhibition are on an extremely thin paper with chainlines very close together (about 15 mm); this paper may well be Chinese. In the late 1640s Rembrandt also started printing on vellum and on European papers that had been toned with a coloured wash, probably inspired by the colours of vellum and oriental papers. He was no doubt attracted by the Japanese paper's distinct, and very beautiful, printing qualities, which allowed him a greater potential variety of printing effects, and a greater number of variants which collectors would want to buy. In 1699 Roger de Piles noted that impressions on oriental papers were considered highly desirable by collectors, and this must already have been true during Rembrandt's lifetime. Japanese paper was also attractive because of its similarity of colour and finish to vellum (or parchment), which was associated with special luxury impressions.

The immediate appeal of Japanese and other oriental papers to a contemporary of Rembrandt's 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 (as a present to be reserved in their *Chimelium*, but brought to Lond[on] with the East India ships for them) as in my life I had not scene:

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 [Francis Bacon] describes in his *Nova Atlantis*; with severall other sorts of papers some written, others Printed...' This passage is important for establishing that these papers were still being brought to Europe by the Dutch East India Company 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 Bacon's imaginary description of an ideal parchment, based on travellers' accounts of 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 Browns 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, though scratched in his manner.' The reference to 'Indian' is probably an abbreviation of 'East Indian', that is, brought from the East Indies, or generally the orient, on East India Company ships.

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Senior Assistant Keeper (Prints)

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*.

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.

CHAINLINES

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

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 cold-hammered (rather than rolled) copper for Rembrandt's plates meant that about 50 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.

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 state.

SULPHUR TINT

The application of sulphur, or similar corrosive substance, suspended in an oil or paste to produce a pitted surface on the copper. When printed the tiny dots give the effect of grey tone.

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 a grey tone: the areas of tone could be varied within an individual impression by selectively wiping different areas 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.

FURTHER READING

- O. Benesch**, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, London/New York 1973
H. Bevers, P. Schatborn and B. Welzel, *Rembrandt: the Master and his Workshop*, New Haven/London 1991
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, *Rembrandt: Experimental Etcher*, exhibition catalogue 1969
J. A. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*, Utrecht 1968
J. P. Filedt Kok, *Rembrandt's Etchings and Drawings in the Rembrandt House*, Amsterdam 1973
R. Gaudriault, *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, Paris 1995
E-F. Gersaint, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les pièces qui forment l'œuvre de Rembrandt*, Paris 1751
A. M. Hind, *A Catalogue of Rembrandt's Etchings*, London 1923

E. Hinterding, *The history of Rembrandt's copperplates*, Zwolle 1993

C. Hofstede de Groot, 'Die Urkunden über Rembrandt (1575-1721)', *Quellenstudien zur holländischen Kunstgeschichte III*, The Hague 1906

J. Houbraken, *De groote schouburg der Nederlandsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, Amsterdam 1718

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

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

S. Slive, *Rembrandt and his Critics 1630-1730*, The Hague 1953

C. Tümpel, 'Rembrandt legt die Bibel aus,' *Zeichnungen und Radierungen aus dem Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, Berlin 1970

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

Explanation of catalogue information

Bartsch/Hollstein [reference to C. White and K. Boon, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts*, vol. XVIII, *Rembrandt van Rijn*, Amsterdam 1969]

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

WATERMARK: [description with references where applicable to the listing in T. Laurentius. H.M. van Jughten, E. Hinterding and J.P. Filedt Kok, 'Het Amsterdamse onderzoek naar Rembrandts papier: radiografie can de watermerken in de etsen van Rembrandt' *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 40 (1992), and C. P. Schneider, *Rembrandt's Landscapes*, New Haven/London 1990]

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

INSCRIPTIONS:[handwritten inscriptions]

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]

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

Other collections cited

Amsterdam	Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum
London	British Museum
Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale
Vienna	Albertina
Washington	National Gallery of Art

CATALOGUE

Early prints of the female nude

1 Naked woman seated on a mound c.1631

Bartsch/Hollstein 198 state II/II
Etching and burin (178 x 159) printed on felt side of laid paper (179 x 161) chainlines vertical (23)
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 276 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-276)

This print was the subject of many attacks on Rembrandt's treatment of the female figure in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see above p. 2), however Wenzel Hollar thought enough of the print to make an etched copy in 1635, and his reaction is almost certainly more typical of Rembrandt's contemporaries. The plate is exactly the same size as *Diana at the bath* (no. 2). Both date from the end of Rembrandt's period in Leiden, and it is possible that they were intended as a pair. No mythological or biblical subject is evident in this plate although it is possible that one was intended. The pose has been compared with an etching by Annibale Carracci of *Susanna and the elders*, but the similarity is not very specific.

The first state (not in the Fitzwilliam's collection) lacks some of the shading on the right shoulder and shows blank patches by the left leg and arm which were shaded over in this second state; at the same time patches of strong shading evident in the first state on the left thigh, stomach and right foot have here been burnished down. The faint signature (RHL) visible on some early impressions is not visible on this impression, but the rather grey appearance is typical of most examples and is perhaps due to the plate being rather lightly bitten.

2 Diana at the bath c.1631

Bartsch/Hollstein 201 only state
Etching (177 x 159) printed with slight surface tone on mould side of laid paper (179 x 161) chainlines vertical (23/26)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: RHL. f.
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 193 / 280 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-280)

Diana, chaste Roman goddess of the hunt, is identified by her quiver of arrows on the left, and the rod in the background may be intended for her bow. These attributes are clearer in the preparatory drawing in London (Benesch 21) where a quiver and bow are more prominently displayed hanging from the tree. The design was transferred onto the copper-plate by laying the drawing on the plate and indenting the outlines with the sharp point of the black chalk. These outlines were then followed closely for the figure, but the background was substantially amplified and altered, with the simple drapery of the drawing becoming a rich garment. Rembrandt may have been inspired by the pose of the

figure and placement of the tree in two etchings by Willem Buytewech (White 1969, figs. 258-9).

The plate was more deeply bitten than no. 1, but both impressions of this print in the Fitzwilliam (the other not exhibited) lack the sumptuous range of tones and textures found only in the very earliest impressions, such as the sensational example in Paris (Épreuve A).

Early narrative prints with nudes

3 Jupiter and Antiope c.1631

Bartsch/Hollstein 204 state II/II
Etching and burin (82 x 111) printed on felt(?)side of laid paper (84 x 112) chainlines vertical (24/25)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: RHL.
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 282 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-283, stamped as 282)

This is probably the plate called *Venus and Satyr* in the inventory of the printseller and publisher Clement de Jonghe (1679), and *de Danae* in the inventory of Valerius Röver (1731). The latter identification is given some credence by what might be interpreted as a shower of gold rain, the particular guise adopted by Jupiter on the occasion of his visit to Danae, but she is usually shown wide awake. De Jonghe's title was generally used until Hind (1923) proposed the title *Jupiter and Antiope*, which has been widely adopted. Antiope, daughter of the king of Thebes, was approached one night while sleeping by Jupiter, who assumed the guise of a satyr to surprise her with his amorous advances. She subsequently gave birth to twin boys, Amphion and Zethos.

