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REPRODUCTION AND AUTHENTICITY IN BERNARD PICART'S *IMPOSTURES INNOCENTES*

In 1768, nearly thirty-five years after the death of Bernard Picart, English critic William Gilpin opined:

Picart was one of the most ingenious of the French engravers. His imitations are among the most entertaining of his works. The cry, in his day, ran wholly in favour of antiquity: "No modern masters were worth looking at." Picart, piqued at such prejudice, etched several pieces in imitation of ancient masters; and so happily, that he almost out-did, in their own excellencies, the artists whom he copied. These prints were much admired, as the works of GUIDO, REMBRANDT, and others. Having had his joke, he published them under the title of *Impostures innocentes*.¹

In the final years of his life, Bernard Picart—the leading illustrator to the French Huguenot-dominated book trade in the Netherlands—had written a defense of the reproductive prints that he intended to publish with a collection of some seventy-eight exemplary etchings by him after paintings, and particularly drawings, by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century masters as well as a handful after his own designs. A year after Picart's death in 1733, his wife published his defense—titled "Discours sur les préjugés de certains curieux touchant la gravure" (A discourse on the prejudices of certain critics in regard to engraving)—and reproductive etchings along with a preface, a biography, and a catalog of his works under the title *Impostures innocentes; ou, Recueil d'estampes d'après divers peintres illustres* (1734; Innocent impostures; or, A collection of prints after various celebrated painters).² Twenty-two years later, the essay and an abbreviated biography were published in English along with the original—and by that time deeply worn—plates.³

This culminated a life as one of Europe's leading printmakers, first in Paris and after 1710 in the northern Netherlands. In etchings and engravings from his own designs or after the work of others, Picart produced collectable sheets (individually and in series), portraits, and illustrated title pages as well as the pictorial material for an emerging genre, the illustrated folio book. The most ambitious of these was the *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, published in nine volumes by Jean Frederic Bernard in Amsterdam between 1723 and 1743, for which Picart produced more than two hundred plates. It is a tribute to Picart's fame that only his name appears on the title page, even on those volumes published after his death, which contain very few illustrations. Picart's illustrations for *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* were drawn from a wide variety of sources for their subject matter—from the prints of others to his own designs. Their purpose was, above all,

to convey the impression of being documentary—to the extent that, as Ilja Veldman has observed, Picart retained the original style of many of his sources.⁴ The etchings that Picart produced for his *Impostures innocentes*, however, were created after original works of art. These also followed their sources, but to two self-consciously different ends. Like Gilpin, most subsequent commentators on the work have understood the project in terms of the first word of the title, and a well-worn trope of dissimulation briefly described by Picart in his essay. However, as elaborated in his text and above all in his etchings themselves, Picart's primary intent was not deceit, but to demonstrate the quality and breadth of his skills as both a reproductive and original printmaker in the arena of fine art. His deployment of the language of deceit—in several senses of the word—along with the wide variety both of originals and of visual relationships between originals and reproductions, reveals a good deal about changing values of, and attitudes toward, the reproductive print in the first third of the eighteenth century.

In this essay, I ask three questions of Picart's venture. First, what prompted the volume and to whom was he addressing it? Second, what was his understanding of reproduction? And third, how should we understand Picart's use of the theme of imposture in the work and its reception? I address these questions first by profiling the owners of the original artworks from which he created his etchings and the theoretical debate with which he engages; I then examine his text in light of the etchings themselves in order to clarify Picart's understanding of reproductive printmaking; and finally, I close with a few remarks about Picart's citation of the trope of *imposture*, and its reception, within a shifting landscape of collecting and taste.

In her preface to the book, Picart's widow, Anne Vincent, stated that her husband began the work five years before his death, or in about 1728. This may have been the date at which the enterprise gelled for him (and thus possibly the date of his essay), since a number of the etchings are dated earlier: two of Picart's reproductive prints after heads by Raphael—the first artist represented in the collection—are dated 1725.⁵ This is also the year inscribed on two preparatory drawings by Picart for prints after drawings he thought to be by Rembrandt—the last artist whose work is reproduced.⁶ One other print, after a grisaille by Rembrandt, bears a date of 1730 (see fig. 18).⁷

Picart's project was thus contemporaneous with two other highly visible enterprises in the field of reproductive printmaking: the forthcoming *Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux et d'après les plus beaux desseins qui sont en France* (1729–42; A collection of prints after the most beautiful paintings and after the most beautiful drawings in France), undertaken in Paris by Pierre Crozat and advertised publicly in 1728,⁸ and the publication in 1728 of a French translation of Jonathan Richardson the Elder's *Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism* (1719).⁹ Both were produced by men in the circles within which Picart moved.

As a bound volume of reproductive prints that were after works by admired masters in well-known collections, *Impostures innocentes* belonged to a relatively new genre of publication that would become increasingly popular over the course of the eighteenth century.¹⁰ Most earlier compilations comprised images that had been designed by a single artist and were created as a resource for artists and their

students. This new genre, addressed primarily to connoisseurs and collectors, made possible comparison of works by different artists. Such volumes provided an education in the history of art, honed the skills of connoisseurship, and at the same time provided a ready-made collection of images of otherwise unattainable masterpieces owned by acknowledged connoisseurs, all at a reasonable cost. In the sale of Picart's collection upon his wife's death in 1737, Picart's *Impostures innocentes* in "middelste papier" (middle-sized paper) sold for 7½ guilders and in "klein papier" (small-sized paper) for 6¼ guilders.¹¹ Compare this with his drawing *Rebecca and Abraham* for plate 56, which, together with two others, sold for 2 guilders; his drawing of *Biblis Metamorphosed into a Fountain* for plate 57, which sold for 3¾ guilders; and a framed ink drawing by Picart after Adriaen van der Werff's painting *Abraham Casting Out Hagar and Ishmael*, which brought a whopping 415 guilders.

While a large number of Picart's prints were created in engraving—crisp lines incised into a metal plate with a burin—all but two of the images in *Impostures innocentes* are in the medium of etching, in which a stylus removes the soft ground that covers a metal plate, and the line is produced by bathing the exposed metal in acid.¹² According to Gilpin, a contemporary, some seven to eight hundred impressions could be pulled from an engraving before the plates began to wear, while etching afforded only two hundred or so good impressions.¹³ Thus the initial audience for the work would have been relatively small, although the translation of the work into English in 1756—with severely worn and possibly reinforced plates—attests to its continued popularity.

All of Picart's etchings in the volume bear captions naming the artist of the original; all except a handful mention the medium; and most name the owner of the original. A few, such as the one after a grisaille of the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* by Rembrandt (see figs. 17, 18), also give the original's dimensions. Rather than being organized by subject matter, as earlier compilations for artists generally had been, the plates are grouped by nationality and by artist. As Louis Marchesano elaborates in his essay in this volume, the selection of included artists, their order of presentation, and their subject matter had become in France, by the second decade of the eighteenth century, something of an established canon of masters associated with design over color that included Raphael (eight reproductions) and Guido Reni (twelve) as well as a handful of the most prestigious French artists of the previous generation. His subjects are exclusively *histoires* (images from historical events, the Bible, or mythology), compositional sketches, and studies of the human body that were deemed necessary practice for these *histoires*. He reproduces no portraits, no still lifes, and no landscapes proper. There are only two exceptions: the single image from the lowlife genre, *Le mangeur de lentille* (The lentil eaters) (fig. 1), whose artist is not named but can be identified as Netherlandish from the previous century; and those after Rembrandt, whose tonal paintings and etchings were, by the end of the seventeenth century, viewed as emphatically anti-classical. Reproductions after Rembrandt's work are grouped at the end of the volume and separately enumerated by letters rather than numbers (see figs. 18, 21).

