

Simiolus

The History of Rembrandt's Copperplates, with a Catalogue of Those That Survive

Author(s): Erik Hinterding

Source: *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 1993 - 1994, Vol. 22, No. 4 (1993 - 1994), pp. 253-315

Published by: Stichting Nederlandse Kunsthistorische Publicaties

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3780815>

REFERENCES

Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:

https://www.jstor.org/stable/3780815?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents

You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Stichting Nederlandse Kunsthistorische Publicaties is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*

The history of Rembrandt's copperplates, with a catalogue of those that survive*

Erik Hinterding

In the spring of 1993, 78 of Rembrandt's etching plates were sold on the London art market. They included the plates of famous prints like *The presentation in the temple: oblong print* (B. 49; fig. 1), *The descent from the Cross: the second plate* (B. 81), and *Clement de Jonghe, printseller* (B. 272). The collection had been put together in the late eighteenth century by the French print publisher Pierre-François Basan, and was now being dispersed from the estate of the American collector Robert Lee Humber. The existence of the collection was known, but it had attracted little interest in the previous few decades, and Humber himself, who acquired the plates in 1938, never made much effort to publicize it. The only time the plates were exhibited was in 1956 at the North Carolina Museum of Art in Raleigh, and when Humber died in 1970 they were locked away in a bank vault, removing them from the sight of all but the most persistent scholars.

The reappearance of the collection prompted the question that underlies this article. What do we really know about Rembrandt's copperplates? They are, after all, intimately bound up with several less obvious technical aspects of etching, namely the practice of preparing, printing and selling etchings. The collation of all

the available information on Rembrandt's copperplates might shed light on a number of more specific questions. Does the study of the surviving plates provide an insight into Rembrandt's etching technique? Is there any documentation showing that plates other than those from the Humber Collection came into the hands of print dealers? How and when did such dealers acquire Rembrandt's copperplates? Did Rembrandt always print his own etchings, or did dealers also make and sell impressions from his plates? How and by whom were restrikes made in the centuries after Rembrandt's death? Was a distinction made between good, early impressions and posthumous prints?

This is the first time that Rembrandt's copperplates have been approached from this angle. Some attention, admittedly, has been devoted to the plates in the more recent *oeuvre* catalogues of Rembrandt's etchings, but since they are invariably mentioned in connection with misleading copies after the etchings, the information seems mainly intended to warn collectors about late impressions.¹ There have also been several studies that concentrate almost exclusively on identifying plates by Rembrandt belonging to various known owners.² These articles are marked on the one hand by their emphasis on

* This article was written with financial support from the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO). I am grateful to Ger Luijten, Manfred Sellink and Hélène Duncan for their advice and comments, and to Jan Piet Filedt Kok and Peter Hecht for their encouragement. The translation from the Dutch is by Michael Hoyle.

The publication of this article was made possible by the generous support of Artemis Fine Arts Limited, London, R. M. Light & Company, Inc., Santa Barbara, Noortman of Maastricht and London, and Salomon Lilian of Amsterdam.

¹ This was done in the earliest catalogues by occasionally drawing attention to the existence of the copperplate when describing the relevant print. See, for instance, A. Bartsch, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt, et ceux de ses principaux imitateurs*, Vienna 1797, under nr. 74 (the *Hundred-guilder print*). The catalogues with introductions that discuss the plates are: A. Hind, *A catalogue of Rembrandt's etchings*, London 1923, pp. 22-23; L. Müntz, *A critical catalogue of Rembrandt's etchings*, 2 vols., London 1952, vol. 2, pp. 23, 47, 219; G. Björklund and O.H. Barnard, *Rembrandt's etchings, true and false*, Stockholm, London & New York 1955, pp. 161-63;

and G.W. Nowell-Usticke, *Rembrandt's etchings: states and values*, Narbeth 1967, pp. 15-20.

² See A.C. Coppier, *Les eaux-fortes de Rembrandt*, Paris 1917, pp. 113-38; J.P. van der Kellen, "De waarderling van Rembrandt-pretten en platen in het jaar 1767," *Oude Kunst* 6 (1920/21), pp. 85-88; J.D. Ketelaar, "De koperen etsplaten van Rembrandt te Parijs," *Oude Kunst* 6 (1920/21), pp. 239-42; J. de Cayeux, "Watelet et Rembrandt," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1965, pp. 131-61; K.F. Jones, "An album of Rembrandt restrikes," *The Quarterly Journal of the Library of Congress* 24 (1967), pp. 27-39; D. de Hoop Scheffer and K.G. Boon, "De inventarislijst van Clement de Jonghe en Rembrandts etsplaten," *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 25 (1971), pp. 1-17; D. de Hoop Scheffer, "Nogmaals de inventarislijst van Clement de Jonghe," *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 26 (1972), pp. 126-34; W.L. Strauss, "The puzzle of Rembrandt's plates," *Essays on northern European art presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann on his sixtieth birthday*, Doornspijk 1983, pp. 260-67; C.W. MacHardy, "The Rembrandt plates and Donald Shaw MacLaughlan," *Print Quarterly* 10 (1993), pp. 47-53.



1 Rembrandt, *The presentation in the temple: oblong print*, ca. 1639 (B. 49), copperplate. Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis

the surviving plates from the eighteenth-century Basan Collection and their history, and on the other hand by their fragmentary approach. They focus on a single issue or a single owner, and what came before and after is dealt with very briefly. In addition, the authors assume, not always correctly, that the results of earlier studies are to be trusted. As a result, considerable confusion has arisen over the precise provenance of the various plates.

This article therefore presents the fullest possible account of the vicissitudes of all the copperplates that can be traced after Rembrandt's death. The published sources have been reexamined, and their findings combined with what was often already known about restrikes of other Rembrandt etchings but which had been ignored in this context.³ It turns out, for example, that in the late seventeenth century, after Rembrandt's

³ The results are summarized in Appendix 2.

⁴ The true number was undoubtedly even greater, partly because several sources mention copperplates by Rembrandt without specifying the subject. For example, Nicolaes Visscher's stock-list (after 1682) mentions 29 plates, only a few of which are identifiable. The catalogue of the Jan Six sale in 1702 lists "several" plates by Rembrandt, but does not specify them, which is also the case with the six

death, there were at least 150 of his plates in circulation from which prints were still being made.⁴ This is considerably more than the previously accepted figure of approximately 100 plates,⁵ and there is even evidence that some of them passed out of Rembrandt's possession during his lifetime.

One also observes remarkable variations in the use of the plates as time passed, which seem to be associated with the changing reception of Rembrandt's etched work. From the late eighteenth century, for instance, restrikes were not only sold as individual prints, but were gathered together in albums. This mirrored the contemporary demand for albums of prints giving an overview of the work of a school or a master, and as such those albums tied in closely with Gersaint's *oeuvre* catalogue of Rembrandt's etchings, which was published in

plates in the 1708 inventory of Carel Allard. These cases are discussed below.

⁵ Nowell-Usticke, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 14, who was followed by T. Laurentius, exhib. cat. *Rembrandt's etchings in a new light*, Machida (City Museum of Graphic Arts) 1993, p. 172. Jones, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 28, reckoned "at least 80."

1751. As a result, impressions from the plates were devalued, being reduced from individual works of art to illustrations accompanying the literature on Rembrandt's etched *oeuvre*. The development of modern printing techniques in the second half of the nineteenth century made it possible to produce far more attractive reproductions of Rembrandt's etchings, thus rendering the original copperplates useless. By then, many of them were badly worn and had been reworked. Very few further restrikes were made, and at the beginning of the present century it was felt that reprinting from them was actually detrimental to Rembrandt's reputation. This marked the beginning of a period in which the plates were first regarded primarily as relics, and then preserved as works of art in their own right. It is striking, incidentally, that this was also the period when interest focused on Rembrandt's etching technique, which, however, was studied primarily from the etchings rather than from the plates. That latter area requires more systematic exploration, but in this article a few instances are mentioned where the condition of the plates gives an insight into Rembrandt's working method and into the later history of the plates.⁶

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY Study of the surviving 81 copperplates provides some information on the way in which Rembrandt came by his plates and how he used them. It turns out, for instance, that he etched his *Return of the Prodigal Son* (B. 91, recto and verso; figs. 2, 3) on the back of an old copperplate first used by Ferdinand van Aertsz in 1598 to engrave a geometrical illustration of the squaring of the circle.⁷ The interesting point here is that re-use of this kind must have been fairly uncommon. It should be remembered that in the seventeenth century there was a flourishing market in used copperplates, which passed from one publisher to another and were reprinted until demand for the subject was exhausted.⁸ As a rule, then, etched or engraved copperplates would have been more expensive than

⁶ A technical description of the surviving copperplates is given in Appendix 1.

⁷ P.R. Boone, "The geometrical engraving on Rembrandt's plate for the Prodigal Son," *Museologia* 11 (1980), nr. 15, pp. 25-31.

⁸ See N. Orenstein, *Hendrik Hondius (Duffel 1573 - The Hague 1650) and the business of prints* (unpublished diss.), New York 1992, pp. 108-19.



2 Rembrandt, *The return of the Prodigal Son*, 1636 (B. 91), copperplate. Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis



3 Rembrandt, *The return of the Prodigal Son*, 1636 (B. 91), verso of the copperplate. Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis

new, blank plates,⁹ unless the image was too severely damaged or there was no longer any demand for the print. The latter was precisely what happened with van Aertsz's engraving, for it was an illustration for a book of mathematical theorems that had become so outdated even by the beginning of the seventeenth century that the publisher removed it from his list.¹⁰

Nevertheless, it is likely that Rembrandt generally used new copperplates for his etchings, for of all the 81 surviving plates only the *Return of the Prodigal Son* is clearly recycled.¹¹

It is not known where Rembrandt bought his plates, although further study of the identifying marks on the back of some of them might yield interesting results.¹² The plates are made of copper,¹³ and as was usually the case in the seventeenth century, they were "cold-hammered." Traces or "shadows" of the hammer-blows are often clearly visible—on the back of the *Negress lying down* for example (B. 205). Cold-hammered copperplates are harder than the rolled plates used today. This not only made it possible to print larger editions, but the use of the drypoint gave a stronger and more durable burr, so that a copperplate with drypoint did not yield just 15–20 good impressions, as is now often assumed, but perhaps as many as 50.¹⁴

⁹ For an impression of the prices paid for old copperplates see N. Orenstein, H. Leeftang, G. Luijten and C. Schuckman, "Print publishers in the Netherlands 1580–1620," in G. Luijten, *et al.* (eds.), exhib. cat. *Dawn of the Golden Age: northern Netherlandish art 1580–1620*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) & Zwolle 1993, pp. 167–200, esp. p. 171.

¹⁰ Boone, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp. 25–31; W. L. Strauss and M. van der Meulen, *The Rembrandt documents*, New York 1979, p. 627.

¹¹ There has been speculation that *The shepherd and his family* (B. 220) may also have been done on a used plate; see F. W. Robinson, "Puns & plays in Rembrandt's etchings," *The Print Collector's Newsletter* 11 (1980), nr. 5, p. 167, note 5. The plate of Hercules Seghers's *Tobias and the angel*, which Rembrandt transformed into *The flight into Egypt* (B. 56), does not fall into this category, because Rembrandt only altered the figures in the landscape, and as such this is not so much a case of "economic" as of creative re-use.

¹² On the back of B. 119 there is a "K" with an extra horizontal bar between the slanting feet. B. 133 and B. 170 have an "E", and B. 368 a "*". These marks were probably struck in the plate with a die. It is interesting to compare these with the plate of Claussin's copy of *Six's bridge* (B. 208), which also came from Basan and is now in the Amsterdam printroom, which has the word "LONDON" on the back, half-truncated by the left margin.

¹³ Around 1916, half a gram of copper was removed from the plate of *The presentation in the temple: oblong print* (B. 49), and its composi-

tion analyzed by the chemist Henriot, who was attached to the Paris mint. The sample consisted of 95% copper, 1% tin and 0.5% lead, traces of silver, and unspecified amounts of iron, arsenic and zinc. According to Henriot, this was the composition of the copper that was imported from Hesse in the mid-seventeenth century. See Coppier, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 122.

Rembrandt's copperplates are also fairly thin. The thickness of the surviving 81 specimens varies from 0.5 to more than 1.5 millimeters, with the majority around 1 millimeter.¹⁵ It was economical to use thin plates, because copper was expensive, and it was not the size that determined the price of a plate, but the weight. In addition, Christopher White has drawn attention to the practical advantages for Rembrandt's working method. His etchings show that he did not hesitate to make radical changes in a plate and to burnish out large parts of a scene. This involved hammering the back of the copper, which was far simpler with a thin plate. It was also easier to cut pieces off, as Rembrandt frequently did.¹⁶

The deleted passages, some of which are still faintly visible, provide an interesting amplification to the question of how Rembrandt used his plates, for in several cases the traces are not *pentimenti* but vestiges of an earlier scene by Rembrandt. For instance, in the upper left corner of the roughly etched *Self-portrait bare-headed: bust* (B. 338) there is a scene of three figures seated around a table, and in the right margin of the *Peasant family on the tramp* (B. 131) are the remains of a previous version of the man's head.¹⁷ On the copperplate of *The three trees* (B. 212) Rembrandt did not even bother to remove the earlier scene, with the result that

tion analyzed by the chemist Henriot, who was attached to the Paris mint. The sample consisted of 95% copper, 1% tin and 0.5% lead, traces of silver, and unspecified amounts of iron, arsenic and zinc. According to Henriot, this was the composition of the copper that was imported from Hesse in the mid-seventeenth century. See Coppier, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 122.

¹⁴ P. Morse, "Rembrandt's etching technique: an example," *United States National Museum Bulletin 250: Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology*, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 66 (1966), p. 100; E. S. Lumsden, *The art of etching*, New York n.d. (1st ed. 1924), p. 26. For the effect of the hardness and quality of the copper on the impressions taken from it see also Abraham Bosse, *Tractaet in wat manieren men op root koper snijden ofte etzen zal...*, Amsterdam 1662, pp. 6–9.

¹⁵ For the specific cases see Appendix 1. The measurements were taken with a calibrated paper thickness gauge which gave the thickness to an accuracy of 1/100th of a millimeter. The average thickness is 1.1132894 mm.

¹⁶ C. White, *Rembrandt as an etcher: a study of the artist at work*, 2 vols., London 1969, vol. 1, pp. 11–12. White's statement that Rembrandt's copperplates were "extremely thin" is a little exaggerated.

¹⁷ Other examples could be cited, such as B. 22 i(5), B. 61, B. 188. See also W. von Seidlitz, *Die Radierungen Rembrandts: mit einem Kritischen Verzeichnis und Abbildung Sämtlicher Radierungen*, Leipzig 1922, under nr. 115.

his design for a smaller version of *The death of the Virgin* (B. 99) can be seen in the menacing thunderclouds.¹⁸ Perhaps the most remarkable instance is *The flight into Egypt: sketch* (B. 54, fig. 4), the plate of which Rembrandt is known to have cut into pieces in 1628, one of which he used for a self-portrait (B. 5). In the upper right corner of the extremely rare first two states of that portrait are traces of the Virgin's head, which he only removed in the third state (fig. 5). This example of the re-use of one of his own copperplates demonstrates not only how thrifty Rembrandt was with them, but also that not all of them could later have passed into other hands.¹⁹

The peregrinations of the copperplates of Rembrandt's etchings in the late seventeenth century are well documented, but there is little information on how they came to leave his possession in the first place. The plates of the portrait etchings usually became the property of the sitter.²⁰ The plate of *Pieter Haaringh* (1609–85; B. 275) was listed as still being in the family in 1707, that of *Jan Uytenbogaert* (1606–84; B. 281) in 1760, and the plate of *Jan Six* (1618–1700; B. 285) is still with the Six family in Amsterdam today.²¹

It is also known that Rembrandt occasionally sold plates. In 1637 the Portuguese painter Samuel d'Orta complained that Rembrandt had broken an agreement not to market any more impressions of *Abraham casting out Hagar and Ishmael* (B. 30), the plate of which he had sold to d'Orta shortly before.²² In addition to that of his own portrait, Jan Six owned several other Rembrandt



4 Rembrandt, *The flight into Egypt: sketch*, ca. 1626 (B. 54), etching. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



5 Rembrandt, *Self-portrait leaning forwards: bust*, ca. 1628 (B. 5), etching. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

¹⁸ C. Campbell, "Rembrandts etsen *Het Sterfbed van Maria en De drie bomen*," *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 32 (1980), nr. 2, pp. 2–33.

¹⁹ Another plate which Rembrandt cut up is the *Sheet of studies of men's heads* (B. 366). Those five small plates were not used to make new etchings, but were further worked up and printed separately.

²⁰ See J. G. van Gelder and N. F. van Gelder-Schrijver, "De "memorie" van Rembrandt's prenten in het bezit van Valerius Röver," *Oud Holland* 55 (1938), p. 4. This is contradicted by de Hoop Scheffer and Boon, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 17, note 1, and by Strauss, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp. 263–64.

²¹ I. H. van Eeghen, "Het pourtrait van mijn vaeder," *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 56 (1969), pp. 244–48; S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, "Mr. Joannes Wtenbogaert (1608–1680), een man uit Remonstrants milieu en Rembrandt van Rijn," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 70 (1978), pp. 146–69.

²² See D. de Groot, "Een archiefvondst: Rembrandt verkoopt in 1637 een koperplaat," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 68 (1976), pp. 71–77; Strauss and van der Meulen, *op. cit.* (note 10), pp. 145–46.

plates, which were sold by his heirs in 1702 along with his art collection. Unfortunately, those plates are not specified, but they probably included *Medea: or the marriage of Jason and Creusa* (B. 112), the title page for Six's tragedy *Medea*.²³ It can also be assumed that the plates of Rembrandt's other book illustrations invariably became the property of the person who commissioned them.²⁴

Unfortunately, it is not clear what happened to the other etching plates towards the end of Rembrandt's life and immediately after his death. In the inventory of his possessions drawn up at the time of his bankruptcy in 1656 there is mention of two presses and a "stack of paper of very large size," but there is not a single mention of etching plates in the entire inventory, nor are there any documents to show where else they might have been.²⁵ Because Rembrandt's painting implements are likewise not listed in the inventory, it has been suggested that the instruments he needed for both etching and painting were regarded as the tools of his trade, and were exempted from the bankruptcy proceedings on the grounds that they were essential for his continued livelihood.²⁶ Not only has no provision been found in the archives of the Amsterdam Chamber of Bankruptcy that would confirm this theory, but a comparison with other bankruptcies of the period shows that copperplates were very definitely included in the inventories.²⁷ It is equally unlikely that Rembrandt had disposed of them in the

sale of his possessions which he had organized himself in 1655.²⁸ It is true that he was in financial difficulties, and that a copperplate fetched more than a print, but the sale of reprints or even new states of his etchings would bring in more money in the long run than he would get from selling the plate.²⁹ That is why it is more probable that Rembrandt kept his plates out of the bankruptcy proceedings, either by giving them to someone to look after temporarily or by pawning them. Such a ploy would be in keeping with the way in which Rembrandt handled his bankruptcy; moreover, it is known that this is how other artists acted in similar circumstances.³⁰

If this hypothesis is correct, Rembrandt was able to continue using his etching plates until his death in 1669, although it is unclear if they were in the estate that was auctioned in 1670.³¹ It is known that in 1669 a consignment of no fewer than 189 of Rembrandt's etchings arrived at Messina in Sicily. It had been shipped from Amsterdam and was addressed to the collector Antonio Ruffo, who had also ordered three paintings from Rembrandt shortly before. Ruffo had commissioned the Bolognese artist Guercino to paint a companion piece to one of the paintings, and in their correspondence on the subject Guercino enthused over the Dutch artist's etchings. In view of Ruffo's direct contact with Rembrandt, it seems unlikely that anyone else could have sent him such a large batch of etchings.³²

However, it is very much the question whether it was

23 See *Catalogus van uitmuntende konstige, meest Italiaansche Schilderyen, ... als ook de voortreffelyke raare papierkonst... alle nagelaaten by wylen den Ed. Heere Jan Six*, Amsterdam (Jan Pietersz. Zomer), 6 April 1702, p. 20; also J. Six, "Jan Six aan het venster," *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 23 (1969), nr. 2, pp. 34-52, esp. p. 49; J. Six, "Gersaints lijst van Rembrandts prenten," *Oud Holland* 27 (1909), pp. 65-110; Strauss and van der Meulen, op. cit. (note 10), p. 263, with further literature. Like Strauss and van der Meulen, Coppier, op. cit. (note 2), p. 114, is certain that Six owned the plate of *Medea* (B. 112). Another may have been that for *Six's bridge* (B. 208). The print, anyway, is identified in Valerius Röver's "memorandum" of 1731 as "Six bruggetje." See C. Bille, "Rembrandt and Burgomaster Jan Six. conjectures as to their relationship," *Apollo* 85 (1967), pp. 260-65; van Gelder and van Gelder-Schrijver, op. cit. (note 20), p. 16.

24 I. H. van Eeghen, "Rembrandt en de veilingen (Titus van Rijn, Clement de Jonghe en Samuel Smijters)," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 77 (1985), p. 62. Other book illustrations are B. 36 and B. 111.

25 G. Schwartz, *Rembrandt: his life, his paintings*, Harmondsworth 1985, p. 291.

26 See, for instance, J. F. Backer, "Rembrandt's boedelafstand," *Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift* 57 (1919), p. 16.

27 Strauss, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 261-62.

28 I. H. van Eeghen, "De Keizerskroon, een optisch bedrog,"

Maandblad Amstelodamum 56 (1969), pp. 162-68.

29 See note 9. Moreover, in 1660 Rembrandt was to set up a business dealing in paintings and prints in partnership with Hendrickje and Titus, for which the plates would have come in very handy. It is not known whether this plan had been conceived as early as 1656 and had played a part in the absence of the plates from the inventory.

30 Strauss, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 260-67.

31 Van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 24), pp. 55-57. The 1671 "inventory" of Rembrandt's estate, which was published by M. C. Visscher in 1906 and cited by E. W. Kornfeld in 1979 for its supposed reference to copperplates, is a forgery. See M. C. Visscher, *Die Urkunden über Rembrandt: erstes Supplement*, The Hague 1906, pp. 7-12, nr. 321a; E. W. Kornfeld, *140 Radierungen von Rembrandt der Jahre 1629 bis 1665. Ausstellung Galerie Kornfeld in Bern*, Bern 1979, p. 37; and Strauss & Van der Meulen, op. cit. (note 10), pp. 650-51.

32 The shipment arrived on 8 December 1669. Rembrandt died in October, but given the length of the voyage to Sicily, the prints must have been dispatched in September. See C. Ricci, *Rembrandt in Italia*, Milan 1918, p. 30: "No. 189 stampe del Rembrandt venute d'Amsterdam." For the paintings see V. Ruffo, "La Galleria Ruffo nel Secolo XVII in Messina," *Bolletino d'Arte* 10 (1916), pp. 21-64, 95-128, 165-92, 237-56, 284-320, 369-88, and *ibid.*, pp. 100-01, for Guercino's famous comments.

only patrons, portrait sitters and the occasional buyer who owned etching plates by Rembrandt during his lifetime, and that print dealers only came onto the scene after his death.³³ Even while he was alive, the Amsterdam engraver and print publisher Dancker Danckertsz (1633/34–66) owned the copperplates of *The descent from the Cross: second plate* (B. 81; fig. 6) and of an as yet unidentified print of St Jerome.³⁴ Danckertsz was the son of Cornelis Danckerts (ca. 1603–56), a publisher of books, prints and maps, and from 1659 until his death he ran a business called “De Danckbaerheit” at the top of Kalverstraat.³⁵ It is possible that either he or his father before him had acquired the plate of *The descent from the Cross* from Hendrick Uylenburgh (ca. 1587–1661) prior to that date. It was etched in 1633, when Rembrandt was working in the shop of this well-known Amsterdam art dealer, and the address on the finished state of the etch-

33 In any event, one of Rembrandt's earliest etchings, *The circumcision* (S. 398) was being published in Haarlem in the late 1620s by Johannes Pietersz. Berendrecht (d. ca. 1645). It is possible however, that Berendrecht did not own the plate but merely made prints on commission, and that the plate was later returned to Rembrandt. Theo Laurentius has discovered an impression in a private collection that was printed on the same paper as Rembrandt used for various other etchings around 1641. Since Berendrecht only died around 1645, it is not entirely clear how this case should be interpreted. The impression that he was not the owner of the plate also applies to the work by Jan Lievens that he published, because those plates, like the others by Lievens, were later in the possession of Frans van Wyngaerden in Antwerp. On Berendrecht see A. van der Willigen, *Les artistes de Haarlem: notices historiques avec un précis sur la Gilde de St. Luc*, Haarlem & The Hague 1870, pp. 74–75; J. G. C. A. Briels, *Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570–1630: een bijdrage tot de kennis van de geschiedenis van het boek*, Nieuwkoop 1974, pp. 171–72, 579, 602; Orenstein, op. cit. (note 8), pp. 115–16, 117–18. For the impression of s. 398, and the dating of prints from their watermarks, see Laurentius, op. cit. (note 5), pp. 166 and 172–80; T. Laurentius, H. M. van Hughden, E. Hinterding and J. P. Filedt Kok, “Het Amsterdamse onderzoek naar Rembrandts papier: radiografie van de watermerken in de etsen van Rembrandt,” *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 40 (1992), pp. 353–84. The copperplate, incidentally, was still in existence at the beginning of the eighteenth century, witness the listing in an unidentifiable sale catalogue of ca. 1706, p. 84: “Kopere gesneeden en geëtsde Platen, in plano: nr. 40 Besnijdenig [*sic*] van Rembrandt” (“Engraved and etched copperplates, whole sheet, nr. 40: *Circumcision* by Rembrandt”).