Rembrandt may have been inspired in the composition and lighting by Werner van den Valckert's etching of Venus surprised by satyrs (White 1969, fig. 264), although only the pose of Antiope is particularly close to the earlier work, and even then the affinity may derive from a type of reclining sleeping female familiar in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century art and ultimately deriving from the Antique model of the *Sleeping Ariadne* in the Vatican. Another example of this type is found in the etching by Annibale Carracci which more specifically inspired Rembrandt's later version of *Jupiter and Antiope* (see no. 30). Rembrandt made a sheet of two studies of sleeping female nudes around this time (White 1969, fig. 263), and the naturalism of the sleeping face in the etching no doubt benefitted from such studies.

This second state impression lacks the darker shading that was burnished from the plate after printing a few proofs of the first state (unfortunately none of them is in the Fitzwilliam). Rembrandt also extended the blanket over Antiope's knees, although its former position is still detectable. This print is much simpler in technique than the later plate of the subject (no. 30).

4 Joseph and Potiphar's wife 1634

Bartsch/Hollstein 39 state I/II
Etching (92 x 116) printed on mould side of laid paper (99 x 119) chainlines vertical (22)
WATERMARK: fragment of unidentified watermark on lower edge
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1634*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 142 / 55* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.40-55)
SURVIVING PLATE: 93 x 118 x 1.03; Private Collection, Switzerland

The story is from Genesis (39:7-12). Sold in Egypt by merchants to Potiphar, an officer of the Pharaoh, Joseph won his master's confidence and rose to a responsible position in his household. Potiphar's wife attempted to seduce Joseph but he resisted, most famously in the scene depicted here: 'And she caught him by his garment, saying, Lie with me: and he left his garment in her hand, and fled, and got him out'. She subsequently used Joseph's garment as evidence in her accusation that he molested her, which led to Joseph being put in prison.

Rembrandt's treatment of the female nude is similar to that of Antiope a few years earlier (see no. 3). The idea of the figures in relation to the bed, although not the details, may have been suggested by a small etching by Antonio Tempesta (whose works Rembrandt owned in four volumes). The vivid expression of the feelings of the figures is entirely Rembrandt's own. There is probably a symbolism intended in the contrast between the light background behind Joseph and the dark background behind his seductress. Rembrandt also made two etchings of earlier episodes of Joseph's story in the 1630s (Bartsch/Hollstein 37 and 38).

5 Joseph and Potiphar's wife 1634

Bartsch/Hollstein 39 state II/II
Etching and burin (cut to platemark) printed on extremely thin (Chinese?) laid paper (92 x 117) chainlines vertical (17/18)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1634*
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-49)

In this state there is diagonal shading added with the burin in the top right part of the plate. The paper used for this impression has coarse fibres (straw or rice?) and a distinctive yellow tone, although it is otherwise similar in weight and spacing of chainlines to the thin laid paper used for no. 41. It may therefore be a less expensive paper made in a similar mould. Both these look like Chinese papers, although a secure identification awaits analysis of the paper fibres.

6 Joseph and Potiphar's wife 1634

Bartsch/Hollstein 39 state I(?) / II counterproof
Etching and burin with border completed in pen-and-ink,

counterproof on mould side of laid paper (104 x 128)
chainlines horizontal (27/28)
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 116* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.38-116)

There is another counterproof of the first state in Amsterdam. This counterproof has printed rather muddily in the shaded areas so that it is difficult to tell whether it corresponds exactly to the first state (no. 4), but it is certainly printed from an impression earlier than the second state (no. 5) as it lacks the diagonal shading on the right. The lower-right corner of the sheet has not been printed and therefore lacks the signature and the lower-right corner of the border line. This part must have been missing on the impression from which it was printed, or it could have been masked with a piece of paper during printing. There is no sign of the use of a backing plate (see no. 12).

7 Joseph and Potiphar's wife 1634

Bartsch/Hollstein 39 copy in reverse
Etching and burin touched by a later hand with pen-and-ink (cut inside platemark) printed on felt side of laid paper (89 x 112) chainlines vertical (22/23)
INSCRIBED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1634*
WRITTEN INSCRIPTIONS: *recto: 168* (brown ink); *P. Mariette 1667* (brown ink); *verso: 168* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: P. Mariette? (*cf. Lugt 1789 recto*); Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-168)

The signature of Mariette and the date inscribed on this print suggests that this copy was in the hands of the famous Parisian print dealer by 1667. There is, however, a possibility that Mariette's name was added by a later collector or dealer in order to increase the interest of the copy and perhaps strengthen its chances of being taken for an original. The style and paper are in keeping with a later date for the print, perhaps in the early eighteenth century, although the provenance of the print from University album AD.39 tends to support an early date.

The copyist felt the need to cover up the woman's naked thigh and loin with a sheet or blanket, and a later collector or dealer (Mariette?!) has added the missing anatomical detail with a pen in brown ink, presumably to make it look more like the original. The pen additions were obviously made with direct reference to the original.

8 Adam and Eve 1638

Bartsch/Hollstein 28 state II/II
Etching (cut inside platemark at sides) printed with surface tone on felt side of laid paper (166 x 128) chainlines horizontal (c.25)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1638*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 114* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.38-114)

Rembrandt depicts the moment when Adam succumbs

to temptation and reaches to take the apple from Eve. The serpent that tempted Eve to taste the fruit is shown rather like a dragon, with feet, in accordance with the legend that it was only after the fall (the impending moment in the print) that it was condemned to crawl on its belly. The creature, and the placing of Adam and Eve in relation to the tree, are evidently inspired by an engraving by Durer showing Christ in Limbo with Adam and Eve in the background (Bartsch 16). The nude figures are far less idealised than most previous versions of this subject: Durer's *Adam and Eve* for instance was an occasion for the artist to define models of proportion for the male and female bodies. Rembrandt's naturalism was based on drawings of the nude (Benesch 137; White 1969, fig. 266), while the relationship of the figures was mapped out in schematic drawings (Benesch 163-4; White 1969, figs. 36-37) which show that he first conceived Adam as taking a far more resistant pose at the moment of temptation.

This second state only differs from the first (not in the Fitzwilliam's collection) in that the bank behind Adam is made darker and continuous. On an impression of the first state in London a tree trunk has been drawn, apparently by the artist, down the left-hand side.

