

REMBRANDT AND THE PASSION

Prints by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606-1669)

All the prints in this exhibition illustrate the subject of Christ's Passion, from the Last Supper to his appearance to his Disciples after the Resurrection. The subject had been treated many times in Northern European prints, often as a complete series of a more-or-less established set of episodes from the story. Rembrandt had a keen interest in earlier prints, and would have been familiar with the three famous Passion sets by Dürer and the set by Lucas van Leyden. The usual subjects were: *The Man of Sorrows*; *The Last Supper*; *The Agony in the Garden*; *The Betrayal of Christ*; *Christ before Caiaphas*; *Christ before Pilate*; *The Flagellation*; *Christ crowned with Thorns*; *Ecce Homo (Christ Presented to the People)*; *Pilate washing his Hands*; *The Bearing of the Cross*; *The Crucifixion*; *The Lamentation*; *The Descent from the Cross*; *Christ in Limbo (The Harrowing of Hell)*; and *The Resurrection*. Sometimes the Passion subjects in these sets were prefaced by Old Testament subjects and episodes from Christ's Nativity, such as *The Presentation in the Temple*, and sometimes the sets continued with Christ's appearances after his Resurrection: *Christ appears to his Mother*; *Christ Appears to the Magdalen (Noli me tangere)*; *Christ appears to his Disciples at Emmaus*; and *The Ascension*.

Throughout his life, Rembrandt painted, drew or etched certain of these subjects (*The Agony in the Garden*, *Christ presented to the People (Ecce Homo)*, *The Crucifixion*, *The Descent from the Cross*, *Christ carried to the Tomb*, *The Entombment*, *Christ at Emmaus* and *Christ appearing to his Disciples*), returning to them after a number of years, but he never made a complete set of Passion prints. In his youth (in the 1630s) he made five paintings for Prince Frederick Henry of Orange, showing *The Raising of the Cross*, *The Deposition*, *The Entombment*, *The Resurrection* and *The Ascension*; and late in life, when he seems to have become interested in creating Biblical prints in series, he may have been intending to complete a series of Passion etchings which remained unfinished. In 1654, besides creating five or six small-scale prints of scenes illustrating the childhood of Christ, he started on a series of larger scale (210 x 160 mm) scenes of Christ's life, which could have been intended as a Passion series. The completed subjects were *The Presentation in the Temple*, *The Descent from the Cross by torchlight* (see front cover); *The Entombment* and *Christ at Emmaus*¹. Most of the

prints in this exhibition, however, concentrate on the Passion themes that appealed most to Rembrandt and his audience as individual subjects, and it is the repetition of those subjects at various stages of Rembrandt's career that allows us to determine the consistency or development of his approach.

In many ways the least typical of the prints on display are two of the most ambitious in terms of size and composition. These are *Christ before Pilate* of 1635-6 and *The Descent from the Cross* of 1633. Here Rembrandt is evidently competing with the Flemish example set a few years earlier by Rubens, who oversaw the engraving of large ambitious plates after his altarpieces in Antwerp and elsewhere. Recent examination of the paper used for Rembrandt's two prints has shown that the proofs were almost certainly printed in Leiden by Van Vliet. This lends strong support to the theory that these plates were etched and engraved in Leiden by Van Vliet on commission from Rembrandt, and that Rembrandt was only responsible for the signature and finishing touches in drypoint after the plates were sent to him in Amsterdam.² The designs are by Rembrandt, although the use of complex Baroque compositional ploys, which recall Rubens, was rejected in his later work and replaced with something more personal. Already in these two plates the concentration on the facial expressions (which are exaggerated by the heavy-handedness of Van Vliet's touch with the burin) emphasise Rembrandt's interest in the human drama—the personal reactions to the scene. Unfortunately, the compositions tend to detract from the communication of personal expression and emotion, while the forceful details of individuals detracts from emotional effect of the composition as a whole. In the later Passion prints he found ways of making this drama more intimate and more dramatic.

In following the story of Rembrandt's continuing interest in the Passion we see that it was through his development of more personal techniques and effects of printmaking that he found the means to express personal grief and spiritual distress with greater force. We only need to compare the *Descent from the Cross* from the 1630s with the same subject in the later Passion series from the 1650s (illustrated on front cover) to see this process at its extremes. In the later print the faces are still visible, their tenderness

The Fitzwilliam Museum

suggested by the subtle touch of the artist's drawing, by the understated gesture. But the larger meaning is told as much by the dramatic light effects, as by telling narrative details such as the removal of the nail still fixing Christ's foot to the cross. The ink left on the surface of the plate cloaks the shadows in a more profound darkness than the mechanical heaviness of Van Vliet's engraving tool could achieve, whilst the crucial figure group is lit on various levels, both physical and metaphysical: the light comes to us because this area of the plate was wiped clean, leaving the paper to shine bright; we see that there is light because of the torch illuminating the winding sheet; we infer that there is light, even in this moment of profound darkness, because of the sacrifice of Christ.

Rembrandt's ability to dramatise these moments of universal crisis on a human scale explains the appeal to him of subjects like *The Agony in the Garden* of 1657. The angel comforting Christ is one of several aspects of the print recalling the etching of Abraham's Sacrifice of about two years earlier. As with *The Descent from the Cross by torchlight* (see front cover), it is the posture of the figures that expresses their emotional state rather than their faces. In the few sketches related to this print, Rembrandt started off with more emphasis on the figures' faces, shifting them around until he decided on this arrangement with the angel's face almost hidden, and Christ's face (drawn with just a few strokes) tilted away. This dramatises the psychology of the angel's intervention more effectively than in the drawings where Christ has collapsed towards the angel and into his supporting arms. The angel arrives with comfort to strengthen Christ's prayer rather than just to lend physical support. Again narrative details such as the arresting soldiers approaching in the distance are subservient to the overall mood. The spiritual meaning of the print is dramatised by the surrounding landscape, with the passing shadows of a moon emerging or disappearing behind clouds. These light effects are achieved by the soft shading of ink trapped by drypoint burr, but also by ink left on the surface of the plate when printing certain impressions. Although Rembrandt would not necessarily have expected us to be looking at the varied lighting effects achieved in several different impressions, the ephemeral quality of these effects seems to inform the mood and meaning of the print. The spontaneity of surface tone evokes the sense of changeable light better than parallel lines of shading etched in the plate. We sense the clouds passing over the moon, the transitory light, the human frailty of Christ at this moment of spiritual crisis.