Notably, this fairly restrictive selection of prints and their order do not reflect the more eclectic tastes of collectors in the northern Netherlands. Close analysis of



Fig. 1.
Bernard Picart, after a
17th-century Dutch artist
Le mangeur de lentille
From Bernard Picart, *Impostures
innocentes...* (Amsterdam:
La Veuve de Bernard Picart,
1734), pl. 55



Fig. 2.
Bernard Picart
Académie
From Bernard Picart, *Impostures
innocentes...* (Amsterdam:
La Veuve de Bernard Picart,
1734), pl. 58

advertisements for sales of paintings, drawings, and prints in the *Amsterdamsche courant* for the years 1675 to 1725 suggest that collectors in the Netherlands embraced both Rubenistes and Poussinistes—that is, both painters whose works were organized by color and visible brushstrokes as well as artists who worked in a classicizing style emphasizing design.¹⁴ This broader taste was also that of the Netherlandish collectors, prints after whose paintings and drawings he included in his volume. Moreover, Picart himself had reproduced many images after Rubens and reprinted the etchings of seventeenth-century master of genre imagery Adriaen van Ostade, whose original plates Picart owned. While Picart appears to be appealing first and foremost to Netherlandish collectors, his selection of artists favored by French classicism more readily supported his arguments: this was the tradition of the prominent reproductive printmakers he was challenging as well as citing to support his arguments, and the tradition in which Picart himself had been trained. Nonetheless, as we shall see, the graphic styles of his reproductions range far beyond that of his classicistic contemporaries.

As he envisioned his own publication, Picart would have been aware of Crozat's *Recueil d'estampes*, which had been advertised in several of the major cities of

Europe in 1728. Its first volume appeared in Paris in 1729. It is possible that Picart knew Crozat personally; Antoni Rutgers, a dealer who owned several of the drawings Picart reproduced in *Impostures innocentes*, acted as Crozat's agent in a sale in Amsterdam in 1732.¹⁵ Crozat's publication codified the nascent genre of the published and bound collection of reproductive prints. Although originally planned as an even larger enterprise, this monumental volume—along with a second volume published in 1742—reproduced one hundred paintings and drawings by Roman artists belonging to the French royal collections and to Crozat himself, who was the king's powerful banker and a leading French collector of his day, along with those found in several other prominent European collections.

Impostures innocentes must have been created with one eye on this contemporaneous project and another on the market for reproductive prints and Picart's own reputation. Unlike Crozat's *Recueil*, whose text provides biographies of the artists whose works are reproduced, Picart's volume comprises a biography and catalogue raisonné of the printmaker himself, while the text is a defense of his enterprise. Indeed, among the eminent sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian and French artists, Picart includes himself as the creator of no fewer than twelve original works—as many as by Reni and more works than by any other artist. Ten of these were academic nudes after original drawings by Picart (fig. 2)—which, as he noted in his text, were “added to make up a volume of a moderate size.”

Indeed, throughout the eighteenth century, when Picart's name was attached to a reproductive print, it was invoked to authenticate and increase the value of a work.¹⁶ That a work had been judged by a collector or prominent printmaker as worthy of reproduction particularly increased its value. Thus, reproductive prints were often sold together with the original, or at the least mentioned in catalog descriptions of it. As late as 1817, a sales catalog entry for Charles Le Brun's small panel of the *Brazen Serpent* boasts that the painting “is quoted by Mons. D'Argenville, in his *Life of Le Brun*, with the highest encomium. The engravings of the picture by Picart and Audran accompany it, and if any were necessary form abundant proof of its importance and originality.”¹⁷ The captions to the etchings must have been added by another hand, probably as the volume was being posthumously assembled. They are not completely consistent in either content or relative size, and instead of referring to Picart as their etcher with the customary *sculpsit* or its abbreviation, the captions read “Gravé par B. Picart.” Of the seventy-eight prints included in *Impostures innocentes*, all but one name the artist of the original, and fifty-four list the owner. Of the fifteen that are identified by their artist but neither medium nor owner, one was in the collection of the duc d'Orléans, five were by seventeenth-century French painters, and the originals of two were in Italian collections. The individual who supplied this information must not have been completely familiar with the originals or their locations: in at least one case, the incorrect owner seems to have been named.¹⁸

Where owners were named, three of the originals were owned by Crozat, three by the king of France, and one by the king's painter, again bringing to mind Crozat's project. Having established the stature of his project on the basis of the owners of these originals, Picart then enlarges this group of estimable owners of originals with five important Dutch collectors, one of whom was also the leading

dealer of the day and all of whom were personal friends. He included an etching of a drawing *Jacob Watering Rachel's Flocks* by Eustache Le Sueur, which was owned by the great book and print collector Samuel van Huls (1655–1734), a burgomaster of The Hague whose father had been a secretary to Stadholder Willem III, prince of Orange (see fig. 14).¹⁹ At van Huls's death in 1734, his estate sold 418 paintings, 4,933 lots of prints, and 5,037 lots of drawings—most containing several sheets.²⁰ Picart's etching after van Huls's drawing is so different in style from the other etchings in *Impostures innocentes* that it is possible that Picart may have originally created it as an independent reproduction for van Huls when both were living in The Hague. The four collectors from Amsterdam were close friends of Picart and of each other. While no longer household names, all owned staggering collections of drawings and prints. Gosuinus Uilenbroek is represented in Picart's volume by ten works, and Jean de Barij and Isaak Walraven (1688–1765)—the latter an amateur etcher in his own right—by two each. Walraven's estate included 46 paintings, 1,509 drawings, 2 portfolios of loose drawings, 3,552 prints, and 24 portfolios of loose prints.²¹ De Barij and Walraven were the executors of Picart's estate,²² and De Barij and Uilenbroek arbitrated on behalf of Picart's widow a dispute with one of Picart's debtors.²³ Among this group of important collectors was again Picart himself, as the owner not only of nine of his own works but also of sixteen old master drawings and a painting.

By including his influential friends, a powerful dealer, and himself in the company of the king of France and France's most important collector, Picart accomplished three things. First, he ingratiated himself to his friends, three of whom were close enough on a personal level to help manage his affairs after his death and most of whom were in a position on a professional level to influence his reputation as a printmaker. Second, for a broader public, he created a small pantheon of Dutch collectors who could lay claim in their own emerging print culture of having a stature that could stand beside that of the king of France and Crozat. Third, he provided for the purchaser of his volume an opportunity to share indirectly in the good taste and fine connoisseurship of this rarefied group of patrons.

Behind Picart's essay was his understanding of the collector's valuation of reproductive prints derived from his personal experience with the marketplace and his understanding of the purpose of the reproductive print, its relationship with its original, and the possible aesthetic range, which was rooted in his own practice as an engraver. Citing an exchange with a Parisian print dealer, Picart blames dealers for promoting engravings by earlier printmakers over contemporaneous ones, because the former are fewer in number and thus turn a better profit. Indeed, one wonders if Picart had in mind his friend Rutgers, who owned six of the drawings that Picart reproduced in the volume. More pointedly, however, Picart's text appears to be in dialogue with the second publication of 1728 that would have interested Dutch collectors, the revised French translation of Richardson's *Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism*, which had originally appeared in London in 1719 and which devoted a section to "des Originaux, & des Copies" (On originals and copies).²⁴ Not only did Picart own a copy of this work, but its publication in Amsterdam as *Traité de la peinture, et de la sculpture* had been arranged by Rutgers in a translation

made, according to Richardson's preface, "avec l'assistance de Monsieur [Lambert Hermansz.] ten Kate," a leading collector from Amsterdam. To this volume, ten Kate appended his own "discours préliminaire sur le beau idéal des peintres, sculpteurs et poètes" (preliminary discourse on the *beau idéal* of painters, sculptors, and poets).²⁵