9 The Artist drawing from the model c.1639

Bartsch/Hollstein 192 state II/II
Etching, drypoint and burin (229 x 183) printed on felt side of laid paper (236 x 189) chainlines horizontal (25)
WATERMARK: Basle Crozier with initials *M[?]* *P* below
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 apparently 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? In eighteenth-century Holland the plate was known as *Pygmalion*, the king who fell in love with his own statue of Aphrodite. The composition does indeed bear a close resemblance to a print of *Pygmalion* by Peter Feddes van Harlingen (White 1969, fig. 241), and the female nude is closer to the ideals of antique statuary than was the figure of Eve etched by Rembrandt the previous year (no. 8). But Rembrandt depicts himself as the artist, and he is certainly drawing, not merely gazing in silly admiration at the nude as Pygmalion does in van Harlingen's print. Attempts by later writers to produce an allegorical meaning based on the interpretation of the Pygmalion story, or the various studio trappings (a sculpted bust, weapons, a palm, a peacock), 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.

It does not help that the unfinished status of the print is also a matter of debate: did Rembrandt leave it

like this on purpose, with a specific meaning in mind? Or did he break off, as White suggests, because the background had been worked too heavily? It is difficult to believe that Rembrandt would have been defeated by a technical problem at this stage of work, without adapting or re-using the plate. The 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. If this is the case, the drawing suggests that Rembrandt intended to finish the plate but for some reason never did so. Whatever Rembrandt's intention, the fact that enough impressions survive to suggest that a good number were printed, and that the plate was not re-used for something else, suggests that the artist was happy for people to appreciate the plate as it stands. Nevertheless it is unlikely, as has been suggested, that he intended its unfinished appearance as some sort of *exposé* of his etching methods, or to instruct his pupils in the elaboration of a composition (the execution of the plate has in the past sometimes been attributed to a pupil), or even as a conceptual element expressing the importance of drawing.

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.

10 The Artist drawing from the model c.1639

Bartsch/Hollstein 192 state II/II
Etching, drypoint and burin (232 x 182) printed on mould side of laid paper (234 x 184) chainlines vertical (22/24)
WATERMARK: countermark *A* [without the crossbar] *M* either side of a quaterfoil, within a cartouche (*cf.* Gaudriault 4015)
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 266 / 184 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-266)

By the time this impression was printed some of the drypoint burr seen in no. 9 had worn from the plate (this is especially evident on the palm held by the woman and on the lines at the bottom left). The paper confirms the evidence of the worn drypoint that this impression was printed later than either no. 9 or 11. The countermark is similar to one used by the French papermaker A. Malmenaide in the 1660s (see Gaudriault 4015).

11 The Artist drawing from the model c.1639

Bartsch/Hollstein 192 state II/II counterproof
Etching, drypoint and burin (cut within image)
counterproof on felt side of laid paper (227 x 173)
chainlines vertical (23)
WATERMARK: countermark *WK* in a monogram, variant *WK.a*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 265 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-265)

Previously classed as a reversed copy, this is in fact a counterproof. Unfortunately it has been insensitively cropped by a previous owner. It is printed quite sharply, in contrast to no. 12 (there is another counterproof of this state in Vienna). The *WK* countermark found on the paper of this impression was used as a countermark to the Strasbourg Lily watermark that appears on a number of Rembrandt's prints dating from the early 1650s and also on reprints made at that date of a number of earlier prints, such as this one (there is a normal impression of this print on the same paper in Amsterdam). The production of counterproofs as part of a later edition, without any changes of state, supports the theory that there was a market for counterproofs, and that they were not only made as part of the process of proofing the plate during etching.

12 The Artist drawing from the model c.1639

Bartsch/Hollstein 192 state II/II counterproof
Etching, drypoint and burin (mark of backing plate 232 x 182) counterproof on felt side of laid paper (241 x 192)
chainlines vertical (23/24)
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 20/7 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-20)

This counterproof has printed less clearly than no. 11, with less ink deposited on the paper and the lines tending to spread into grey. It also looks softer because the paper has slipped while going through the press so that the lines at the bottom right are blurred. As a counterproof is an offset from another impression, and is not printed from a plate, one would not expect to find a platemark, but traces of a mark show that Rembrandt put the plate behind the paper when printing a counterproof, presumably so that he did not have to adjust significantly the spacing or pressure of the press. The plate may also have helped to produce a firmer impression than just two sheets of paper sandwiched between blankets. The same effect is visible in nos. 15 and 18. The plate corresponds to the size of plate used for ordinary impressions, but the mark is not aligned with where it would normally appear.

Prints of male nudes

13 Nude Man seated before a curtain 1646

Bartsch/Hollstein 193 state I/II
Etching and drypoint (cut just inside platemark) printed with slight surface tone on felt(?) side of laid paper (164 x 97) chainlines horizontal (24/25)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f.1646*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: J [within circle] (red chalk); 267 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-267)

After a break of some years, Rembrandt returned in his prints to a study of the nude in the mid-1640s with

three plates featuring academic studies of male nudes, perhaps depicting the same model (nos. 13-22). A number of drawings by Rembrandt's pupils, some of them corrected by Rembrandt himself, confirm his practice of using male models in his studio, and one of them (Benesch A48) apparently shows the same model as this print but seen from a different angle and in reverse. This suggests that Rembrandt may have drawn this print on the plate directly from a model (see also no. 16). The freedom of drawing on the plate supports this supposition and shows how Rembrandt's etching style had become much more supple since the fussier and scratchier plates of the early 1630s (see no. 3). The model's feet rest on the same bench-like arrangement in Rembrandt's studio that the female model stands on in no. 12.

14 Nude Man seated before a curtain 1646

Bartsch/Hollstein 193 state I/II
Etching and drypoint (164 x 97) printed with slight surface tone on felt side of laid paper (180 x 110) chainlines horizontal (22/24)
WATERMARK: Arms of Amsterdam, nearly identical to variant F
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f.1646*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 144 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.38-144)

The inking of the plate is different from no. 13. The paper suggests that it is a later impression than either no. 13 or 15. The single recorded impression of the second state has additional shading by the right cheek and below the right leg.

15 Nude Man seated before a curtain 1646

Bartsch/Hollstein 193 state I/II counterproof
Etching and drypoint (mark of backing plate 164 x 97) counterproof printed on felt side of laid paper (172 x 102) chainlines horizontal (24)
WATERMARK: Top of crown visible at edge (part of Paschal Lamb, variant A.b?)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f.1646*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 33/7 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.40-33)

The paper is similar to that used in prints made in the early 1650s. There is another counterproof of this state in Paris printed on the same paper with the watermark in the same position, and with the similar use of a backing plate (see no. 12).