The ability of printmaking, with its ephemeral effects, to dramatise change even within a single scene is best demonstrated by what may well be Rembrandt's two greatest prints, *Christ presented to the People* of 1655 and *The Three Crosses* of 1653-61. In the earlier state of *Christ presented to the People*, which owes something to Lucas van Leyden's version³. Christ appears at the front of the tribune with 'the People' who refuse Pilate's

offer. Will you have this man released? Gathered immediately in front and below him. The plate is drawn entirely in drypoint—the lines scratched directly into the plate with a needle rather than being etched with acid—and the immediacy of the drawing is nowhere so impressive as in the fresh immediacy of the crowd, with many of the figures characterised from the rear without showing their faces. A recent survey of existing impressions has shown that a large number were printed in this state, a few of them on luxury oriental paper or vellum that would have appealed to print connoisseurs, but most on the European paper that Rembrandt used for standard impressions for large runs for general sale⁴. After these were printed, however, Rembrandt changed the plate, burnishing away the figures of the crowd and replacing them at the bottom with a bearded sculptural figure between two arches. This mysterious figure has yet to be explained convincingly, and in fact its impact was reduced in the subsequent state, which Rembrandt signed and dated, and printed in large number for sale on European paper. By far the most striking effect of the reworking is to place the viewer in the role of the crowd, at once making the print more intimate, yet more powerful in its universal impact: we are all guilty of condemning Christ.

Why did Rembrandt rework the plate? There is probably no single answer. On one level he was probably concerned with creating a more personal depiction of the meaning of the subject. On another, he was giving the plate a new commercial lease of life, reviving it with fresh drypoint lines and creating a new version that collectors might prefer or want to buy in addition to the version with the crowd. In any case, the printing history suggests that it is best to see it as a new print, rather than as a correction of the original. Rembrandt was making use of the ability of printmaking to create successive images from the same plate. Again he may not have been expecting the two versions to be seen side-by-side, but it is certainly true that in this exhibition the radical confrontation of the reworked version is heightened by our awareness of its predecessor, and the sophistication of this mobile narrative may not have been lost on Rembrandt's contemporaries.

Rembrandt used the same ploy when as one of his final acts in printmaking (probably around 1661) he reworked his 1653 plate of the Crucifixion known as *The Three Crosses*. As with *Christ presented to the People*, the delicate drypoint had probably worn, so that Rembrandt was giving it a new lease of life by creating a new print out of the remnants of the old. In this case many of the delicate drypoint figures have been obscured and the subject has been distinctly altered, moving from Luke's account of the moment of Christ's physical passing, to one showing the earlier moment of spiritual crisis described in Matthew, when 'from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour. And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a

loud voice saying... My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'. The remodelled face of Christ shows him with eyes and mouth slightly open at the moment before his death, whereas the earlier version shows him just after he 'gave up the ghost'. The figure of the kneeling centurion, converted at the moment of Christ's death, is obscured in the later version by a figure on a horse who may well be Pilate, linking the print more closely with *Christ presented to the People*. Once more, our knowledge of the earlier state heightens the effect of the reworking, especially when this is in itself so violent, Rembrandt gouging the plate with the engraving tool so that lines of darkness plunge from above. As in the small *Agony in the Garden*, the mood created by effects only possible in printmaking expresses the most poignant moment of human and spiritual drama, when the frailty of Christ as a human being threatens to overwhelm his divine nature, and humankind is almost lost beneath falling shrouds of deepest black.

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 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).

The Fitzwilliam's Rembrandt collection was considerably enhanced by the transfer to the Museum in 1876 of the albums of prints in the care of Cambridge University Library. Four of the albums contained Rembrandts, although just two of them held the major part of the collection. Different impressions of the same prints were divided between albums, so although only one of the albums survives, it is pretty certain that they came to the Library from more than

one Rembrandt collection. One missing album in particular (AD.12.39) was full of beautiful rare impressions, generally in exceptional condition, and apparently with no collectors' marks. This may 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 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 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), but the 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 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 and the use of different papers. The present programme of conservation, for which the Fitzwilliam is still seeking funding to continue, is allowing new opportunities to study more precisely the paper that Rembrandt used.

Rembrandt's paper

Before the late 1640s Rembrandt mainly used European papers from Swiss and south German sources.⁶ 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 from a cargo recorded as being brought back to Amsterdam from Japan in 1643-4 by the Dutch East India Company. Others are probably from other parts of the Far and Near East. Two prints in this exhibition are on extremely thin white papers with close-knit chainlines (15-20mm apart) that may well be Chinese. One of these papers, used for an impression of *The Descent from the Cross by torchlight* (AD.12.39-28), appears to be identical to one used for an impression of *Christ at Emmaus* in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne⁵. Recent studies have shown that such papers contain a mixture of bamboo and *mitsumata* fibres, which means that they are very similar to those used in China for calligraphy. However,

as these fibres are common throughout south-east Asia, and as the Japanese were known to replicate Chinese calligraphic papers, the country of origin remains uncertain.

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, and was used by Rembrandt for prints that he also printed on oriental paper. These thick papers were made by pressing two or more thin papers together to form a laminate; this was done at the time of manufacture when the papers were wet, and relied on the fibre's natural bonding properties (*gampi* fibre was particularly suitable). Sometimes referred to as *Torinoko*,⁷ this paper was expensive but widely used in seventeenth-century Japan, outnumbering all other types of 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 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 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 probably an abbreviation of 'East Indian' (that is, brought from the East Indies (a term used generally for the orient), on East India Company ships.

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NOTES

1. *The Presentation in the Temple* was actually more commonly included in series illustrating *The Life of the Virgin*, but as scenes of Christ's childhood were also included in Passion series this does not exclude the possibility that it was intended as part of a Passion set. Rembrandt would not necessarily have stuck to preceding patterns.
2. Schuckman, Royalton-Kisch and Hinterding 1996, pp.26-6, 66-75.
3. Rembrandt had paid a large sum of money for a group of prints by Lucas including this one.
4. Eeles 1998, p.294. The usual paper for state V has a Strasbourg lily watermark.
5. Van Breda 1997, p.37.
6. The section on paper has been written with advice from Bryan Clarke.
7. By the late nineteenth century the term *Torinoko* was being used less strictly to describe thick vellum-like Japanese paper.