34 See C. Schuckman in F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, in progress, Amsterdam 1949–, vol. 41, p. 219; inventory of Dancker Danckertsz, Amsterdam City Archives, notary Dirck Danckerts, 1 September 1668, NA 2852, pp. 691–708, p. 691: “Op Roijjaal Pampier... 1 plaat 't kruijs van rembrandt selfs geëts” (“On royal paper... 1 plate, the Cross by Rembrandt, etched by the same”), and p. 692: “Constprenten op Enckelde



6 Rembrandt, *The descent from the Cross: second plate*, 1633 (B. 81), etching. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

Bladen... 1 plaat S. Jeronimus, Rembrandt selfs geëts” (“Art prints on single sheets... 1 plate of St Jerome, etched by Rembrandt”). The size given for the plate of St Jerome makes *St Jerome reading in an Italian landscape* (B. 104) and *St Francis beneath a tree praying* (B. 107) the most likely candidates. The print with St Francis was often described as a depiction of St Jerome in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See, for instance, *Catalogus van een... groote verzameling van prentkunst... S. van Huls*, The Hague, 6 September 1735, nr. 1051: “de Hieronymus met het kruys” (“The St Jerome with the Cross”), or *Catalogus van de... verzameling der prentkunst van Rembrandt... Amadé de Burgy*, Amsterdam, 16 June 1755, nr. 639: “St. Hieronymus in een Boschagie, knielend voor een Kruissifix” (“St Jerome in a spinney, kneeling before a crucifix”).

35 On Danckerts see I. H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel 1680–1725*, 5 vols., Amsterdam 1960–78, vol. 3, pp. 86–87, and idem, *Een Amsterdams grachtenboekje uit de 17e eeuw*, Amsterdam 1963; Teding van Berkhout in U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, vol. 8, Leipzig 1913, pp. 341–44.



7 Rembrandt, *St Jerome reading in an Italian landscape*, ca. 1653 (B. 104), etching on paper used by Clement de Jonghe. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

ing shows that it was originally published by Uylenburg.³⁶

It is very possible that Clement de Jonghe, the best-known seventeenth-century owner of copperplates by Rembrandt, also acquired the 74 plates mentioned in his estate inventory while Rembrandt was still alive.³⁷ In 1647, Clement de Jonghe (1624/25–1677) was working as a colorer of maps in Amsterdam. In 1656 he was selling art in the Nieuwe Waag on Nieuwmarkt, and in 1658 he moved to Kalverstraat, where he sold prints and maps in a shop called “De Gekroonde Konst en Kaartwinkel.”³⁸ He also printed and published Rembrandt’s plates,³⁹ even if he did not put his address on them, and it is known only from the inventory drawn up two years after his death that he had plates by Rembrandt. Included in that inventory is a “Jerome with the lion,” undoubtedly *St Jerome reading in an Italian landscape* (B. 104), which Rembrandt etched around 1653. The Amsterdam printroom has two impressions of the

second and last state of this print on the same paper that Clement de Jonghe used for printing from other plates in his stock.⁴⁰

The quality of the later impressions of the *St Jerome* (fig. 7) is remarkably high. In the first state and in early impressions of the second, the print has an abundance of velvety drypoint passages, particularly in the lion’s mane, the bush to the right of the lion, and at lower left near the saint’s feet. The impressions that were probably made by Clement de Jonghe are somewhat flatter, and the burr is a little worn, although still clearly visible. Evidently not many impressions had been made from the plate by the time it came into de Jonghe’s hands, so it seems unlikely that he acquired it in this condition only after Rembrandt’s death, 16 years after it had been etched.

This raises the question of the nature of the relationship between Rembrandt and Clement de Jonghe, and how the latter came to have Rembrandt’s copperplates.

There is little new to say on the subject, but a few tentative comments do suggest themselves. On the basis of an etched portrait by Rembrandt of a sitter who has traditionally been identified as Clement de Jonghe (B. 272; fig. 8), and the now outdated belief that de Jonghe's inventory listed impressions of prints,⁴¹ it has been postulated that the two were close friends and also had a business relationship, with de Jonghe marketing Rembrandt's prints.⁴² There is little to say about the accuracy of this theory, but in any event the identity of the man in the etching has recently been called into question, not only because he looks older than 26 (de

Jonghe's age in 1651) and does not resemble another portrait of de Jonghe (fig. 9), but also because the plate is not mentioned in his death inventory.⁴³ Moreover, there are two plates that tell us a little more about how de Jonghe came into the possession of his Rembrandt plates. Number 43 in the list is a "Father Abraham out walking" ("Wandelende vaeder Abraham"), which is undoubtedly a reference to *Abraham casting out Hagar and Ishmael* (B. 30). As already noted, Rembrandt sold the plate of this print to Samuel d'Orta in 1637, so Clement de Jonghe could not have had it directly from the artist.⁴⁴ The same may be true of the plate of *Christ*

³⁶ It is known that Uylenburgh owned copperplates, because when he secured a loan from the Waterland Congregation in 1641 he pledged 125 plates as security. It is not known whether they included any by Rembrandt. See H.F. Wijnman, "Rembrandt als huisgenoot van Hendrick Uylenburgh te Amsterdam (1631-1635). Was Rembrandt doopsgezind of libertijn?," *Uit de kring van Rembrandt en Vondel*, Amsterdam 1959, p. 15.

³⁷ See de Hoop Scheffer and Boon, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 1-17.

³⁸ On 23 February 1647 in Amsterdam, Clement de Jonghe became betrothed to Jacomijntje Jacobs of Haarlem, giving his profession as "caertaffsetter" and his address as "Coninxgracht" (now the Singel). See M.M. Kleerkooper and W.P. van Stockum Jr., *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17e eeuw: biografische en geschiedkundige aantekeningen*, The Hague 1914-16, pp. 332-33. The statement in J.A. Grujjs and C. de Wolf, *Thesaurus 1473-1800: Nederlandse drukkers en boekverkopers; met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid*, Nieuwkoop 1989, p. 102, that de Jonghe was a bookseller in Amsterdam as early as 1646, is based on a misunderstanding. They took as their source *Traicté des cinq ordres d'architecture, dont se sont seruij les anciens, traduit du Palladio, augmenté de nouvelles inventions pour l'art de bien bastir, Par le S.^r Le Muet*, which was published "A Amsterdam, Chez Clement de Jonghe a la Calverstraet, 1646" (copy in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague, shelfmark 1355-C-66). An earlier edition of that book in the Rijksmuseum (shelfmark 328-M-26) bears the address "A Amsterdam, Chez Cornelis Danckertz a la Calverstraet 1646". When Clement de Jonghe reissued the book he merely substituted his name for Danckertz's. The address of the shop was evidently correct, which suggests that de Jonghe's edition should be dated after 1658, which was the year he moved to Kalverstraat. See further van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, cit. (note 35), pp. 86-87; idem, "Het Amsterdamse Sint Lucasgilde in de 17e eeuw," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 61 (1969), pp. 93-96; de Hoop Scheffer and Boon, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 1-17; R. ter Molen, *Van Vianen: een Utrechtse familie van zilvermeden met een internationale faam*, Leiden 1984, p. 59; van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 24), pp. 57-63.

³⁹ In addition to the copperplates by Rembrandt, the Clement de Jonghe inventory mentions "1 boeckjen met printjens Rembrandt" ("One book with prints by Rembrandt"), and "1 portefoly Rembrandt 128 stux Rembr" ("One Rembrandt portfolio, with 128 pieces by Rembrandt"); see van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 24), p. 62.

⁴⁰ The same paper was used for a print of *Oreads removing a thorn from a satyr's foot* (B. 71; inv. nr. RPK-OB.32181), and for the *Portrait of Joannes Neyen* (B. 60; inv. nr. RPK-A16484), both by the Amsterdam

engraver Jan Muller (1571-1628), and both with Clement de Jonghe's address. The address on B. 71 before Clement de Jonghe replaced it with his own was that of Cornelis Danckerts, who died in 1656. The impressions of the Rembrandt etching (B. 104) have the inv. nrs. RPK-OB.170 and RPK-Rembrandthuisdoublet B. 104ii. De Hoop Scheffer and Boon, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 10-11, nr. 44, identified this plate as *St Jerome in a dark chamber* (B. 105), probably on the grounds that there are known posthumous impressions of this print, and not of *St Jerome reading in an Italian landscape* (B. 104). Their reasoning is that after Rembrandt's death, Clement de Jonghe made prints from several of the artist's etching plates, and that if a plate with a scene of St Jerome is mentioned in de Jonghe's inventory the prime candidates for identification are those prints of St Jerome of which posthumous impressions are known. There are no known restrikes of B. 104, but the plate can now be associated with de Jonghe on the evidence of watermarks. Moreover, the inventory description, "St Jerome with the lion," is far more applicable to the latter print, where the lion is very prominent. In *St Jerome in a dark chamber* (B. 105) it is almost invisible.

⁴¹ This assumption was first made by C. Hofstede de Groot in his *Urkunden über Rembrandt (1575-1721)*, The Hague 1906, p. 409, and it was only with the publication of the study by de Hoop Scheffer and Boon in 1971 that it was conclusively established that the Clement de Jonghe inventory described copperplates and not prints. Although this was presented as a new discovery, Charles-André Coppier had come to the same conclusion back in 1917, suggested which plates they were and given their Bartsch numbers. The early date at which Coppier made his deduction is as remarkable as the fact that it was never noticed; see Coppier, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 113-16.

⁴² See Coppier, op. cit. (note 2), p. 16; M. Muller, *De etsen van Rembrandt*, Baarn 1946, pp. 42 and 158; van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 24), p. 62.

⁴³ The omission could be due to the fact that a portrait of that kind belonged with the domestic chattels, and was not part of the shop inventory. The sitter was first identified as Clement de Jonghe in Valerius Röver's "memorie" of 1731. See van Gelder and van Gelder-Schrijver, op. cit. (note 20); also van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 24), p. 63; J.R. VouÛte, "Clement de Jonghe exit," *Kroniek van het Rembrandthuis* 39 (1987) pp. 21-27.

⁴⁴ Theo Laurentius has suggested that the plate later came into Rembrandt's possession again, for there are impressions of this print on paper that Rembrandt only used at a later date. However, it is also possible that d'Orta asked Rembrandt to make prints from it. See Laurentius *et al.*, op. cit. (note 33), p. 383, note 21.

preaching (“*La petite tombe*”) (B. 67), which is listed in the inventory as “The la Tombe plate” (“Latombisch plaatjen”). In 1718, Houbraken pointed out that this print, which Rembrandt etched around 1652, owed its name to that “lover of paintings and prints,” (Nicolaes) de la Tombe. It was Pieter Yver, in 1756, who was the first to suggest that the plate had once been in the possession of that family.⁴⁵ That is perfectly possible, for Rembrandt was on friendly terms with the de la Tombe, two of whom, Pieter and his brother Isaac, were sellers of books and prints.⁴⁶

It is not known what happened to Clement de Jonghe’s Rembrandt plates in the late seventeenth century, but it is unlikely that they were all sold, because de Jonghe’s heirs continued his print-dealing business.⁴⁷ Some of them would have passed to Joachim Bormeester, de Jonghe’s son-in-law, who became a partner in the printshop in the closing years of de Jonghe’s life.⁴⁸ Like Clement de Jonghe, none of these later owners put their address on the plates. Given the fact that both Clement

de Jonghe and Joachim Bormeester usually did so, one wonders why they abandoned this practice in the case of the Rembrandt plates. Nor were they alone in this. As mentioned above, Dancker Danckertsz had the plate of *The descent from the Cross: the second plate* (B. 81), but it was his brother Justus Danckerts (1635–1701) who added his address to it after 1669.⁴⁹ Carel Allard (1648–1708), “Art seller on Dam Square, in the map shop,” also owned six copperplates by Rembrandt, but there are no known impressions bearing his address.⁵⁰ Nor have any been discovered with the address of Claes Claesz. Visscher III (1649–1702), whose stock-list mentions 29 plates by Rembrandt.⁵¹ Apart from a “Raising of Lazarus,” which given the dimensions must have been the *Raising of Lazarus: small plate* (B. 72), the individual plates are not specified. Nevertheless, it is clear from the descriptions that Visscher published his Rembrandt plates partly in the form of booklets.⁵² He might, then, have been the publisher of the virtually unknown “Petit cahier” with prints by Rembrandt and his follow-

45 Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlandsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, Amsterdam 1718, vol. 2, pp. 27–28: “Hij [Pieter de la Tombe] had ook een broeder die een beminnaar van schilderijen en printkonst was, waar om ’er ook onder de etskonst van Rembrandt een printje uitgaat bekend by de naam van la Tombisch printje.” P. Yver, *Supplément au catalogue raisonné de M. M. Gersaint, Helle et Glomy*, Amsterdam 1756, p. 25: “Il me paroît... que ce qui peut avoir donné occasion de la nommée ainsi, c’est que celui qui en possédoit la Planche s’appeloit la Tombe.” For the identification of Nicolaes de la Tombe as Pieter’s brother, see I. H. van Eeghen, “De familie de la Tombe en Rembrandt,” *Oud-Holland* 71 (1956), pp. 43–49. Also Six, op. cit. (note 23), p. 79.

46 Van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 45), pp. 43–49. In this context it is worth returning to the above-mentioned unidentified plate of St Jerome in Dancker Danckertsz’s estate. If it was indeed that of *St Jerome reading in an Italian landscape* (B. 104; see note 34), which later probably came into the possession of Clement de Jonghe, it is likely that the latter acquired it from Danckertsz’s estate and not from Rembrandt. De Jonghe definitely bought plates at the Danckertsz sale in 1667, but it is not known whether they included any by Rembrandt; see van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, cit. (note 35), vol. 3, pp. 86–87.

47 See Kleerkooper and van Stockum, op. cit. (note 38), pp. 332–35. Various prints with Clement de Jonghe’s address are known with the later addresses of Hieronymus Sweerts, Justus Danckerts, Frans Carelse and Frederik de Wit, and there are undoubtedly others as well.

48 See van Eeghen, op. cit. (note 24), and de Hoop Scheffer and Boon, op. cit. (note 2).

49 See Hollstein, op. cit. (note 34), vol. 18, nr. 81. For Justus Danckerts see van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel*, cit. (note 35), vol. 3, pp. 86–87. It is not absolutely certain that the plate was in Clement de Jonghe’s estate in 1679, as assumed by de Hoop Scheffer

and Boon, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 12–13, nr. 66. It may have been another plate, possibly B. 82.

50 The quotation is from a print by Reinier Nooms (Zeeman). The six copperplates with Allard are unfortunately not specified; see *Inventaris van de “koopere druckplaatjen” berustende ten huize van Cornelis de Gojer en aldaar door Abraham Heermans als curator over de insolvente boedel van Carel Allard gearresteerd (beslaglegging)*, Amsterdam City Archives, notary Pieter van Aken, NAA 7216, fols. 641–49, dated 7 September 1708. On fol. 645 is the entry: “ses dito van Rembrandt.” See also Amsterdam City Archives, Desolate Boedelkamer nr. 409, fols. 110–26, ampliatie fols. 136–39. Allard’s bankruptcy provides an example of plates that were held elsewhere but were nevertheless included in the inventory. The case is discussed by Strauss, op. cit. (note 2). I am grateful to S.A.C. Dudok van Heel for his help in tracing and clarifying the meaning of these documents.

51 Schuckman in Hollstein, op. cit. (note 34), vol. 41, p. 219; *Catalogus van grootte en kleene land-kaerten, steden print-kunst en boecken. Van Nicolaes Visscher van Amsterdam*, ’t Amsterdam, Op den Dam, in de Visscher, pp. 19, 21.

52 *Catalogus*, cit. (note 51), p. 19: “Kunst-Printen, op halve Bladen, gemeen papier... Boeckjen door Rembrant in de hoogte, Originel – 10 [pages];” “— [Boeckjen] door Ditto [Rembrandt], in de dwarste, Originel – 6 [pages].” Cf. the “boeckjen met printjes Rembrandt” in the Clement de Jonghe inventory (see note 39). In this connection see also D. d’Argenville, *Abregé de la vie des plus fameux peintres*, Paris 1745, p. 30: “Son [Rembrandt’s] livre à dessiner est de dix à douze feuilles.”

53 See D. Rovinski, *L’oeuvre gravé de Rembrandt*, St Petersburg 1890, under nr. 319. Nowell-Usticke, op. cit. (note 1), p. 17, describes it at slightly greater length, but only mentions the Rembrandt prints it contains. He proposes a possible date “in the middle 1700s.” The only known copy is in St Petersburg. The prints described by Nowell-

ers mentioned by Rovinski.⁵³

Compared to the sizable number of plates from which impressions were issued without a publisher's address, those with an address are rather few and far between. There are impressions of *Christ crucified between the two thieves*: "The three crosses" (B. 78) with the address of the Amsterdam "plate printer" Frans Carelse (1631/32–83).⁵⁴ In Antwerp, Frans van Wyngaerden (1614–79) put his address on the plate of the *First oriental head* (B. 286), as he had done on the many plates by Jan Lievens that he published.⁵⁵ The *Fourth oriental head* (B. 289) was also reissued, but now in Amsterdam, first by Adriaen Schoonebeek (1657/58–1705) and later by Joost de Reyger (b. 1655/56).⁵⁶

A comparison with the fate of copperplates by other *peintre-graveurs* might help explain why it was not customary to put an address on plates by Rembrandt.⁵⁷ It is clear anyway that there were more of his etching plates in circulation in the late seventeenth century than has been assumed hitherto, and it seems probable that this was even the case when the artist was still alive.

Usticke are B. 291, B. 300, B. 319, B. 326, B. 327, B. 354, and a copy after the head of the *Rat-catcher* (B. 121). See also Appendix 2.

54 Carelse came from Louvain, and when he became betrothed on 20 March 1665 he was living in Servetsteeg in Amsterdam. He later lived "by the water, near Vrouwensteeg." On another occasion he gave his profession as "seller of parchment." He was buried in Amsterdam's Oude Kerk on 29 January 1683. See Kleerkooper and van Stockum, op. cit. (note 38), p. 117.

55 It is assumed that Frans van Wyngaerden published the prints by Lievens in the early 1640s, when the artist was living in Antwerp. Rembrandt's *First oriental head*, which he also published, is part of a series of free, reversed copies after prints by Lievens, which Rembrandt signed with the word "geretuck" (retouched). There are no other prints by Rembrandt that are so closely related to Lievens's etchings, and the fact that just one of them was issued by Lievens's publisher in Antwerp raises the possibility that Lievens may have owned the plate. See P. Schatborn, exhib. cat. *Jan Lievens 1607–1674: Prenten en Tekeningen*, Amsterdam (Museum het Rembrandthuis) 1988, p. 6; C. Vogelaar et al., exhib. cat. "Een jong en edel schilderduo": *Rembrandt & Lievens in Leiden*, Leiden (De Lakenhal) & Zwolle 1991, pp. 76–77.

56 Adriaen Schoonebeek was an engraver, mezzotint engraver, bookseller and art dealer. He is recorded in Kalverstraat in 1695, and died in Moscow in 1705; see Kleerkooper and van Stockum, op. cit. (note 38), p. 714. Joost de Reyger was the son of the Amsterdam art dealer Pieter de Reyger (d. 18 July 1677), and lived first in Dirck van Assesteegh before being documented in Zeedijk; see *ibid.*, pp. 621 and 1040.

57 There are late and even modern restrikes from the plates by Adriaen van Ostade, but without any publisher's address; see L. Godfrey, *L'oeuvre gravé de Adriaen van Ostade*, Paris 1930, *passim*.



8 Rembrandt, *Clement de Jonghe, printseller*, 1651 (B. 272), etching. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



9 (After?) Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout, print with the address of Clement de Jonghe, ca. 1665, engraving and etching; used as a vignette on the title page of *Gronden en afbeeldsels der voornaemste gebouwen... Philips Vingboons*, Amsterdam 1688. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY The whereabouts of the copperplates in the early eighteenth century is an almost total mystery. All that is known is that the Paris print publisher Malboure had the plate of *Christ before Pilate: large plate* (B. 77) around 1740, and made prints from it bearing his address,⁵⁸ but no trace can be found of the others. Nevertheless, there is no reason to assume that the unknown owners did not make restrikes from them. Rembrandt's etchings were already eagerly sought after by collectors during his lifetime, and their reputation soared even higher in the eighteenth century.⁵⁹ One wonders, though, whether a distinction was made between good early impressions and late ones. The history of the copperplates shows that that was certainly the case in the second half of the eighteenth century, but too little is known about what happened to them in the first half for any definite pronouncement to be made. It is, however, known that there was a clear appreciation of quality even in the seventeenth century, and that connoisseurs knew the true value of particularly fine impressions, rare prints and proof impressions.⁶⁰ In addition, handbooks for connoisseurs warned about copies and reworked plates, and gave tips on how to

distinguish them from good originals.⁶¹ We know, for instance, that impressions on oriental papers were considered highly desirable by collectors,⁶² and Houbraken, writing in 1718, states that "the passion was so great at that time that people would not be taken for true connoisseurs who did not have the Juno with and without the crown, the Joseph with the white and the brown face, and other such things. Aye, the woman by the stove, albeit one of his lesser works, each must have with and without the white cap, and with and without the stove-key."⁶³

That this love of fine and rare impressions and of different states continued to be an important element in collecting Rembrandt's etched work is reflected in the use of such terms in inventories and sale catalogues as "extra fine," "very rare," "with alterations" and "on East Indian paper."⁶⁴ The appreciation for such qualities would also have had a financial dimension, but evidence for this generally stems from the second half of the eighteenth century.⁶⁵ For example, in the 1767 auction catalogue of the Amsterdam merchant Pieter de Haan (1723–66), a first state of *Jan Uytenbogaert 1606–84* ("The gold-weigher") (B. 281; fig. 10) is described as

⁵⁸ The full address reads: "Rembrant pinxit. Malboure excud. Rue St-Jacques au dessus de Saint-Benoit a l'Imprimerie de taille douce." Coppier, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 117–18, adds: "...au dessus de Saint Benoist le Bétourné." The plate has since disappeared without trace.

⁵⁹ For the seventeenth-century reception of Rembrandt see S. Slive, *Rembrandt and his critics: 1630–1730*, The Hague 1953.

⁶⁰ The development of connoisseurship is superbly outlined by W. W. Robinson, "'This passion for prints': collecting and connoisseurship in northern Europe during the seventeenth century," in: C. S. Ackley, exhib. cat. *Printmaking in the age of Rembrandt*, Boston (Museum of Fine Arts) 1981, pp. xxvii–xlvi.

⁶¹ See Abraham Bosse, *Sentiments sur la distinction des diverses manières de peintures, desseins & gravures, & des originaux d'avec leurs copies*, Paris 1649, pp. 82–85; John Evelyn, *Sculptura: or the history and art of chalcography and engraving in copper with ample enumeration of the most renowned masters and their works*, London 1662, pp. 63 and 129.

⁶² See Roger de Piles, *Abregé de la vie des peintres, avec des réflexions sur leurs ouvrages*, Paris 1699, p. 434. The earliest instance known to me is the mention of impressions on oriental paper in a letter of 5 September 1668 (when Rembrandt was still alive) from the English traveler Edward Browne (1644–1708) to his father: "Here [in Amsterdam] 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 after his manner," quoted from C. D. van Strien, *British travellers in Holland during the Stuart period: Edward Browne and John Locke as tourists in the United Provinces*, Leiden, New York & Cologne 1993, p. 255.

⁶³ Houbraken, op. cit. (note 45), vol. 1, p. 272: "...de drift in dien tyd zo groot [was] dat zulke luden voor geen rechte liefhebbers gehouden wierden, die het Junootje met en zonder 't kroontje, 't Josepje met het wit en bruine troontje en diergelyke meer, niet hadden. Ja, het Vrouwje by de kachel, schoon van zyn geringste, moest elk met, en zonder 't witte mutsje, met, en zonder het sleutelkachtje hebben." The prints he refers to are *Medea; or the marriage of Jason and Creusa* (B. 112), *Joseph telling his dreams* (B. 37), and *Woman sitting half dressed beside a stove* (B. 197).

⁶⁴ For example, the art dealer Jan Pietersz. Zomer (1641–1724) sang the praises of his collection around 1720 as "Complete, comprising all states, superb impressions of quality" ("Compleet, omvattende alle staten, uitstekende drukken van kwaliteit"). The same terms are used in the 1731 inventory of Valerius Röer. Amadé de Burgy's collection was lauded as "the peerless and only complete collection of the printed art of Rembrandt, with all its modifications,... including 165 items which have not been found elsewhere. Together the earliest, finest and best-printed impressions" ("...de weërgalooze en eenigste volkooze verzameling der printkunst van Rembrant, met alle haar' veranderingen,... waaronder 165 stuks die men elders niet aangetroffen heeft. Gezamenlyk van d'Oudste- schoonste- en bestgesteldste drukken"). See Robinson, op. cit. (note 60), p. xl; van Gelder and van Gelder-Schrijver, op. cit. (note 20); cat. Amadé de Burgy, cit. (note 34). For Zomer's formidable collection of Rembrandt etchings with numerous rare impressions see M. Royaltyon-Kisch, "Rembrandt, Zomer, Zanetti and Smith," *Print Quarterly* 10 (1993), pp. 112–22.

⁶⁵ Evidence of this for the works of other masters is known from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; see Robinson, op. cit. (note 60).