16 Nude Man seated on the ground 1646

Bartsch/Hollstein 196 state I/II
Etching (98 x 166) printed with surface tone on felt side of laid paper (104 x 172) chainlines horizontal (23/24)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1646*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 205 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-205)
SURVIVING PLATE: 99 x 170 x 0.91; Private Collection, USA

This plate is very similar in size, character and execution to *Nude man seated before a curtain* (nos. 13-15), and it must also have resulted from a direct study of the model in the studio. The pose is a slight variant of one recommended and illustrated in drawing books such as the 'Guide to Drawing and Painting' of 1643 by Crispin de Passe II. Rembrandt may well have had a similar didactic purpose in mind when he made these prints.

This first state is pure etching before the touches of burin added in the second state (no. 17). The toes have already been shortened - their original outlines are still just visible.

17 *Nude Man seated on the ground* 1646

Bartsch/Hollstein 196 state II/II
Etching and burin (97 x 167) printed with surface tone on extremely thin (Chinese?) laid paper (112 x 181) chainlines horizontal (20) - with an extra chainline midway between two of the regular ones - laid-down on old backing paper with chainlines vertical (27/28)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1646*

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso* of backing paper: 157/7 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-157)

Printed with more surface-tone than no. 34, although the blacks are less rich. The changes made in this state include the shading of the narrow white strip seen on the inside of the forearm on no. 16, and extra vertical shading on the upper part of the left thigh and the underside of the cushion. In addition the edges of the plate are polished (so that they do not trap ink along the edges as in no. 16) and the corners rounded.

18 *Nude Man seated on the ground* 1646

Bartsch/Hollstein 196 state II/II counterproof
Etching and burin (mark of backing plate 97 x 167) counterproof on mould side of laid paper (102 x 171) chainlines vertical (24/25), with a fragment of another impression stuck face-down on the man's thigh

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1646*

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 156/7 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-156)

There are also counterproofs of this state in Amsterdam and Paris. See no. 12 for a note on Rembrandt's use of a backing plate when printing counterproofs.

19 *Nude Man seated and another standing, with a baby learning to walk* c.1646

Bartsch/Hollstein 194 state I/III
Etching and drypoint (194 x 130) printed on mould side of laid paper (202 x 143) chainlines vertical (23/25)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 79/7 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.40-79)

SURVIVING PLATE: 198 x 129.5 x 1; Private Collection, USA

As with the two preceding prints (nos. 13-18), the male nudes here (conceivably the same model in different

poses) were apparently drawn by Rembrandt on the plate during a session in his studio at which three pupils also made drawings (Benesch A55, 709 and 710) that show the standing nude in the same pose from a slightly different angle, but in reverse. This plate is rather more elaborately conceived than the two single male nudes (nos. 13-18), mainly as a result of introducing the scene in the background. Are these intended as separate sketches on the same plate, or can we read something into the juxtaposition of foreground and background? If there is an intended connection it is probably an analogy between the child learning to walk in the background, and the training of artists through the study of drawing implied by the nude figures in the foreground. In other words, the subject can be read as 'Practice makes perfect,' a saying illustrated by a child's walking trainer in contemporary Dutch emblem books. Franciscus Junius and Joost van den Vondel both compared the constant exercise of training artists to a small child's laborious attempts to walk (Emmens 1968).

However, no matter how much practice, even the greatest of artists occasionally make mistakes: there is a trace of an alteration to the plate visible in this print, showing that the seated man's upper arm was originally drawn somewhat higher and to the left.

20 *Nude Man seated and another standing, with a baby learning to walk* c.1646

Bartsch/Hollstein 194 state I/III
Etching and drypoint (cut within platemark at top, with an old false margin) printed with lots of surface-tone on extremely thin (Japanese?) laid paper with a silky surface (178 x 130) chainlines vertical (19/20)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 66 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.40-66)

Described misleadingly in Hollstein as a maculature (a second impression printed without re-inking the plate), the curious tonal effect of this impression seems to have been created by wiping the inked plate with spirit, or thinning fluid, thus thinning the ink and dragging it out of some of the lines. Simply printing a maculature would not have resulted in so much surface tone, because the surface of the plate would have been cleaned by the act of printing the initial impression. The plate appears to have been wiped so that the woman and baby sketched in the distance barely register, leaving the emphasis on the two foreground figures. Perhaps Rembrandt was thinking of erasing the background figures from the plate, although the use of an exotic paper makes it more likely that this was a variant impression printed for its own sake. It is one of the earliest known examples of Rembrandt experimenting with an oriental paper. A finger print is visible in the tone at bottom right. Smudges of burr on the fine drypoint lines on the seated man's cheek suggest that this is a slightly earlier impression than no. 19.

21 Nude Man seated and another standing, with a baby learning to walk c.1646

Bartsch/Hollstein 194 state II/III
Etching, drypoint and burin (193 x 131) printed on mould side of laid paper (203 x 137) chainlines horizontal (23/25)
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 197/7 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-197)

In comparison with the first state (see no. 19) horizontal lines have been added to the blank space on the cushion and very fine vertical lines added lightly in drypoint on the blank spaces on the shoulder, neck and cheek of the seated man. The alteration in the contour of his upper arm is now better disguised against extra shading. The blank space in the crook of the other man's elbow has also been shaded. The paper appears very similar to that used for no. 19 except that it has been cut the other way round.

22 Nude Man seated and another standing, with a baby learning to walk c.1646

Bartsch/Hollstein 194 state III/III
Etching, drypoint and burin (194 x 129) printed with surface tone on felt side of laid paper (197 x 131) chainlines vertical (24/25)
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 5^[-?] (ink); 49 / 268 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-268)

The outline of the loin cloth of the seated man has been completed. The texture of the blankets that sandwiched the paper and plate during printing is evident as faint vertical stripes visible in the surface tone in the background.

23 The Bathers 1651

Bartsch/Hollstein 195 state I/II
Etching (109 x 137) printed with surface tone on mould side of laid paper (112 x 139) chainlines vertical (24)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f 1651* (the 5 corrected in drypoint from a 3)
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: N^o 187 / 187 / 269 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-269)
SURVIVING PLATE: 112 x 139.5 x 0.73 (thicker on left); Private Collection, USA

This plate was called *The swimmers* in the inventory of the printseller and publisher Clement de Jonghe drawn up in 1679. The forms are briefly evoked in a rapid style, and presumably the plate took little time to draw or etch. In contrast to the elaborate method of Rembrandt's more ambitious plates (for example *Woman sitting half dressed beside a stove*, no. 32), this simple etching is as close as the medium comes to a spontaneous pen-and-ink sketch, with the blank paper evoking the brilliance of the sunlight.