Technical terms

BURIN

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

CHAINLINES

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

COUNTERPROOF

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

DRYPOINT

A sharp point used to scratch directly into the copper without the use of an etching ground or acid. The copper displaced

from the scratched line is thrown up to either side in a rough *burr*. When the plate is inked the *burr* traps rich deposits of ink which are then printed on the paper as soft velvety areas around the line. The use of harder cold-hammered (rather than rolled) copper for Rembrandt's plates meant that a few dozen good prints could be expected before the *burr* wore significantly.

ETCHING

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

IMPRESSION

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

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 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.

FURTHER READING

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Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, *Rembrandt: Experimental*

Etcher, exhibition catalogue 1969.

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J. A. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*, Utrecht 1968.

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T. Laurentius, H. M. M. van Hugten, E. Hinterding,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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.

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

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

Explanation of catalogue information

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

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

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

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

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

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

SURVIVING PLATE: [measurement of copper]; [location]

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

Other collections cited

Amsterdam	Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
Boston	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
London	British Museum, London
Washington	National Gallery of Art, Washington

CATALOGUE

This exhibition coincides with the completion of the third part of a programme of conservation of the Fitzwilliam Museum's Rembrandt collection (generously supported by the Monument Trust). The first two parts dealt with Rembrandt's prints of landscapes and nudes, which were the subjects of exhibitions in 1994 and 1996. 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 record the watermarks with beta-radiograph photography. 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.

1 to 2

Prints made in collaboration with Jan van Vliet (c.1600/10-c.1668)

1 Christ before Pilate 1635-6

Bartsch/Hollstein 77 state IV/V

Etching and burin (549 x 447) printed on wire side of laid paper (559 x 461) chainlines horizontal (28-30)

WATERMARK: Grapes probably identical with type A.b

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1636 cum privile.*

INSCRIPTIONS: *recto*: N^o. 3 (brown ink); *verso*: N^o. 3 P. 2 (brown ink); N^o. 3 (brown ink); N^o. 83 (brown ink)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.20.15-4)

Pilate ... brought Jesus forth, and sat down in the judgment seat in a place that is called the Pavement, but in the Hebrew, Gabbatha. And it was the preparation of the Passover, and about the sixth hour: and he saith unto the Jews, Behold your King! But they cried out, Away with him, away with him, crucify him. Pilate saith unto them, Shall I crucify your King? The chief priests answered, We have no king but Caesar. Then delivered he him therefore unto them to be crucified.' (John 19:13-16)

This is one of two large reproductive prints of the Passion made in the 1630s, inspired by the example of Rubens' print-publishing ventures in Antwerp (see also no. 2). This print is based on Rembrandt's detailed grisaille painting dated 1634, now in the National Gallery, London, which was made expressly as a model for making the print. Most of the etching and engraving was probably carried out according to Rembrandt's instructions by his pupil Jan Van Vliet in Leiden, who had been making etchings after Rembrandt's compositions since 1631. An impression in London of the unfinished first state is touched with brown oil paint by Rembrandt, presumably to instruct Van Vliet how to complete the plate. Rembrandt himself seems to have intervened directly in the next states, using a drypoint needle to add his signature, and to alter and improve details such as Pilate's left hand and the head of the man rising from the crowd in the lower left corner. He may also have added with an engraving tool (or burin) elements such as the rather unorthodox shading in the sky and further accents in the architecture and crowd.

This is the finished state of the image (although the print was later reissued with the added inscription of the 18th-century Parisian publisher Antoine Malbouré). The watermark is probably identical with that found on an impression of the same state in Boston. Early impressions and proof states of *Christ before Pilate*

and *The Descent from the Cross* are often found on papers used by van Vliet but rarely encountered in Rembrandt's other prints.

2 The Descent from the Cross 1633

Bartsch/Hollstein 81(ii) state II
Etching and burin (530 x 411) printed on felt side of laid paper (530 x 411) chainlines horizontal (29/30)
WATERMARK: Strasbourg Lily similar to type C.c
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt. f. cum pryvb:* □ □ 1633 □
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: Bourduge?* / 1794
PROVENANCE: A. Bourduge? (see Lugt p.20); Rev. John Griffith (Lugt 1464 *verso*); Ernst Theodor Rodenacker (Lugt 2438 *verso*); Marlay Bequest 1912
SURVIVING PLATE: 537 x 415 x 1.54; Private Collection, USA

'And after this Joseph of Arimathaea, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus... Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes...' (John 19:38-40)

This was the first of the two large reproductive prints of the Passion made in collaboration between Rembrandt and Van Vliet in the 1630s (see no. 1). This print was based on Rembrandt's painting (now in Munich) executed for the Prince of Orange, Frederick Henry. Certain elements of the composition were inspired by Lucas Vorsterman's engraving of Rubens' *Descent from the Cross*. Van Vliet's first plate was abandoned after the etching ground collapsed. This state of the second plate shows the image finished. Rembrandt himself added the signature, and possibly added touches of drypoint in the same way as he contributed to no. 1. In the next state was added the inscription of the art dealer Hendrick Uylenburgh, who published the plate in Amsterdam. Rembrandt was living in Uylenburgh's house in 1633, and subsequently married his daughter Saskia.

The watermark on this impression is similar to that found on impressions of the second and third (Uylenburgh) states in Amsterdam, and on an impression of an early state (II) of *Christ before Pilate* in Washington. Other impressions of this state (such as the Fitzwilliam's impression 23.K.5-141) are printed on the paper that was used for many of Van Vliet's own plates of 1631-5. It would seem that Van Vliet printed off some impressions before sending the plate to Rembrandt in Amsterdam; a number of impressions were then printed before Uylenburgh added his address.

3 to 13

Stages to the Crucifixion

3 The Agony in the Garden c.1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 75 state before reworking
Etching and drypoint (111 x 84) printed with surface tone on wire(?) side of laid paper (115 x 88) chainlines horizontal (24)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.165*[last digit missing]
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-123)

'And he was withdrawn from them about a stone's cast, and kneeled down, and prayed, saying, Father, if thou be willing, remove this cup from me: nevertheless not my will, but thine will be done. And there appeared an angel unto him from heaven, strengthening him. And being in an agony he prayed more earnestly: and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground. And when he rose up from prayer, and was come to his disciples, he found them sleeping for sorrow...' (Luke 23:41-6)

Rembrandt made several drawings of this subject which correspond to the print in various details, including the Fitzwilliam drawing displayed in the small lectern case. Although the print is often assigned to a later date (c.1657), the Fitzwilliam's first state of the 1654 *Christ at Emmaus* (no. 35) has an offset of this plate on the *verso*, which suggests that this plate was being printed around the time that the *Christ at Emmaus* was created.