10 Rembrandt, *Jan Uytenbogaert* ("The gold-weigher"), 1639 (B. 281, first state), etching and engraving. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



11 Combined impression of the *Self-portrait with Saskia* (B. 19) with *The artist's mother with her hand on her chest*, (B. 349), etching. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

“The gold-weigher, fine impression, with the white face, extra rare.” Many of the other Rembrandt etchings from the collection fetched prices between 1 and 10 guilders, but this rare impression was sold for a princely 150 guilders.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ See *Catalogus van een fraay kabinet met konstige en plaisante gekleurde en ongekleurde teekeningen, fraaye drukken en welgeconditioneerde prent-konst.... Verder een collectie van kopere platen in veele jaaren by een verzamelt en nagelaaten door de heer Pieter de Haan en nog een voornaam liefhebber, alle het welke verkogt zal worden op maandag den 9 Maart 1767*, Amsterdam (Hendrik de Winter, Jan Yver and Pieter Yver) 1767, p. 141, nr. 502 (bought by Hendrik Busserus): “De Goudweger fraay van druk, met de witte tronie, extra raar.” Annotated copy in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam.

⁶⁷ For example, Claude-Henri Watelet, who amassed a large number of etching plates by Rembrandt between around 1760 and 1786, remarked that many of them had been reworked before he bought them. See the following note.

⁶⁸ The latter print was formerly known as Bartsch 346. The landscape from *The raising of Lazarus: small plate* (B. 72) was similarly incorporated in impressions of *Christ driving the money changers from the temple* (B. 69) (replacing the chandelier), and *The flight into Egypt: a night piece* (B. 53) (in the landscape). These forgeries are usually attributed to Claude-Henri Watelet (see note 67). However, the forgeries of the *Self-portrait with Saskia* and the *Woman reading* were already mentioned in Gersaint's catalogue of 1751 (nrs. 24 and 315). Moreover, as far as is known, the plates of *The artist's mother: head*

This suggests that even in the early eighteenth century a distinction was made between good early impressions and restrikes. Given the veneration of Rembrandt as an etcher there would undoubtedly have been a demand for posthumous impressions, but they could not meet the demand for different states, rare impressions or, due to the inevitable wear of the plate,⁶⁷ for particularly fine impressions. No general answer can be given to the question of precisely how late impressions were regarded in this period, or of how the etched plates were used, because, as mentioned above, there is little or no information on their history in the early eighteenth century. A number of known forgeries may have been made with an eye to the demand for rare states. In the *Self-portrait with Saskia* (B. 19), Saskia was replaced with a partial impression of the portrait of Rembrandt's mother (B. 349; fig. 11). Another example is the forgery with the head of *The artist's mother: head only, full face* (B. 352) on the body of the *Woman reading* (B. 345).⁶⁸

Many of the copperplates re-emerged from obscurity at various points throughout Europe from around 1760, coinciding with the growing interest in and appreciation of Rembrandt's work in general, and of his etchings in particular. This is documented first and foremost by the masses of copies and imitations “dans le goût de Rembrandt” that were made in the second half of the century,⁶⁹ in numbers out of all proportion to those produced in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century.⁷⁰ In

only, full face (B. 352) and the *Woman reading* (B. 345) were never even in Watelet's collection. See Edmé Gersaint, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les pieces qui forment l'oeuvre de Rembrandt*, Paris 1751, published posthumously by Helle and Glomy; Cayeux, op. cit. (note 2) pp. 144–45.

⁶⁹ It is notable that there was a marked preference for the mezzotint technique for reproducing Rembrandt's paintings. See pp. 269–72.

⁷⁰ For the eighteenth-century reception see J. Boomgaard and R.W. Scheller, “A delicate balance—a brief survey of Rembrandt criticism,” in C. Brown, J. Kelch and P. van Thiel (eds.), exhib. cat. *Rembrandt: the master and his workshop*, New Haven & London 1991, vol. 1, pp. 106–23; A. Röver et al., exhib. cat. *In Rembrandts Manier, Kopie, Nachahmung und Aneignung in den Graphischen Künsten des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Bremen (Kunsthalle) & Lübeck (Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck) 1986; C. White et al., *Rembrandt in eighteenth-century England*, Hartford 1983; U. Finke, “Venezianische Rembrandtstecher um 1800,” *Oud-Holland* 79 (1964), pp. 111–21; For an exhaustive survey of Rembrandt copyists see A. von Wurzbach, *Niederländisches Künstler-Lexicon*, Vienna & Leipzig 1910, vol. 2, pp. 435–54.



12 Rembrandt, *Jan Six*, 1647 (B. 285), etching, drypoint and burin. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



13 Rembrandt, *Christ disputing with the doctors*, (B. 65), etching, reworked with mezzotint. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

1751, the growing demand for Rembrandt's etchings also led to the publication of a *catalogue raisonné* of his etched *oeuvre*, compiled by the Paris art dealer Edmé-François Gersaint (ca. 1696–1750).⁷¹ This was the very first *catalogue raisonné* of prints, and marked the beginning of a long stream of *oeuvre* catalogues of Rembrandt's etchings. Even before the end of the eighteenth century, various translations, supplements and revisions had appeared, among them Bartsch's major work of 1797.⁷²

One feature of Rembrandt's etchings that was parti-

71 See Gersaint, op. cit. (note 68).

72 T. Jeffreys published an English translation in London in 1752. See further Yver, op. cit. (note 45); Daniel Daulby, *A descriptive catalogue of the works of Rembrandt and of his scholars, Bol, Livens, and Van Vliet*, Liverpool 1796; Bartsch, op. cit. (note 1).

73 See F. Baldinucci, *Progresso dell'arte dell'intagliare in rame, colle vite di molti de' più eccellenti maestri della stessa professione*, Florence 1686, p. 79: "...una bizzarrissima maniera, ch'egli s'inventò, d'intagliare in rame all'acqua forte, ancor questa tutta sua propria, ne più usata da altri, ne più veduta, cioè, con certi fregghi, e fregchetti, e tratti irregolari, e senza dintorno, facendo però risultare dal tutto un chiaro scuro profondo, e di gran forza, ed un gusto pittoresco fino all'ultimo segno... il Rembrandt in questo suo particular modo d'intagliare fu da' professori dell'arte più stimato, che nella pittura..." This is translated as follows in Münz, op. cit. (note 1), vol. 2, p. 212: "...a most bizarre manner, which he invented for engraving on copper with acid, this too

cularly admired was the mysterious way in which he managed to achieve such a high tonality. This had been singled out for praise back in 1686 by the Italian critic Filippo Baldinucci,⁷³ and by his French colleague Roger de Piles in 1699, who went so far as to liken it to mezzotint.⁷⁴ Arnold Houbraken described Rembrandt's chiaroscuro in 1718 as "tender, twinkling darks, rendered as finely and softly as can be done by the art of mezzotinting."⁷⁵ The acclaim for Rembrandt's technique and the comparison with mezzotint have been repeated many times since.⁷⁶ The etchings that dis-

all his own, neither used again by others nor seen again; that is, with certain scrawls and scribbles and irregular strokes, and without outline, making on that account a deep chiaroscuro of great vigour result from the whole and a picturesque flavour until the last touch;... in this his peculiar way of engraving Rembrandt was much more esteemed by the professors of art than in painting..."

74 See de Piles, op. cit. (note 62), pp. 433–38.

75 See Houbraken, op. cit. (note 45), vol. 1, p. 271: "...teedere tintelschaduwe, zoo eel en zagt behandelt als door de schraapkonst kan gedaan worden."

76 As in F. le Comte, *Cabinet du singularitez d'architecture, peinture, sculpture, et gravure*, Paris 1700, vol. 3, pp. 125–27; Helle and Glomy in Gersaint, op. cit. (note 68), p. xxx; G.G. Gandellini Sanese, *Notizie istoriche degl'intagliatori*, Siena 1771, vol. 3, p. 148; C.H. Watelet and M. Lévesque, *Dictionnaire des arts de peinture, sculpture et gravure*, Paris 1792, vol. 2, p. 562.

played this to the best effect were valued above all others. Houbraken considered the *Hundred-guilder print* (B. 74) to be the finest print Rembrandt ever made, but etchings like *The descent from the Cross* (B. 81), *Christ before Pilate* (B. 77), *La petite tombe* (B. 67) and the portrait of *Jan Six* (B. 285; fig. 12) were also in great demand, and were priced accordingly. Conversely, those etchings without a pronounced chiaroscuro, such as *Christ appearing to the apostles* (B. 89), were considered unfinished, making them less attractive to collectors.⁷⁷ Houbraken remarked: "It is regrettable that, being so prone to make changes, or driven to something else, he left many things only half-finished, both in his painting and in his etched art."⁷⁸

The appreciation for the tonality of Rembrandt's etchings, the comparison with mezzotint and the notion of "unfinished plates" do, however, throw an interesting light on several plates that were reworked in the eighteenth century. The open and sketchily etched *Christ disputing with the doctors* (B. 65) and the *Old man with a divided fur cap* (B. 265) were considered unfinished by their then owner and were "finished" in mezzotint, in keeping with the view of Rembrandt as the master of light and shade (fig. 13).⁷⁹ The artist responsible did not sign the plates, but in the Amsterdam printroom these impressions are stored with the *oeuvre* of Pieter Louw (1720–ca. 1800), an Amsterdam engraver who made several mezzotints after paintings by Rembrandt for the publisher Pierre Fouquet Jr. (1729–1800).

One interesting piece of evidence demonstrating the value that was attached to impressions from reworked plates is provided by Pieter Louw's mezzotint portrait of the Amsterdam print collector Hendrik Busserus (1701–81).⁸⁰ The latter had a vast collection of prints, the



14 Pieter Louw, *Portrait of Hendrik Busserus* (Wurzb. 6), mezzotint. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

majority of them forming an atlas of the Seven United Provinces of the Netherlands. Rembrandt's etchings formed an important group among the other prints, and Busserus owned several rare states, such as the above-mentioned first state of the *Gold-weigher* (B. 281) from

77 See Watelet and Lévesque, op. cit. (note 76), vol. 2, p. 107: "Il y a de lui des estampes dont le travail est singulièrement négligé, d'autres où il n'est qu'égratigné, d'autres encore, & ce sont les plus recherchées des amateurs, où il ne peut être distingué, & où il n'a par conséquent de valeur, que celle de l'effet qu'il produit" ("There are prints by him in which the work is singularly negligent, others in which there is mere scratching, and yet others, and these are the most sought-after by art-lovers, in which it [the technique] cannot be made out, and as a result is only interesting for the effect that it creates"). See also J.C. Füesslin, *Raisonirendes Verzeichniss der vohnehmsten Kupferstecher und ihrer Werke: zum Gebrauche der Sammler und Liebhaber*, Zürich 1771, pp. 144–45.

78 See Houbraken, op. cit. (note 45), pp. 258–59: "Maar een ding is te beklagen dat hy zoo schigtig tot veranderingen, of wat anders gedreven, vele dingen maar ten halven op gemaakt heeft, zoo zyne schilde-

ryen, als nog meer zyn geëttste printkonst." On the subject of the extent to which Rembrandt's etchings were considered finished see also C.B. Scallen, "Rembrandt's etching "St. Jerome in an Italian landscape": the question of finish reconsidered," *Delineavit et Sculptit* 8 (1992), pp. 1–11.

79 The portrait of *Samuel Manasseh ben Israel* (B. 269) was also finished in mezzotint, and according to Nowell-Usticke the British Museum in London has an impression of the *Student at table by candlelight* (B. 148) which has been worked up in mezzotint. Although the latter print can be regarded as belonging with the other examples mentioned, this is clearly a case in which the plate was not completed but "repaired."

80 I am very grateful to Jan van der Waals for drawing my attention to this portrait.



15 Rembrandt, *Old man shading his eyes with his hand*, (B. 259), etching, finished by Georg Friedrich Schmidt, St Petersburg, Hermitage

81 Busserus bought four Rembrandt etchings at the de Haan sale, all of them rare impressions; see *Catalogus van een fraay kabinet*, cit. (note 66), nrs. 493-94, 502 and 505. The Rembrandt etchings in Busserus's collection were arranged in the order established by the Gersaint catalogue of 1751, complete with the copy by Gole with which the catalogue numbers begin; see *Catalogus van een fraay kabinet prent-konst.... Hendrik Busserus... 25 November 1782*, Amsterdam 1782, pp. 1-26.

82 Louw's print is described in Wurzbach, op. cit. (note 70), vol. 2, p. 69, under nr. 6. It is clear from the sale catalogue that Busserus was not the owner of the plate of *Christ disputing with the doctors: a sketch*. He did, however, have a small collection of copperplates, including that of his own portrait by Pieter Louw and two Rembrandt plates from the de Haan sale: *The agony in the garden* (B. 75), and *Christ carried to the tomb* (B. 84). See *Naamlyst van een Atlas van de Zeven Vereenigde Nederlandsche Provintien... nagelaaten door Hendrik Busserus... 12 Augustus 1782*, Amsterdam 1782, p. 267, nrs. 28 and 29.

83 Anon., *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre de feu George Frédéric Schmidt*, London 1789, pp. 77-78. See further L.D. Jacoby *Schmidt's Werke oder: beschreibendes Verzeichniss sämtlicher Kupferstiche und Radirungen welche der berühmte Künstler George Friederich Schmidt... verfertigt hat*, Berlin 1815, pp. 86-87, nr. 130; and I.M. Keller-Neubauer, *Studien zu den deutschen Rembrandt-nachahmungen des 18. Jahr-*

the Pieter de Haan auction.⁸¹ Louw depicted him seated before his collection (fig. 14), and the print he is holding is the version of *Christ disputing with the doctors* (B. 65) that was reworked in mezzotint.⁸²

These are not the only cases of Rembrandt plates being finished at a later date. Around 1768, the Berlin collector and publisher J. Tribble bought the plate of *Old man shading his eyes with his hand* (B. 259) in Holland, and asked the etcher and engraver Georg Friedrich Schmidt (1709-75) to finish it. Schmidt was working regularly for Tribble at the time, and had built up a reputation with his many prints after Rembrandt's paintings. Working from a design by Blaise Nicolas le Sueur (1716-83), he completed the plate in 1770, giving the man a body and situating him in a library (fig. 15), "parfaitement bien dans le goût de Rembrandt," according to a contemporary.⁸³

In addition to these completed copperplates, which include a few that were reworked in aquatint,⁸⁴ there are impressions known of some 20 etchings in which the lighting effects have been heightened by an excessive use of surface tone.⁸⁵ Most of these, too, were etchings that Rembrandt had left largely unfinished. For example, various shades of surface tone were applied to *The circumcision in the stable* (B. 47) in order to place the Holy Family fully in the light, the figures around them in the shadows, and to shroud the far edges of the scene in complete darkness.⁸⁶ A similar impression was made

hundreds (diss.), Berlin 1981, pp. 142-44. Only 50 impressions were taken from the completed plate.

84 *The triumph of Mordecai* (B. 40) and *Christ returning from the temple with his parents* (B. 60). The name of the responsible artist is not known, but given that the aquatint technique was developed in the mid-eighteenth century, a date late in that century appears not unlikely. The plate of *The triumph of Mordecai* was auctioned in Brussels on 20 August 1781 as part of the library of Duc Charles-Alexandre de Lorraine. It is not known whether the plate had been worked up with aquatint by that date. See J. Ermens, *Catalogue des livres, estampes, et planches gravées de la bibliothèque du palais de feu S.A.R. le duc Charles Alexandre de Lorraine et de Bar*, Brussels, 20 August 1781, under nr. 102. I am very grateful to Peter Fuhring for alerting me to this discovery.

85 For a list of prints published with heavy surface tone see Cayeux, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 150-61, and K.G. Boon, *Rembrandt. Tentoonstelling ter herdenking van de geboorte van Rembrandt. Etsen*, Amsterdam 1956, pp. 53, 54.

86 See Kornfeld, op. cit. (note 31), nr. 25; Boon, op. cit. (note 85), p. 54, nr. 95. According to the latter author, highly toned impressions are known of *The adoration of the shepherds: with the lamp* (B. 45) and other prints from this series on Christ's childhood; see *ibid.*, p. 53, nr. 92.



16 Rembrandt, *Christ disputing with the doctors*, (B. 65), etching, impression with very heavy surface tone. Vevey, Cabinet Cantonal des Estampes (Musée Jenisch), Fondation William Cuendet & Atelier de Saint-Prex

from the plate of *Christ disputing with the doctors* (B. 65; fig. 16) before it was finished in mezzotint.⁸⁷ Unfortunately, it is impossible to discover when or by whom these impressions were made. It is known that the Frenchman, Claude-Henri Watelet (1718–86), made some restrikes with heavy surface tone from the Rembrandt plates in his possession,⁸⁸ but he never owned *Christ disputing with the doctors*, nor some other plates that were printed in a heavily toned form.⁸⁹

These cases are extremely revealing as records of the eighteenth-century perception of Rembrandt, but it is important to recognize that it was rather unusual for plates and impressions to be treated as radically as this.

87 See F. Rodari, *Catalogue des gravures de Dürer - Rembrandt*, Lausanne (Fondation William Cuendet - Atelier de Saint-Prex) 1979, p. 128, nr. 135. The impression is now in the Musée Jenisch in Vevey (Switzerland).

88 See Cayeux, op. cit. (note 2), p. 143. Watelet will be discussed at greater length below.

89 For example, impressions of *The Holy Family* (B. 62) and *The entombment* (B. 86) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, *Old man with a divided fur cap* (B. 265) in Frankfurt, or *Samuel Manasseh ben Israel* (B. 269) in St Petersburg and London. See *ibid.*, pp. 150–61.

90 Bartsch, op. cit. (note 1), nr. 74: "...avec tant de soin et d'intelligence, qu'il faut l'oeil d'un connaisseur exercé pour pas confondre les épreuves de la retouche avec celles de la planche intacte."

As a rule, plates were printed without any conspicuous surface tone, and if they were reworked it was not to finish the plate but to repair the wear due to printing. For example, in 1775 Captain William Baillie "restored" the plate of the *Hundred-guilder print* (B. 74) "with such care and intelligence that it takes the eye of an experienced connoisseur not to mistake the impressions from the retouching for those from the untouched plate."⁹⁰ William Baillie (1723/24–1810) was a captain in the English army, where he had taught himself to etch, greatly inspired by Rembrandt's example. One of his efforts was a copy after *The three trees* (B. 212; fig. 17), which he considered an improvement on the original.⁹¹

91 John Thomas Smith (1766–1833), keeper of prints at the British Museum commented: "Captain William Baillie was also an amateur in art: he suffered from an asthma, which often stood his friend by allowing a lengthened fit of coughing to stop a sentence whenever he found himself in want of words to complete it. When not engaged in his duties as a commissioner of the Stamp Office, he for years amused himself in what he called *etching*; but what Rembrandt, as well as every true artist, would call *scratching*. He could not draw, nor had he an eye for effect. To prove his assertion I will "end him at a blow," by bringing to my informed reader's recollection the captain's execrable plate, which he considered to be an improvement upon Rembrandt's *Three trees*;" see J.T. Smith, *A book for a rainy day, or recollections of the events of the years 1766–1833*, London 1905, pp. 114–15.

He had acquired the plate of the *Hundred-guilder print* from a friend, the Bostonian mezzotint engraver John Greenwood (1727–92), who had bought it in Holland shortly before.⁹² Evidence that Baillie not only admired Rembrandt but actually wanted to match his achievements is provided by the fact that he also printed the reworked plate of the *Hundred-guilder print* on oriental paper, and did the same with the plates of the preacher *Cornelis Claesz. Anslø* [1592–1646] (B. 271) and *Jan Uytenbogaert 1606–84* (“*The gold-weigher*”) (B. 281), which he also owned.⁹³ It is not known whether he acquired the latter two plates from John Greenwood, but as noted above, that of *Jan Uytenbogaert* was still in the possession of the sitter’s descendants in 1760.

In addition to selling the impressions individually, Baillie bound them with his own prints in two volumes under the title *The works of Capt. Baillie*, which was published in 1792 by the London publishers John & Josiah Boydell and was still on their list in 1803.⁹⁴ The Rembrandt plates probably ended up with Boydell.⁹⁵ What he got in the case of the *Hundred-guilder print* was the remnants, for Baillie had cut the plate up after print-

ing some 100 impressions, by his own account in order to guarantee the exclusiveness of the print.⁹⁶ The implication that there was no difference between a good early print and Baillie’s restored impressions was however not universally appreciated, as shown by the reaction of the president of the Royal Academy in London, Benjamin West (1738–1820): “Sir, when I requested him [*Baillie*] to show me a fine impression of Rembrandt’s Hundred Guilder Print, he placed one of his own *restored* impressions before me, with as much confidence as my little friend Edwards’ attempts to teach perspective in the Royal Academy.”⁹⁷

A larger number of Rembrandt plates resurfaced in Amsterdam in the second half of the eighteenth century as part of the estate of Pieter de Haan (1723–66), a print dealer with a large collection of drawings and prints, including a select group of Rembrandt etchings containing various rare proof impressions.⁹⁸ De Haan also had 430 copperplates by artists like Adriaen van Ostade, Johannes van Vliet and Wenzel Hollar, and no fewer than 75 by Rembrandt.⁹⁹ Each of the latter is described in the 1767 auction catalogue, together with its relevant num-

92 See H.P. Rossiter, “Capt. William Baillie, 17th Dragoons and John Greenwood, of Boston,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston)* 41 (1943), pp. 28–32, esp. pp. 31–32.

93 According to Biörklund, op. cit. (note 1), p. 175, the paper that Baillie refers to as “Indian paper” or “finest Japan paper” in his *Works of Captain William Baillie*, London 1792, contains no eastern fibers at all, but solely European flax and hemp. There are impressions of the *Hundred-guilder print* by Baillie on silk; see Laurentius, op. cit. (note 5), p. 173.

94 See *An alphabetical catalogue of plates, engraved by the most esteemed artists after the finest pictures and drawings of the Italian, Flemish, German, French, English and other schools which compose the stock of John and Josiah Boydell*, London 1803, p. xi. Baillie’s books list the prices for which each impression was to be sold. Leaving this aspect aside, the concept and even the title of these books are very similar to the print albums that Pierre-François Basan had published slightly earlier in Paris, and which became known as *L’oeuvre de Basan*. See below.

95 According to C. White and K.G. Boon, *Rembrandt’s etchings: an illustrated critical catalogue*, 2 vols., Amsterdam, London & New York 1969, vol. 1, p. 124, the plate *Cornelis Anslø* (B. 271) was printed in 1826 by Sheepshanks, Geddes, Tiffin and Steward respectively, each of whom added his name to the plate and then removed it again. The plate of *Jan Uytenbogaert* (B. 281) was rediscovered in London in 1929, and was sold that same year at Christie’s. It was in the collection of Charles J. Rosenbloom in Pittsburgh for a long time, and is now in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem. See H.J.L. Wright, *Three master etchers: Rembrandt, Meryon, Whistler*, London, Cantor Lectures delivered

before the Royal Society of Arts, (1930), p. 15; and Strauss, op. cit. (note 2), p. 265.

96 See *The works of Captain William Bailie*, cit. (note 93), page reproduced in Kornfeld, op. cit. (note 31), nr. 45 “...mais, en même temps qu’ils [les amateurs] étoient enchantés de retrouver cette estampe la plus renommée de l’oeuvre de Rembrandt, dans sa pureté primitive, ils paroissent témoigner quelques craintes que cette estampe (autrefois si recherché) deviendroit trop commune:... enfin, pour lever toutes obstacles, il se déterminoit de faire couper la planche en quatre pieces.”

97 See Smith, op. cit. (note 91), p. 115; the emphases are Smith’s. West is referring to the painter and etcher Edward Edwards (1738–1806), who was attached to the Royal Academy as drawing instructor from 1788, and who wrote various works, including *A practical treatise of perspective, on the principles of Dr. Brook Taylor*, London 1803. See C.H. Collins Baker, in Thieme-Becker, op. cit. (note 35), vol. 10, pp. 348–49.

98 They included a heavily retouched first state of *Christ before Pilate: large plate* (B. 77), the above-mentioned first state of *The gold-weigher* (B. 281), and a first state of *Jan Lutma, goldsmith* (B. 276), “extra raar en fraay van druk” (“extremely rare, and a fine impression”); see *Catalogus van een fraay kabinet*, cit. (note 66), pp. 140–42, for example nrs. 488, 494, 502–04.

99 Almost nothing further is known about Pieter de Haan and his activities. Cf. de Hoop Scheffer and Boon, op. cit. (note 2), p. 1; J.P. Filedt Kok, review of C. White and K.G. Boon, *Rembrandt’s etchings: an illustrated critical catalogue*, in *Simiolus* 6 (1972/73), pp. 70–76, esp. p. 73.



17 Captain William Baillie, copy after Rembrandt's *The Three Trees*, etching and engraving. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

ber in Gersaint's recently published catalogue.¹⁰⁰ From this it emerges that many of de Haan's Rembrandt plates had previously belonged to Clement de Jonghe.¹⁰¹ Those with a different provenance included several portraits, of which de Jonghe had none.¹⁰²

Of all the copperplates listed in the sale catalogue, only those by Rembrandt and van Vliet were accompa-

nied by impressions, ranging from two to 80 in number. In view of the fact that prints by Rembrandt are also described elsewhere in the catalogue, and that they fetched higher prices, the impressions sold with the plates must have been eighteenth-century remainders.¹⁰³ This is further evidence that in Rembrandt's case a distinction was made in the eighteenth century between

¹⁰⁰ See *Catalogus van een fraay kabinet*, cit. (note 66). Van Vliet's plates, which were also described by Gersaint in the same catalogue, were the only others to be accorded this honor. Jan Yver was one of the organizers of the sale, but the catalogue was also obtainable from Pieter Yver, who had published his supplement to Gersaint in 1756 (see note 45).