Richardson laid down the gauntlet to all reproductive engravers, in terms that we ourselves have inherited from the eighteenth century. In his comments on the copies of drawings, he writes:

The Ideas of Better and Worse are generally attached to the Terms Original and Copy . . . because tho' he that makes the Copy is as Good, or even a Better Master than he that made the Original, whatever may happen Rarely, and by Accident, Ordinarily the Copy will fall short: Our Hands cannot reach what our Minds have conceiv'd; . . . An Original is the Eccho of the Voice of Nature, a Copy is the Eccho of that Eccho . . . A Copy cannot have the Freedom, and Spirit of an Original.²⁶

Picart opens his own essay by relating three prejudices that he has heard from knowledgeable connoisseurs, three ideas that Richardson also lays out: First, Picart writes that connoisseurs believe that "'tis easy to distinguish those prints that have been engraved by painters themselves, or by other painters from their works." Second, "that an engraver by profession can never acquire a painter's style of Engraving; so that they [connoisseurs] pretend to be able to know by a print, whether it was engraved by a painter, or an engraver by profession."²⁷ Richardson had similarly distinguished prints by their makers: "Of Prints there are two Kinds: [first] Such as are done by the Masters themselves whose Invention the Work is; and [second] such as are done by Men not pretending to Invent, but only to Copy (in Their way) other Men's works."²⁸

Picart seems most anguished, however, by the third prejudice he identifies: "That the modern engravers cannot possibly express the works of the ancient painters, so well as those have done, who were their contemporaries; because say they, every engraver engraves according to the gusto [taste] of the time he lives in; and therefore 'tis impossible for a modern engraver to express the works of Raphael, in the same manner as Marc Antonio [Marcantonio Raimondi], Augustin of Venice [Agostino Veneziano], and Sylvester of Ravenna [Marco Dente de Ravenna], etc. have done."²⁹

In refutation, Picart invites a direct comparison between two of his own etchings after what he believed to be drawings by Raphael and reproductive engravings after the same drawings created by Raphael's contemporary Agostino Veneziano: a *Venus and Cupid* and a *Bacchanal*.³⁰ Richardson's own admiration for Raimondi over later reproductive printmakers is unbounded: "tho' *Marc Antonio's* Gravings come far short of what *Raffaele* himself did, all others that have made Prints after *Raffaele* come vastly short of Him [Marcantonio], because He has Better imitated what is most Excellent in that Beloved, Wonderful Man than any Other has done."³¹ It is precisely this sort of prejudice that Picart is arguing against when he stresses that he reproduced Raphael's *Venus* "sans Fonds ni Accompagnemens" (without ground



Fig. 3. Agostino Veneziano (Italian, ca. 1490–after 1536), after Raphael (Italian, 1483–1520) *Venus Trying One of Cupid's Arrows* (state II), 1516, engraving, 17.9 × 12.9 cm (7 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.) London, British Museum

or any additions), in contrast to Veneziano, who had added an extensive fantasy landscape behind the pair (figs. 3, 4).³²

Picart moves on to criticize a number of passages in Veneziano's engraving after the *Bacchanal* as lacking the nuances of the original. Of the crowns of ivy, Picart observes, Veneziano "has made small white leaves, all of the same form, ranged on a ground equally dark, whereas in the design [the original drawing and, following it, Picart's etching] the leaves are carefully disposed" (figs. 5, 6).³³ While as a print-maker, Picart must have been sensitive to the distinctions in quality between an early and late impression, one can only conclude that his judgment of Veneziano was made on the basis of a deeply worn impression (figs. 7, 8). Here he seems to be appealing to comparison with Richardson's own example of discrimination. Richardson wrote:



To be able to distinguish betwixt 100 things of a Different Species... is what the most Stupid Creature is capable of, as to say This is an Oak, and That a Willow; but to come into a Forrest of a thousand Oaks, and to know how to distinguish any One leaf of all those Trees from any other whatsoever, and to form so clear an Idea of that one... requires better Faculties than every one is Master of.³⁴

Notably, Picart seems to be reproducing here the finished drawing for Veneziano's print—or a copy, as no such drawings have been identified—rather than one of Veneziano's sketches for the work.

In complaining that, in their reproductive prints, Renaissance engravers such as Raimondi and Veneziano often added elements not found in the originals, Picart was correct. As several scholars have recently observed, the concept of the

Fig. 4.
Bernard Picart, after Raphael
(Italian, 1483–1520)
*Venus se pique aux flèches de
Cupidon*
From Bernard Picart, *Impostures
innocentes...* (Amsterdam:
La Veuve de Bernard Picart,
1734), pl. 4



Gravé par B. Faivre. D'après le dessin de Raphaël, qui est au Cabinet de M. Crozat, à Paris.



reproductive print postdated the Renaissance. In his study of a group of prints by Giorgio Ghisi, Michael Bury argues that most Renaissance prints after paintings or the designs of others should be understood as translations that created new and independent works of art.³⁵ In re-presenting their original, these prints modified their source images in several respects. In order to accommodate the black-and-white linear medium of prints, the reproductive print often emphasized or even added framing elements as well as incidental detail in areas that, in the original, had been broad passages of uninflected color. Furthermore, its idea, the figures, and their poses were sometimes given greater prominence in order to convey what was understood to be the most important aspect of the original. Indeed, Lisa Pon notes that sixteenth-century texts never use the term *riprodotto* (reproductive) to refer to prints depicting other works of art, but rather use *contrafatto* (imitation).³⁶

Picart's insistence upon fidelity to the original partook of a new view of the aims of the reproductive print. With the dramatic rise in the collecting of and market for paintings, drawings, and prints, collectors increasingly attended to connoisseurship in two respects: the comparison of artists' styles and their historical development and an awareness of the difference between an autograph work and a copy. While Renaissance collectors recognized the difference between an original and a copy, they valued a work above all for its idea, generally understood as conveyed by outline and pose.³⁷ Eighteenth-century collectors increasingly valued individual touch and, with it, the autograph work, particularly the drawing. This created a new role for the reproductive print as a document of the visual appearance of the original; fidelity to the original thus, in turn, became an important criterion for its evaluation. Picart himself noted, without apology, that what is required of a good reproductive printmaker is to be a good copier; it is not necessary to have "great Genius" like those who "produce things of their own invention."³⁸

This opened the way for the devaluation of prints after other works of art. While Giorgio Vasari devoted only one of his full biographies to a printmaker (Raimondi) and recognized the difference between an original print and one after the invention of another artist, he valued both. However, as Louis Marchesano points out in his essay, while the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture had formally recognized printmakers as members in 1663, by 1686 they specifically ranked them below painters. Picart's own father, Etienne, was caught up in this devaluation. The

Fig. 5.

Agostino Veneziano (Italian, ca. 1490–after 1536), after Raphael (Italian, 1483–1520) or Giulio Romano (Italian, ca. 1499–1546)

Procession of Silenus (state I), ca. 1520–25, engraving, 18.4 x 25.7 cm (7¼ x 10⅞ in.)
London, British Museum

Fig. 6.

Bernard Picart, after Raphael (Italian, 1483–1520) or Giulio Romano (Italian, ca. 1499–1546)

Procession of Silenus
From Bernard Picart, *Impostures innocentes...* (Amsterdam: La Veuve de Bernard Picart, 1734), pl. 2

Fig. 7.

Agostino Veneziano (Italian, ca. 1490–after 1536), after Raphael (Italian, 1483–1520) or Giulio Romano (Italian, ca. 1499–1546)

Procession of Silenus (state II, detail), ca. 1520–25, engraving, 18.3 x 25.4 cm (7¼ x 10 in.)
Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Prentenkabinet

Fig. 8.