This is an early impression printed before the drypoint burr wore away (see no. 4), so that it traps rich deposits of ink which print velvet black around the lines. Surface tone (a film of ink left on the surface of the plate between the lines) gives a wash-like shading, except in areas such as Christ and the angel, and also the moon, where the surface of the plate has been wiped clean so that the paper shows more brightly.

4 The Agony in the Garden c.1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 75 state before reworking
Etching and drypoint printed on wire side of laid paper (113 x 84) chainlines horizontal (24)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.165*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: no. 78* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-128)

This impression was printed after most of the drypoint burr had worn from the plate.

5 The Agony in the Garden c.1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 75 reworked state (Nowell-Usticke state II)
Etching and drypoint touched by a later hand with pen and

ink and wash printed on laid paper (112 x 83) chainlines vertical

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.165*

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 78 (graphite); 7.6 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-127)

Nos. 5 and 6 (both added to Lord Fitzwilliam's album later than no. 4) are printed from the plate after it had been reworked, probably in the eighteenth century, to compensate for wear (the same state of this plate was printed with four other etchings by Rembrandt in J. McCreery's *A Collection of 200 etchings* in 1816). In contrast to nos. 3 and 4 a burin has been used to add flecks to Christ's cheek and horizontal shading between Christ and the angel's knee. The pen and ink and wash additions made by hand to this impression were evidently intended to make it look like a richly printed early impression such as no. 3.

6 The Agony in the Garden c.1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 75 reworked state (Nowell-Usticke state II)

Etching and drypoint printed with surface tone on oriental or pseudo-oriental paper (114 x 85)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.165*

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-129)

The same reworked state as no. 5, but this time printed with a lot of surface tone to compensate for the worn plate and to make it look more like an early impression.

7 Christ presented to the People c.1655

Bartsch/Hollstein 76 state V/VIII

Drypoint (358 x 455) printed on vellum (365 x 455)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.20.15-2)

'When [Pilate] was set down on the judgment seat, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man: for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him. But the chief priests and elders persuaded the multitude that they should ask Barabbas, and destroy Jesus. The governor answered and said unto them, Which of the twain will ye that I release unto you? They said, Barabbas. Pilate saith unto them, What shall I do then with Jesus which is called Christ? They all say unto him, Let him be crucified. And the governor said, Why, what evil hath he done? But they cried out the more, saying, Let him be crucified.' (Matthew 27:19-23)

Pilate's wife is seen in the upper left window. On the far left of the judgment platform a young man holds the jug of water and bowl in which Pilate will wash his hands 'of the blood of this just person'. The facade of the courthouse is adorned with statues of Prudence (represented as an Amazon) and Justice (with scales and blindfold).

The treatment of the priests and the crowd is more subtle than in the early *Christ before Pilate* (no. 1). This time Rembrandt's source of inspiration was the engraving by Lucas van Leyden (displayed in the table-case in the neighbouring Dutch Gallery).

The plate was not dated until the reworked seventh state (no. 8), so it may have been started around the same time as *The Three Crosses* of 1653 (no. 10). This is one of two recorded impressions of this state printed on vellum. Rembrandt subsequently printed a large number of impressions of this state on European paper before reworking the plate and creating a new version by removing the crowd (no. 8).

8 Christ presented to the People 1655

Bartsch/Hollstein 76 state VII/VIII

Drypoint printed on oriental paper (362 x 454)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.1655*

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-130)

This is one of only three recorded impressions of the seventh state, all on oriental paper. Rembrandt has removed the crowd seen in no. 7 by burnishing the plate, and introduced instead the figure of a bearded man between two arches. The iconographic significance of this figure has never been satisfactorily explained; Rembrandt may have regretted its presence as he burnished the plate to reduce its impact before printing the next state (no. 9). The windows and other details of the architecture have also been altered, and many of the figures redrawn to refresh the drypoint burr which had become worn during the printing of the large number of impressions of state V (no. 7).

9 Christ presented to the People 1655

Bartsch/Hollstein 76 state VIII/VIII

Drypoint printed on felt(?) side of laid paper (364 x 560) chainlines horizontal (32)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.1655*

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library (AD.20.15-3)

The final state of the plate which was printed in large numbers on European paper.

10 The Three Crosses 1653

Bartsch/Hollstein 78 state III/V

Drypoint (385 x 450) printed with surface tone on oriental paper (385 x 456)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.1653*

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.20.15-7)

'And it was about the sixth hour; and there was a darkness over all the earth until the ninth hour. And the

sun was darkened, and the veil of the temple was rent in the midst. And when Jesus had cried with a loud voice, he said, Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit: and having said this, he gave up the ghost. Now when the centurion saw what was done, he glorified God, saying, Certainly this was a righteous man. And all the people that came together to that site, beholding the things which were done, smote their breasts and returned. (Luke 23: 44-8)

Rembrandt depicts the moment of Christ's death, with the 'good' thief to his right lit by heavenly light. Also bathed in this light is the group below including Christ's mother and the standing figure of St John. To the left, the centurion has dismounted from his horse and kneels before the cross.

The drypoint burr was in fresh condition when this impression was printed. In some places such as the tallest dark figure in the left foreground the thin line scratched by the drypoint needle appears white, as all the ink has been trapped by the burr to either side of the line.

11 The Three Crosses 1653

Bartsch/Hollstein 78 state III/V

Drypoint printed on vellum (378 x 447)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.1653*

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: L115 B*

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-133)

The same state as no. 10 but printed on vellum instead of oriental paper. The ink does not always print so well on the non-absorbent surface of the calfskin, but the blurred effect can create its own sense of atmosphere and drama. This is true here of the group of figures on the left responsible for Christ's death, who seem thrown into a blurred and

fearful confusion at the enormity of their deeds. This is the only recorded impression of this state on vellum. A large number of impressions were printed on European paper before Rembrandt reworked the plate to create a new composition (no. 12).