¹⁰¹ The precise number was formerly put at 47, but given the uncertainty about the identification of several plates in the Clement de Jonghe inventory I would not hazard an exact figure. See Filedt Kok, op. cit. (note 99), p. 73, and Appendix 2 below.

¹⁰² Undoubtedly because they were still with the respective families at the time. Baillie, for instance, owned two portrait plates.

¹⁰³ The prices ranged from 2 guilders for *The flight onto Egypt: small plate* (B. 52) with 68 impressions, and 4.10 guilders for *Christ disputing with the doctors: small plate* (B. 66) with 80 impressions, to 30

guilders for *The death of the Virgin* (B. 99) with 15 impressions. By way of comparison, the etched plate of *Christ crucified between the two thieves: an oval plate* (B. 79) with 9 impressions fetched 3.10 guilders, while the early impression from the de Haan collection made 3 guilders. According to Peter Fuhring it was very common to sell off the publisher's remainders, but they were very rarely accompanied by the plate. He says that what did happen was that a single impression was sold with the plate so that the buyer could assess its condition. This occurs twice in the de Haan *Catalogus van een fraay kabinet*, cit. (note 66): cat. nr. 80, "Het fraaie eyge geëtste Werk van Ostade... te zamen 54 stuks, *benevens een Exemplaar*" ("The fine work etched by Ostade, 54 items in total, *together with one sample*;" emphases added), and under nr. 85: "Het Werk van Meyering,... 26 stuks, *benevens een exemplaar*" ("The work of Meyering,... 26 items, *together with one sample*;" emphases added).

good early prints and restrikes,¹⁰⁴ but it also raises the question why no impressions were put up for sale with the plates by other artists.

The auction was held on 6 March 1767 in “De Keizerskroon” in Kalverstraat, the very building where Rembrandt’s possessions had come under the hammer 100 years before. Nineteen of the Rembrandt plates were bought by five art-brokers, among them Hendrik de Winter and Jan Yver.¹⁰⁵ Most of the plates in this batch have since disappeared without trace, but six made their way to England,¹⁰⁶ where they were published several times in the early decades of the nineteenth century in an album entitled *A collection of 200 original etchings*. This was a selective survey, mainly of seventeenth-century Dutch etching, with restrikes from the original plates of Cornelis Bega, Thomas Wyck and Jacob van Ruisdael.¹⁰⁷ The subsequent fate of these six Rembrandt plates is unknown.

The 56 other Rembrandt plates in the Pieter de Haan sale were bought by the well-known Amsterdam art dealer, Pierre Fouquet Jr. (1729–1800).¹⁰⁸ He may have been acting on commission, for shortly afterwards all

these plates were in the possession of Claude-Henri Watelet.¹⁰⁹ This Parisian writer, art critic and engraver had a collection of Rembrandt’s graphic work which was already famous in 1755, not only because it contained impressions of almost all of Rembrandt’s etchings, but also rare prints like *Jan Six* (B. 285) and *Christ presented to the people: oblong plate* (B. 76) in various states and on different kinds of paper.¹¹⁰ Watelet’s admiration was partly professional, for he made numerous copies after Rembrandt’s etchings, and imitated his style in his own prints.¹¹¹ He had made a thorough study of the master’s work, which by his own account eventually enabled him to fathom his technique.¹¹² Here he was not referring to the fairly transparent technique of such etchings as *The adoration of the shepherds: with the lamp* (B. 45) or *The Crucifixion: small plate* (B. 80), but the complex way in which Rembrandt achieved the refined tonality of works like *Abraham Francen, apothecary* (B. 273), *Jan Uytenbogaert, preacher of the Remonstrants* (B. 279) or *Jan Six* (B. 285). True to the spirit of his age, Watelet particularly admired the chiaroscuro effects in Rembrandt’s graphic art.¹¹³

¹⁰⁴ This impression is confirmed by a comparison with the prices made at the Hendrik Busserus sale mentioned above. As stated in note 82, he owned two Rembrandt plates. His impression of *Christ carried to the grave* (B. 84) fetched 1.10 guilders, while the copperplate and no fewer than 61 impressions cost 3 guilders. Two impressions of *The agony in the garden* (B. 75) went for 2 guilders the pair, while the copperplate and 42 impressions made only 1 guilder. See *Naamlyst van een Atlas*, cit. (note 82), p. 267, nrs. 28 and 29, and *Catalogus van een fraay kabinet*, cit. (note 81), p. 7, nrs. 121–22, p. 8, nr. 143.

¹⁰⁵ A number of unfortunately unspecified copperplates by Rembrandt from the estate of the renowned art dealer and publisher Joshua Ottens later passed through the hands of these same dealers; see *Catalogus van een fraay kabinet prent-konst, ... als ook een fraaye verzameling van een Atlas der Vaderlandsche Historie, ... benevens een grootte collectie kopere platen.... Alles nagelaaten door wylen Mejuffrouw Johanna de Lindt, wed. van den Heere Josua Ottens*, Amsterdam (P. van der Schley, C. Ploos van Amstel, H. de Winter and J. Yver), 16 August 1784, p. 23: “(Hist. Ordinantien, Landschappen, &c.) nr. 597. dito en andere. door *Elsheimer, Rembrand, Holsteyn*, &c. 16 stuks” (“[Historical compositions, landscapes, etc.], nr. 597. ditto [subjects etched by the artists themselves] and others, by *Elsheimer, Rembrandt, Holsteyn*, etc., 16 items”). I am grateful to Jan van der Waals for bringing this sale catalogue to my attention.

¹⁰⁶ Numbers B. 38, 75, 79, 262, 264 and 268. These plates were bought by various dealers at the sale, so it is not clear how they ended up together in England.

¹⁰⁷ Published in 1816 by J. M’Creery in London, between 1819 and 1822 by W. Lewis, in 1826 by J. Kay, and later by other publishers as well. It is not clear who owned the plates. In the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam there is a copy that lacks both the title sheet and B.

268. There is a M’Creery edition in the British Museum in London. See Hind, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 8–9; and Nowell-Usticke, op. cit. (note 1), p. 16.

¹⁰⁸ Fouquet, who originally came from Wallonia, was a painter and a dealer in prints, drawings and paintings, and is chiefly known for the famous atlas which he began publishing in 1760. See C. Bille, *De tempel der kunst of het kabinet van den Heer Braamcamp*, Amsterdam 1961, vol. 1, pp. 196–97; I.H. van Eeghen, “De Atlas Fouquet,” *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 47 (1960), pp. 49–59 and 95, and idem, *Met Fouquet door Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 1974.

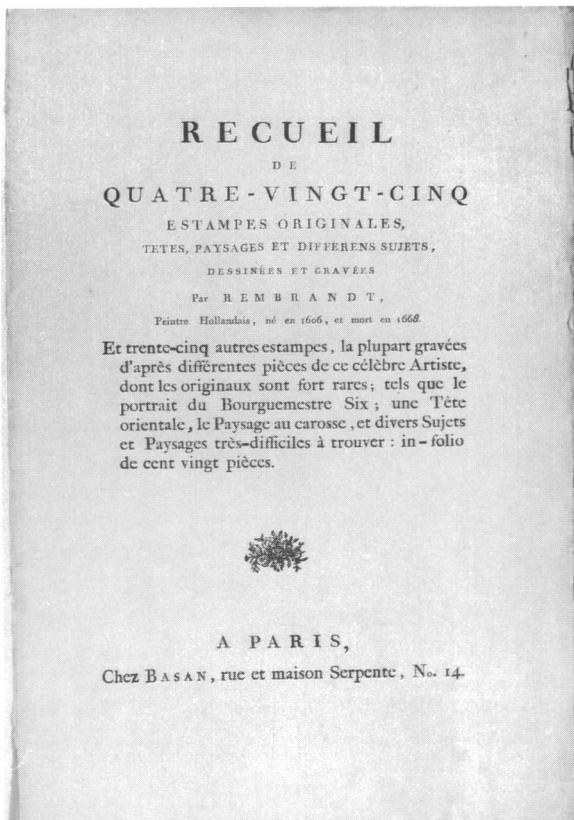
¹⁰⁹ In 1785, Watelet said of the purchase: “...c’est qu’ayant fait acheter en Hollande des planches originales de Rymbrand” (emphasis added). Three of his plates from Pieter de Haan’s collection were bought at the sale by Yver, not Fouquet. See *Rymbranesques* (note 111), here quoted from Cayeux, op. cit. (note 2), p. 142.

¹¹⁰ See *ibid.*, p. 133. For a biography of Watelet see M. Henriët, “Un amateur d’art au XVIII^e siècle: l’académicien Watelet,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 64 (1922), pp. 173–94.

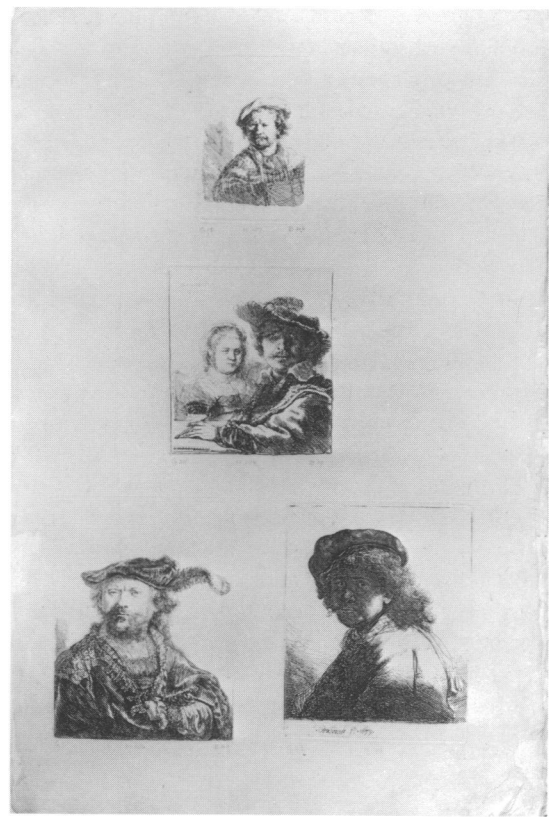
¹¹¹ In 1785 these prints were published in an album with the title *Rymbranesques, ou Essais de gravures par C.H. Watelet, de l’Académie Française et honoraire amateur de l’Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, Paris (Chez Prault) 1785. In addition to Watelet’s prints the book contains an impression from one of Rembrandt’s plates, *The strolling musicians* (B. 119). There is a copy of this album in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. See Biörklund and Barnard, op. cit. (note 1), p. 193.

¹¹² See the “avertissement” in *Rymbranesques*, cit. (note 111), here quoted from Cayeux, op. cit. (note 2), p. 138.

¹¹³ See Watelet and Lévesque, op. cit. (note 76), pp. 107, 561–63.



18 Title page of the *Recueil* of Pierre-François Basan. Switzerland, private collection



19 First page of prints in the *Recueil* of Pierre-François Basan. Switzerland, private collection

It was probably Watelet's aesthetic as well as technical admiration for Rembrandt's prints that aroused his interest in the etching plates.¹¹⁴ Six years before the sale of Pieter de Haan's collection, Watelet already owned the plate of *The artist's mother with her hand on her chest: small bust* (B. 349), which he reworked, adding the inscription "C.H.W. Reparavit 1760 Bruxelles."¹¹⁵ On his death in 1786 it turned out that he had amassed a

¹¹⁴ The prospect of making money from the sale of impressions was undoubtedly another consideration, but that it did not play a very great role is suggested by the fact that when Watelet died he left, in addition to more than 200 plates of his own work and the 83 Rembrandt plates, only three copperplates by other artists (Chasteau, Vien, and after Greuze). See A.-J. Paillet, *Catalogue des tableaux, dessins, miniatures en émail & autres, bustes & figures de marbre, instruments de physique, de musique, &c.; planches gravées de Rembrandt &*

total of 83 Rembrandt plates, but apart from those from the de Haan collection it is unclear how and when he had acquired them. Watelet himself wrote that many of his plates had been poorly and clumsily reworked when he bought them, and that he had restored them to their original condition, relying on his knowledge of Rembrandt's technique and by examining good impressions.¹¹⁶ He sometimes printed the plates on thin, white

autres; estampes rares, anciennes & modernes, & autres objets curieux. Du cabinet de feu M. Watelet, Paris 1786, pp. 63-64.

¹¹⁵ Watelet also signed the copperplates of *The angel departing from the family of Tobias* (B. 43, center foreground), *Man drawing from a cast* (B. 130, on the book), and *The card player* (B. 136, in the lower left corner). The signature is no longer visible on any of these plates. According to Coppier, the one on B. 130 was removed by Michel Bernard. See Coppier, op. cit. (note 2), p. 135; Nowell-Usticke, op. cit. (note 1), under nrs. 43, 130 and 136.

paper, and imitated Rembrandt by experimenting with impressions with surface tone.¹¹⁷

The case of Captain William Baillie demonstrated that not everyone considered a restrike from the restored plate of the *Hundred-guilder print* to be on a par with a good early impression. Sadly not a single contemporary comment on Watelet's restored impressions has come down to us. There is, however, a salient indication of how far removed, in monetary terms, the appreciation for good early impressions could be from that for the copperplates. The auction of Watelet's estate in 1786 included both his famous print collection and his plates. The 83 plates by Rembrandt made a total of 560 livres, but a "superbe épreuve" of *Jan Six* (B. 285) went to a new owner for 800 livres and 1 denier.¹¹⁸

The Rembrandt plates were bought *en bloc* by Watelet's fellow Parisian, Pierre-François Basan (1723-97).¹¹⁹ Basan was a print dealer with an international clientele, and a publisher with a stock comprising almost 5,000 copperplates by old and modern masters. He was known, among other things, for his so-called *L'oeuvre de Basan*—print albums with reproduction graphics after paintings and drawings by Dutch, Flemish, French, Italian and German masters. Wherever possible Basan

used existing copperplates for these *recueils*, but if none was available he commissioned new ones.¹²⁰ In 1789, he published a special *recueil* devoted to Rembrandt with impressions taken from the Rembrandt plates, in which he also included copies after rare prints that were difficult to obtain (figs. 18, 19).¹²¹ There was an index listing the original prints with their Gersaint numbers, and this *Recueil Rembrandt* gave a representative selection of Rembrandt's etched *oeuvre*. Like Basan's other *recueils*, the Rembrandt album can be associated with the "scientific" ideal of encyclopedic surveys, and as such marks a watershed in the history of the Rembrandt plates. Many of them had been reworked and printed earlier in the eighteenth century, and in response to the prevailing taste for certain aspects of Rembrandt's work, had been restored, forged, finished and toned up, but never before had the impressions been brought together in an album and supplemented in order to provide an overview of Rembrandt's etched work. As such, Basan's publication corresponded far more closely to Gersaint's *catalogue raisonné* than had previously been the case.

Both the *Recueil Rembrandt* and the other albums published by Basan must be seen in the light of the more historical approach to art that evolved in the late eigh-

116 *Rymbranesques*, cit. (note 111): "Au reste, ce qui m'a confirmé dans l'opinion que j'ai d'avoir rencontré ce que cherchais, c'est qu'ayant fait acheter en Hollande des planches originales de Rymbrand, la plupart altérées, effacées ou gâtées par des retouches lourdes et maladroites, j'ai hasardé d'en rapprocher plusieurs de leur premier état, en consultant les bonnes épreuves qui sont conservées et je suis parvenu à mon but assez passablement pour satisfaire des yeux instruits." Quoted from Cayeux, op. cit. (note 2), p. 142.

117 The Watelet sale catalogue shows that he had his own printing press. He occasionally printed with such heavy surface tone that it was thought that the plates had been worked up with aquatint. That assumption has been dismissed by Christopher White. See Cayeux, op. cit. (note 2), p. 143; White, op. cit. (note 16), p. 19, note 28; Paillet, op. cit. (note 114), p. 64, under nr. 373.

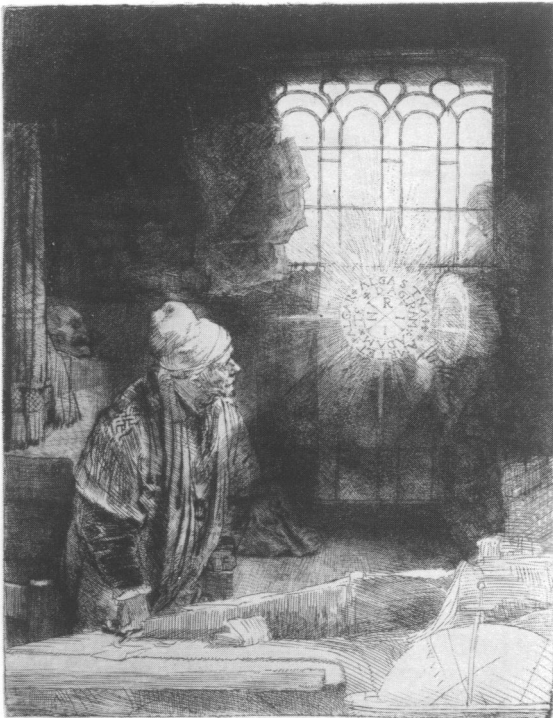
118 See Paillet, op. cit. (note 114), p. 53, nr. 279, p. 62, nrs. 358-65. There is an annotated copy in the Netherlands Institute for Art History (RKD) in The Hague.

119 It is not entirely certain how many of Rembrandt's plates Watelet owned. In my reconstruction I arrive at a figure of 83 (see Appendix 2).

120 See P. Casselle, "Pierre-François Basan, marchand d'estampes à Paris (1723-1797)," *Paris et Ile-de-France* 33 (1982), pp. 99-185. For a summary see M. Préaud, P. Casselle, M. Grivel and C. le Bitouze, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris 1986, pp. 42-43.

121 It is possible that there was an earlier, now unknown edition of the *Recueil*, in a smaller format and with fewer prints, for the Basan sale catalogue of 1798 mentions a "*Recueil de quatre-vingt une pièces*

composées & gravées par PAUL VAN RHYN REMBRANDT... plus, quinze copies d'après ce maître... petit in-fol. rel." See L.F. Regnault, *Catalogue raisonné d'un choix précieux de dessins, et d'une nombreuse et riche collection d'estampes anciennes et modernes, en feuilles, en recueils et en oeuvres, livres à figures, sciences et arts, tableaux et autres objets curieux, Qui composoient le cabinet de feu PIERRE-FRANÇOIS BASAN père, graveur & ancien marchand d'estampes*, Paris [1798] (Lugt 5827), p. 161, nr. 721. See also Pierre-François Basan, *Recueil de quatre-vingt-cinq Estampes originales, Têtes, Paysages et différents sujets, dessinées et gravées par Rembrandt, Peintre Hollandais, né en 1606, et mort en 1668. Et trente-cinq autres Estampes, la plupart gravées d'après différents pièces de ce célèbre Artiste, dont les Origineaux sont fort rares; tels que le Portrait du Bourgomestre Six; une Tête orientale, le Paysage au carrosse, et divers Sujets et Paysages très-difficiles à trouver; in-folio de cent vingt pièces*, Paris (Chez Basan, Rue et hôtel Serpente, no. 14.) [1789]. See note 127 for copies of this album. This *Recueil* is traditionally dated between 1789 and 1797, because the impression it contains of *The pancake woman* (B. 124) bears traces of the inscription that was on the plate when it was used in the *Dictionnaire des graveurs* that Basan published in 1789, and because Basan died in 1797. This, however, overlooks the point that Basan handed over the day-to-day running of his business in 1789 to his sons Antoine-Simon-Ferdinand (1763/64-1798) and Henry-Louis (d. before 1819), who operated under the name "Basan frères," which they used on the title page of their publications. See Casselle, op. cit. (note 120), pp. 154-64, and for an example of an edition bearing the imprint of Basan frères, *ibid.*, p. 173, note 160.



20 Rembrandt, *Faust*, ca. 1652 (B. 270), etching, drypoint and burin. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet



21 Rembrandt, *Faust* (B. 270), reworked impression from the *Recueil* of H.L. Basan. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

teenth century and reached maturity in the nineteenth century with the emergence of the discipline of art history.¹²² It was characterized by a keener interest in the historical persona of the artist, and by a desire for knowledge of both his autograph *oeuvre* and its relation to that of his contemporaries. This resulted not only in the

compilation of *oeuvre* catalogues, of which Gersaint's is an early example,¹²³ but also in a great demand for illustrated surveys documenting the artist's work and the school in which he was active.¹²⁴ That is also the context in which the above-mentioned *Collection of 200 etchings* was published in London in 1816.¹²⁵

¹²² Boomgaard and Scheller, op. cit. (note 70), pp. 113–14. Basan also published albums devoted to other artists giving a similar survey of their *oeuvre*, among them *recueils* with prints after the work of Rubens and Philips Wouwerman, as well as *recueils* with impressions from the original copperplates by such artists as Jan van de Velde, Adriaen van Ostade and Stefano della Bella. See Regnault, op. cit. (note 121), pp. 155, 161–62.

¹²³ This interest, which was focused more on the artist, is perhaps exemplified more clearly by the series of *oeuvre* catalogues that Adam Bartsch published in Vienna between 1802 and 1821 under the title *Le peintre-graveur*. His catalogue of Rembrandt's etchings had appeared in 1797 (see note 1). See, for example the *oeuvre* catalogues of G.F. Schmidt mentioned in note 83. This interest was also manifested in the considerable number of handbooks that appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century, in which the various artists and their *oeuvres* were discussed in greater or lesser detail. See, for instance,

Füesslin, op. cit. (note 77); Gandinelli, op. cit. (note 76); and Watelet and Lévesque, op. cit. (note 76).

¹²⁴ One of the first artists whose work was reproduced almost in its entirety in this way, and at a very early date, was Antoine Watteau (1684–1721), in the so-called *Recueil Jullienne* of 1728. A remarkably early example of a more general survey is the *Recueil Crozat*, which was published in two volumes between 1729 and 1742. It presented an overview of the Italian school, using paintings in French collections. Each volume opened with a brief account of the lives of the artists represented, and a “description historique” of the works included. The *Recueil* was published under the auspices of Pierre Crozat, and Basan was still selling copies of it in the early nineteenth century. See S. Lambert, *The image multiplied: five centuries of printed reproduction of paintings and drawings*, New York 1987, pp. 170–71.

¹²⁵ See above, p. 274 and note 107.

The use of both copies and restrikes from the original copperplates to present a picture of Rembrandt's etched *oeuvre*, however, presupposes a view of the utility and value of impressions from the original plates very different to Rembrandt's. He would have regarded each impression as a separate work of art with its own individual function. Basan's impressions were devalued to being reproductions of themselves—illustrations to the etched work of Rembrandt.¹²⁶ The addition of a title page and index also automatically precluded any possible misunderstanding that these were anything other than restrikes.

Unlike his predecessors, Basan did not print the plates with surface tone or on oriental paper, although the thin, grayish paper he used does vaguely resemble it.¹²⁷ The plates must also have been in good condition, for the quality of the impressions is remarkably high. This distinguishes them from the late restrikes that Basan's son, Henry-Louis (d. before 1819), published under the same title between 1807 and 1809.¹²⁸ These are

¹²⁶ The fact that Basan used an impression of the *Pancake woman* (B. 124) in the second edition of his *Dictionnaire des graveurs*, Paris 1789, bespeaks a similar view of the use and value of impressions from the copperplate. Other instances are known from the nineteenth century. Arsène Houssaye illustrated his study, *Rembrandt: sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Paris 1843, with impressions of no fewer than 22 etchings, while P.G. Hamerton, in his *Etching and etchers*, London 1868, used an impression of *Three oriental figures (Jacob and Laban?)* (B. 118). All were impressions from the copperplates in Basan's collection.

¹²⁷ There are only two known copies of this early *Recueil*, one in the Hermitage in St Petersburg, the other in a private collection in Switzerland. Both appear to be incomplete, for the title page promises 120 prints, but they contain only 85 and 86 respectively. The copies not on the same page as the originals were removed. For a more detailed description see Hind, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 22–23, Biörklund and Barnard, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 161–63, and Nowell-Usticke, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 18–20.

¹²⁸ The first albums published by Henry-Louis are very comparable to his father's *recueils* in both quality and the paper on which they are printed. See Nowell-Usticke, op. cit. (note 1), p. 18, and Biörklund and Barnard, op. cit. (note 1), p. 163.

¹²⁹ For a description of a copy of this album in the Library of Congress see Jones, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 27–39. See also Hind, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 22–23, Biörklund and Barnard, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 161–63, and Nowell-Usticke, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 18–20. Both the title and index are exactly the same as those of Basan *père's* *Recueil*; only the type matter is a little different, and the title page bears the address of H.L. Basan. These late *recueils* include an impression of *Jan Lutma, goldsmith* (B. 276), which is missing in the earliest *recueils*. It is therefore assumed that this plate was bought not by P.F. Basan, but at a later date by Henry-Louis (from an unknown owner). It is certainly odd that that print was never included in the index, which implied that

not only on rather inferior, thick, yellowish paper, and pasted individually into the album, but are also of far lower quality.¹²⁹ An extreme example is the famous print of *Faust* (B. 270). In the earliest copies of the Henry-Louis's *Recueil* the print is in its original condition, but the plate had to be reworked so radically for the late albums that doubts arose as to whether it was still the same copperplate (figs. 20, 21).¹³⁰ It was, as it happens, but the wear to *The death of the Virgin* (B. 99) was evidently considered so irreversible that it had to be replaced by a copy in the late albums.¹³¹ It is unclear why the plates wore out so quickly. Henry-Louis had been in severe financial difficulties since 1802, and it is possible that he drastically increased the number of restrikes in an attempt to reverse his fortunes.¹³² It is certainly remarkable there are far more copies of the *recueils* of Basan *fils* than of his father's. Moreover, it has been established that he also sold the impressions separately.¹³³

Osbert Barnard has pointed out that the quality of the

it was presented as a copy. See *Recueil de quatre-vingt-cinq estampes originales, têtes, paysages et différents sujets, dessinées et gravées par Rembrandt, ... Et trente-cinq autres estampes, la plupart gravées d'après différents pièces de ce célèbre artiste, ... in-folio de cent vingt pièces*, A Paris, Chez H.-L. Basan, Marchand d'Estampes, Rue et hôtel Serpente, No. 14. The dating of these late *recueils* between 1807 and 1809 is based on a copy dated 1807 by Claussin in the album, and on *The pancake woman* (B. 124), which still appears in the fifth state, while the sixth state dates from 1809, when the plate was given a new inscription and was used in the reprint of Basan's *Dictionnaire* (see note 126).