Bernard Picart, after Raphael (Italian, 1483–1520) or Giulio Romano (Italian, ca. 1499–1546)

Procession of Silenus (detail of fig. 6)



Fig. 9.
Albrecht Dürer (German,
1471–1528)
Circumcision, 1503–5
(published 1511), woodcut,
29.3 × 20.9 cm
(11⁵/₁₆ × 8¹/₄ in.)
London, British Museum

reproductive printmaker was even less admired, producing merely the “Echo of that Echo,” as Richardson so colorfully put it.³⁹

Impostures innocentes locates Picart himself, however, in a privileged position in relation to reproductive printmakers. As mentioned above, Picart reproduced no fewer than ten academic nudes after his own drawings. Drawing studies after the nude was an essential practice for artists. Richardson had stressed the need for the reproductive printmaker’s training alongside original artists: “It were much to be wished,” Richardson asserted,

that all who have apply’d themselves to the Copying of Other mens Works by Prints (of what Kind soever) had more studied to become Masters in those



Branches of Science which are necessary to a Painter . . . than they have Generally done; their Works would Then have been much more desirable than they are. Some few indeed have done This; and their Prints are Esteem'd accordingly.⁴⁰

Picart's biography stresses that he was more inclined to paint, but took up print-making, following his father. In around 1730, Picart himself took over and reinvigorated the Amsterdam Oefenschool der Tekenkunst (Amsterdam school for the practice of drawing), which had been founded in 1718.⁴¹ In this, Picart engages in a debate that was named by Adam von Bartsch only at the beginning of the next century in his catalog of prints created by painters, as opposed to craftsmen who

Fig. 10. Hendrick Goltzius (Dutch, 1558–1617), after Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528) *Circumcision* (state III), 1594, engraving, 47.5 x 35.5 cm (18¾ x 14 in.) From the series *The Early Life of the Virgin*, [1593–94] London, British Museum

specialized in printmaking.⁴² Picart has it both ways: he presents himself not only as a masterful reproductive printmaker in the sense of his first prejudice but also as an original artist-engraver in the sense of his second.

The heart of Picart's essay, however, responds directly to the devaluation of the printmaker who reproduces works after other artists. While Picart's discussion of Raimondi and Veneziano combats the third prejudice he lists, Picart employs a traditional trope of reproduction to refute Richardson's first and second prejudices: Picart claims that he had created works that had been mistaken for those by an artist after his own work. He lists four pieces for which he claims to have selected designs by old masters that had never before been engraved (three after Reni and one by Nicolas Poussin; see fig. 11), one that had previously been engraved by his father after Carlo Maratti, and one he himself had designed.⁴³ He printed them on "old dirty brown paper" and "had the satisfaction to find, that nobody suspected they were not prints engraved and printed in Italy."⁴⁴ This is, of course, a generic trope that praises art as reproduction going back to Pliny the Elder's description of Zeuxis fooling birds with his representation of grapes and Parrhasius deceiving Zeuxis with a painted curtain. It was in this tradition that Vasari praised Michelangelo's skill when a connoisseur mistook his sculpture of a sleeping cupid for an antique marble. Picart himself quotes Karel van Mander I's description from 1604 of an engraving of a circumcision that Hendrick Goltzius was able to pass off as a work by Albrecht Dürer (figs. 9, 10).⁴⁵ Since a deception could hardly be admired if it went undiscovered, Goltzius carefully placed his self-portrait in the background viewing the event, which he effaced in copies printed on worn paper that he showed to connoisseurs.⁴⁶ The trope, if not the performance, had also been undertaken by Le Brun—the director of the Académie royale who had awarded a prize to the sixteen-year-old Picart and whose illustrations to his lecture on the passions were engraved by Picart in 1698. Le Brun's wife related to an English collector that her husband had created an *Ecce Homo* in the style of Reni and successfully passed it off as such to the Académie royale.⁴⁷

However, Goltzius's *Circumcision* is far from a line-for-line reproduction of Dürer's original. Rather, as Walter Melion has argued, Goltzius sought to artistically impersonate his forebearer, inventing a new work so close to the style of the sixteenth-century master that it might be mistaken for one he could have created. Similarly, Picart's figural study said to be after a drawing by Poussin (fig. 11) reproduces the general qualities of line and form of some of the master's drawings, such as his *Study for the Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite* in the J. Paul Getty Museum (fig. 12), as does Picart's invention of a drawing of Rebecca and Eliezer in the style of Maratti (see p. 114, fig. 10).⁴⁸

For the remaining etchings in the volume, however, with the exception of three after works by Rembrandt discussed below, Picart asserts that he has etched them "without imitating the particular manner of any master: my intention being only to give the designs, and to convey the spirit as much as possible."⁴⁹ Graphically, however, many of his reproductions push the boundaries of this more traditional function of the so-called reproductive print or its more recent visual conventions. To this end, Picart reproduces the widest possible range of types of originals: from

Fig. 11.

Bernard Picart, after Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665)
Study of figures
From Bernard Picart, *Impostures innocentes...* (Amsterdam: La Veuve de Bernard Picart, 1734), pl. 44

Fig. 12.

Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665)
Study for the Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite, ca. 1635, pen and brown ink, 14.6 × 20.6 cm (5¾ × 8⅛ in.)
Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum



**Fig. 13.**

Bernard Picart, after Luca Cambiaso (Italian, 1527–85)
The Return of Ulysses
 From Bernard Picart, *Impostures innocentes...* (Amsterdam: La Veuve de Bernard Picart, 1734), pl. 34

Fig. 14.

Bernard Picart, after Eustache Le Sueur (French, 1617–55)
Jacob abreuvent les troupeaux de Rachel
 From Bernard Picart, *Impostures innocentes...* (Amsterdam: La Veuve de Bernard Picart, 1734), pl. 46



large, freely worked murals to finely wrought paintings of both complex histories and half-length figures. Originals of drawings include early sketches and final cartoons. Their subjects span studies of individual heads and nude figures to finished compositions. The styles range from the highly abbreviated drawing by Poussin and Luca Cambiaso's blocky figures with wash shading to a grisaille painting by Rembrandt and a reproduction of a scene by Eustache Le Sueur that is so finely wrought that one might mistake the original for a relief medallion (figs. 13, 14; see figs. 11, 18).⁵⁰

In a period when the understanding and value of the reproductive print were changing, it is not surprising that Picart's prints also embody a variety of relationships with their originals. Reproductions after paintings range from the linear outline etching after Reni's *Erigone* in the collection of the duc d'Orléans⁵¹ to the broken outlines of the etching after Le Brun, an *Allegory of Holland Receiving Peace* (1678–86; Versailles, Château de Versailles) to the richly tonal reproduction after Lodovico Carracci's *Calling of St. Matthew* (which must have been a smaller painted copy after the original located in the Santa Maria della Pieta in Bologna). What, then, was Picart's conception of the reproductive print?