24 The Bathers 1651

Bartsch/Hollstein 195 state II/II
Etching (109 x 138) printed on felt side of thick laid paper

(111 x 139) chainlines vertical (c.34/35)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f 1651* (the 5 corrected in drypoint from a 3)
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 187 / 270 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-270)

By the appearance of the paper and the state of the plate this is a considerably later impression than no. 23, probably printed in the eighteenth century. The disfiguring spot in the sky is caused by corrosion of the plate, and there are also some curious intentional defacements such as the faint letter *B* scratched on the left-hand bank.

Statues and fallen idols

25 The image seen by Nebuchadnezzar 1655

Bartsch/Hollstein 36 (undivided plate) A state II/V
Etching, drypoint and burin (cut impression printed from the undivided plate) printed with surface tone on oriental (probably Japanese) vellum-like paper (107 x 73)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f 1655*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 120/6 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-120)

One of four illustrations designed for Samuel Manasseh Ben Israel's book, *Piedra gloriosa de la estatua de Nebuchadnesar* (The illustrious stone of the statue of Nebuchadnezzar), published in Amsterdam in 1655. The book was a mystical explanation of the coming of the Messiah, written in Spanish by a rabbi whom Rembrandt had known since 1636, and whose portrait he had etched. This image illustrates a passage from the Book of Daniel describing Nebuchadnezzar's dream: 'This great image, whose brightness was excellent, stood before thee; and the form thereof was terrible. This image's head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay. Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshingfloors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.' (Daniel 2: 31-5). Daniel interpreted the image as foretelling the many and various kingdoms that would rise and fall before the coming of the kingdom of heaven; the stone was the symbol of God's might. Rembrandt presents the image on a plinth as though it were a statue, although it otherwise looks like a close relation of the nude models in his studio seen in nos. 13-22.

This is an earlier state than that seen in the impression of all four illustrations (no. 26), with the legs of the statue broken in two places. An earlier state

(known in a unique impression in Paris) is only lightly worked in the background. The Japanese paper is thinner than that used in no. 26; it is similar in weight, colour and smoothness to that used in no. 32. There are at least four other recorded impressions of this state on Japanese paper, and two on vellum.

26 Four illustrations to a Spanish book 1655

Bartsch/Hollstein 36 (undivided plate) state III/III
Etching, drypoint and burin (274 x 160) printed with lots of surface tone on thick oriental (probably Japanese) vellum-like paper (27 x 166), cut and joined across the centre
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt.f. 1655* (four times)
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: J B* (ink); *105 / 44* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Hibbert (Lugt 2849 *recto*); John Barnard (Lugt 1419 *verso*); Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-44)

Four illustrations designed for Samuel Manasseh Ben Israel's book, *Piedra gloriosa de la estatua de Nebuchadnesar*, published in Amsterdam in 1655. *The image seen by Nebuchadnezar* has been altered so that the legs are only broken at the ankle, the stone that broke the image and a globe are added on the right, and an arch appears above the statue's head. The other illustrations are (anti-clockwise) *Jacob's ladder*, *David and Goliath*, and *Daniel's vision of the four beasts*. All four have iconographical precedents in Protestant biblical illustrations (Tümpel 1970).

The warm-coloured thick Japanese paper is typical of that used in a number of impressions of late prints (see particularly nos. 38, 40 and 42) - the true colour of the paper is seen only in the margins because the area inside the platemark is covered with so much surface tone (ink left on the surface of the plate). Most of the recorded impressions of this state are on Japanese paper, and two are on vellum.

27 The image seen by Nebuchadnezzar 1655

Bartsch/Hollstein 36 (divided plate) A state V/V
Etching (111 x 69) printed on felt side of laid paper (118 x 73) chainlines vertical (23/24)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt.f. 1655*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 121* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-121)

Printed after the plate had been divided into four so that each illustration could be printed separately. The other changes, compared to no. 26, are that the headband has been lowered, the shadow on the left side of the head burnished away, and the names of the kingdoms prophesied by the different parts of the image are added to make the meaning more explicit.

This was the state of the plate as published in the book, which was reissued in a second edition after Rembrandt's death with engraved copies more suited than Rembrandt's fragile plates to a large edition.

28 The Phoenix 1658

Bartsch/Hollstein 110 only state

Etching, drypoint and burin (178 x 181) printed on mould side of laid paper (179 x 182) chainlines vertical (25/26)
WATERMARK: indistinct - possibly balls from a Foolscape
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt.f. 1658*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 9/39* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-9)

Also known as *The Statue Overthrown*. According to legend the phoenix turned itself to the sun and, after catching fire, rose again out of its own ashes. Since medieval times it had been a symbol of Christ's resurrection. Rembrandt shows it silhouetted against the sun, heralded by trumpeting angels, having vanquished from the pedestal the fallen nude in the foreground. This nude, presumably a statue, has a serpent round its arm. Some sort of allegory on Christ's Passion and the overthrow of the old order seems a possible interpretation for the print, but various other meanings have been suggested. The least likely of these is that the print is a personal statement by Rembrandt that his bankruptcy of 1656 would not prevent him from rising to fortune again. A more plausible reading puts the print in a political context: medals of 1655-7 often portrayed the phoenix as a symbol of the regeneration of the House of Orange in the person of Prince Willem III.

The depiction of the fallen statue is notable in that it shows an acutely foreshortened nude figure in a pose more reminiscent of the figures beloved of Netherlandish mannerists, with their overt demonstrations of skill in anatomical perspective, than the less contrived poses normally adopted by the models in Rembrandt's studio.

29 The Phoenix 1658

Bartsch/Hollstein 110 only state
Etching and drypoint (178 x 181) printed on oriental (probably Japanese) vellum-like paper (191 x 184)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt.f. 1658*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 257* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.38-257)

There is marginally less drypoint burr on this impression, suggesting that it was printed very slightly later than no. 28, but the difference may be partly explained by the different inking. Otherwise the two impressions are distinguished by the contrasting qualities of the European and Japanese papers. In the late 1650s Rembrandt often combined a bold use of drypoint lines with the use of this sort of Japanese paper, probably because the paper was less absorbent than European paper, and the ink trapped on the surface of the plate by the drypoint burr would therefore lie delicately on the surface of the paper.