¹³⁰ See Biörklund and Barnard, op. cit. (note 1), p. 163.

¹³¹ The *Recueil* in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam contains a copy. One gets the impression that early *recueils* by Jean again contain impressions from the original etching plate, but that the later ones do not. Michel Bernard sold the plate to an unknown buyer in the late nineteenth century. See the Archive of the British Museum in London (hereafter cited as ABM), copy of a typed letter from Alvin-Beaumont to J.D. Ketelaar which Alvin-Beaumont sent to Arthur Hind on 28 October 1921, p. 7. I am very grateful to Martin Royalton-Kisch for drawing my attention to this and the other letters in the British Museum that are cited below.

¹³² See Casselle, op. cit. (note 120), pp. 163–64, and Préaud *et al.*, op. cit. (note 120), p. 44. According to Nicole Minder of the Musée Jenisch in Vevey, a copperplate can become badly worn in a very short space of time if the ink is too coarse and contains abrasive particles, or if it is too acid and bites into the plate. Interestingly, in this context, the print of *The descent from the Cross: second plate* (B. 81) in the *Recueil* bears the inscription in the lower right corner: "Imp. Lamoureux r. S. Jean de Beauvais 12 Paris". This indicates that Basan very probably had the impressions made by others. The copperplate of this print still bears clear traces of that inscription.

prints in Henry-Louis's albums is far from consistent, and has suggested that he printed single impressions on demand, and compiled his albums fairly arbitrarily from impressions he had in stock.¹³⁴ It is certainly striking that the prints in the *recueils* are always the same, but that there are slight variations in their sequence.¹³⁵ On the other hand, it is now known that Henry-Louis scratched numbers onto the backs of the copperplates in order to fix the order of the prints. Those numbers are still legible.¹³⁶

The Basan albums not only mark a watershed in the history of Rembrandt's copperplates, but also set the tone for their use up to the middle of the nineteenth century. The great Paris publisher Auguste Jean (d. 1820), to whom the plates passed around 1810, reworked them where necessary and published the impressions in the same *recueils*, borrowing both the title and the index from the Basan albums.¹³⁷ After 1820 his widow also reissued the *Recueil Rembrandt*.¹³⁸ It was only after 1846, when the plates were acquired from the estate of

Jean's widow by the Paris publisher and engraver Auguste Bernard, that the impressions were no longer sold in the familiar album form, although he certainly made restrikes.¹³⁹ In this he differed from his son Michel Bernard, who later owned the plates but evidently saw no point in reprinting from them.¹⁴⁰ This was probably associated with the fact that it was becoming increasingly difficult to obtain good impressions from the plates, which by now had been sorely tested, but Bernard's restraint must also undoubtedly be seen against the background of the rise of modern reproduction techniques, particularly photogravure. Whereas restrikes were often far removed from the impressions printed in Rembrandt's day, modern techniques made it possible to produce superb reproductions of good impressions.¹⁴¹ Starting with Charles Blanc's *L'oeuvre de Rembrandt reproduit par la photographie* of 1853, there was a stream of publications containing facsimile illustrations of Rembrandt's etched work, either in whole or in part. The other side of the coin was that the value of the

¹³³ The following statement appears in H.L. Basan's stock-list: "Les estampes qui enrichissent ce recueil, se vendent séparément." The *recueils* cost 96 livres each. See *Catalogue des planches gravées qui composent le fond de Basan, marchand d'estampes, rue et hôtel Serpente, à Paris*, Paris (after 1803), p. 6, nr. 28. I am very grateful to Peter Fuhling, who is compiling an inventory of the stock-lists of European print publishers, for drawing my attention to this list.

¹³⁴ Biörklund and Barnard, op. cit. (note 1), p. 163.

¹³⁵ Cf. the copies in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam and in the Library of Congress in Washington.

¹³⁶ Some of the copperplates even have two or three numbers, the provenance of which is unclear. That one of them was put on the back of the plate by Henry-Louis is clear from the fact that those numbers correspond quite closely to the order of the prints in his *Recueil*. See Appendix 1.

¹³⁷ But with Jean's address, of course: "A Paris, Chez Jean, marchand d'estampes, Rue St. Jean de Beauvais, No. 10." The author has only seen the title page and index of this *Recueil*. The plates are mentioned in Auguste Jean's stock-list of 1810 (Hind, op. cit. [note 1], p. 8), which I have not inspected. On Jean see M. Hébert and Y. Sjöberg, *Inventaire du fonds français: graveurs du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1973, vol. 12, pp. 102-03; J. Adhémar, J. Lethève and F. Gardey, *Inventaire du fonds français après 1800*, Paris 1960, vol. 11, pp. 310-11; Préaud et al., op. cit. (note 120), pp. 246-47; and P. Casselle, "Recherches sur les marchands d'estampes Parisiens d'origine cotentinoise à la fin de l'Ancien Régime," *Bulletin d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 11 (1978), pp. 76-93.

¹³⁸ De Hoop Scheffer and Boon, op. cit. (note 2), p. 3, state that she published a *Recueil* in 1826.

¹³⁹ See MacHardy, op. cit. (note 2), p. 49. Alvin-Beaumont, basing himself on the archives of the Bernard firm, wrote in 1921 that "Les Bernard ont abandonné le Recueil des Basan et Jean, ils ne feront plus

d'édition de ces cuivres et tirons de temps en temps quelques pièces sur commande." See ABM, copy to Arthur Hind of 28 October 1921 of a letter from Alvin-Beaumont to J.D. Ketelaar, p. 7. Nowell-Usticke, op. cit. (note 1), p. 16, followed by de Hoop Scheffer and Boon, op. cit. (note 2), p. 3, does however believe that Bernard published restrikes in a *Recueil*, although no such album is known. Bernard's precise identity is something of a mystery. His forename is often omitted, or he is referred to variously as Michel Bernard, which was also the name of his son and successor, Auguste Bernard, or even Jean Bernard. The literature is silent on "Michel Bernard," there is a very brief mention of "Auguste Bernard" in the *Inventaire du fonds français*, while "Jean Bernard" appears to the present author to be a conflation of Auguste Jean and Bernard. The provisional conclusion is that Auguste Bernard was the father and Michel Bernard the son. In 1906 Bernard *fils* is recorded at Nr. 14, Rue Séguier. See Hind, op. cit. (note 1), p. 22; Biörklund and Barnard, op. cit. (note 1), p. 163; Anon., "Fearon Galleries acquire great collection of seventy-five original Rembrandt etching plates," *The Art News*, 15 November 1930, p. 7; and Alvin-Beaumont, *Les cuivres de Rembrandt: réimpression des planches originales accompagné d'un texte descriptif par Gersaint, Helle & Glomy, auteurs du premier catalogue de l'oeuvre (1751), 1606-1906*, Paris 1906, title page.

¹⁴⁰ Bernard *fils* took over his father's business around 1875. See the archives of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (hereafter referred to as ARM), incoming correspondence, letter of 9 January 1906.

¹⁴¹ See Lambert, op. cit. (note 124), pp. 107-11; J.M.H. Hammann, *Des arts graphiques, destinés à multiplier par l'impression*, Geneva & Paris 1857, pp. 397-407, 450-68; G. Wakeman, *Victorian book illustration: the technical revolution*, Detroit 1973, esp. pp. 121-22; and A. Jammes et al., *De Nièpce à Stieglitz: la photographie en taille-douce*, Lausanne 1982.

original plates as a publisher's operating capital dropped to near zero.¹⁴²

THE "REDISCOVERY" OF THE COPPERPLATES After languishing in obscurity in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Rembrandt's copperplates came back into the news again in the Rembrandt commemorative year of 1906 in a bizarre affair that highlighted their altered status. At the beginning of that year the French journal *L'Artiste* announced that after years of searching it had managed to lay its hands on a collection of 85 original copperplates by Rembrandt, and that it had offered this treasure trove as a gift to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.¹⁴³ Prior to making this proud revelation, Victor Thomas, director of *L'Artiste* and the discoverer of the plates, had consulted various authorities in an attempt to verify the plates' authenticity. Those he approached included Henri Bouchot, curator of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Abraham Bredius, the famous Rembrandt connoisseur and director of the Mauritshuis in The Hague, and on his advice E. W. Moes, the keeper of prints in Amsterdam.¹⁴⁴ The initial excitement over the discovery turned into an outcry when it emerged soon afterwards that this was no lost

treasure but the Basan Collection, which was known to have been in Bernard's possession in the later nineteenth century. Moreover, before making their generous donation to the Rijksmuseum, Michel Bernard and *L'Artiste* planned to issue a series of reprints at 1,000 francs per album.¹⁴⁵ Bouchot anxiously asked Moes whether it was true, as "certaines industriels" asserted, that he, Moes, had expressed enthusiasm for this proposal. "Some [of the plates] are original, but how faded and ruined they are! Bernard sold the prints in the price-lists for 50 centimes to 1 franc each! Everybody owns them."¹⁴⁶ Moes denied the allegation, quoting from a letter he had written to Thomas shortly before: "I prefer a photogravure of a good impression of an early state to an impression, however carefully done, from such a ruined original copper.... The only value I see in them is that of relics, and it is solely on that basis that I freely accept your offer to make a donation to our printroom."¹⁴⁷ Bredius, too, referred to the plates as relics in a letter to *Gil Blas*, adding: "It is a pity that Mr Thomas has spoiled the impression I first had of his generosity by announcing (afterwards!) the publication of those 1,000-franc albums, which cannot contribute to Rembrandt's fame."¹⁴⁸ It was above all the critic Louis

¹⁴² Between 1853 and 1906, when the last album with restrikes from the original plates was published, there were ten publications containing illustrations of Rembrandt's etchings, and probably more. See Hind, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 9. This development is also apparent in Hamerton, *op. cit.* (note 126). The 1868 edition contains an impression from the original plate of *Three oriental figures (Jacob and Laban?)* (B. 118), the 1894 edition has several impressions from Armand-Durand's photogravures, and the 1905 edition was published with a complete portfolio of Lelangle's photogravures. The book by Arsène Houssaye, *op. cit.* (note 126), which contained 22 restrikes from the original plates, was never reprinted.

¹⁴³ See the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, 13 January 1906, first section, C: "Vijf en tachtig koperplaten van Rembrandt, die tot de verzameling Mariette hebben behoord, zijn te Paris na jarenlang zoeken teruggevonden, de meeste in goede staat. Het tijdschrift *L'Artiste* is er meester van geworden en heeft ze aan het Prentenkabinet te Amsterdam aangeboden. Aldus de Temps" ("Eighty-five of Rembrandt's copperplates that were once in the Mariette Collection have been discovered in Paris after years of searching. Most are in good condition. They have been acquired by the periodical *L'Artiste*, which has offered them to the printroom in Amsterdam, according to *Le Temps*"). The statement that the plates had come from the stock of the well-known Paris dealer, Pierre Mariette (1634-1716), was even then nothing more than a supposition. In fact, there is not the slightest evidence to suggest that they were ever in Mariette's possession, and the fact that this "provenance" was only mentioned for the first time in 1906 should perhaps be seen as an attempt to drum up extra interest in

the plates. See also A.-C. Coppier, "Les eaux-fortes de Rembrandt d'après ses cuivres originaux," *Revue des Deux Mondes* 37 (1917), p. 164. Nowell-Usticke, *op. cit.* (note 1), p. 15, voiced the same suspicion back in 1968.

¹⁴⁴ See MacHardy, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 49. Victor Thomas had been corresponding with Moes on the donation, authenticity and provenance of the plates since 3 January 1906.

¹⁴⁵ The *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* of 16 January 1906 reported on the affair under the title "Geen ontdekking of hulde, maar een zaakje" ("Neither discovery nor tribute, but a business deal").

¹⁴⁶ ARM, incoming correspondence, letter of 19 January 1906: "Quelques uns sont originaux mais combien défraîchis et abimés! Bernard vendait les épreuves dans les prix courants de 50 cent à un franc! Tout le monde en possède."

¹⁴⁷ ARM, outgoing correspondence, letter of 26 January 1906: "Je préférerais une heliogravure après un bon exemplaire d'un état primitif à un tirage (même le plus soigné) du cuivre original tellement abimé.... La seule valeur que je leur reconnais, c'est celle de reliques, et c'est comme cela seulement que j'accepte volontiers votre offre d'un faire cadeau à notre cabinet."

¹⁴⁸ See *De Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, 27 January 1906, first section, A: "Het is jammer dat de heer Thomas den indruk dien ik eerst van zijn mildheid had, bederft door de aankondiging (daarna!) van de uitgave van die albums van 1000 francs, die niet kunnen bijdragen tot den roem van Rembrandt." The letter cited here was taken from *Gil Blas*, which published it on the same day.

Vauxcelles of the journal *Gil Blas* who rounded on *L'Artiste* in a series of articles, accusing it of deceit, saying that the so-called discovery, the clumsy attempts to obtain declarations of authenticity from various experts, and the proposed donation to the Rijksmuseum were merely a way of whipping up interest in a jubilee edition of well-known and completely worn-out plates.¹⁴⁹ The ensuing row was eagerly seized on by the French, Belgian and even the Dutch press, with *L'Artiste* defending itself by insisting that everything had been done in good faith and that there had been no intention to mislead anyone—but all in vain.¹⁵⁰ The scandal cost Victor Thomas his job, and he washed his hands of the plates and of the plans to publish prints from them.¹⁵¹ Michel Bernard, who was still the actual owner of the plates at that time, later sold them to the Paris art dealer Alvin-Beaumont.¹⁵²

Bernard had failed with Victor Thomas, but he eventually succeeded with Alvin-Beaumont. A few months after the scandal he published an expensively printed portfolio of restrikes that was offered to a small number of large institutions and prominent individuals.¹⁵³ However, plans to publish the album in Holland and Belgium as well, and to produce a new edition in 1907, were abandoned, although Alvin-Beaumont did allow the Canadian etcher Donald Shaw MacLaughlan (1876–

1938), whose own etchings were famed for their Rembrandtesque qualities, to make a number of impressions from the plates.¹⁵⁴ Alvin-Beaumont must finally have come to the conclusion that the value of the plates no longer lay in the possibility of making prints from them. It was probably soon after 1916 that he had them inked and varnished, placed in costly green leather mounts with their titles in French in gold letters, and set in 10 large black frames (fig. 22).

Shortly before, the engraver André-Charles Coppier (1867–1938) had carried out a new investigation into the plates' authenticity, and now, for the first time in their long history, there was a detailed description of their condition, which Coppier published under the title *Les reliques de Rembrandt*.¹⁵⁵ What made his study all the more important was that it turned out that by no means all the plates had been so heavily reworked as the reputation of the collection had led people to suppose, and that a considerable number of plates had actually survived almost untouched. Although this did something to restore the reputation of the plates, it did not prove easy to sell them, not least because Alvin-Beaumont was only prepared to let them go *en bloc*.¹⁵⁶ In addition, he must have put a far higher value on them than prospective purchasers did, for although there was plenty of interest it was to take him more than 30 years to dispose of

149 It seems that Thomas was even accused of taking a bribe from Michel Bernard in return for *L'Artiste's* assistance in placing a new album. Thomas fiercely denied the accusation in a letter to Moes; see ARM, incoming correspondence, letter of 23 January 1906.

150 MacHardy, op. cit. (note 2), p. 49, and the *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant*, 27 January 1906.

151 ARM, incoming correspondence, letter of 23 January 1906.

152 See ARM, letter of 30 May 1907 from Michel Bernard to Arthur Hind: "Il [Victor Thomas] avait seulement oublié que, pour faire ce cadeau, il lui aurait fallu commencer par se rendre acquéreur des cuivres, ce qu'il n'a jamais fait." See further W.R. Valentiner, exhib. cat. *Rembrandt and his pupils: a loan exhibition*, Raleigh (The North Carolina Museum of Art) 1956, unpaginated, (p. 3). Very little has so far come to light about Alvin-Beaumont, not even his initial. All that is known about him is contained in a single letterhead: "Le Gille/ informateur des Beaux-Arts/ Revue Mensuelle/ intermédiaire des Collectionneurs/ Amateurs & Artistes./ Bureaux & Galeries./ 197. boulevard Saint-Germain. Alvin-Beaumont - Directeur//". It is clear from this, and from the contents of the letter itself, that he was in any event not a publisher, but more a kind of dealer. See the archives of the Mauritshuis in The Hague, incoming correspondence, nr. 334 (letter of 23 April 1906).

153 See MacHardy, op. cit. (note 2), p. 50. *Pace* MacHardy, the album was never offered to the Amsterdam printroom. What hap-

pened was that it stored 45 impressions that Victor Thomas had had struck from the plates and had sent to Moes on 23 January 1906 in order to convince him of the genuineness of the plates. There are copies of the *Recueil* by Alvin-Beaumont and Bernard in the archives of the Royal House in The Hague and in Museum het Rembrandthuis in Amsterdam. Bernard probably had the plates steel-faced before making restrikes from them. Victor Thomas had informed Moes that Bernard was planning to do so for the reissue that they wanted to publish. The plates no longer have that facing, but do bear traces indicating that at some stage they did. The extra layer is easily removed by immersing the plates briefly in a weak acid. This leaves a small, zinc-colored mark on the back of the plate, and this is present on almost all of the plates concerned. It is not known whether the plates had been steel-faced previously. See ARM, incoming correspondence, letter of 9 January 1906. For the development of the steel-facing process see Hammann, op. cit. (note 141), pp. 335–96.

154 MacHardy, op. cit. (note 2). See Biörklund and Barnard, op. cit. (note 1), p. 163, for the proposed edition of 1907.

155 The composition of the copper was also investigated on that occasion; see note 13. See Valentiner, op. cit. (note 152), (p. 3), for a confusing account of the reason for this examination.

156 This emerges from the conditions of sale that he drew up in 1930; see Anon., op. cit. (note 139), p. 7.

them.¹⁵⁷ In 1921, for instance, the Rijksmuseum began negotiating a possible purchase when the plates came to Amsterdam for an exhibition in the Palace of Industry.¹⁵⁸ The plates were actually deposited in the museum when Alvin-Beaumont decided that the exhibition gallery was unsatisfactory. It then turned out that there had been irregularities in the customs formalities when the plates entered the country, and the collection was not allowed to leave the museum until the problem had been resolved.¹⁵⁹ The upshot was that the Rijksmuseum had the plates in its possession for seven years, but never bought them.¹⁶⁰ In 1930, the Fearon Galleries in New York proudly put the collection on display in the mistaken belief that they could eventually negotiate a price with Alvin-Beaumont.¹⁶¹ Nor could the latter reach an agreement with the British Museum in 1937, although by now he was prepared to accept less than his original asking price of 600,000 French francs.¹⁶² It was only in 1938 that he sold the plates (reputedly for half the sum he had wanted from the British Museum) to his American friend Robert Lee Humber, who placed them

on permanent loan in the North Carolina Museum of Art in Raleigh.¹⁶³

After Humber's death in 1970 it became almost impossible to view the plates, and interest in them evaporated. Even before then, though, Coppier's attempt back in 1916 to involve the copperplates in the study of Rembrandt's etching technique was not followed up. Admittedly, Peter Morse did publish a fundamental study on Rembrandt's etching technique in which he referred to the plates in passing, but he took Coppier as his point of departure, not the plates themselves.¹⁶⁴ Even Christopher White, in his standard work of 1969, *Rembrandt as an etcher: the artist at work*, makes only the barest mention of the plates.¹⁶⁵ It was only when they were recently released from the bank vaults in which they had lain for more than 20 years, and were sold off individually, that it again became clear that Rembrandt's original lines were well preserved in a considerable number of plates, and that a close study of the plates might yield new insights into his technique.¹⁶⁶ In 1916 Coppier had stated that it was easier to study that technique from the

¹⁵⁷ For the general interest shown by prospective purchasers at this time see A.L. van Bevervoorde-van Rappard, "Rembrandt als etsers," *De Amsterdammer (De Groene)*, 11 June 1921, p. 8. This article also shows that the French press, too, was showing an interest in Rembrandt's plates at the time.

¹⁵⁸ *De Amsterdammer* of 11 June 1921 was one of the newspapers that announced the exhibition, which was also covered by *De Telegraaf* on 16 July. Teding van Berkhout, director of the printroom, had been apprised of the planned exhibition as early as 6 April, and entered into a correspondence with Alvin-Beaumont concerning a possible purchase. See van Bevervoorde-van Rappard, op. cit. (note 157), p. 8; ARM, incoming correspondence, nr. 518, dated 6 April 1921, 15 May 1921, 10 June 1921, 15 July 1921; outgoing correspondence, nr. 517, nrs. 187, 240, 278. Bevervoorde's article contains a photograph of one of the frames in which the plates were mounted, from which it can be deduced that they were framed before they arrived in Amsterdam.

¹⁵⁹ There was evidently a difference of opinion over who was responsible for paying the statistical duty. See ARM, incoming correspondence, nr. 518, dated 9 July 1921, 21 July 1921, 1 August 1921; outgoing correspondence, nr. 517, nrs. 346, 366, 367, 378, and unknown number dated 20 December 1921.

¹⁶⁰ For the duration and outcome of this affair see ABM, letter of 23 January 1929 from Alvin-Beaumont to Arthur Hind: "les cuivres de Rembrandt qui étaient depuis de si longues années au Prentenkabinet à Amsterdam venaient enfin de rentrer en ma possession, réexpédiés à mon adresse par les soins de la valise diplomatique. Monsieur J. Loudon, ministre plénipotentiaire avait mis un point d'honneur pour aplanir les difficultés du retour et m'évita de payer certains droits de statistique que me réclamaient pour ces précieuses reliques, certains messieurs de Hollande. Enfin, ce fut une discussion qui retarda de sept années leur retour en France."

¹⁶¹ See anon., op. cit. (note 139), p. 7. The *New York Times* publis-

hed a similar report one week previously, on 7 november 1930.

¹⁶² See Biörklund and Barnard, op. cit. (note 1), p. 163, referring to a letter to Arthur Hind of 1 february 1937. Not long before, Alvin-Beaumont had offered the plates to the Rembrandthuis in Amsterdam for dfl. 60,000. The board of the museum decided, however, "to let matters take their course, since more important purchases take precedence, and moreover our finances do not permit of it" ("...deze zaak op beloop te laten, vermits belangrijker aankopen den voorrang hebben en onze kas 't trouwens niet toelaat"). See the Notulenboek Bestuur Rembrandthuis 1907-47, p. 160, meeting of 16 November 1936. My thanks to Marijke Holtrop for bringing this to my notice.

¹⁶³ Humber was living in Paris at the time. See Biörklund and Barnard, op. cit. (note 1), p. 163, Valentiner, op. cit. (note 152), (p. 2), and G. Schwartz, "Een bedrijfsongeval in de kunstgeschiedenis," *NRC Handelsblad*, 15 may 1993, p. 7. Coppier, op. cit. (note 2), p. 136, states that Alvin-Beaumont also owned the etching plate of *The shell (Conus marmoreus)* (B. 159). It was not part of Basan's collection, and was not included in the sale. Its present whereabouts are unknown. One plate from that collection that seems never to have been in Alvin-Beaumont's possession, and was certainly not in Humber's, is *Christ disputing with the doctors: small plate* (B. 66). Bernard probably sold it separately in the late nineteenth century. It does not feature in Alvin-Beaumont's *Recueil*, and between 1922 and 1932 A. Strölin sold it to the collector I. de Bruijn of Spiez, Switzerland. It has been missing since 1961. See *Catalogus van de verzameling etsen van Rembrandt in het bezit van I. de Bruijn en J.G. de Bruijn-van der Leeuw*, The Hague 1932, p. 83.

¹⁶⁴ Morse, op. cit. (note 14), pp. 95-107.

¹⁶⁵ White, op. cit. (note 16), pp. 11-12, stating merely that they were remarkably thin.

¹⁶⁶ In February 1993 the plates were sold through Artemis, the London dealers, in association with the Californian dealer B.M. Light.



22 Mount with copperplates from the former R.L. Humber Collection



23 Rembrandt, *Christ seated disputing with the doctors*, 1654 (B. 64), copperplate. Netherlands, private collection

plates than from the prints made from them.¹⁶⁷ Peter Morse demonstrated the truth of this in 1966 when he pointed out that the ragged lines clearly visible in the plate of *Christ seated disputing with the doctors* (B. 64; fig. 23) probably indicate the use of quite a strong acid to bite out the scene. Only strong acids create the small bubbles on the plate that produce this effect.¹⁶⁸ The ragged lines are, of course, also visible in the prints, but it is the comparison with the lines on the plate that makes it clear that they are not due to the way in which the plate was inked or to paper of too grainy a texture.

The recent sale of the Humber Collection marks the beginning of a new phase in the reception of Rembrandt's copperplates. Until well into the nineteenth century they were regarded as a commodity by various printers and publishers, and were used to meet the demand for Rembrandt's graphic work. When that func-

¹⁶⁷ Coppier, op. cit. (note 2), p. 124: "Toutefois l'état du cuivre permet d'étudier avec certitude le métier particulier de Rembrandt, beaucoup mieux que sur une pièce achevée."