Picart asserts that he values the reproductive print that conveys the "Rondeur" (roundness), "les Déggradations de Fort & de Foible" (degradations of strength and febleness; that is, light and shade), and "d'Esprit" (spirit; translated variously in the English edition of 1756 as "life and judgment" or "life and force") of the original.⁵² A comparison of his reproduction of Raphael's red-chalk drawing for his *Madonna and Child with the Infant John the Baptist* with the original may clarify this language (figs. 15, 16).⁵³ While Raphael's soft chalk sketch conveys a strong sense of atmosphere, Picart's reproduction stresses outline and volume, the "roundness" and "light and shade" that he values. "Spirit, or life and judgment, or force" here clearly resides in the qualities of *disegno*, the outlines of the concepts behind the work, rather than in the textures of its visual manifestation. Here he follows the directive of the arch-classicist of early-eighteenth-century Dutch art theorists, Gerard de Lairesse, whose treatise on painting was published in 1712. De Lairesse wrote, "We should meditate on every print and drawing we see . . . and labor to fix in our minds a remembrance of the freedom and boldness of the outline, and the proportion of the several parts."⁵⁴ But again, however, Picart appears to be in close dialogue with Richardson, who insisted:

The Excellence of a Print, as of a Drawing consists not particularly in the Handling; This is but One, and even one of the Least considerable parts of it: 'Tis the Invention, the Grace, and Greatness, and those Principal things that in the first place are to be regarded. There is better Graving, a finer *Burin* in many Worthless Prints than in those of *Marc Antonio*, but those of Him that come after *Raffaele* are Generally more esteem'd than even those which are Grav'd by the Masters themselves.⁵⁵

Drawings dominate Picart's volume: fifty-six works—a full 86 percent of the total—reproduce a drawing, appealing to the extraordinary interest in the graphic



Fig. 15.
Raphael (Italian, 1483–1520)
*Madonna and Child with
the Infant John the Baptist*,
ca. 1506–7, red chalk drawing,
22.4 × 15.8 cm (8⁷/₈ × 6¹/₄ in.)
New York, Metropolitan Museum
of Art

Fig. 16.
Bernard Picart, after Raphael
(Italian, 1483–1520)
*Madonna and Child with the
Infant John the Baptist*
From Bernard Picart, *Impostures
innocentes...* (Amsterdam: La
Veuve de Bernard Picart, 1734),
pl. 5

arts that arose in the first third of the eighteenth century.⁵⁶ The great French collector Crozat, for example, owned 19,201 drawings. Picart disparaged earlier printmakers who “finish” an original, expressing a taste for the sketch, which, as Marchesano elaborates, is more readily reproduced by contemporary printmakers in the more flexible medium of etching used by Picart for this volume than in the more rigid medium of engraving with the burin.

Within this increasing taste among connoisseurs for the graphic arts, Rembrandt played a special role. Picart singles out the artist for separate discussion at the end of his essay and presents his reproductive prints after eleven works by the master at the end of the volume, enumerated with letters instead of the numerals used for the other artists. Neither the inclusion of Rembrandt in such a volume nor his being treated separately is surprising. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, classicizing taste had passed a cloud over Rembrandt’s reputation.⁵⁷ In 1699, however, Roger de Piles—who himself owned at least forty etchings by Rembrandt⁵⁸—praised the artist’s prints and even more his sketches. In the list of fifty-six notable painters that



de Piles published in an appendix to his *Cours de peinture par principes* (Course on the principles of painting) in 1708, he ranked Rembrandt far below Raphael for “drawing,” which meant outline or idea, but above the Renaissance master for his “color,” which included tone.⁵⁹ Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, a German who traveled through Holland in 1711, noted the admiration for, and high prices commanded by, Rembrandt’s prints.⁶⁰

Rembrandt was appreciated not so much for his invention or idea, as were the other artists in the volume, as for his mastery of tonal qualities, particularly in his graphic works. In Florent Le Comte’s *Cabinet des singularitez d’architecture, peinture, sculpture et graveure* (Cabinet of the singularities of architecture, painting, sculpture and engraving), published by Picart’s father also in 1699, Le Comte noted that Rembrandt’s chiaroscuro prints were “assez du goût d’aujourd’huy” (rather of today’s taste) and listed him among those who created “representations de nuits et pièces noires” (representations of the night and dark works).⁶¹ Arnold Houbraken compared the rich tonality of Rembrandt’s drypoints with mezzotints,⁶² a medium

Fig. 17.

Rembrandt van Rijn (Dutch,
1606–69)
*Lamentation over the Dead
Christ*, ca. 1635, oil on
irregularly shaped paper and
pieces of canvas stuck on oak,
31.9 × 26.7 cm
(12½ × 10½ in.)
London, National Gallery

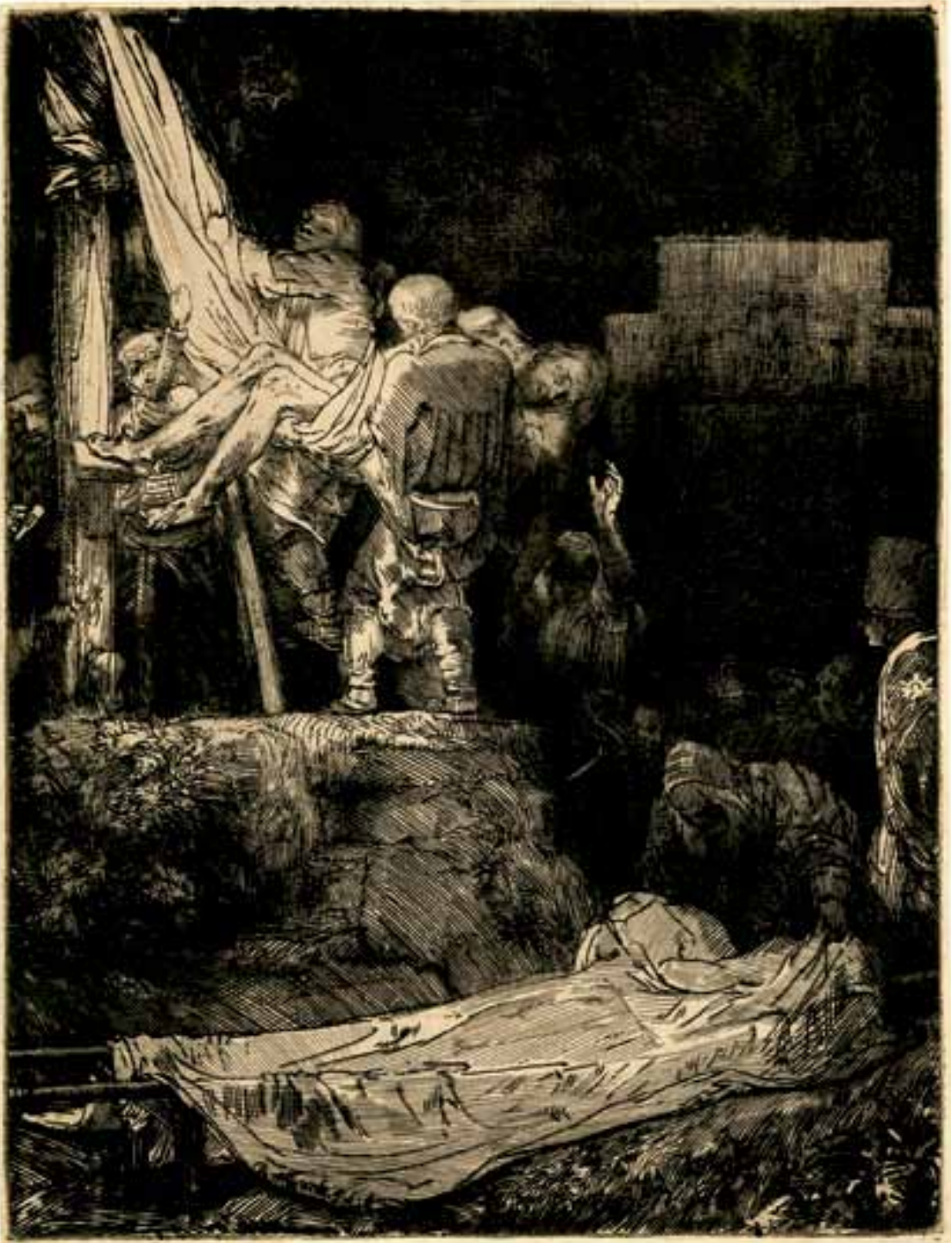
**Fig. 18.**

Bernard Picart, after Rembrandt
van Rijn (Dutch, 1606–69)
*Lamentation over the
Dead Christ*
From Bernard Picart, *Impostures
innocentes...* (Amsterdam:
La Veuve de Bernard Picart,
1734), pl. L

Fig. 19.