Late prints of the female nude

30 Jupiter and Antiope 1659

Bartsch/Hollstein 203 state I/II
Etching, drypoint and burin (137 x 199) printed with surface tone on thick oriental (probably Japanese) vellum-like paper (148 x 209)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1659*
INSCRIPTION: *verso: 159/8* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-159)

Almost thirty years after making his small plate of *Jupiter and Antiope* (see no. 3), Rembrandt returned to the subject on a larger scale. This time the composition was clearly inspired by an etching by Annibale Carracci (Bartsch 17). The subject of Rembrandt's print was identified as *Venus and a Satyr* in the inventory of the printseller Clement de Jonghe drawn up in 1679, but an inscription (not by Rembrandt) in the second state of the plate describes it as Jupiter and Antiope. White (1969, p.185) suggests that Carracci's print supports this identification, but it is possible that Carracci's print also shows Venus and a satyr. A drawing by Rembrandt in the Louvre (Benesch 1040) probably shows Jupiter and Antiope and may have been made in preparation for the print, although the composition differs. Likewise, a drawing of a sleeping female nude in the Rijkmuseum made around the same time (Benesch 1137) recalls to some extent the pose of Antiope, but neither drawing is as important as Carracci's etching, which must have been Rembrandt's immediate starting point, not only for the forms but also for the mood of his print.

This is an extremely fresh and beautiful impression printed with subtle skeins of surface tone on Japanese paper with a slightly greyish tinge (similar to that of no. 39). On the right the support is bubbling slightly where two thinner sheets that have been bonded together to form the thick vellum-like sheet are delaminating slightly. Most of the thick Japanese paper used in Rembrandt's later prints was probably formed in a similar way.

31 Jupiter and Antiope 1659

Bartsch/Hollstein 203 state I/II
Etching, drypoint and burin (138 x 203) printed on mould side of laid paper (139 x 205) chainlines vertical (24/26)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1659*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: L[?]/220.* (graphite) *13* (graphite); *13/2* (red chalk); *195 / 283* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-282, stamped as 283)

This impression was printed somewhat later than no. 30. The burr caused by the drypoint needle has substantially worn from the plate so that there is less ink trapped along the side of the lines. Otherwise the difference of effect is due mainly to the use here of a European rather than the Japanese paper of no. 30.

32 Woman sitting half dressed beside a stove 1658

Bartsch/Hollstein 197 state I/VII
Etching, drypoint and burin (cut inside platemark) printed with surface tone on oriental (probably Japanese) vellum-like paper (203 x 172)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1658*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: J:B.* (ink); 272 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Hibbert (Lugt 2849 *recto*); John Barnard (Lugt 1419 *verso*); Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-272)

In 1658 Rembrandt returned to the subject of the naked female figure in a series of four plates (nos. 32-43); these were followed by two more plates in 1659 and 1661 (nos. 30-31 and 44-46). In the years 1656-60 he also made a large number of wash and reed-pen drawings of female nudes (Benesch 1107-29, 1142-47). This group of etchings, and this one in particular, is far more elaborate than the series of male nudes made in the 1640s (nos. 13-22): whereas those plates adopt a style and technique akin to drawing, this plate has the range and strength of tone of a painting. There is more emphasis on surface and contour and less on line, and the luminous form of the figure emerges out of the deep-hatched shadow of the background rather than being cast in line against blank paper. Even in this first state the composition looks substantially finished, and most of the changes that Rembrandt made in the following six states (three of them in this exhibition) seem to modulate rather than advance the composition. There is a slight indication of foliage at the upper left. This may, as White suggests, indicate that Rembrandt first thought of having a window with a view, but it is also possible that he thought of introducing elements of an outside setting as he did in *Woman bathing her feet at a brook* (no. 40), and perhaps also in *Woman at the bath with a hat beside her* (no. 38). The relief on the stove seems to depict Mary Magdalene kneeling before a crucifix.

The area of drapery over the arm of the chair appears to have a dotted tone akin to the effect of sulphur tint, but in fact these specks of ink appear only on the raised fibres, so the effect is probably that caused by heavy surface tone on this particular paper. Despite the resilience of the fibres during printing, the paper is of a lighter weight than the thick vellum-like paper used in nos. 33 and 36, and although damage on the back makes it difficult to judge the colour accurately, it appears similar in tone and smoothness to the paper in no. 36.

33 Woman sitting half dressed beside a stove 1658

Bartsch/Hollstein 197 state III/VII
Etching, drypoint and burin (227 x 184) printed with plate tone on thick oriental (probably Japanese) vellum-like paper (239 x 192)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1658*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 74/8* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-74)

The arched niche in the wall behind the figure has been more firmly defined with shading than in no. 32, and there is additional hatching which helps to model the woman's breasts and right side.

There are several impressions of this state on Japanese paper, which in this example has a slightly pinker tinge and is heavier than that used for no. 33. On the back is the patterned impression caused by a textile used during the paper-making process (either the paper was made with a fabric mould or it was dried against fabric).

34 Woman sitting half dressed beside a stove 1658

Bartsch/Hollstein 197 state III/VII
Etching, drypoint and burin (cut just inside platemark) printed on felt side of laid paper (226 x 184) chainlines vertical (26)
WATERMARK: *IHS* with a Cross (cf. Gaudriault 718)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1658*.
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: *P. Mariette 1669* (brown ink); *T.P.* (brown ink); *30* (red chalk); *189 / 275* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: *P. Mariette* (Lugt 1789 *verso*); *Thomas Philippe?* (Lugt 2451 *verso*); *Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816* (23.K.5-275)

The same state as no. 33 but printed on European paper. Judging from those that survive, a relatively large number of impressions of this state were printed. It is possible that Rembrandt saw this as a finished state, and that it was subsequently altered as much for the sake of the market as for the refinement of the composition. In a similar way he printed a large edition of *Christ presented to the people* of 1655 (Bartsch/Hollstein 76) in the state before he removed the crowd: effectively creating two plates out of one.

35 Woman sitting half dressed beside a stove 1658

Bartsch/Hollstein 197 state III/VII counterproof
Etching, drypoint and burin, counterproof on felt side of laid paper (226 x 184) chainlines vertical (24/25)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1658*.
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: *151/8*
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-151)

A counterproof taken from an impression in the same state as no. 33 and no. 34. Another counterproof is in Paris.

36 Woman sitting half dressed beside a stove 1658

Bartsch/Hollstein 197 state V/VII
Etching, drypoint and burin (cut on and just inside platemark) printed on thick oriental (probably Japanese) vellum-like paper (226 x 187)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1658*.
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: *273* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: *Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816* (23.K.5-273)

A damper key has been added on the left side of the stove pipe (the only change evident on the unique impression of the intermediate fourth state), and there is also additional shading on the woman's skirt and on the stove. The shading may well have been added to refresh areas of wear caused by printing the third state, but the addition of the damper key is more curious. It hardly alleviates the ungainliness of the stove pipe, or adds much of interest to the plate, and it is best explained as a marketing ploy (the same could be said for the removal of the woman's cap in no. 37). As early as 1718, Arnold Houbraken gave this as the reason that Rembrandt made so many state changes: 'Thanks to his method of putting in slight changes or small additions so that his prints could be sold as new ... no true connoisseur could be without the *Juno*...with or without the crown...Aye, the woman by the stove, albeit one of his lesser works, each must have it with and without the white cap, and with and without the stove-key.' In other words, the extraordinary number of state changes of this type might be better explained as changes made for the sake of selling more impressions to a sophisticated clientele, rather than as evidence of Rembrandt's 'restless urge towards perfection' (White 1969). Likewise, the survival of so many impressions of these different states, which if they were merely technical try-outs would probably have been discarded, show that people were collecting them in his lifetime and therefore must have been interested in the differences between them. Rembrandt created even more differences by using different papers and printing them with different amounts of surface tone.