¹⁶⁸ Morse, op. cit. (note 14), p. 104. The same effect can also be seen in the plate of *The circumcision in the stable* (B. 47). Coppier, op. cit. (note 2), p. 121, made the same observation, but gave the less plausible explanation that these lines were the result of incising a preliminary study which Rembrandt had placed on the etching

ground (a sort of soft-ground etching).
¹⁶⁹ See, for example, *Artemis 92-93: Consolidated audited annual report*, London 1993, under nr. 7: "The plates are today valued both as works of art and for the light they throw on Rembrandt's etching technique."
¹⁷⁰ See *Artemis Group: fifteen etchings by Rembrandt*, London (1993), nr. 8.

brandt's portrait of *Johannes Uytenbogaert* not long before.¹⁷¹

It has become clear that more plates left Rembrandt's studio during his lifetime than was formerly thought, and that the way in which they were collected, used and finally preserved in subsequent centuries can only be understood against the backdrop of the changing views of Rembrandt as an etcher. In addition, more is known about the provenance of several specific plates, and as a result it can now be seen that all the plates from Robert Lee Humber's collection came from Basan's stock, and that with one exception Basan had probably acquired them from Watelet's estate.¹⁷²

All the same, many questions still remain to be answered. There is a great deal of uncertainty about the way in which a number of copperplates ended up in the hands of print publishers while Rembrandt was still alive, as there is about the role those publishers played in making and selling prints. A clearer understanding of this would not only shed new light on the production and distribution of Rembrandt's etchings, but also possibly on the absence of the copperplates in the inventory

taken for Rembrandt's bankruptcy in 1656. The question raised above, as to why it was unusual for a publisher to put his address on a plate by Rembrandt, also needs to be investigated.

A large number of the plates now have a detailed provenance, which in some cases raises new questions. It is obvious why print publishers owned copperplates, but why did collectors like Hendrik Busserus and Duc Charles-Alexandre de Lorraine have plates in their collections? It is possible that even in the eighteenth century there was some awareness of their historical value, but this is a point that requires further study. There are undoubtedly still inventories, stock-lists and auction catalogues which could further clarify the history of Rembrandt's plates, while a comparison of the watermarks in his etchings with those in the prints from the stocks of various publishers might clarify Rembrandt's relations with print publishers and the circumstances of the early distribution of his work.

DEPARTMENT OF ART HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF UTRECHT

¹⁷¹ The reports focused on the final return of the copperplates to the Netherlands, together with the fact that the purchases filled a gap in the holdings of the nation's museums. See *Vereniging Rembrandt: Nationaal Fonds Kunstbehoud* 3 (1993), nr. 4, pp. 6-8, 21-22.

¹⁷² Humber lacked only two plates from Basan's collection: *The*

death of the Virgin (B. 99), which disappeared some time in the nineteenth century, and *Christ disputing with the doctors: small plate* (B. 66), which was in the collection of I. de Bruijn until 1961. See p. 282 and notes 131 and 163 above. See note 129 for the exception in the Basan Collection.

Appendix I

Description of Rembrandt's copperplates

This appendix describes the condition of all of Rembrandt's 81 surviving copperplates. Almost all are from the former Humber Collection; only those of *Jan Six* (B. 285), *Jan Uytenbogaert* ("The gold-weigher") (B. 281) and the *First oriental head* (B. 286) have a different provenance. The plates of *Jan Uytenbogaert* and the *First oriental head* are the only two that I have not inspected. In addition to the dimensions, thickness and weight of the plates, and the listing of any numbers scratched on the back, there is a brief description of the state of the image and the extent to which it has been reworked. The latter was assessed first and foremost by inspecting the plates themselves, but since the condition of a copperplate can be more readily judged from an impression, restrikes in the *recueils* of H.L. Basan (1807–09) and Alvin-Beaumont (1906) were compared with good impressions from Rembrandt's day. The importance of this "double" comparison is clear from the differences between Charles-André Coppier's description of the plates in 1917, and that of the successive states, up to and including Alvin-Beaumont's restrikes in G.B. Nowell-Usticke's catalogue of 1967.¹⁷³ Coppier is generally more charitable in his judgments, and believed that several plates were completely untouched, whereas Nowell-Usticke states that they had indeed been reworked, solely on the evidence of late impressions. I find Nowell-Usticke more reliable than Coppier as regards the modifications and retouchings, but he is not always accurate in his dating of the late states. For example, almost all the retouchings he ascribes to Auguste Jean (ca. 1810–20) are clearly visible in the copy of H.L. Basan's *Recueil* (1807–09) in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam.

Many of the surviving copperplates have been reworked in the course of their long history, but only rela-

tively few have been so drastically treated as to obliterate most of Rembrandt's original etched lines. The latter applies especially to the so-called nocturnes, such as *The angel appearing to the shepherds* (B. 44), or *The star of the kings: a night piece* (B. 113), and the etchings to which Rembrandt imparted a high tonality by using a combination of etching, drypoint and burin, such as the portraits of *Pieter Haaring* (B. 275) and *Jan Lutma* (B. 276). Wear and reworking has totally destroyed the subtle tonality of these etchings. Many other plates have been reworked, but by no means always to such an extent as to violate the original image, as in *The baptism of the eunuch* (B. 98) or even *The presentation in the temple: oblong print* (B. 49). Many of the very broad and openly etched plates, such as those of *Christ seated disputing with the doctors* (B. 64) or the *Old beggar woman with a gourd* (B. 168), have not been reworked at all.

A distinction is made in this appendix between two types of retouching: "reworked" and "rebitten." Plates in which changes have been made to the image, such as reinforcing shaded passages with new lines, or even adding lines where there were none before,¹⁷⁴ are referred to as "reworked." There are also cases where only existing lines have been reinforced. When a new etching ground is applied to the copperplate with a roller, existing etched lines are not covered, and can be deepened by immersion in an acid bath. Such plates are designated as "rebitten."¹⁷⁵ However, depending on the strength of the acid, these lines are not only deepened but also widened, and that is a striking feature of many of the copperplates described below. Both types of retouching are often observed in a single plate, and it is also not uncommon for the contours to be further reinforced and deepened with the needle, as in *Joseph and Potiphar's wife* (B. 39), where the bedpost has been bitten exceptionally

¹⁷³ Coppier, op. cit. (note 2), Nowell-Usticke, op. cit. (note 1).

¹⁷⁴ A clear example of this is *The return of the Prodigal Son* (B. 91). The impression in Basan's *Recueil* has parallel horizontal lines at the

top of the lowest step which are not present in impressions from Rembrandt's time.

¹⁷⁵ See Lumsden, op. cit. (note 14), p. 107–08.

deeply. However, the distinction between the two procedures is made particularly relevant by the fact that they are sometimes found separately. *The circumcision in the stable* (B. 47), for instance, has not been reworked at all, but the lines in both the plate and late restrikes are much broader than those in a good impression from Rembrandt's day. This plate was probably just rebitten.¹⁷⁶

Remarks about the backs of the plates are generally restricted to the mention of the numbers scratched on them.¹⁷⁷ There may be more than one number on a plate, but the only person who was very probably responsible for at least one of them is H.L. Basan. This is shown by a comparison of the order of the prints in the copy of his *Recueil* in the Library of Congress in Washington with the numbers on the backs of the plates. On the first page of the *Recueil* there are four prints, from top left to bottom right: *Old bearded man in a high fur cap, with eyes closed* (B. 290; number: 1), *Self-portrait*

with Saskia (B. 19; number: 2), *Self-portrait in a velvet cap with plume* (B. 20, number: 3), and *Self-portrait in a cap and scarf with the dark face: bust* (B. 17; number: 4).¹⁷⁸

Almost all the plates have an irregular pattern on the back which can best be described as a "craquelure." It was probably caused by acid biting along cracks in the protective varnish applied to the back of the plate.¹⁷⁹ Since this has happened to almost all the plates, it is not mentioned in the individual descriptions. The same applies to the zinc-colored marks on the back of most of the plates, which are residues of the steel facing.¹⁸⁰

I am extremely grateful to the Rijksmuseum for enabling me to travel to London in February 1993 to study and describe the copperplates from the former Humber Collection. I would also like to thank Mr Adrian Eeles of Artemis, Mr Robert M. Light, and J. Six of Amsterdam for their hospitality.

¹⁷⁶ The biting-out and widening of the lines may also be due in part to the removal of the hard layer applied when the plates were steel-faced. As pointed out above, that hard, protective layer can be removed by briefly immersing the plates in acid. It is conceivable that this procedure removed not only the protective layer but a small part of the copperplate as well. See note 153.

¹⁷⁷ See p. 279.

¹⁷⁸ B. 20 and B. 17 have been transposed in the copy in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam. The prints in P.F. Basan's *Recueil* are in a completely different order; cf. fig. 21. See Jones, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 32, and p. 276 above.

¹⁷⁹ Coppier, *op. cit.* (note 2), p. 118-21, calls this "truité."

¹⁸⁰ See note 153.

Catalogue

Dimensions are in millimeters, height before width. All the copperplates are a few millimeters larger than the dimensions given in the various *oeuvre* catalogues. This is no doubt due to the fact that paper is slightly moistened before an impression is made, and that it later shrinks a little. The thickness of the plates was measured with a calibrated paper thickness gauge. In view of the extreme accuracy of this instrument it should be noted that a slight deviation should be taken into account, for all the plates were still varnished on the front when the measurements were made. The plates were weighed with electronic scales. References to "left" and "right" refer to those relative positions on the plates, not in the prints.

B. 17

Self-portrait in a cap and scarf with the dark face: bust (1633)

Measurements: 135 × 105 mm; thickness: 1.03 mm; weight: 148 gr.

Numbered on the back: 4.

Remarks: lightly reworked and possibly rebitten (in the torso?). Verso: numerous hammer-marks, chiefly behind Rembrandt's head.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 131.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 19

Self-portrait with Saskia (1636)

Measurements: 107 × 96 mm; thickness: 0.97 mm; weight: 90 gr.

Numbered on the back: 2.

Remarks: lightly reworked in the hat and face, and probably rebitten. Verso: entirely zinc-colored

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 130.

Collection: Netherlands, private collection.

B. 20

Self-portrait in a velvet cap with plume (1638)

Measurements: 106 × 137 mm; thickness: 0.83 mm; weight: 108 gr.

Numbered on the back: 3; 33.

Remarks: lightly reworked and probably rebitten. The left margin appears thinner and sharper than the right; the shape of the lower left corner is also rounder and thinner.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 128.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 22

Self-portrait drawing at a window (1648)

Measurements: 162.5 × 131.5 mm; thickness: 0.93 mm; weight: 152 gr.

Numbered on the back: 70.

Remarks: heavily reworked and probably rebitten. The left margin is thinner and sharper than the right.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 136.

Collection: London, Artemis.

B. 26

Self-portrait in a flat cap and embroidered dress (ca. 1642)

Measurements: 95 × 63 mm; thickness: 1.42 mm; weight: 70 gr.

Numbered on the back: 25.

Remarks: probably rebitten, but not reworked.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 128.

Collection: Cambridge (Mass.), Fogg Museum of Art.

B. 33

Jacob caressing Benjamin (ca. 1637)

Measurements: 118 × 91 mm; thickness: 0.78 mm; weight: 80 gr.

Numbered on the back: 14.

Remarks: lightly reworked and rebitten. The lower left corner is slightly thinner (0.68 mm), and the left margin has a fairly sharp, unrounded edge. The plate is not entirely rectangular. Verso: hammer-marks, mainly in the lower half, partly corresponding to a reworked area in front of the right feet of Isaac and Benjamin (seen in an impression).

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 132.

Collection: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

B. 34

Abraham and Isaac (1645)

Measurements: 161 × 132 mm; thickness: 1.76 mm; weight: 322 gr.

Numbered on the back: 78; 1/9.

Remarks: very lightly reworked and lightly rebitten. The plate appears to have been dropped on its lower right corner at some stage.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 121.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 37

Joseph telling his dreams (1638)

Measurements: 112.5 × 6.5 mm; thickness: 0.64 mm; weight: 54 gr.

Numbered on the back: 9.

Remarks: reworked and probably partly rebitten. Cf. the table, Joseph's left sleeve, and between his right sleeve and the woman's head in the right foreground.



B. 19



B. 26



B. 33



B. 34

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 129.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 39

Joseph and Potiphar's wife (1634)

Measurements: 93 × 118 mm; thickness: 1.03 mm;
weight: 90 gr.

Numbered on the back: 25; 15.

Remarks: reworked, chiefly in the shaded passages. Parts of some contours are very deeply etched (such as the bedpost)

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 128.

Collection: Switzerland, private collection.

B. 41

David in prayer (1652)

Measurements: 144 × 96 mm; thickness: 0.98 mm;
weight: 114 gr.

Numbered on the back: 14; 46.

Remarks: reworked and possibly rebitten, for instance in the highlights of the tablecloth, the folds of David's nightshirt, and elsewhere. The side edges of the plate are quite sharp.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, pp. 127–28.

Collection: Jerusalem, Israel Museum.

B. 43

The angel departing from the family of Tobias (1641)

Measurements: 105 × 156 mm; thickness: 1.02 mm;
weight: 160 gr.

Numbered on the back: 32.

Remarks: lightly reworked, at one time signed by Watelet (center foreground), probably rebitten. Verso: a small depression in the lower right corner which is also visible on the front.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 126.

Collection: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

B. 44

The angel appearing to the shepherds (1634)

Measurements: 265 × 222 mm; thickness: 1.02 mm;
weight: 540 gr.

Numbered on the back: 99.

Remarks: heavily reworked and rebitten.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 136.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 45

The adoration of the shepherds: with the lamp (ca. 1654)

Measurements: 106.5 × 130.5 mm; thickness: 0.5 mm;
weight: 72 gr.

Numbered on the back: 26; 99.

Remarks: not reworked, but possibly rebitten.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, pp. 124–25.

Collection: Germany, private collection.

B. 46

The adoration of the shepherds: a night piece (ca. 1652)

Measurements: 151 × 200 mm; weight: 262 gr.

Numbered on the back: 77.

Remarks: heavily reworked and probably rebitten. There are very deep lines in the lower margin. Verso: fine punch-marks, chiefly in the top corners.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 135.

Collection: Switzerland, private collection.

B. 47

The circumcision in the stable (1654)

Measurements: 97 × 147 mm; thickness: 1.15 mm;
weight: 118 gr.

Remarks: not reworked, possibly rebitten.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 128.

Collection: Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet.

B. 49

The presentation in the temple: oblong print (ca. 1639)

Measurements: 217 × 294 mm; thickness: 1.06 mm;
weight: 638 gr.

Numbered on the back: 100; 77.

Remarks: lightly reworked, mainly in the background, but also in the figures, such as the woman with the stick, the kneeling woman, and elsewhere. Verso: in the middle of the plate there is a fairly decorative pattern. Given the fresh, clean colour of the copper this is probably the area from which samples were taken at the beginning of this century.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, pp. 122–24.

Collection: Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis.

B. 53

The flight into Egypt: a night piece (1651)

Measurements: 129 × 111 mm; thickness: 1.07 mm;
weight: 92 gr.

Remarks: heavily reworked and rebitten.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 135.

Collection: London, Artemis.

B. 55

The flight into Egypt: crossing a brook (1654)

Measurements: 96 × 146 mm; thickness: 1.09 mm;
weight: 98 gr.

Remarks: lightly reworked in the shaded passages, broadly etched lines.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, pp. 126–27.

Collection: Switzerland, private collection.

B. 57

The rest on the flight: a night piece (1644)

Measurements: 93 × 60 mm; thickness: 1.21 mm;



B. 43



B. 47

weight: 56 gr.
 Remarks: heavily reworked.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 132.
 Collection: Netherlands, private collection.

B. 63
The Virgin and Child with the cat and snake (ca. 1654)
 Measurements: 96.5 × 146 mm; thickness: 1.04 mm;
 weight: 124 gr.
 Numbered on the back: 44; 30.
 Remarks: not reworked, but possibly rebitten.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 128.
 Collection: London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

B. 64
Christ seated disputing with the doctors (1654)
 Measurements: 97 × 146 mm; thickness: 0.92 mm;
 weight: 120 gr.
 Numbered on the back: 51.
 Remarks: completely untouched.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, pp. 120–21.
 Collection: Netherlands, private collection.

B. 68
The tribute money (ca. 1635)
 Measurements: 74.5 × 105 mm; weight: 62 gr.
 Numbered on the back: 45; 29.
 Remarks: reworked and rebitten, and some of the contours, in particular, are deeply etched, as in the figure on the left and the sleeve of the figure in front of Christ.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 135.
 Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 69
Christ driving the money changers from the temple (1635)
 Measurements: 139.5 × 172.5 mm; thickness: 0.83 mm;
 weight: 196 gr.
 Numbered on the back: 75.
 Remarks: lightly reworked, this being particularly visible in the lower right corner, between Christ and the barrel, in Christ's hair, and elsewhere.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 126.
 Collection: Vevey, Musée Jenisch, Cabinet Cantonal des Estampes

B. 70
Christ and the woman of Samaria: an arched print (1658)
 Measurements: 128 × 163 mm; thickness: 1.32 mm;
 weight: 256 gr.
 Remarks: reworked, chiefly in and around Christ, the woman and the well.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 125.

Collection: Worcester (Mass.), Worcester Art Museum.

B. 71
Christ and the woman of Samaria among ruins (1634)
 Measurements: 123 × 110 mm; thickness: 1.43 mm;
 weight: 170 gr.
 Numbered on the back: 6.
 Remarks: clearly reworked, and very deeply rebitten in parts, chiefly in the rear contours of Christ, the top half of the woman, and the vegetation in the left and right foreground.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 133.
 Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 72
The raising of Lazarus: small plate (1642)
 Measurements: 152 × 115 mm; thickness: 1.10 mm;
 weight: 150 gr.
 Remarks: not reworked, possibly rebitten. Verso: two lines running along the margins at lower left and upper right, the purpose and origin of which are unclear. They may have been caused by acid penetrating beneath the edges of the etching ground or protective varnish.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 126.
 Collection: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

B. 73
The raising of Lazarus: the larger plate (ca. 1632)
 Measurements: 372 × 260.5 mm; thickness: 1.38 mm;
 weight: 1055 gr.
 Numbered on the back: 101.
 Remarks: reworked and probably rebitten. Verso: small indentations left by the point of a fine punch, corresponding to the group at lower left (which is quite heavily reworked).
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 136.
 Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 80
The Crucifixion: small plate (1635)
 Measurements: 97 × 68 mm; thickness: 1.09 mm;
 weight: 50 gr.
 Remarks: lightly reworked, in the figure of the man standing in the center foreground. The plate appears to have been dropped on its top right corner at some stage.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 133.
 Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 81
The descent from the Cross: the second plate (1633)
 Measurements: 537 × 415 mm; thickness: 1.54 mm;
 weight: 2450 gr. (ca.)
 Remarks: reworked, and very deeply etched in some areas,



B. 44

mainly the contours. Cf. the kneeling group in the left foreground and the cloth to the right of it. Inscribed in mirror image in the lower right corner: "Imp. Lamoureux r. S. Jean de Beauvais 12 Paris". This address already appears on the impression from this plate in H.L. Basan's *Recueil* in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 136.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 83

The descent from the Cross by torchlight (1654)

Measurements: 213 × 164.5 mm; thickness: 1.33 mm; weight: 364 gr.

Numbered on the back: 93.

Remarks: reworked, but just how much is difficult to say. In any event between the boots of the man carrying Christ.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 126.

Collection: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.

B. 87

Christ at Emmaus: the larger plate (1654)

Measurements: 214 × 163 mm; thickness: 1.11 mm; weight: 422 gr.

Numbered on the back: 91; 63.

Remarks: almost untouched, apart from the lengthened lines of the right table-leg.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 130.

Collection: Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago.

B. 91

The return of the Prodigal Son (1636)

Measurements: 159.5 × 139 mm; thickness: 1.34 mm; weight: 242 gr.

Numbered on the back: 38; 65.

Remarks: lightly reworked, for instance on the top and front of the lowest step and to the right of it. Verso: traces left by a very fine-tipped punch in the lower right corner, lower center and upper center. These areas do not correspond to anything specific on the front. The back also has an engraved geometrical figure illustrating the squaring of the circle.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 130.

Collection: Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis.

B. 92

The beheading of John the Baptist (1640)

Measurements: 129 × 105 mm; thickness: 0.88 mm; weight: 104 gr.

Numbered on the back: 49.

Remarks: reworked and probably rebitten, particularly visible in the background.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 130.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 94

Peter and John healing the cripple at the gate of the temple (1659)

Measurements: 183 × 219 mm; thickness: 1.06 mm; weight: 404 gr.

Numbered on the back: 79; 71.

Remarks: entirely reworked. Verso: numerous traces left by a small punch along the lower margin.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 133.

Collection: Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum.

B. 97

The stoning of St Stephen (1635)

Measurements: 97 × 87 mm; thickness: 1.24 mm; weight: 92 gr.

Numbered on the back: 29; 7; 66.

Remarks: very lightly reworked and possibly rebitten. Cf. the dark shaded passages and the deeply etched contours.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 134.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 98

The baptism of the eunuch (1641)

Measurements: 185 × 215 mm; thickness: 0.91 mm; weight: 360 gr.

Numbered on the back: 95; 195.

Remarks: very lightly reworked, between the horse's rear hooves, in the water behind Philip and the eunuch, in the shadow cast by Philip's sleeve and beside it, to the left of his head, in the parasol and the spokes of the rear wheel of the cart.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 129.

Collection: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

B. 102

St Jerome kneeling in prayer, looking down (1635)

Measurements: 117 × 82 mm; thickness: 1.36 mm; weight: 114 gr.

Numbered on the back: 30.

Remarks: possibly rebitten.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 136.

Collection: Baltimore, Baltimore Museum of Art.

B. 105

St Jerome in a dark chamber (1642)

Measurements: 154 × 176.5 mm; thickness: 0.97 mm; weight: 234 gr.

Numbered on the back: 48.

Remarks: reworked and rebitten. Verso: short vertical lines along the left side and bottom.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 132.

Collection: Netherlands, private collection.



B. 8r

B. 113

The star of the kings: a night piece (ca. 1651)

Measurements: 95 × 144.5 mm; thickness: 0.84 mm; weight: 86 gr.

Remarks: reworked and rebitten. There is a clear difference in height between the star and the deeply etched plate around it. The small star on the right has become completely amorphous.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 136.

Collection: London, Artemis.

B. 118

Three oriental figures (Jacob and Laban?) (1641)

Measurements: 147 × 115 mm; thickness: 1.20 mm; weight: 146 gr.

Numbered on the back: 11.

Remarks: not reworked.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 129.

Collection: United Kingdom, private collection.

B. 119

The strolling musicians (ca. 1635)

Measurements: 142 × 119 mm; thickness: 1.07 mm; weight: 156 gr.

Numbered on the back: 15.

Remarks: not visibly reworked (Nowell-Usticke says that it is lightly reworked). Verso: in the lower right corner there is a K with an extra line between the slanting feet of the letter.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 132.

Collection: Nagasaki, Palace Huis ten Bosch Museum.

B. 123

The goldsmith (1655)

Measurements: 79 × 57 mm; thickness: 0.93 mm; weight: 40 gr.

Remarks: very lightly reworked and probably rebitten, the contours, in particular, are quite deeply etched. Cf. the horizontal lines on the chimney-breast, beside the goldsmith's head. Verso: almost entirely zinc-colored.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 124.

Collection: Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

B. 124

The pancake woman (1635)

Measurements: 111 × 80 mm; thickness: 1.07 mm; weight: 80 gr.

Numbered on the back: 12; 13.

Remarks: reworked and probably rebitten, for instance in the pancake woman's knee. Verso: an indentation, as if the plate had been struck with a small punch. It corresponds to the woman's chin, where the hatching has disappeared.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 136.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 125

The golf player (1654)

Measurements: 97 × 146 mm; thickness: 1.27 mm; weight: 146 gr.

Numbered on the back: 56; 36.

Remarks: not reworked, possibly rebitten.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 135.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 126

Jews in the synagogue (1648)

Measurements: 73 × 132 mm; thickness: 0.83 mm; weight: 66 gr.

Numbered on the back: 19.

Remarks: reworked, mainly in the background and in the dress of the two men talking in the right foreground. In the undergarment of the man second from right there is an irregularity in the plate which is also visible in H.L. Basan's restrikes.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, pp. 133-34.

Collection: United Kingdom, private collection.

B. 128

Woman at a door hatch talking to a man and children (The schoolmaster) (1641)

Measurements: 95 × 63 mm; thickness: 0.98 mm; weight: 62 gr.

Numbered on the back: 57.

Remarks: lightly reworked and possibly rebitten. Cf. the woman's head.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 132.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 130

Man drawing from a cast (ca. 1641)

Measurements: 95 × 65.5 mm; thickness: 1.84 mm; weight: 94 gr.

Numbered on the back: 22.

Remarks: entirely reworked and probably rebitten. Was at one time signed by Watelet (on the book, Rov. 377). Verso: right side and top possibly bevelled.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 135.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 131

Peasant family on the tramp (ca. 1652)

Measurements: 115 × 94 mm; thickness: 0.76 mm; weight: 82 gr.

Numbered on the back: 4.

Remarks: not reworked but probably rebitten (see the woman's headdress).

Lit.: Coppier 1917, pp. 128-29.

Collection: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum.



B. 113



B. 123



B. 131

B. 133

A peasant in a high cap, standing leaning on a stick (1639)

Measurements: 85 × 45 mm; thickness: 1.48 mm;

weight: 48 gr.