12 The Three Crosses 1653

Bartsch/Hollstein 78 state IV/V

Drypoint and burin printed with surface tone on wire side of laid paper (397 x 463) chainlines vertical (25)

WATERMARK: Strasbourg lily type I.a with countermark IHS type A.d

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.1653*

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.20.15-9)

Rembrandt has reworked the plate by burnishing out or redrawing many of the figures, and altering the effects and significance of light and shade. The

moment depicted is no longer Christ's death, but the moment before it, when he cries out 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' (Matthew 27:46). Christ's mouth is still open and his eyes only half-closed. The 'good' thief, shrouded in a curtain of darkness, has yet to be redeemed by the heavenly light. The Virgin is in a deeper swoon, and St John spreads his arms instead of clenching his fists to his head. The kneeling centurion and his horse are replaced by a high-hatted rider (copied from a medal by Pisanello of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga) perhaps intended as Pilate.

This is a very richly inked impression which accentuates the dramatic changes Rembrandt made to the plate. This combination of watermark and countermark is also found on an impression of the same state in Boston. It was previously thought that changes made in this state date from the early 1660s, but recent research into watermarks has proved that they were made soon after the earlier state was printed.

13 The Three Crosses 1653

Bartsch/Hollstein 78 state IV/V

Drypoint and burin printed on laid paper (391 x 458)

chainlines vertical (25)

WATERMARK: not deciphered

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.1653*

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: No. 5* (graphite); *No 80* (graphite); *4th Impression Scarce* (graphite); *2-2-0* (ink)

PROVENANCE: Edward Astley (Lugt 2775 *recto*); Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-132)

The same state of the plate as no. 12, but printed with less ink, and with more oil mixed in the ink, giving a browner colour. Rembrandt printed a large number of impressions of this state on European paper, varying the inking to create different effects. The plate was later re-published with the address of the Amsterdam 'plate printer' and 'seller of parchment', Frans Carelse, who died in 1683.

14 to 21

From the Cross to the Sepulchre (1630s and 40s)

14 The Crucifixion: small plate c.1635

Bartsch/Hollstein 80

Etching (95 x 67) printed on wire side of laid paper (98 x 70) chainlines horizontal (24)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.*

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-140)

SURVIVING PLATE: 97 x 68 x 1.09; Private Collection, USA

Now there stood by the cross of Jesus his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene. When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by, whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son! Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home.'

(John 19 25-7)

John, 'the disciple standing by', is on the left. The figure seen from the rear in the foreground may be Pilate, who has inscribed and fixed the paper at the top of the cross. *Jesus of Nazareth the King of the Jews* in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Various elements of the composition recall prints by Altdorfer and Lucas van Leyden.

15 The Crucifixion: small plate c.1635

Bartsch/Hollstein 80

Etching printed with surface tone on wire side of laid paper (94 x 66) chainlines horizontal (29)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.*

INSCRIPTIONS: *recto*: 880 (graphite); 82 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-135)

This is a later impression than no. 14, printed with a lot of surface tone, which has been wiped clean to create a highlight on the swooning figure of the Virgin. The paper and inking is typical of 18th-century impressions printed by the French collector and writer Claude-Henri Watelet, who acquired over 80 Rembrandt plates from 1760 onwards, and 'restored' many of them. When printing the plates Watelet experimented with ways of recapturing Rembrandt's tonal effects. He also made his own Rembrandtesque etchings. After his death in 1786 Watelet's Rembrandt plates were bought by the Parisian print dealer Pierre-François Basan.

16 The Crucifixion: small plate c.1635

Bartsch/Hollstein 80 counterproof

Etching printed on felt side of laid paper (100 x 69) chainlines vertical (26)

WATERMARK: unidentified fragment (?Strasbourg lily)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.*

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-138)

A counterproof is made by running a freshly-printed wet impression back through the press with a sheet of blank paper, so that a reversed image is offset. As the image was then in the same direction as the image on the copper plate itself, the counterproof could be useful for judging work during the development of the plate, but judging from the number of surviving counterproofs there

was evidently a market for them among collectors.

17 Christ crucified between two thieves: oval plate c.1641

Bartsch/Hollstein 79 state I

Etching and drypoint (136 x 100) printed on felt side of laid paper (143 x 106) chainlines horizontal (28)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-134)

'And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, If thou be Christ, save thyself and us. But the other answering rebuked him, saying, Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward of our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss. And he said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom. And Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, Today shalt thou be with me in paradise' (Luke 24:39-43)

As in the early state of *The Three Crosses* (nos. 10-11) Christ and the penitent thief are bathed in heavenly light. The lance tipped with the vinegary sponge used to mock Jesus on the cross, leans against the cross of the 'bad' thief.

18 Christ crucified between two thieves: oval plate c.1641

Bartsch/Hollstein 79 state II

Etching and drypoint printed on wire side of laid paper (160 x 140) chainlines horizontal (25)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.38-69)

A number of details have been changed in this second state: the square end of the 'bad' thief's cross has been rounded where it nearly touches the border, fine lines of shading have been added, and some of the outlines have been strengthened in drypoint. This impression is printed with more tone in the shadows than the first state (no. 17). A later reworked state of this plate was printed in J McCreery's *A Collection of 200 Etchings* in 1816 (see also no. 5).

19 The Descent from the Cross: a sketch

1642

Bartsch/Hollstein 82

Etching and drypoint (149 x 116) printed on felt side of laid paper (198 x 150) chainlines horizontal (23)

WATERMARK: fragment of foolscap with 7(?)-pointed collar similar to type C

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.* 1642

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.38-34)

This loose sketch-like print is quite different in character from the earlier treatment of this theme in the 1630s (no. 2) or the later print from the

1650s (nos. 24-7). The skull at the foot of the cross was part of the traditional iconography of the Crucifixion, intended as a reference to the meaning of the word Golgotha.

20 Christ carried to the Tomb c.1645

Bartsch/Hollstein 84
Etching and drypoint (131 x 108) printed on wire side of laid paper (137 x 114) chainlines horizontal (24)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt*.
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.38-48)

'And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock.' (Matthew 28:59-60)

Christ's body is carried by four men, with the holy women in attendance.