The impression is very densely printed, so that the thick deposit of ink, in combination with the glow of the Japanese paper, gives a very rich effect (see no. 32 for a note on the paper). The paper has been cut by a previous collector so that the edge of the image is missing.

37 Woman sitting half dressed beside a stove 1658

Bartsch/Hollstein 197 state VII/VII
Etching, drypoint and burin (227 x 186) printed on felt side of laid paper (229 x 188) chainlines vertical (23/25)
WATERMARK: Countermark *PB* (cf. Gaudriault 4236)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1658*.
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: *T.P.* (brown ink); *274* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: *Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816* (23.K.5-274)

The woman's cap has been removed (compare the changes made to the woman's cap in nos. 38 and 39). A relatively large number of contemporary impressions of this state are on Japanese paper, as are all the recorded impressions of the previous state, which is the same except that it lacks the accidental scratch above the woman's left breast. The mark in this paper was used as the countermark to various papers made c.1630s-70s.

38 Woman at the bath, with a hat beside her
1658

Bartsch/Hollstein 199 state I/II
Etching, drypoint and burin (155 x 129) printed with surface tone on thick oriental (probably Japanese) vellum-like paper (167 x 140)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1658.*
INSCRIPTIONS: *recto: 160* (brown ink); *verso: 160/8* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-160)

The traditional title is given here, although it has been observed that there is little evidence that the woman is bathing rather than simply sitting on a chair. The early inventories do not help: she is identified as 'Rembrandt's concubine' (de Jonghe 1679), 'The Jewish fiancée' (!) (de Burgy), and as one of 'two naked sitting women from the life' (Röver 1731). There do, however, seem to be indications of reflections at the bottom of the plate which make the setting somewhat ambiguous. The same is true to some extent in *Woman bathing her feet at a brook* (no. 40), where Rembrandt has combined elements that suggest an outdoor setting by a stream or well, with objects from the studio. Evidently these prints were based on the study of a nude posing in the studio and then the context was changed (or made ambiguous) by the inclusion of elements from another setting. The model is apparently the same woman who sat for *Woman sitting half dressed beside a stove* (no. 37).

There is a slight offset of the same print on the verso. Most impressions of the first state are on Japanese paper, with one recorded in Vienna on 'white' (Chinese?) paper. (Another impression on Japanese paper from the University Library collection, sold as a duplicate in 1878, is illustrated in *A Collection of Etchings by Rembrandt*, Artemis and Sotheby's 1995, no. 88.)

39 Woman at the bath, with a hat beside her
1658

Bartsch/Hollstein 199 state II/II
Etching, drypoint and burin (159 x 127) printed with surface tone on oriental (probably Japanese) vellum-like paper (160 x 128)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1658.*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: P. Remy ... 1749* (brown ink); *191 / 277* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: P. Remy 1746 (Lugt 2136 verso); Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-277)

The woman's cap has been reduced in height and rounded more like a turban. An impression of this state on Japanese paper in Washington has the inscription *Voor't Chirurg*, which has been interpreted (without confirming evidence) as suggesting that the artist gave this impression to the Surgeons' Guild in recognition for allowing him facilities to draw from the nude. Most impressions of this state are also on Japanese paper, which in this example is thinner and has a greyer tinge than that used for no. 38 (it is possible that the colour was changed slightly when this print was apparently soaked off the album page in the nineteenth century -

the ink inscription on the verso is substantially faded).

40 Woman bathing her feet at a brook 1658

Bartsch/Hollstein 200 only state
Etching, drypoint and burin (160 x 79) printed with surface tone on thick oriental (probably Japanese) vellum-like paper (171 x 89)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. / f. 1658*
INSCRIPTIONS: *recto: 162* (brown ink); *verso: 162/8* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-162)
SURVIVING PLATE: 162.5 x 82 x 1.37; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

For comments on the rather ambiguous setting, which seems to combine elements that suggest an outdoor setting by a stream or well, with cushions and a bench from the studio, see no. 38. This plate is perhaps that described in the 1679 inventory of de Jonghe as 'Woman at the well'.

It is possible that the plate used was the piece of copper cut the previous year from the larger plate, *Christ and the woman of Samaria* (Bartsch 70). Most impressions are recorded as being on Japanese or Chinese paper, and there is also one example in Paris on vellum. The Japanese paper in this example is very similar to that used in no. 42. There is a slight offset of the same print on the verso.

41 Woman bathing her feet at a brook 1658

Bartsch/Hollstein 200 only state
Etching, drypoint and burin (161 x 79.5) printed on extremely thin (Chinese?) laid paper (162 x 83) chainlines vertical (c.18)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. / f. 1658*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 192* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-278)

An impression in the Pierpont Morgan Library is apparently on similar paper (see also the note under no. 5). It is quite possible that a number of early impressions of prints described as on 'white paper' are printed on this thin Chinese-looking paper; the extreme thinness of the paper is not apparent when the prints are laid down and it can quite easily be mistaken for a normal thick European laid paper.

42 Woman lying on a bed 1658

Bartsch/Hollstein 205 state II/III
Etching, drypoint and burin (80 x 159) printed with surface tone on thick oriental (probably Japanese) vellum-like paper (88 x 166)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt/f. 1658*
INSCRIPTIONS: *recto: 163* (brown ink); *verso: 163/8* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-163)
SURVIVING PLATE: 84 x 160.5 x 1.2; Private Collection, UK

This print has a mysterious poetry that in all but the most sensitively printed early examples can lapse into dark illegibility. This is a very richly printed

impression. In later, paler impressions (see no. 15) where the drypoint burr has worn away, the forms break down and the print becomes a pale ghost of what we see here. The first state (known only through a unique impression in Paris) is much paler, and in darkening the figure so much in this second state Rembrandt led Bartsch and later writers into describing it as 'a negress'. The first state suggests that the woman was in fact white. Early inventories refer to it under the heading 'sleeping naked women' (de Jonghe 1679) and as 'the sleeping woman' (Röver 1731). It is of course not evident whether the woman is sleeping because her face is turned away from us; this, as much as the darkness that conceals the inner recesses of the bed, lends the plate its air of secretive intimacy. Such a pose was unusual, although there were precedents, notably the figure of the princess who lies across the front of Sebald Beham's engraving *St John Crisostom* (Bartsch 215), or the close relative of this figure in Agostino Veneziano's *Nude woman on a fur* (Bartsch XIV 410).