Remarks: not reworked. Verso: a little above the center, a font-letter E, probably struck in the plate with a die.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 128.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 136

The card player (1641)

Measurements: 92 × 85 mm; thickness: 1.38 mm;

weight: 92 gr.

Remarks: reworked in the background. Was at one time signed by Watelet (lower right corner; Rov. 396).

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 135.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 151

Man in a coat and fur cap leaning against a bank (ca. 1630)

Measurements: 115 × 80 mm; thickness: 1.00 mm;

weight: 98 gr.

Numbered on the back: 16.

Remarks: very deeply etched in places, but apparently not reworked. The top left corner is slightly bowed, as if the plate was once dropped, falling on this point.

Lit.: Not described in Coppier 1917.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 152

The Persian (1632)

Measurements: 110 × 79 mm; thickness: 0.97 mm;

weight: 88 gr.

Numbered on the back: 28.

Remarks: reworked, mainly in the cloak.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 132.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 164

Beggar man and beggar woman conversing (1630)

Measurements: 79 × 67 mm; thickness: 1.14 mm;

weight: 52 gr.

Remarks: not reworked, but probably rebitten. Verso: an etched line along the right and upper margin, probably due to an error in the transition from the etching ground to the protective varnish (communication of David Landau).

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 134.

Collection: United Kingdom, private collection.

B. 168

Old beggar woman with a gourd (ca. 1629)

Measurements: 105 × 47.5 mm; thickness: 1.60 mm;

weight: 68 gr.

Remarks: untouched.

Lit.: Not described in Coppier 1917.

Collection: Netherlands, private collection.

B. 170

Beggar woman leaning on a stick (1646)

Measurements: 92 × 65 mm; thickness: 1.60 mm;

weight: 74 gr.

Numbered on the back: 54.

Remarks: reworked, for instance additional hatching on the shoulders, arm and breast. Verso: top center, a font-letter E, probably struck in the plate with a die.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 128.

Collection: Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland.

B. 176

Beggars receiving alms at the door of a house (1648)

Measurements: 168 × 131 mm; thickness: 1.22 mm;

weight: 186 gr.

Numbered on the back: 72.

Remarks: lightly reworked, for instance in the shadows of the doorpost and in the man giving alms, the woman's bust, and elsewhere. The lower left corner is completely rounded, and is much thinner (0.47 mm) and more uneven than the rest of the plate.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, pp. 130–31.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 179

Beggar with a wooden leg (ca. 1630)

Measurements: 115 × 67 mm; thickness: 1.25 mm;

weight: 90 gr.

Numbered on the back: 37; 17.

Remarks: not visibly reworked, but probably rebitten, for it is very deeply etched in places.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 134.

Collection: Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis.

B. 192

The artist drawing from the model (ca. 1639)

Measurements: 235 × 185 mm; thickness: 1.10 mm;

weight: 436 gr.

Numbered on the back: 18.

Remarks: reworked in the background, and probably rebitten.

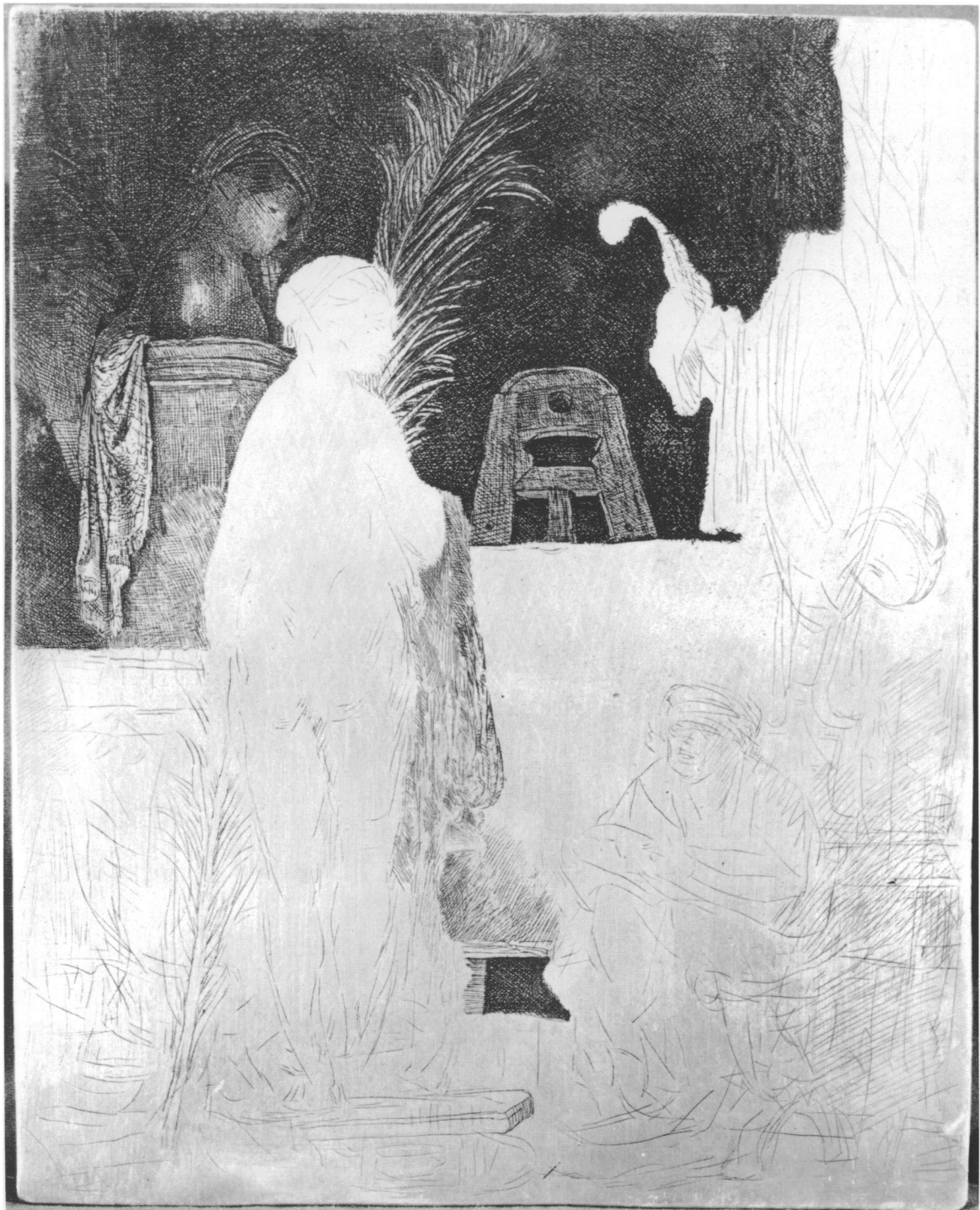
The left of the plate is thicker than the right.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 135.

Collection: Netherlands, private collection.

B. 194

Nude man seated and another standing (The walking trainer) (ca. 1646)



B. 192

Measurements: 198 × 129.5 mm; thickness: 1.00 mm; weight: 204 gr.
 Numbered on the back: 85; 41; 47.
 Remarks: lightly reworked and rebitten, particularly visible in and around both youths. The line of the left margin is sharper than that on the right.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 133.
 Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 195
The bathers (1651)
 Measurements: 112 × 139.5 mm; thickness: 0.73 mm; weight: 96 gr.
 Numbered on the back: 55.
 Remarks: not reworked. The plate is remarkably thin, and is uneven in places, mainly along the edges.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 130.
 Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 196
Nude man seated on the ground with one leg extended (1646)
 Measurements: 99 × 170 mm; thickness: 0.91 mm; weight: 128 gr.
 Numbered on the back: 1; 11.
 Remarks: very lightly reworked around the lefthand arm, and possibly rebitten.
 Lit.: Not described in Coppier 1917.
 Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 200
Woman bathing her feet at a brook (1658)
 Measurements: 162.5 × 82 mm; thickness: 1.37 mm; weight: 162 gr.
 Numbered on the back: 21; 27.
 Remarks: not apparently reworked, but probably rebitten. The righthand corners are more rounded than those on the left, and appear to have bevelling on the back. Hollstein suggests that this is the top half of B. 70. The two plates do have the same thickness.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 125.
 Collection: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

B. 205
Negress lying down (1658)
 Measurements: 84 × 160.5 mm; thickness: 1.20 mm; weight: 122 gr.
 Numbered on the back: 80; 52.
 Remarks: reworked and rebitten, the contours of the woman, in particular, being quite deeply etched. Verso: the hammermarks left by the copper-beater are still visible (as shadows).
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 127.
 Collection: United Kingdom, private collection.

B. 237
Landscape with a cow (ca. 1650)
 Measurements: 106 × 132 mm; thickness: 0.97 mm; weight: 120 gr.
 Numbered on the back: 69.
 Remarks: reworked and rebitten, in the roof of the farmhouse, for instance, and in the cow drinking from the water. Strikingly rounded upper corners.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 128.
 Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 270
Faust (ca. 1652)
 Measurements: 213 × 162.5 mm; thickness: 1.28 mm; weight: 366 gr.
 Numbered on the back: 99; 66; 90.
 Remarks: entirely reworked and rebitten.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 136.
 Collection: Netherlands, private collection.

B. 272
Clement de Jonghe, printseller (1651)
 Measurements: 210.5 × 164.5 mm; thickness: 0.92 mm; weight: 322 gr.
 Numbered on the back: 97; 17.
 Remarks: reworked, for instance in the jacket, the shadow beside the chair, in the hat, and elsewhere. Verso: small indentations left by a fine punch, some behind the face but not directly behind de Jonghe's eyes, and also considerably lower down.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 131.
 Collection: Amsterdam, Amsterdams Historisch Museum.

B. 273
Abraham Francen, apothecary (ca. 1657)
 Measurements: 160 × 211.5 mm; thickness: 1.23 mm; weight: 286 gr. Numbered on the back: 96.
 Remarks: entirely reworked. Verso: numerous small indentations left by a fine punch in the center of the plate.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 136.
 Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 275
Pieter Haaringh ("Young Haaringh") (1655)
 Measurements: 121 × 107 mm; thickness: 1.19 mm; weight: 128 gr.
 Remarks: heavily reworked and rebitten, very deeply in places, mainly in the contours of the torso and above the head. The plate has been trimmed to bust length.
 Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 133.
 Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 276

*Jan Lutma, goldsmith (1656)*Measurements: 200 × 152 mm; thickness: 1.16 mm;
weight: 330 gr.

Numbered on the back: 83.

Remarks: almost entirely reworked and rebitten. See, for instance, the lion's heads on the chair.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 135.

Collection: United Kingdom, private collection.

B. 277

*Jan Asselyn, painter ("Crabbetje") (ca. 1647)*Measurements: 220 × 172 mm; thickness: 1.04 mm;
weight: 294 gr.

Numbered on the back: 88.

Remarks: reworked and rebitten, both sleeves being very deeply etched. Diagonal lines above the arm resting on the table. The plate appears to have been dropped on its lower left corner at some stage.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 133.

Collection: Nagasaki, Palace Huis ten Bosch Museum.

B. 279

*Jan Uytenbogaert, preacher of the Remonstrants (1635)*Measurements: 227.5 × 189 mm; thickness: 1.04 mm;
weight: 300 gr.

Numbered on the back: 94; 38.

Remarks: reworked and probably rebitten, for instance in the background curtain.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 131.

Collection: Netherlands, private collection.

B. 281

Jan Uytenbogaert ("The gold-weigher") (1639)

Measurements: 255 × 207

Remarks: lightly reworked by Captain William Baillie.

Collection: Jerusalem, Israel Museum.

B. 283

*Lieven Willemsz. van Coppenol, writing master: the larger plate [trimmed] (ca. 1658)*Measurements: 160 × 135 mm; thickness: 1.22 mm;
weight: 222 gr.

Remarks: lightly reworked and probably rebitten. Plate trimmed to the head alone.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 134.

Collection: Paris, Fondation Custodia.

B. 285

Jan Six (1647)

Measurements: 248 × 196; thickness: ca. 1.5 mm

Remarks: plate pasted to a cardboard mount. The back is



B. 200

completely smooth and reflective (verbal communication from J. Six).

Lit.: J. Six, "Rembrandt's voorbereiding voor de etsen van Jan Six en Abraham Francen," *Onze Kunst* 14 (1909), p. 59, and J. Six, "Jan Six aan het venster," cit. (note 23), p. 49.

Collection: Amsterdam, Six Collection.

B. 286

The first oriental head (1635)

Measurements: 153 × 128 mm

Remarks: there is a small hole in the center of the top margin of the plate.

Lit.: G. Unverfehrt et al., exhib. cat. *Rembrandt als Radierer: die Bestände der Universitäts-Kunstsammlung Göttingen*, Göttingen [1983], p. 40, nr. 92.

Collection: Göttingen, Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen.

B. 290

Old bearded man in a high fur cap, with eyes closed (ca. 1635)

Measurements: 115 × 105 mm; thickness: 1.06 mm;

weight: 120 gr.

Numbered on the back: 1.

Remarks: reworked in the shaded passages and possibly rebitten, for instance around the righthand eye.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, pp. 134-35.

Collection: Switzerland, private collection.

B. 295

[F. Bol] *Old bearded man: bust* (oval)

Measurements: 75 × 55 mm; thickness: 1.15 mm;

weight: 20 gr.

Numbered on the back: 90; 6.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 130.

Collection: London, Artemis.

B. 321

Bust of a man wearing a high cap, three-quarters right: the artist's father? (1630)

Measurements: 105 × 86 mm; thickness: 1.47 mm;

weight: 112 gr.

Numbered on the back: 3; 13.

Remarks: light reworking, particularly visible in the cloak, the cap and the lower right corner.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 124.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 344

The artist's mother in widow's dress and black gloves (ca. 1635)

Measurements: 152 × 118 mm; thickness: 1.03 mm;

weight: 150 gr.

Numbered on the back: 77; 7.

Remarks: reworked, for instance in the hatching behind the chair.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 132.

Collection: London, Artemis.

B. 349

The artist's mother with her hand on her chest: small bust (1631)

Measurements: 96 × 67 mm; thickness: 1.06 mm;

weight: 62 gr

Remarks: heavily reworked and rebitten. Was at one time signed by Watelet.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 130.

Collection: USA, private collection.

B. 365

Studies of the head of Saskia and others (1636)

Measurements: 154 × 128 mm; thickness: 1.02 mm;

weight: 206 gr.

Numbered on the back: 39; 73; 83.

Remarks: very lightly reworked and rebitten. The line of the right margin appears thinner and sharper than that of the left.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 128.

Collection: Amsterdam, Rembrandthuis.

B. 368

Three heads of women: one asleep (1637)

Measurements: 143.5 × 97 mm; thickness: 0.84 mm;

weight: 98 gr.

Numbered on the back: 40.

Remarks: very lightly reworked, in the cheek of the woman with the dark cap for instance, and probably rebitten. Verso: a small asterisk in the lower left corner, probably struck in the plate with a die.

Lit.: Coppier 1917, p. 128.

Collection: USA, private collection.



B. 365

Appendix 2

Owners of Rembrandt's copperplates

The table in this appendix lists the successive owners of all the Rembrandt copperplates whose names are known. It includes not only the copperplates that still survive or that are listed in an inventory, stock-list or sale catalogue, but also plates which are assumed to have passed into hands other than Rembrandt's on the evidence of specific features found in several impressions. These include forged, completed (in mezzotint or aquatint, for example) or very highly toned impressions, and a few on what is obviously eighteenth-century paper. If the owner of the plates used for those impressions is unidentified, the reasons for inclusion in the appendix are briefly explained in a footnote.

When a large number of identifiable copperplates are known to have been with one owner they are listed in a separate column. The columns "Other 17th-century owners" and "Other 18th-century owners" give the names of the various people who owned or made impressions from only one or a few plates.

As already mentioned, all the published sources on the history of Rembrandt's plates have been re-examined. In the case of Clement de Jonghe's inventory of 1679, there is little to add to the study of de Hoop Scheffer and Boon.¹⁸¹ Their numbering of the plates has been followed, and in virtually every case their identification of the plates belonging to Clement de Jonghe is accepted as correct. One of the changes that has been made on the basis of the examination of the watermarks in Rembrandt's etchings is the replacement of *St Jerome in a*

dark chamber (B. 105) with *St Jerome reading in an Italian landscape* (B. 104).¹⁸² Some of the entries in de Jonghe's inventory, though, remain obscure. De Hoop Scheffer and Boon have already pointed out that not all the descriptions are precise enough for a firm identification of the plate, and in those cases the specification of the plate must be regarded as a provisional suggestion. For instance, there can be very little doubt that the description of nr. 60 in the inventory, "Ontfangingh van de verloorn soon" refers to the plate of *The return of the Prodigal Son* (B. 91), but a description such as nr. 13, "Conterf[eytsel] van Rembr.[andt]", could apply to several plates. Dubious identifications are indicated in the table by placing the number in square brackets. An asterisk is placed after the number if the identification is probable but not absolutely certain.

The numbers in the column with copperplates owned by Pieter de Haan are those in the sale catalogue of 1767.¹⁸³ They are followed by the abbreviated name of the purchaser at the auction (see the list of abbreviations below). It is thus immediately apparent from the table that all the plates which Pierre Fouquet (Fq) bought at the de Haan sale passed to Watelet, and that almost all the plates bought by other dealers were dispersed or disappeared. Only *The bathers* (B. 195) and two plates whose authenticity was doubted even then, namely *Young man: half-length* (G. 362) and *Seated old man with a long beard* (G. 365), were bought by Yver and anyway came into Watelet's possession later.¹⁸⁴

181 See de Hoop Scheffer and Boon, *op. cit.* (note 2).

182 See p. 260.

183 *Cit.* (note 66).

184 Gersaint, *op. cit.* (note 68), p. 265–87, had described the latter two prints under the heading "Pièces douteuses ou faussetment attribuées à Rembrandt."

185 The full description of Rembrandt's copperplates in the Watelet sale catalogue, Paillet, *op. cit.* (note 114), p. 62, is as follows: "Planches gravées, par Rembrandt:

358 La grande Descente de Croix, originale [B. 81], mais que M. Watelet avoit commencé à retoucher.

359 La Mort de la Vierge [B. 99]; & la grande Résurrection du Lazare, ceintrée du haut [B. 73].

360 La Présentation au Temple, sujet en travers [B. 49?]; & le Boiteux guéri à la porte du Temple [B. 94?].

361 La Baptême de l'Eunuque [B. 98], l'Annonce aux Bergers [B. 44],

les Vendeurs chassés du Temple [B. 69], & la petite Résurrection du Lazare [B. 72].

362 Le Sacrifice d'Abraham [B. 34], le Martyr Saint Etienne [B. 97], les Mendians à porte d'une maison [B. 176], le denier de César [B. 68], & la petite Samaritaine [B. 71].

363 Plusieurs portraits, dont Rembrandt & sa femme [B. 19], le Docteur Faustus [B. 270], Asselyn [B. 277].

364 Abraham France assis devant une table tenant une planche [B. 273], celle-ci aussi été remaniée par M. Watelet, ainsi que quelques autres.

365 Soixante autres divers sujets & têtes par le même: le tout sera vendu en un seul article, ou détaillé, au gré des Amateurs; il y a peu d'épreuves en général de toutes ces planches."

Only lot number 363 fails to give the precise number of plates, but since they were portraits there could not have been very many.

The plates belonging to Claude-Henri Watelet are not numbered because not all of them are listed separately in his sale catalogue of 1786. It is evident from that catalogue that there were more than 78,¹⁸⁵ but only 23 can now be identified for certain.¹⁸⁶ One obvious clue to identifying the others is the fact that the plates offered at the sale of Watelet's estate were bought *en bloc* by Pierre-François Basan.¹⁸⁷ It can therefore be concluded that a plate that was not owned by Basan could not have been owned by Watelet either. Moreover, since Basan published all his Rembrandt plates shortly after the Watelet sale in a *Recueil* (1789), and because the number of restrikes from the plates in the *Recueil*, 83 in all, is very close to the number of plates belonging to Watelet (more than 78), it seems likely that all of Basan's plates came from Watelet's collection.¹⁸⁸ Only the plate with the portrait of Jan Lutma (B. 276) was probably acquired at a later date from another collection, for although there are impressions from it in the *Recueil* of Basan *films*, there are none in the *Recueil* published by his father.¹⁸⁹

The numbers of Basan's copperplates given in the table are those in the stock-list published by Henry-Louis Basan after 1803.¹⁹⁰ That list has been compared with the index and contents of the various *recueils*. From this it emerges that Basan had a total of 84 plates, including the one of Lutma. This is not only fewer than the 85 announced on the title page of the *recueils*,¹⁹¹ but among the plates that Basan listed as Rembrandts there are five

that are no longer accepted as such. The *Old man with a long beard: bust* (B. 295) is now regarded as a work by Ferdinand Bol, *Jacob and Esau* (G. 342) is attributed to Pieter Rodermond (Holl. 1), *Rembrandt's mother in widow's dress and black gloves* (B. 344) is given to an early Rembrandt pupil like Karel van der Pluym or Ferdinand Bol, while the above-mentioned *Young man: half-length* (G. 362) and *Seated old man with a long beard* (G. 365) were already being viewed with suspicion at the time, and cannot be identified at all today. In total, then, Basan had 79 copperplates of prints that are now accepted as Rembrandts.

The history of the plates from Basan to the present day is perfectly straightforward. The successive owners—Auguste Jean (ca. 1810), Veuve Jean (1820), Auguste Bernard (1846), Michel Bernard (ca. 1875), Alvin-Beaumont (1906) and Robert Lee Humber (1938)—all acquired the collection *en bloc*, and it was not dispersed until 1993. Only two of the original plates disappeared in all this time: *The death of the Virgin* (B. 99) in the nineteenth century, and *Christ disputing with the doctors: small plate* (B. 66) in 1961.¹⁹² The table accordingly contains no separate columns for those later owners, who are implicitly represented in the Basan column.

In addition to the 77 surviving Rembrandt plates from Basan's collection, there are three that have come down to us via other routes: *Jan Uytenbogaert* ("The gold-weigher") (B. 281), *Jan Six* (B. 285) and *The first*

¹⁸⁶ The copperplates mentioned by name in Watelet's sale catalogue, Paillet, op. cit. (note 114), p. 62, are B. 19, 34, 44, 49, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 81, 94, 97, 98, 99, 176, 270, 273, 277. In the *Rymbranesques*, cit. (note 111), there is an impression of B. 119. The plates once signed by Watelet are B. 43, 130, 136, 349. This makes a grand total of 23.

¹⁸⁷ See note 118.

¹⁸⁸ An earlier reconstruction of Watelet's collection of copperplates made by Jean de Cayeux, op. cit. (note 2), formed an important point of departure for my own reconstruction. Although de Cayeux suspected that Pierre-François Basan had bought all Watelet's plates, he was not completely sure, and for that reason arrived at different conclusions. He also believed that Watelet was responsible for reworking some plates (such as *La petite tombe* (B. 67) and for various forged impressions, which in some cases is demonstrably untrue. The present reconstruction of Watelet's collection therefore differs considerably from Cayeux's.

¹⁸⁹ See also note 129.

¹⁹⁰ Op. cit. (note 133).

¹⁹¹ Op. cit. (note 121). The index by Gersaint number in the *recueils* indeed describes 85 prints, but G. 52, *Fuite en Egypte* (*The flight into Egypt: small plate*, B. 52) is a reversed copy, and G. 269, *Autre tête*

de vieillard une peu chauve, avec barbe (*Bust of an old man with a flowing beard and white sleeve*, B. 291) appears in none of the *recueils*. It may have been confused with a copy after *Bust of an old man, looking down* (B. 260), which does feature in the *recueils*. On the other hand, Basan owned the plate of B. 276, although it is not mentioned either in the index of the *Recueil* or the stock-list. This brings the total to 84 plates. The stock-list does indeed mention 84 plates. B. 52 is no longer listed, but B. 291 is, although only described as a copy. The total, including the unlisted plate of Lutma, thus comes to 84.

¹⁹² See note 163. It can be added that the plate by Rodermond (G. 342, Holl. 1) in Basan's stock, and the two unidentified plates (G. 362 and G. 365), have disappeared, probably quite recently. It emerges from the correspondence between Victor Thomas and E.W. Moes that Michel Bernard owned not only the Rembrandt plates from Basan's stock, but others as well, including those of the copies and imitations included in the various *recueils*. According to Coppier, op. cit. (note 2), p. 136, these plates later passed to Alvin-Beaumont. It seems that the 80 plates in the Humber Collection were only separated from the other Basan plates in 1938. The present whereabouts of the latter group is unknown. See esp. ARM, incoming correspondence, letter of 9 January 1906.

oriental head (B. 286). These 80 plates, together with those by Ferdinand Bol (B. 295) and Karel van der Pluym (?) (B. 344), are included in the column "Owners

currently known." For their present locations see Appendix I.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ Apart from the three that are not from Basan's stock, all the surviving plates are from the former collection of Robert Lee Humber. The only plate from his collection which has not been included in the

appendix is a copy by J. J. Claussin after *Six's bridge* (B. 208), which is now in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam.

The following are the abbreviations and short-form literature references used in the appendix and comments.