21 Christ carried to the Tomb c.1645

Bartsch/Hollstein 84
Etching and drypoint printed on extremely thin oriental paper, possibly Chinese (130 x 107) chainlines horizontal (16)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt*.
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso: Miscel[?]* (graphite); *168* (graphite); *No 23* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-149)

This impression was printed in a very similar manner to no. 20, the differences caused only by the use in no. 21 of a warm-coloured oriental paper. This was one of the earliest plates that Rembrandt printed on oriental paper.

22 to 38

An incomplete Passion series?

This group consists of impressions from four plates that are similar in format and closely related in technique and style. They were evidently etched around the same time (1654) and may have been intended as part of a series of Christ's Life or Passion that was never completed. Iconographically they share the theme of Christ the saviour as light overcoming darkness.

22 The Presentation in the Temple in the Dark Manner c.1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 50
Etching and drypoint printed on wire side of laid paper (268 x 194) chainlines vertical (24)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.38-2)

'And, behold, there was a man in Jerusalem, whose name was Simeon; and the same man was just and devout,

waiting for the consolation of Israel: and the Holy Ghost was upon him. And it was revealed unto him by the Holy Ghost, that he should not see death, before he had seen the Lord's Christ. And he came by the Spirit into the temple: and when the parents brought in the child Jesus, to do for him after the custom of the law, then took he him up in his arms, and blessed God, and said, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, According to thy word: For mine eyes have seen thy salvation, Which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; A light to lighten the Gentiles, And the glory of thy people Israel. And Joseph and his mother marvelled at those things which were spoken of him.' (Luke 2:25-33)

Scenes of Christ's childhood were sometimes included in 16th-century printed Passion series. Rembrandt uses dramatic lighting not only to focus attention on the figures of Simeon and the priest (another magnificently accoutred priest or guard stands behind them), but also to give metaphysical expression to Simeon's prayer of gratitude for Christ as 'a light to lighten the Gentiles...'

The fact that Abraham van Dijck copied details of this print in a painting of 1655 supports a date as early as 1654 for the etching.

23 The Presentation in the Temple in the Dark Manner c.1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 50
Etching and drypoint printed with surface tone on oriental paper (209 x 165), with an offset from the same plate on the *verso*
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-102)

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

24 The Descent from the Cross by torchlight 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 83
Etching and drypoint (210 x 161) printed with surface tone on oriental paper (216 x 168) with laid-line pattern similar to Van Breda no. 6
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.1654* [the *a* in reverse]
INSCRIPTIONS: *recto: 28* (ink)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-28)
SURVIVING PLATE: 213 x 164.5 x 1.33; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

'And after this Joseph of Arimathaea, being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews, besought Pilate that he might take away the body of Jesus: and Pilate gave him leave. And there came also Nicodemus, which at the first came to Jesus by night, and brought a mixture of myrrh

and aloes, about an hundred pound wight. Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury.' (John 19:38-40)

Joseph stands on the right; Nicodemus spreads the linen shroud over the stretcher. As with nos. 22-23, Rembrandt uses the light to dramatise the scene, but this impression is printed with such a lot of surface tone on warm-coloured oriental paper that the effect is muted.

25 The Descent from the Cross by torchlight 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 83
Etching and drypoint printed on felt side of laid paper (216 x 167) chainlines vertical (25)
WATERMARK: Foolscape with 5-pointed collar (undescribed variant)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.1654* [the *a* in reverse]
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-29)

The surface of the plate was wiped clean in areas of highlight when printing this impression, so that the paper shines brightly. This gives greater contrast and drama compared with the more muted effect of no. 24.

26 The Descent from the Cross by torchlight 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 83
Etching and drypoint printed on felt side of toned laid paper (220 x 171) chainlines vertical (24)
WATERMARK: Foolscape with 7-pointed collar similar to type C
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.1654* [the *a* in reverse]
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: undeciphered (ink)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.38-17)

This paper has been coloured (probably by a later hand) with wash to give the effect of impressions on oriental paper, such as no. 24. The only place where the natural paper colour has been allowed to show is in the flame of the torch.

27 The Descent from the Cross by torchlight 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 83
Etching, drypoint and burin printed on felt side of laid paper (215 x 167) chainlines horizontal (27)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.1654* [the *a* in reverse]
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: *No 86* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-144)

This is a late impression printed after the drypoint burr had worn from the plate and after diagonal hatching had been added with the burin in the

upper right corner. The paper is coarser than that used for earlier impressions such as nos. 25 and 26.

28 The Entombment *c.*1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 86 state I/IV
Etching and drypoint (211 x 161) printed on thin white oriental paper, possibly Chinese (209 x 160)
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: *H* in a circle (red chalk)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-147)

'And when Joseph had taken the body, he wrapped it in a clean linen cloth, and laid it in his own tomb, which he had hewn out in the rock: and he rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre, and departed. And there was Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, sitting over against the sepulchre.' (Matthew 28:59-60)

Rembrandt depicts the scene after the cortege had arrived at the tomb with Christ's body, but before the sepulchre had been sealed. The composition was based on a drawing from the circle of Raphael which Rembrandt had freely copied in one of his own drawings (now in Haarlem).

Except for a very few lines, this first state is achieved purely by etching, before Rembrandt added the drypoint and engraving that cast the scene into darkness in subsequent states (nos. 29-34). The white oriental paper gives an even greater contrast to the warm-coloured oriental paper used in no. 29.

29 The Entombment *c.*1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 86 state II/IV
Etching, drypoint and burin printed with surface tone on oriental paper (214 x 167)
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: *EIVW/Rogers's/ Sale/1799* (brown ink); *IV/E* (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Edward Astley (Lugt 2775 *recto*); Charles Rogers; Nathaniel Smith (Lugt 3017 *verso*); Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-145)

In this second state Rembrandt has worked over the whole plate, turning it into a dark scene with highlights picked out by wiping the surface of the plate clean of ink in areas such as Christ's body and the faces of the principal protagonists. The light seems to emanate from Christ's body, a theme common to all four plates in this incomplete Passion series.

This is one of several recorded impressions of this second state on oriental paper; there were also at least three impressions on vellum.

The subsequent state is displayed in the centre of the gallery.