The size of the plate is identical to that of *Woman washing her feet at a brook* (nos. 40-41). There would have been an advantage in making two plates the same size if they were proofed and printed at the same time, because obviously the same batch of paper could be used. A large proportion of the impressions of this state are on Japanese paper, which in this case seems identical to that used in no. 40.

43 Woman lying on a bed 1658

Bartsch/Hollstein 205 state II/III
Etching, drypoint and burin (81 x 159) printed on mould(?) side of laid paper (89 x 167) chainlines horizontal (c.23)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt/ f. 1658*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 284* (graphite); *Nº 197* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-284)

The paleness of this impression is probably due to the wear suffered by the plate, but it is possible that some of it results from Rembrandt using a burnisher to lighten the shading on the woman's back. As there is less ink, we can discern an earlier position of the leg and foot, which was disguised by the shading in darker impressions. The impression of the first state in Paris bears even clearer traces of this earlier work showing that the whole figure was originally somewhat higher up on the plate, and the head was in the very top right corner. An impression in London of a later state is reworked with shading to remodel the back and to disguise the repositioning of the figure.

44 The Woman with the arrow 1661

Bartsch/Hollstein 202 state II/III
Etching, drypoint and burin (204 x 123) printed with surface tone on mould side of laid paper (213 x 132) chainlines horizontal (24/26)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1661. (d reversed)*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: 153* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University

Library 1876 (AD.12.39-153)

This is probably Rembrandt's last print except for a portrait commissioned in 1665. The title used here derives from Valerius Röver's inventory of 1731. The subject has been much debated as it seems to suggest some sort of narrative beyond the simple observation of the female form. A man's head appears in the recesses of the bed to the left of the woman. The woman, who seems to wear an antique headdress, clearly holds an arrow in her upraised hand, although some writers interpret the hand as holding together the curtains surrounding the bed, and the 'arrow' as actually being a slit of light between the curtains. This may be the plate described in de Jonghe's inventory of 1679 as 'Naked Cleopatra', which has led to the suggestion that the print represents Antony and Cleopatra. This seems less plausible than an alternative identification, Venus and Cupid, which at least explains the woman holding the arrow in terms of a known iconography. However, although Venus was often represented holding out an arrow to Cupid, there is no precedent for him to be peering so reticently from the shadows. This is evidently another case of Rembrandt starting with a nude posing in the studio and then embroidering the subject with imaginative details that suggest other connotations for the figure. Two drawings (Benesch 1146, 1147) now attributed to one or more pupils, show from different angles a model in a similar pose, seated in a chair with her upraised arm supported in a sling. The drawings and the print may well have been started at the same sitting. Further details added later in wash with reference to the setting that Rembrandt had added to the print (see Roylton-Kisch 1992).

The earlier first state (not in the Fitzwilliam's collection) lacks some of the shading on the figure and in the background. The softening of the lines (with the result that even in the first state the signature is obscured) must be due to burnishing rather to wear. In contrast to the group of plates made in 1658-9, there are apparently no recorded impressions of this plate printed on oriental paper: perhaps by this slightly later date Rembrandt had exhausted his supply. It may have been partly to compensate for this that he varied the wiping of different impressions to an even greater extent than in the other late nudes. In this impression, the plate surface has been wiped clean in the area of the figure in order to emphasise the contrast between her flesh and the background, where a lot of tone has been left on the surface of the plate (reflecting the disposition of blank paper and wash in the preparatory drawing).

45 The Woman with the arrow 1661

Bartsch/Hollstein 202 state III/III
Etching, drypoint and burin (205 x 123) printed with surface tone on mould side of laid paper (207 x 125) chainlines 'horizontal' but sloping (25/26)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. 1661. (d reversed)*

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 3 / 48 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University
Library 1876 (AD.12.40-48)

In this state the obscure signature has been redrawn and the blank triangle above and to the right of the signature has been shaded. Nos. 45 and 46 are printed on different sides of identical paper that has been cut in the same way: they were undoubtedly printed in the same batch. Differences are therefore due not to any change in the plate, but to differences of printing (and different uses and abuses by later collectors).

46 The Woman with the arrow 1661

Bartsch/Hollstein 202 state III/III
Etching, drypoint and burin (204 x 123) printed with surface tone on felt side of laid paper (214 x 128) chainlines 'horizontal' but sloping (25/26)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1661. (d reversed)*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 194 / 281 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-281)

Compared to no. 45 there has been more ink left on the surface of the plate producing a film of tone visible on the figure and between the lines in the background.

Impressions of Rembrandt's prints of nudes not included in this exhibition

Bartsch/Hollstein

201
Printed with slight surface tone on felt(?) side of laid paper (182 x 160) chainlines vertical (23/26)
WATERMARK: Single-headed Eagle with partially legible initials and diagonal band below
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: N^o 193 (ink); 193 / 279 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-279)

28 II/II
Cut inside platemark, printed on felt side of laid paper (165

x 118) chainlines vertical (c.25)
WATERMARK: indistinct Foolscap
INSCRIPTIONS: *recto*: 11 (brown ink); *verso*: 11 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University
Library 1876 (AD.12.39-11)

196 II/II
Cut inside platemark, printed on mould side of laid paper (93 x 153) chainlines vertical (27/28)
WATERMARK: Three balls (fragment of Foolscap watermark)
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 185 / 271 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-271)

195 state I/II
Printed with surface tone on felt side of laid paper (138 x 166) chainlines vertical (24)
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 46/8 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University
Library 1876 (AD.12.38-46)

195 I/II
Cut inside platemark at top, printed with surface tone on thin (Chinese?) laid paper (109 x 142) - so fragile it cannot be removed from old backing sheet
WATERMARK: indistinct watermark at lower edge
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 29 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University
Library 1876 (AD.12.40-29)

110 copy
Drawn in pen-and-ink on 2 sheets of oriental paper laid on top of each other
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 185 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-189)
The rarity of *The Phoenix* is emphasised by the fact that Lord Fitzwilliam had to make do with a drawn copy in his album: he failed to acquire the print. The copy is notable for being executed on oriental paper.

197 VII/VII
Printed on mould(?) side of laid paper (239 x 200) chainlines horizontal (23/25)
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 272/8 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University
Library 1876 (AD.12.39-272)
Partial offset of the same print on the *verso*.

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