Rembrandt van Rijn (Dutch,
1606–69)
*Descent from the Cross by
Torchlight*, 1654, etching and
drypoint, 21 × 16.2 cm
(8¼ × 6⅜ in.)
London, British Museum





that in the eighteenth century was often used to reproduce his works. Indeed, in 1699, Picart himself created mezzotints after two of the three paintings by the master that he owned.⁶³

But above all it was Richardson who so highly celebrated Rembrandt. In his *Essay on the Theory of Painting* (2nd ed., 1725), Richardson, who himself owned a substantial number of drawings by Rembrandt, praised the artist, noting that his “Surprising Beauties are Overlook’d in a great measure, and Lost with Most, even Lovers of Painting, and Connoisseurs.”⁶⁴ The French translation of 1728 devoted even more space to praising the master. But reproducing these works was another matter. Richardson wrote:

’Tis impossible for any one to transform himself imediatly, and become exactly Another Man; . . . Every Man will Naturally, and Unavoidably mix Somthing of Himself in all he does if he Coppies with any degree of Liberty: If he attempts to follow his Original Servilely, and Exactly, That cannot but have a Stiffness which will easily distinguish what is So done from what is perform’d Naturally, Easily, and without Restraint.⁶⁵

Picart saw this problem in the works of Rembrandt. He recollected, “I remember to have heard M. de Piles say, that he did not believe any one could imitate this manner [Rembrandt’s style of etching, where it resembles the mezzotint], since it is not done with the same tool as the metzotinto,” adding, “it is a manner of engraving [etching] so peculiar to him [Rembrandt], that I do not think anyone can succeed therein, at least without copying his prints stroke by stroke; for by following his designs, we could not succeed, because something must be added of one’s self, and whatever one might add, would be in another taste.”⁶⁶

Picart then takes up the challenge and produces three prints after Rembrandt—one after a drawing, one after a monochrome painted sketch, and one after a work whose medium is not given. In these, Picart attempts to create in etching not the manner of the originals, but the manner of Rembrandt’s drypoints.⁶⁷ Picart’s *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* reproduces Rembrandt’s grisaille sketch, but in a manner approximating Rembrandt’s etching and drypoint *Descent from the Cross by Torchlight*, of nearly the same subject (figs. 17–19).⁶⁸ Although Picart asserts that he cannot adequately directly reproduce a work in Rembrandt’s drypoint style, he presents the *effect* of this style in his reproduction of *other* works by the master.

I would like to close with a reconsideration of the term *imposture* in Picart’s title. Like Gilpin, with whose comments I began, most commentators on Picart’s “impostures” cite the six etchings that in other hands might be construed as forgeries, in a trope that had been in play for several centuries. Picart was, however, also engaging another, newer trope of deception. While representation itself had been valued since antiquity, in the early eighteenth century there emerged a new appreciation specifically for cross-medium impostures. With these, pleasure was derived from the recognition of deception itself.⁶⁹

When, in April 1735, the English periodical the *Prompter* published a translation of a dialogue on the visual arts by the French painter and playwright Charles-Antoine



Coytel, the editor prefaced it with the following statement: “There’s a sort of magic in the art of painting, which charms by the *deception* it puts upon us. To have nature as it were, forc’d from itself, and transplanted upon a canvas, . . . to have some celebrated action, expressed with so much force, that we see dignity, or grief, terror or love according to the circumstances of the story, and before our eyes.”⁷⁰ Of imitation in literature, Pierre Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy noted in 1734 that he was “charmed to be misled” if the imitation was done well,⁷¹ while Charles Pinot Duclos described illusion as a “kind of homage which a lie pays to truth.”⁷² In the decorative arts, the careful reproduction of objects originally created in silver, marble, or rare woods in other, often less expensive materials was appreciated because, as Reed Benhamou puts it, they “tested connoisseurship and teased the imagination.”⁷³ By the 1760s, wealthy amateur and collector Cornelis Ploos van Amstel had perfected a print technique that permitted him to create facsimiles of drawings with remarkable fidelity to the original.⁷⁴ Although Picart’s reproductive techniques were far from reaching the sophistication of Ploos van Amstel’s, Picart’s volume includes a range of cross-medium deceptions that fabricate several different kinds of impersonation. Six of Picart’s reproductions purport to be by another hand. Of these six, one—after a print by his father—reproduces an engraving in the medium of etching; another, after a drawing by Poussin, might well be taken for a drawing rather than an etching (see fig. 11). Similarly, while Picart does not attempt to directly reproduce Rembrandt’s drypoints, he does—line for line—reproduce, across media, several of Rembrandt’s drawings (figs. 20, 21).⁷⁵ Finally, Picart’s etchings after Rembrandt’s grisaille and after the drawing he also thought was by Rembrandt replicate in etching the effect of Rembrandt’s drypoints (see fig. 18).

Fig. 20. Rembrandt van Rijn (Dutch, 1606–69) *Old Woman with a Basket, Begging for Alms from a Couple Looking Out from a Half-Door*, ca. 1646, pen and bistre, size unknown, trimmed Location unknown

Fig. 21. Bernard Picart, after Rembrandt van Rijn (Dutch, 1606–69) *Old Woman with a Basket, Begging for Alms from a Couple Looking Out from a Half-Door* From Bernard Picart, *Impostures innocentes . . .* (Amsterdam: La Veuve de Bernard Picart, 1734), pl. A

Notably, although Picart has taken great pains to carefully recreate the image of his originals, these, like the rest of Picart's reproductions for this volume, are in reverse of their models. Compositional fidelity in a reproductive print with regard to direction does not seem to have been important to him or to many of his contemporaries. Indeed, for those who are familiar with the originals, the reversal guarantees that the imposture will be recognized; at the same time, this reversal is a claim to fidelity of the composition and lines, in that the artist has transcribed the original directly, or through an intermediary drawing, onto the plate.

In spite of the fact that impostures were a minority of images in the volume, the shiver of pleasure incited by them may have been experienced by commentators as part of a larger cultural preoccupation with not only the pleasure but also the threat of deceit. I would like to suggest that the subsequent reception of Picart's project, which focuses upon the six prints in which he claims to have successfully effaced his own identity as the author of works in the styles of other artists, was a result of the rising anxiety about deception in general and artistic forgery in particular—itself a product of the drive to increasing fidelity to the original. Picart's titillating title played upon broader cultural anxieties about deception that ranged from false monarchs and falsity in gender to false gods. Indeed, Picart's *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses* may be described in part as an attempt to explore the kinds of cultural differences between religions that in previous centuries had been defined as the difference between the true Christian God and the false gods of others.

But above all it was falsity in the marketplace, rooted in falsity of personal morals, that concerned an emerging capitalist culture, as well articulated in Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* of 1759. Falsity in the art market, in particular, grabbed headlines. Fifty years earlier, accusations by Frederick Wilhelm, elector of Brandenburg, against Gerrit Uylenburch, the leading Amsterdam dealer of his day, of forging a group of paintings swept up the Amsterdam magistrates and no fewer than seventy well-known artists in Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, and Antwerp.⁷⁶ Just as Picart's work was coming off the presses, Justus van Effen published a terrific satire on the deception of dealers in the Amsterdam cultural wag sheet *De Hollandsche spectator*.⁷⁷ Twenty years later, Johan van Gool's description of dealers' forgeries incited a pamphlet war with the art dealer Gerard Hoet II.⁷⁸ And actual forgery for financial gain could have grave consequences: nearly fifty years after the publication of Picart's volume, the English printmaker William Wynne Ryland was executed for the crime.⁷⁹

Picart's volume stands at the cusp of a change in attitude toward the reproductive print, a time in which reproductive printmakers were faced with an impossible contradiction: they were required to faithfully convey information about the original and at the same time not lose sight of their own personality and status as craftsmen. Together with his essay, Picart's etchings argue for the status (and market value) of reproductive engravings in general and of those produced by their author in particular, treading a fine line between reproduction and authenticity. In the process of creating faithful reproductions of other artists, he creates authentic Picarts.