30 The Entombment *c.*1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 86 states II/IV and III/IV
Etching drypoint and burin printed on both sides of laid
paper (217 x 164)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University
Library 1876 (AD.12.39-41)

This is a very rare example of Rembrandt printing
on both sides of a sheet of paper. The second state
is printed patchily, with relatively little ink over
much of the plate (perhaps Rembrandt had taken a
counterproof from it to work on the changes for
the third state?). The third state is printed with a
rich load of ink, and without wiping the surplus
ink off the surface of the plate.

In the third state Rembrandt added light
diagonal shading to right side of the wall that
appears halfway up the right side of the plate; he
also burnished the arch behind the two skulls so
that they stand out darkly.

31 The Entombment *c.*1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 86 state between III and IV
Etching, drypoint and burin printed with surface tone on
wire side of laid paper (216 x 167) chainlines vertical
(20/24)
PROVENANCE: Jan Chalon (Lugt 439 *verso*); Fitzwilliam
Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-148)

This state is apparently undescribed. It lies
between the states usually described as III (see no.
30 in the centre of the gallery) and IV (see no. 32).
It has the following features lacking in the third
state but present in the fourth:

- < horizontal shading above the line of the arch
in the top right corner;
- < curved burin strokes on the Virgin's left arm;
- < fine cross-hatching on the face and beard of
Nicodemus standing behind the Virgin.

However, it lacks the following features added in
the fourth state:

- < fine diagonal lines of drypoint on the Virgin's
right hand;
- < diagonal shading on the top part of the wall
that appears halfway up the right edge of the
plate.

The inking of the impression is curious. It is
printed with very heavy surface tone and there is
hardly any wiping in much of the heavily shaded
area. However, the arch behind the skulls has been
wiped or dabbed (perhaps with a muslin cloth) so
that the ink has been removed from the lines,
which print white. Throughout the development
of this plate Rembrandt printed an unusually large
number of impressions with special inking effects.
These must have been designed to appeal to
sophisticated collectors. It is possible that some of

the minute state changes may also have been made
to create extra states for these collectors to buy.

32 The Entombment *c.*1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 86 state IV/IV
Etching, drypoint and burin printed with surface tone on
felt side of laid paper (222 x 172) chainlines vertical (23/24)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University
Library 1876 (AD.12.40-77)

Rembrandt has now added the diagonal shading
on the Virgin's hand and the diagonal shading on
the wall that were lacking in no. 31.

33 The Entombment *c.*1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 86 state IV/IV
Etching, drypoint and burin printed with surface tone on
laid paper (213 x 166) chainlines vertical (21/23)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University
Library 1876 (AD.12.38-26)

Like no. 32 this was printed with surface tone, but
this time the highlights on the figures were not
wiped clean.

34 The Entombment *c.*1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 86 state IV/IV
Etching, drypoint and burin printed on wire side of laid
paper (226 x 176) chainlines vertical (22/25)
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University
Library 1876 (AD.12.39-38)

In contrast to nos. 32 and 33, the surface of the
plate was wiped clean to print this impression, so
that there is no tone between the lines and the
paper shines bright in contrast to the ink. Some of
the lines appear worn when compared to nos. 33
and 34, although this effect is exaggerated by the
relatively light inking.

35 Christ at Emmaus 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 87 state I/III
Etching printed on oriental paper (205 x 162) touched with
wash, offset of Bartsch/Hollstein 75 on *verso*
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1654*
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University
Library 1876 (AD.12.39-44)
SURVIVING PLATE: 214 x 163 x 1.11; Art Institute of
Chicago

*'And it came to pass, as he sat at meat with them, he took
bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them. And
their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished
out of their sight. And they said one to another, Did not
our heart burn within us, while he talked with us by the
way, and while he opened to us the scriptures.'* (Luke
24:30-32)

Most representations of Christ at Emmaus

depict the moment of the breaking of the bread (see no. 39) and not, as here, the moment following it. The pose of Christ and the canopy at the top were borrowed from a print after Leonardo's *Last Supper*, which Rembrandt copied in a number of drawings. The frontal presentation of the scene also recalls a woodcut by Dürer.

Rather like no. 28 this state is achieved through etching alone. The touches of wash added to Christ's face correspond to the strokes of drypoint added in the second state (see no. 36). Although a fair number of impressions of this first state seem to have been printed, the drawing of the plate seems incomplete without the drypoint. On the other hand it may be that Rembrandt was attempting to show Christ's incorporeality at the moment when 'he vanished out of their sight' (in the Fitzwilliam's drawing of this subject, displayed in the Durch Gallery, Christ has almost completely disappeared). He seems to have pursued this effect in the later *Christ appearing to the Apostles* (nos. 41-2). The brightness of this plate in comparison with the previous 'dark' plates in this series may represent the triumph over darkness of the resurrected Christ.

36 Christ at Emmaus c.1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 87 state II/III
Etching, drypoint and burin printed on felt side of laid paper (223 x 173) chainlines vertical (24)
WATERMARK: countermark *DA* (undescribed)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1654*
PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.39-46)

Christ's face, the rays of light around his head, and the outline of the hat on the right, have now been completed in drypoint (*cf.* no. 35). This early impression shows the newly added drypoint in very fresh condition, trapping and printing rich smudges of ink along the scratched lines.

37 Christ at Emmaus 1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 87 state II/III
Etching, drypoint and burin printed on wire side of laid paper (218 x 165) chainlines vertical (24)
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1654*
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-151)

The drypoint burr seen on the earlier impression of this state (no. 36) has now worn away.

38 Christ at Emmaus c.1654

Bartsch/Hollstein 87 state III/III (before final rework)
Etching, drypoint and burin printed on felt side of laid paper (211 x 161) chainlines horizontal (27)
WATERMARK: unidentified shield with posthorn

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1654*

INSCRIPTIONS: *recto*: N^o 90 (graphite); *verso*: 90 (ink); 3^s

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-152)

The additional horizontal hatching added in this state, immediately below the tablecloth on the right, may have been the work of Claude-Henri Watelet after he acquired the plate in the late 1760s (see also no. 15; the plate was further reworked by the subsequent owner Pierre-François Basan).

A curious touch of blue pigment on Christ's cheek in this impression may have been an attempt to strengthen the worn drypoint lines, or even to erase them to create the illusion of a first state (see no. 35). The paper, which is relatively coarse and late, is similar to that of the Fitzwilliam's other impression of this state (23.K.5-153; not exhibited).