Ash/Field	N. Ash and S. Field, <i>Watermarks in Rembrandt's prints</i> , forthcoming.
Baillie	<i>The works of Capt. Baillie</i> , London 1792 (and 1803).
Biörklund	G. Biörklund and O.H. Barnard, <i>Rembrandts etchings true and false</i> , Stockholm etc. 1955.
Blanc	Charles Blanc, <i>L'oeuvre complet de Rembrandt</i> , Paris 1859.
Bouchot	H. Bouchot, "Deux épreuves de la "Petite Tombe" de Rembrandt au Cabinet des Estampes de Paris," <i>Gazette des Beaux-Arts</i> 41 (1899), pp. 381-89.
Busserus	<i>Naamlyst van een Atlas van de Zeven Vereenigde Nederlandsche Provinciën... nagelaaten door Hendrik Busserus... 12 Augustus 1782</i> , Amsterdam 1782.
Cayeux	J. de Cayeux, "Watelet et Rembrandt," <i>Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français</i> , 1965, pp. 131-61.
Coppier	A.C. Coppier, <i>Les eaux-fortes de Rembrandt</i> , Paris 1917, pp. 113-38.
Cr	Cruys (buyer at the de Haan sale in 1767)
Danckerts	Inventory of Dancker Danckertsz, Amsterdam City Archives, notary Dirck Danckerts, 1 September 1668, NA 2852, pp. 691-708.
Fq	Fouquet (buyer at the de Haan sale in 1767)

Ge	Geld (buyer at the de Haan sale in 1767)	Six	<i>Catalogus van uitmuntende konstige, meest Italiaansche schilderyen, ... als ook de voortreffelyke raare papierkonst... alle nagelaaten by wylen den</i>
Hind	A.M. Hind, <i>A catalogue of Rembrandt's etchings</i> , London 1923.		<i>Ed: Heere Jan Six</i> , Amsterdam (J.P. Zomer), 6 April 1702, p. 20
De Lorraine	J. Ermens, <i>Catalogue des livres, estampes, et planches gravées de la bibliothèque du palais de feu S.A.R. le duc Charles Alexandre de Lorraine et de Bar</i> , Brussels, 20 August 1781, under nr. 102	Sl	Sluyter (buyer at the de Haan sale in 1767)
M'Creery	<i>A collection of 200 original etchings</i> , published by M'Creery (1816), Lewis (1819-22) and Kay (1826).	Stock-list (Basan)	<i>Catalogue des planches gravées qui composent le fond de Basan, marchand d'estampes, rue et hôtel Serpente, à Paris</i> , Paris, after 1803
Middleton	C.H. Middleton, <i>Descriptive catalogue of the etched work of Rembrandt van Rhyn</i> , London 1878.	Van der Kellen	J.P. van der Kellen, "De waardeering van Rembrandt-pretten en platen in het jaar 1767," <i>Oude Kunst</i> 6 (1920/21), pp. 85-88.
Nowell-Usticke	G.W. Nowell-Usticke, <i>Rembrandt's etchings, states and values</i> , Narbeth 1967.	Visscher	<i>Catalogus van grootte en kleene landkaerten, steden print-kunst en boecken. Van Nicolaes Visscher van Amsterdam</i> , 't Amsterdam, Op den Dam, in de Visscher.
Recueil (Basan)	<i>Recueil de quatre-vingt-cinq estampes originales, têtes, paysages et différens sujets, dessinées et gravées par Rembrandt, ... et trente-cinq autres estampes, la plupart gravées d'après différens pièces de ce célèbre artiste, ... in-folio de cent vingt pièces</i> , A Paris, Chez Basan, Rue et hôtel Serpente, no. 14. [1789].	White/Boon	C. White and K.G. Boon, <i>Rembrandt's etchings: an illustrated critical catalogue</i> , 2 vols., Amsterdam, London & New York 1969.
Rovinski (R.)	D. Rovinski, <i>L'oeuvre gravé de Rembrandt</i> , St Petersburg 1906.	Wi	Winter (buyer at the de Haan sale in 1767)
Seidlitz	W. von Seidlitz, <i>Die Radierungen Rembrandts</i> , Leipzig 1922.	Yv	Yver (buyer at the de Haan sale in 1767)

Owners of Rembrandt's copperplates

Bartsch	Title	De Jonghe 1679	Other 17th-century owners	De Haan 1767	Watelet 1786	Other 18th-century owners	Basan, Jean, Bernard, etc. 1786-1993	Owners currently known
B. 17	Self-portrait in a cap and scarf with the dark face: bust	-	-	-	×	-	1374	×
B. 19	Self-portrait with Saskia	-	-	-	×	-	1374	×
B. 20	Self-portrait in a velvet cap with plume	[13]	-	2 Fq	×	-	1374	×
B. 21	Self-portrait leaning on a stone sill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 22	Self-portrait drawing at a window	[71]	-	3 Fq	×	-	1374	×
B. 23	Self-portrait (?) with plumed cap and lowered sabre	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 26	Self-portrait in a flat cap and embroidered dress	-	-	69 Fq	×	-	1374	×
B. 28	Adam and Eve	17	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 29	Abraham entertaining the angels	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 30	Abraham casting out Hagar and Ishmael	43	d'Orta	-	-	-	-	-
B. 33	Jacob caressing Benjamin	25	-	43 Fq	×	-	1375	×
B. 34	Abraham and Isaac	-	-	4 Fq	×	-	1375	×
B. 35	Abraham's sacrifice	-	-	6 Sl	-	-	-	-
B. 37	Joseph telling his dreams	-	-	-	×	-	1377	×
B. 38	Joseph's coat brought to Jacob	-	-	7 Sl	-	M'Creery	-	-
B. 39	Joseph and Potiphar's wife	-	-	8 Fq	×	-	1376	×
B. 40	The triumph of Mordecai	-	-	-	-	De Lorraine	-	-
B. 41	David in prayer	-	-	9 Fq	×	-	1380	×
B. 42	The blindness of Tobit: the larger plate	18	-	10 Sl	-	-	-	-
B. 43	The angel departing from the family of Tobias	68	-	11 Fq	×	-	1379	×
B. 44	The angel appearing to the shepherds	32	-	12 Fq	×	-	1380	×
B. 45	The adoration of the shepherds: with the lamp	65 *	-	13 Fq	×	-	1381	×
B. 46	The adoration of the shepherds: a night piece	-	-	-	×	-	1382	×
B. 47	The circumcision in the stable	56	-	-	×	-	1383	×
B. 49	The presentation in the temple: oblong plate	[67]	-	14 Fq	×	-	1384	×
B. 52	The flight into Egypt: small plate	04 *	-	15 Sl	-	-	-	-

Owners of Rembrandt's copperplates

Bartsch	Title	De Jonghe 1679	Other 17th-century owners	De Haan 1767	Watelet 1786	Other 18th-century owners	Basan, Jean, Bernard, etc. 1786-1993	Owners currently known
B. 53	The flight into Egypt: a night piece	48	-	-	×	-	1385	×
B. 55	The flight into Egypt: crossing of a brook	64 *	-	16 Fq	×	-	1385	×
B. 56	The flight into Egypt: altered from Seghers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 57	The rest on the flight: a night piece	54	-	17 Fq	×	-	1386	×
B. 60	Christ returning from the temple with his parents	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 61	Virgin and Child in the clouds	14	-	18 Cr	-	-	-	-
B. 63	The Virgin and Child with the cat and snake	38	-	19 Fq	×	-	1387	×
B. 64	Christ seated disputing with the doctors	[52]	-	20 Fq	×	-	1388	×
B. 65	Christ disputing with the doctors: a sketch	-	-	-	-	Louw?	-	-
B. 66	Christ disputing with the doctors: small plate	46 *	-	21 Fq	×	-	1389	-
B. 67	Christ preaching ("La petite tombe")	01	-	-	-	Norblin Colnaghi	-	-
B. 68	The tribute money	-	-	23 Fq	×	-	1390	×
B. 69	Christ driving the money changers from the temple	-	-	-	×	-	1391	×
B. 70	Christ and the woman of Samaria: an arched print	31 *	-	-	×	-	1393	×
B. 71	Christ and the woman of Samaria among the ruins	31 *	-	24 Fq	×	-	1394	×
B. 72	The raising of Lazarus: small plate	-	Visscher	-	×	-	1395	×
B. 73	The raising of Lazarus: the larger plate	37 *	-	25 Fq	×	-	1396	×
B. 74	The hundred guilder print	-	-	-	-	Greenwood Baillie	-	-
B. 75	The agony in the garden	-	-	26 Wi	-	Busserus M'Creery Malboure	-	-
B. 77	Christ before Pilate: large plate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 78	Christ crucified between the two thieves: "The three crosses"	-	Carelse	-	-	-	-	-
B. 79	Christ crucified between the two thieves: an oval plate	36	-	27 Sl	-	M'Creery	-	-
B. 80	The Crucifixion: small plate	-	-	-	×	-	1397	×

Owners of Rembrandt's copperplates

Bartsch	Title	De Jonghe 1679	Other 17th-century owners	De Haan 1767	Watelet 1786	Other 18th-century owners	Basan, Jean, Bernard, etc. 1786-1993	Owners currently known
B. 81	The descent from the Cross: the second plate	[66]	D. Danckerts J. Danckerts	-	×	Lamoureux	1398	×
B. 82	The descent from the Cross: a sketch	66	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 83	The descent from the Cross by torchlight	27	-	28 Fq	×	-	1399	×
B. 84	Christ carried to the tomb	35	-	29 Wi	-	Busserus	-	-
B. 87	Christ at Emmaus: the larger plate	49 *	-	30 Fq	×	-	1400	×
B. 91	The return of the Prodigal Son	60	-	22 Fq	×	-	1392	×
B. 92	The beheading of John the Baptist	06 *	-	31 Fq	×	-	1401	×
B. 94	Peter and John healing the cripple at the gate of the temple	-	-	32 Fq	×	-	1402	×
B. 96	St Peter in penitence	[41]	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 97	The stoning of St Stephen	-	-	35 Fq	×	-	1404	×
B. 98	The baptism of the eunuch	55	-	33	Fq ×	-	2287	×
B. 99	The death of the Virgin	-	-	34 Fq	×	-	1403	-
B. 101	St Jerome praying: arched	[61]	-	36 Cr	-	-	-	-
B. 102	St Jerome kneeling in a prayer, looking down	21 *	-	-	×	-	1405	×
B. 104	St Jerome reading in an Italian landscape	44	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 105	St Jerome in a dark chamber	[44]	-	-	×	-	1406	×
B. 112	Medea: or the marriage of Jason and Creusa	-	Six	-	-	Six 1702	-	-
B. 113	The star of the kings: a night piece	40	-	37 Fq	×	-	1407	×
B. 118	Three oriental figures (Jacob and Laban?)	-	-	-	×?	-	1408	×
B. 119	The strolling musicians	15 *	-	-	×	-	1409	×
B. 123	The goldsmith	-	-	-	×	-	1410	×
B. 124	The pancake woman	07	-	38 Fq	×	-	1411	×
B. 125	The golf player	-	-	39 Fq	×	-	1412	×
B. 126	Jews in a synagogue	62	-	40 Fq	×	-	1413	×
B. 127	[Not Rembrandt] Woman cutting her mistress's nails (Bathsheba)	[47]	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 128	Woman at a door hatch talking to a man and children (the schoolmaster)	34	-	-	×	-	1414	×
B. 130	Man drawing from a cast	11	-	41 Fq	×	-	1415	×
B. 131	Peasant family on the tramp	28	-	-	×	-	1416	×

Owners of Rembrandt's copperplates

Bartsch	Title	De Jonghe 1679	Other 17th-century owners	De Haan 1767	Watelet 1786	Other 18th-century owners	Basan, Jean, Bernard, etc. 1786-1993	Owners currently known
B. 133	A peasant in a high cap, standing leaning on a stick	63 *	-	42 Fq	×	-	1421	×
B. 134	Old woman seated in a cottage, with a string of onions on the wall	[50]	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 136	The cardplayer	[24]	-	44 Fq	×	-	1418	×
B. 138	The blind fiddler	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 141	Polander leaning on a stick	[03]	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 143	Old man seen from behind, profile to right: half figure	-	Visscher?	-	-	-	-	-
B. 148	Student at a table by candlelight	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 151	Man in a coat and fur cap leaning against a bank	[63]	-	45 Fq	×	-	1419	×
B. 152	The Persian	12	-	46 Fq	×	1420	×	-
B. 153	The blindness of Tobit: a sketch	09	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 157	The hog	26 *	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 159	The shell (<i>Conus marmoreus</i>)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 164	Beggar man and beggar woman conversing	-	-	47 Fq	×	-	1422	×
B. 168	Old beggar woman with a gourd	-	-	48 Fq	×	-	1423	×
B. 170	Beggar leaning on a stick	05	-	49 Fq	×	-	1424	×
B. 176	Beggars receiving alms at the door of a house	02	-	50 Fq	×	-	1425	×
B. 179	Beggar with a wooden leg ("Capteijn Eenbeen")	22	-	51 Fq	×	-	1426	×
B. 192	The artist drawing from the model ("Pygmalion")	59 *	-	52 Fq	×	-	1427	×
B. 194	Nude man seated and another standing ("The walking trainer")	-	-	53 Fq	×	-	1428	×
B. 195	The bathers	19	-	54 Yv	×	-	1429	×
B. 196	Nude man seated on the ground with one leg extended	73	-	55 Fq	×	-	1430	×
B. 197	Woman sitting half dressed beside a stove	50 *	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 198	Naked woman seated on a mound	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 200	Woman bathing her feet at a brook	[29]	-	-	×	-	1431	×
B. 201	Diana at the bath	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 203	Jupiter and Antiope: the larger plate	30	-	-	-	-	-	-

Owners of Rembrandt's copperplates

Bartsch	Title	De Jonghe 1679	Other 17th-century owners	De Haan 1767	Watelet 1786	Other 18th-century owners	Basan, Jean, Bernard, etc. 1786-1993	Owners currently known	
B. 205	Negress lying down	08	-	56 Fq	×	-	1432	×	
B. 209	The Omval	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
B. 237	Landscape with a cow	-	-	57 Fq	×	-	1433	×	
B. 259	Old man shading his eyes with his hand	-	-	-	-	Trible Schmidt	-	-	
B. 261	Man at a desk wearing a cross and chain	[23]	-	58 Sl	-	-	-	-	
B. 262	Old man with beard, fur cap, and velvet cloak	[45]	-	59 Sl	-	M'Creery	-	-	
B. 264	Jan Antonides van der Linden	-	-	60 Sl	-	M'Creery	-	-	
B. 265	Old man with a divided fur cap	-	-	-	-	Louw?	-	-	
B. 266	Jan Cornelis Sylvius, preacher	-	-	61 Sl	-	-	-	-	
B. 268	Young man in a velvet cap (Petrus Sylvius?)	-	-	62 Cr	-	M'Creery	-	-	
B. 269	Samuel Manasseh ben Israel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
B. 270	Faust	33	-	63 Fq	×	-	1434	×	
B. 271	Cornelis Claesz Anslo, preacher	-	-	-	-	Baillie etc.	-	-	
B. 272	Clement de Jonghe, printseller	-	-	64 Fq	×	-	1435	×	
B. 273	Abraham Francen, apothecary	-	-	65 Fq	×	-	1436	×	
B. 274	Thomas Haaringh ("Old Haaringh")	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
B. 275	Pieter Haaringh ("Young Haaringh")	-	Haaringh	-	×	Haaringh 1707	1437	×	
B. 276	Jan Lutma, goldsmith	-	-	-	-?	-	×	[!]	×
B. 277	Jan Asselyn, painter ("Crabbetje")	-	-	66 Fq	×	-	1438	×	
B. 279	Jan Uyttenbogaert, preacher of the Remonstrants	-	-	67 Fq	×	-	1439	×	
B. 281	Jan Uyttenbogaert, "The gold-weigher"	-	-	-	-	Family Baillie Boydell	-	×	
B. 283	Lieven Willemsz. van Coppinol, writing-master: the larger plate	-	-	-	×	-	1440	×	
B. 285	Jan Six	-	Six	-	-	Six	-	×	
B. 286	The first oriental head	-	Lievens?	-	-	-	-	×	
B. 289	The fourth oriental head	-	Wyngaerden Schoonebeek De Reyger	-	-	-	-	-	

Owners of Rembrandt's copperplates

Bartsch	Title	De Jonghe 1679	Other 17th-century owners	De Haan 1767	Watelet 1786	Other 18th-century owners	Basan, Jean, Bernard, etc. 1786-1993	Owners currently known
B. 290	Old bearded man in a high fur cap, with eyes closed	[70]	-	-	×	-	1441	×
B. 291	Bust of an old man with flowing beard and white sleeve	[57]	Visscher	-	-	-	[1442]	-
B. 292	Bald-headed man in profile right: the artist's father (?)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 295	[F. Bol] Old man with a long beard: bust	-	-	68 Fq	×	-	1443	×
B. 300	Man crying out, three-quarters left: bust	-	Visscher	-	-	-	-	-
B. 303	Man in a square cap, in profile right	-	Visscher?	-	-	-	-	-
B. 309	Old man with a flowing beard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 311	Man in a broad-brimmed hat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 313	Bearded man in a velvet cap with a jewel clasp	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 316	Self-portrait in a cap: laughing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 319	Self-portrait with cap pulled forward	-	Visscher	-	-	-	-	-
B. 321	Bust of a man wearing a high cap, three-quarters right	[53]	-	70 Fq	×	-	1444	×
B. 326	Grotesque profile: a man in a high cap	-	Visscher	-	-	-	-	-
B. 327	Head of a man in a fur cap, crying out	-	Visscher	-	-	-	-	-
B. 328	[Drost?]	[58]	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 333	Old man in a fur coat and high cap	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 334	Old bearded man nearly in profile to right: mouth half open	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 343	The artist's mother seated at a table, looking right	[69]	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 344	[K. van der Pluym?] The artist's mother in widow's dress and black gloves	[72]	-	71 Fq	×	-	1445	×

Owners of Rembrandt's copperplates

Bartsch	Title	De Jonghe 1679	Other 17th-century owners	De Haan 1767	Watelet 1786	Other 18th-century owners	Basan, Jean, Bernard, etc. 1786-1993	Owners currently known
B. 345	Woman reading	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 347	Saskia with pearls in her hair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 348	The artist's mother seated, in an oriental headdress: half-length	20	-	72 Ge	-	-	-	-
B. 349	The artist's mother with her hand on her chest: small bust	10	-	-	×	-	1446	×
B. 351	The artist's mother in cloth headdress, looking down: head only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 352	The artist's mother: head only, full face	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 354	The artist's mother, head and bust: three-quarters right	-	Visscher	-	-	-	-	-
B. 363	Sheet of studies: head of the artist, a beggar couple, etc.	42 *	-	-	-	-	-	-
B. 365	Studies of the head of Saskia and others	16 *	-	73 Fq	×	-	1447	×
B. 368	Three heads of Women: one asleep	39 *	-	74 Fq	×	-	1448	×
G. 342	[P. Rodermond?] Jacob and Esau	-	-	-	×?	-	1449	-
G. 362	Young man: half-length	-	-	75 Yv	×?	-	1450	-
G. 365	Seated old man with a long beard: three-quarter length	-	-	76 Yv	×?	-	1451	-
s. 398	The circumcision	-	Beerendrecht	-	-	Catalogue ca. 1706	-	-

Comments on the provenance of individual plates listed in the table

Bartsch Comment

- B. 21 Reworked and provided with an inscription in Paris. First state according to White/Boon, third state according to Hind and Nowell-Usticke (plus the suggestion "Watelet?").
- B. 23 Modern impressions are known, according to White/Boon. Nowell-Usticke: reworked.
- B. 26 Identical to G. 12 and G. 293. With de Haan as G. 293. Cayeux wrongly converted the correct Gersaint number (G. 12) into B. 25 instead of B. 26.
- B. 28 The plate that White/Boon say was with Basan was a copy. According to Nowell-Usticke, Blanc was initially responsible for this error.
- B. 29 Nowell-Usticke says that this plate was in other hands. Merely states: "(Paris)."
- B. 30 Sold to Samuel d'Orta in 1637. The plate was never with Basan (*recueils*, stock-list), as stated by White/Boon.
- B. 35 Sold to Sluyter at the de Haan sale, so it is very unlikely that it nevertheless ended up with Watelet, as asserted by Cayeux.
- B. 40 The plate was with Charles-Alexandre de Lorraine in 1781. Reworked in aquatint (eighteenth century).
- B. 52 Sold to Sluyter at the de Haan sale, so it is very unlikely that it nevertheless ended up with Watelet, as asserted by Cayeux.
- B. 56 Impression on paper marked "G.R." and with the crowned coat of arms of London; according to Nowell-Usticke and Ash/Field, "made in Holland after 1700." Middleton mentions an even later state.
- B. 60 White/Boon: "Late (?) impression with aquatint in Leningrad."
- B. 65 Reworked in mezzotint. Stored in Amsterdam under "Pieter Louw."
- B. 66 Not in the Alvin-Beaumont *Recueil*. Strölin sold it between 1922 and 1932 to I. de Bruijn (Spiez, Switzerland). Missing since 1961.
- B. 67 Reworked by Norblin. See Blanc, pp. 145-46, and Bouchot, pp. 381-89. Said to have been sold through Colnaghi in London in 1830.
- B. 82 Not hitherto described as a plate from Clement de Jonghe's stock.
- B. 99 The plate disappeared some time in the nineteenth century.
- B. 104 Not hitherto described as a plate from Clement de Jonghe's stock.
- B. 118 Listed as uncertain by Cayeux.
- B. 124 Used by Basan for his *Dictionnaire* (1789).
- B. 133 Both Basan and Alvin-Beaumont confused this print with G. 156 (B. 163), which does not appear in either *Recueil*. Both, however, contain B. 133, the same subject, but facing right. This print is not mentioned in the respective indexes.
- B. 134 The reference in the Clement de Jonghe inventory, "Vrouuten bij de kaghel" ("Woman beside the stove"), is probably to B. 197 (q.v.).
- B. 138 Annotated "18th century" in Boon's handwriting in the Rijksprentenkabinet's copy of White/Boon.
- B. 141 Modern, see Rovinski, 411 bis.
- B. 143 Suggestion based solely on the fact that Visscher had other parts of this plate (B. 366).
- B. 148 Hind and Nowell-Usticke mention an impression finished in mezzotint (in London).
- B. 159 Listed by Coppier as with Alvin-Beaumont.
- B. 168 Was indeed with Watelet: Cayeux wrongly refers to it as B. 165, but gives the correct title.
- B. 197 See under B. 134. There is an impression in Amsterdam on late eighteenth-century paper.
- B. 198 Very worn impression in Amsterdam on late eighteenth-century paper.
- B. 201 Worn impression in Amsterdam on late eighteenth-century paper.
- B. 209 Reworked impression with the addition of three playing-cards (Nowell-Usticke: ca. 1850?).
- B. 265 Posthumous impression with heavy surface tone. Later reworked in mezzotint. Stored in Amsterdam under "Pieter Louw." See B. 65.
- B. 268 Listed by Nowell-Usticke and Hind as with M'Creery (London); not in the Amsterdam album.
- B. 269 Reworked in mezzotint (London).
- B. 271 According to White/Boon, prints pulled in 1826 by Sheepshanks, Geddes, Tiffin and Steward, each of whom added his name to the plate and then removed it again. There are two impressions in the British Museum in London.
- B. 274 Ash/Field state that there is an impression on paper with the watermark "I Villedary". Probably posthumous.
- B. 275 Still with the family in 1707. Later cut up. Impressions also known of the (reworked) portion with the hat (Amsterdam).
- B. 276 In late Basan *recueils* but not in early ones, nor in the Basan stock-list. Cf. Biörklund, p. 161.
- B. 281 Still with the family in 1760.
- B. 283 Plate trimmed to the shoulders. It is possibly for that reason that Cayeux regarded the Basan restrike as a copy, and believed that Watelet had not owned the plate.
- B. 285 In the family right down to the present day.
- B. 286 For Lievens, see note 55.
- B. 287 Mentioned in Basan's index and stock-list, but there are no impressions in the *recueils*. It does appear in the "Petit cahier."
- B. 292 Nowell-Usticke, p. 18, states that this is a late print, but without giving any clear reason. There is an impression with a late watermark in Amsterdam (Ash/Field, letters, F.a).
- B. 300 In the "Petit cahier."
- B. 303 Suggestion based solely on the fact that Visscher had other parts of this plate (B. 366).
- B. 309 Nowell-Usticke: "late 18th-century impression."
- B. 311 Hind: "Modern, reworked (R. iii) Copenhagen."
- B. 313 There is a reworked impression on late eighteenth-century paper in a private Swiss collection. Nowell-Usticke: "Watelet?"
- B. 316 White/Boon: "Impression in Amsterdam on Japanese paper is clearly an 18th-century impression."
- B. 319 In the "Petit cahier."
- B. 321 Not with Watelet, according to Cayeux. This is very unlikely, given the provenance, and there can be no doubt that it did indeed belong to Watelet.
- B. 326 In the "Petit cahier."
- B. 327 In the "Petit cahier."
- B. 333 From the cut plate of B. 366. Nowell-Usticke, p. 18, says that it passed into other hands, but gives no explanation.
- B. 334 Nowhere mentioned as late, but from the cut plate of B. 366, various parts of which are found at a late date (with Visscher, among others). See B. 333.
- B. 343 Plate trimmed to an oval, but not by Rembrandt. Not with de Haan, although van der Kellen wrongly mentions it under nr. 71. What is meant is G. 313, "zijnde de tweede" ("being the second"), which is B. 344 (q.v.).
- B. 344 Undoubtedly with de Haan, cf. the remark "zijnde de tweede" ("being the second"). G. 313 includes several prints, the second being B. 344. This means that it was probably also with Watelet, instead of B. 343.
- B. 345 See the forgery together with B. 352, in Bartsch as B. 346.
- B. 347 Nowell-Usticke, p. 18, calls this a late print, but without giving any clear reason. Seidlitz: "überarbeitete Neudrucke von der verkleinerten Platte."
- B. 351 Reworked with a roulette (Frankfurt and London).
- B. 352 See under B. 345.
- B. 354 In the "Petit cahier."
- S. 398 Mentioned in an unidentified stock-list of ca. 1706.