Notes

I am deeply indebted to Lynn Hunt, Margaret Jacob, and Wijnand Mijnhardt, whose yearlong seminar on Bernard Picart at the Getty Research Institute (2006–7) and subsequent conference “At the Interface of Religion and Cosmopolitanism” provided important stimulation and support for this paper.

1. William Gilpin, *An Essay upon Prints: Containing Remarks upon the Principles of Picturesque Beauty; the Different Kinds of Prints; and the Characters of the Most Noted Masters* . . . , 2nd ed. (London: G. Scott for J. Robson, 1768), 109.
2. Bernard Picart, *Impostures innocentes; ou, Recueil d'estampes d'après divers peintres illustres* . . . (Amsterdam: La Veuve de Bernard Picart, 1734). On this work, see also Dick Venemans, “Het Discours sur les prejugés de certains curieux touchant la gravure door Bernard Picart,” *Delineavit et sculpsit*, no. 15 (1995): 23–31; Sarah Monks, “Bernard Picart’s *Impostures innocentes* (1734): Constructing the Early Eighteenth-Century French Reproductive Printmaker” (master’s thesis, University of London, 1996); Christophe Henry, “Les *Impostures innocentes* de Bernard Picart ou la revanche du ‘Marchand forain,’” in Michèle-Caroline Heck, Frédérique Lemerle, and Yves Pauwels, eds., *Théorie des arts et création artistique dans l’Europe du nord du XVIIe au début du XVIIIe siècle* (Villeneuve d’Ascq: Université Charles-de-Gaulle—Lille 3, 2002), 313–32; Nelke Bartelings, “In het kielwater van de schilderkunst? De functie en de status van de prentkunst in het denken en schrijven over kunst vanaf de zestiende tot het midden van de achttiende eeuw,” *Leids kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 12 (2002): 35–64; and Louis Marchesano, this volume, 105–35.
3. Bernard Picart, *Impostures innocentes; or, A Collection of Prints from the Most Celebrated Painters* . . . (London: printed for J. Boydell, 1756). All translations of Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), are taken from this edition.
4. Ilja M. Veldman, “Familiar Customs and Exotic Rituals: Picart’s Illustrations for *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples*,” *Simiolus* 33, nos. 1–2 (2007–8): 94–111, esp. 104.
5. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), pls. 7, 8.
6. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), pls. F, H; both Picart drawings are located in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam (inv. nos. 2284 and 2285, respectively). See Peter Schatborn, “Van Rembrandt tot Crozat: Vroege verzamelingen met tekeningen van Rembrandt,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 32 (1981): 1–54; on Picart pl. H, after an unknown Rembrandt drawing, see p. 31 (fig. 19); and on Picart pl. F, after a work now attributed to Aert de Gelder, see p. 33 (fig. 21; Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin, inv. no. 5279, another version in sale Amsterdam, 9 June 1975, no. 92).
7. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), pl. L. Rembrandt’s original grisaille is at the National Gallery in London.
8. *Recueil d'estampes d'après les plus beaux tableaux et d'après les plus beaux desseins qui sont en France dans le cabinet du Roy* . . . , 2 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1729–42). See, for example, the advertisement in the *Mercur de France* (May 1728): 1002–3.
9. Jonathan Richardson the Elder and Jonathan Richardson the Younger’s *Traité de la peinture, et de la sculpture*, 3 vols. in 4 (Amsterdam: Herman Uytwerf, 1728), was

- a translation by Jonathan Richardson the Younger, with the assistance of Lambert Hermansz ten Kate, of three works: *An Essay on the Theory of Painting* (London: printed by W. Bowyer for John Churchill, 1715), and *Two Discourses: An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as It Relates to Painting... an Argument in Behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur...*, 2 vols. in 1 (London: W. Churchill, 1719), both by Jonathan Richardson the Elder; and *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy, etc. with Remarks* (London: printed for J. Knapton at the Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1722) by Jonathan Richardson the Elder and Jonathan Richardson the Younger.
10. See Benedict Leca, "An Art Book and Its Viewers: The 'Recueil Crozat' and the Uses of Reproductive Engraving," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 38 (2005): 623–49; and Francis Haskell, *The Painful Birth of the Art Book* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1987).
 11. See the following auction catalog: Philippus van der Land, *Catalogus van een fraaie party Konstige en uytvoerige Tekeningen: Onder dewelke uytmunet de schoone collectie van de eygenhandige Teekeningen van Bernard Picart... Nagelaten door de Wed. van de vermaarde Konstenaar Bernard Picart*, Amsterdam, 25 November 1737, lots 80–84. The copy owned by the Getty Research Institute has been annotated with most prices, with some added in a later hand. I am grateful to Margaret Jacob for directing me to this catalog. *Impostures innocentes* was printed in at least two sizes: *moyen papier* ("middelste paper" in the sales catalog) and *petit papier* ("klein papier"). The sizes of surviving copies vary as pages have been trimmed in binding. The Getty Research Institute copy on "moyen papier" is 44 centimeters high; that on "petit papier" is 43 centimeters; the two copies in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, are on "petit papier"; one measures 40.6 × 26.6 centimeters and is uncut; the other, slightly trimmed at the bottom, measures 39.9 × 25.6 centimeters. These sale prices are low in relation to the debt of 49.3 guilders owed to Picart's estate by the duc de Mortemar "voor 2 impostures innocentes"; see the inventory of Picart's household, shop, and business accounts published in M. M. Kleerkooper, *De boekhandel te Amsterdam voornamelijk in de 17^e eeuw*, 2 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1914–16), 1:560–62.
 12. Plate 20, after a painting of the Triumph of Venus by Annibale Carracci, is inscribed as having been "terminé au burin" (finished in engraving) by Claude-Augustin Duflos, and plate 58 is in etching and mezzotint. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), pls. 20, 58.
 13. Gilpin, *An Essay upon Prints* (note 1), 54.
 14. S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, "Ruim honderd advertenties van kunstverkopingen uit de *Amsterdamsche courant* 1712–1725," *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 69 (1977): 107–22.
 15. Michiel C. Plomp, *Collectionner passionnément*, vol. 1, *Les collectionneurs hollandais de dessins au XVIII^e siècle*, exh. cat. (Paris: Fondation Custodia, 2001), 49.
 16. Among countless examples, see Eustache Le Sueur, "Darius, Roi des Perses, faisant ouvrir le tombeau de Nitocrix... Il y a une Estampe de ce beau Tableau gravée par Bernard Picart," in Louis-François Delatour, *Catalogue des tableaux et sculptures... de cabinet... de M. Crozat*, Paris, June 1751, lot 35, as well as those sales cited in notes 17 and 18.