39 to 42

Christ's appearance after the Resurrection (first and final thoughts)

39 Christ at Emmaus: the smaller plate

1634

Bartsch/Hollstein 88
Etching and drypoint (102 x 73) printed on felt side of laid paper (105 x 76) chainlines horizontal (27)
WATERMARK: unidentified fragment on edge of sheet
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1634*
INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 45 (ink); 91 No 91 (graphite)
PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-154)

'And it came to pass, as he sat at meat with them, he took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them.'
(Luke 24:25-29)

At first there was a servant in the left background who was subsequently obscured by shading. This impression was printed before the faint lines in front of the dog had worn from the plate.

40 Christ at Emmaus: the smaller plate

1634

Bartsch/Hollstein 88
Etching and drypoint printed on wire side of laid paper (128 x 95) chainlines horizontal (24)
WATERMARK: top fragment of Basle crozier similar to type A.a
SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f. 1634*
Provenance: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.38-87)

Printed after the faint lines in front of the dog had worn from the plate.

41 Christ appearing to the Apostles 1656

Bartsch/Hollstein 89

Etching printed on wire side of laid paper (170 x 217)
chainlines horizontal (24)

WATERMARK: countermark LA (undescribed variant)

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.1656*

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University
Library 1876 (AD.12.40-68)

'Then the same day at evening, being the first day of the week, when the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you. And when he had so said, he showed unto them his hands and his side. Then were the disciples glad, when they saw the Lord.'
(John 20:19-20)

The scene has also been interpreted as the later moment when Christ appeared to the doubting Thomas, or when Christ offered the keys to Peter, but the print accords best with Christ's first appearance to the apostles on the evening of his resurrection. The radiance and insubstantiality of the resurrected Christ is expressed through the broken line and bright paper. Rembrandt pushes to its expressive limit this effect, which he had experimented with in the first state of *Christ at Emmaus* (no. 35). The luminous broken line is achieved partly by light drawing and etching, and partly by burnishing the etched plate.

A similar watermark is found on an impression of this print in Amsterdam. As in numerous other impressions of this print, the paper moved against the plate perhaps when Rembrandt ran it back through the press for a second time - causing a blurred double-image effect in the lines on the left (the plate may have been uneven in thickness or the pressure of the press may have been uneven).

42 Christ appearing to the Apostles 1656

Bartsch/Hollstein 89 counterproof

Etching (162 x 210) printed on wire side of laid paper (174 x 219) chainlines horizontal (24)

WATERMARK: Foolsap with 5-pointed collar type J.a

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.1656*

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University
Library 1876 (AD.12.39-34)

A counterproof taken from an impression of the print seen in no. 41. Judging from surviving impressions, numerous counterproofs of this plate were printed, perhaps because the sketchy linear style and the use of bright paper to represent the other-worldly radiance of Christ was well expressed by the rather ghostly quality of a counterproof.

The paper used for this counterproof is also

found in a standard impression of this print in Amsterdam and in the unexhibited impression in the Fitzwilliam (23.K.5-124). Impressions of Rembrandt's prints of the Passion not included in exhibition

Impressions of Rembrandt's prints of the Passion not included in exhibition

Bartsch/Hollstein

50

Printed on felt side of laid paper (210 x 161) chainlines vertical (24-6)

WATERMARK: Foolsap with 7-pointed collar (not identified)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 92 (graphite); *l*u (graphite); 87 (ink)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-73)

77 IV/V

Printed on wire side of laid paper (549 x 449) chainlines horizontal (30)

WATERMARK: Bottom fragment of Foolsap(?) (unidentified)

INSCRIPTIONS: *recto*: D-GX-7 (ink); *verso*: N^o 83 ~~N^o 79~~ (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-139)

77 IV/V

Printed on wire side of laid paper (553 x 447) chainlines horizontal

WATERMARK: Arms of Berne close to type C.a

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: N^o 83 (graphite); erased name and date 1745 (ink) replaced by [?] *armuccia* (brown ink)

PROVENANCE: Unidentified collector (Lugt 2964 *verso*);
Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-140)

79 I

Printed on felt side of laid paper (137 x 102) chainlines horizontal (25)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 79 (graphite); 6185 (graphite); H (ink)

PROVENANCE: T. J. Thompson (Lugt 2442); Marlay
Bequest 1912

80

Printed on felt side of laid paper (96 x 68) chainlines horizontal (22/23)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: d3 (red chalk); 82 (graphite); N^o 82 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-136)

80

Printed on felt side of laid paper (96 x 68) chainlines horizontal (23/24)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: a (red chalk); N^o 89 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-137)

81 II

Printed on wire side of laid paper (527 x 406) chainlines horizontal (28)

WATERMARK: 4HP type A.a.a with countermark R type A.a.b

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-141)

81 III

Printed on felt side of heavy laid paper (562 x 433)

chainlines horizontal (28/30)

WATERMARK: Strasbourg lily close to type A.4WR:E

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: N^o. 4 (ink)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.20.15-6)

81 V

Printed on wire side of laid paper (539 x 415) chainlines horizontal (28/30)

WATERMARK: *D* [plus heart shape and undeciphered initial and word]

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: N^o 84

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-142)

82

Printed on wire side of laid paper (171 x 135) chainlines horizontal (24)

WATERMARK: bottom fragment of Foolscape similar to that on no. 19 (*cf.* type C)

INSCRIPTIONS: *recto*: 19 (brown ink)

PROVENANCE: Transferred from Cambridge University Library 1876 (AD.12.40-19)

82

Printed on wire side of laid paper (152 x 120) chainlines horizontal (23)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: N^o 85 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-143)

84

Printed on felt side of laid paper (132 x 108) chainlines vertical (25) with ink line drawn round image

WATERMARK: *NB* (unidentified)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: N^o 88 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-150)

86 IV

Printed on wire side of laid paper (211 x 161) chainlines vertical (21)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: 87 (graphite); *as b* (graphite); *IV state* (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-146)

87 III

Printed on wire side of laid paper (211 x 162) chainlines horizontal (27)

INSCRIPTIONS: *verso*: N^o 90 (graphite)

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-153)

89

Printed on wire side of laid paper (163 x 213) chainlines horizontal (23/25)

WATERMARK: Foolscape with 5-pointed collar type J.a

SIGNED IN THE PLATE: *Rembrandt f.1656*

PROVENANCE: Fitzwilliam Bequest 1816 (23.K.5-124)