17. J. D. Herbert, sale of the collection of John Sweetman, Dublin, 1–2 December 1817, lot 14. The painting is probably that now in the Bristol Art Gallery.
18. According to the inscription, the original of plate 35, a drawing after the *Rape of the Sabines* by Luca Cambiaso, was in the Uilenbroek collection. However, this drawing appeared in the sale of the collection of Pierre Crozat—together with Picart’s plate 34, also after Cambiaso, for a painting in the same series correctly inscribed as in the Crozat collection—with the correct assertion that both had been etched by Picart for his *Impostures innocentes*: Mariette, *Description sommaire des desseins du cabinet de feu M. Crozat*, Paris, 10 April 1741, lots 747, 748 (Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), pls. 35 and 34, respectively); see also Frits Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1938–87), no. 536.
19. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), pl. 46.
20. See the following van Huls estate sales: Jean Swart and Pierre de Hondt, The Hague, 4 September 1730; Jean Swart, The Hague, 26 September 1735 (Lugt, *Répertoire* [note 18], no. 454), 4,933 prints; Jean Swart, The Hague, 14 May 1736 (Lugt, *Répertoire* [note 18], no. 464), 5,037 drawings; Jean Swart, The Hague, 24 April 1737 (Lugt, *Répertoire* [note 18], no. 471), 205 paintings; and Jean Swart, The Hague, 3 September 1737 (Lugt, *Répertoire* [note 18], no. 474), 213 paintings. See also Gerard Hoet, *Catalogus of naamlyst van schilderyen, met derzelve pryzen . . .*, 2 vols. (The Hague: Pieter Gerard van Baalen, 1752), 1:477–95.
21. De Winter Yver, Amsterdam, 14 October 1765 (Lugt, *Répertoire* [note 18], no. 1481), 46 paintings, 1,509 drawings, 2 portfolios; and De Winter Yver, Amsterdam, 18 November 1765 (Lugt, *Répertoire* [note 18], no. 1483), 3,552 prints, 24 portfolios. See also A. Bredius, “Archiefsprokkelingen: De nalatenschap van Isaak Walraven,” *Oud Holland* 53 (1936): 181.
22. See the document dated 5 May 1734; published in Isabella Henriette van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel, 1680–1725*, 5 vols. (Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1960–78), 4:42.
23. Amsterdam, Notarial Archives, Notary Costerus, documents dated 20 and 22 July 1733, nos. 9789, 289; see van Eeghen, *Amsterdamse boekhandel* (note 22), 3:69.
24. Richardson, *Traité de la peinture* (note 9), 2:188–90. See also Carol Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson: Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2000), 225–29.
25. Ten Kate’s essay was printed as the preface to volume 3, which also included an appendix containing a letter to Richardson from Rutgers. See also Isabella Henriette van Eeghen, “Abraham en Antoni Rutgers: De kunstzin van grootvader en kleinzoon,” *Jaarboek Amstelodamum* 67 (1975): 174–88, esp. 83.
26. Richardson, *Two Discourses* (note 9), 1:176–78.
27. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1756] (note 3), 1 = Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), 1.
28. Richardson, *Two Discourses* (note 9), 1:194.
29. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1756] (note 3), 1 = Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), 1–2.
30. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), pls. 2, 4.
31. Richardson, *Two Discourses* (note 9), 1:197–98.

32. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1756] (note 3), 4 = Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), 7.
33. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1756] (note 3), 5 = Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), 7.
34. Richardson, *Two Discourses* (note 9), 1:201.
35. Michael Bury, "On Some Engravings by Giorgio Ghisi Commonly Called 'Reproductive,'" *Print Quarterly* 10 (1993): 4–19. Lisa Pon elaborates upon this point with regard to the work of Marcantonio Raimondi's prints after Raphael; see Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2004), 27–38.
36. Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi* (note 35), 27–28. Franz Wickhoff has been credited with establishing the term and concept *reproductive print*, in his study, published in 1899, on the prints of Raimondi. See also David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470–1550* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1994), 162.
37. See Maria H. Loh, "New and Improved: Repetition as Originality in Italian Baroque Practice and Theory," *Art Bulletin* 86 (2004): 477–504.
38. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1756] (note 3), 5 = Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734], (note 2), 7.
39. Richardson, *Two Discourses* (note 9), 1:177.
40. Richardson, *Two Discourses* (note 9), 1:199–200.
41. Th. Laurentius, J. W. Niemeijer, and G. Ploos van Amstel, *Cornelis Ploos van Amstel, 1726–1798: Kunstverzamelaar en prentuitgever* (Assen: van Gorcum, 1980), 11; P. Knolle, "De Amsterdamse stadstekenacademie: Een 18de eeuwse 'oefenschool' voor modeltekenars," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 30 (1979): 1–41, esp. 3.
42. Adam von Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur*, 22 vols. in 16 (Vienna: J. V. Degen, 1803–21).
43. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), pls. 23–25 (after Reni); pl. 44 (after Poussin); pl. 41 (after Maratti); and pl. 56 (after Picart).
44. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1756] (note 3), 4 = Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), 6.
45. Karel van Mander I, *Het Schilder-Boeck . . . Leven der Vermaerde Doorluchtighe Schilders des Ouden, en Nieuwen Tyd* (Haarlem: Paschier van Wesbvsch, 1604), fol. 284v; translated as Karel van Mander, *The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters*, trans. and ed. Hessel Miedema (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1994), 1:397.
46. See Walter Melion, "Piety and Pictorial Manner in Hendrick Goltzius's Early Life of the Virgin," in *Hendrick Goltzius and the Classical Tradition*, ed. Glenn Harcourt, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Fischer Gallery, University of Southern California, 1991), 44–51.
47. This is noted as number 63 in the inventory of Sir Joshua Reynold's collection; Le Brun's widow related the story to Lord Cholmondeley when she sold the painting to him.
48. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), pl. 56.
49. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1756] (note 3), 6 = Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), 9.

50. Picart *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), pls. 34, 46, 44, and L.
51. D. Stephen Pepper, "Guido Reni's 'Erigone': A Work Restored and a Mystery Resolved," *Burlington Magazine* 128 (1986): 206–9.
52. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1756] (note 3), 2, 5 = Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), 2, 8.
53. See Jacob Bean, "A Rediscovered Drawing by Raphael," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 23, no. 1 (1964): 1–10.
54. Gerard de Lairese, *The Principles of Drawing* (London: printed & sold by Thomas Bowles, 1752), 1.
55. Richardson, *Two Discourses* (note 9), 1:196–97.
56. See Michiel Christiaan Plomp, "'Een voortreffelyke Liefhebberye': Het verzamelen van tekeningen door voorname liefhebbers in de Republiek en later het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden, 1732–1833" (Proefschrift, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 2002).
57. Seymour Slive, *Rembrandt and His Critics, 1630–1730* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1953), 83–103. See also J. A. Emmens, *Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1968).
58. Léon Mirot, *Roger de Piles, peintre, amateur, critique, membre de l'Académie de peinture, 1635–1709* (Paris: J. Schemit, 1924), 65.
59. Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes avec un balance de peintres* (Paris: Jacques Estienne, 1708), unpaginated appendix.
60. Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach, *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engelland* (Ulm: auf Kosten der Gaumischen, 1754), 3:581.
61. Florent Le Comte, *Cabinet des singularitez d'architecture, peinture, sculpture et graveure . . .*, 3 vols. (Paris: E. Picart & N. Le Clerc, 1699–1700), 3:283 and 1:21, respectively. See also 3:126.
62. Arnold Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstchilders en schilderesen . . .* (Amsterdam: Gedrukt voor den Autheur, 1718), 1:271.
63. Hoet, *Catalogus of maamlyst van schilderyen* (note 20), 1:474–77; and *Catalogus van Schilderyen, Van de Wed. Bernard Picart, verkogt den 15 Mey 1737, in Amsterdam* (Lugt, *Répertoire* [note 18], no. 742), esp. 476 and lots 38–40. Two of the paintings and mezzotints after them were said to represent Zeno and Lucian. Picart's Zeno may be the *Head of Christ*; see Abraham Bredius, *Rembrandt: The Complete Edition of the Paintings*, 3rd ed., ed. Horst Gerson (London: Phaidon, 1969), cat. no. 623. The third painting represented the head of an old man.
64. Jonathan Richardson, *An Essay on the Theory of Painting . . .*, 2nd ed. (London: printed for A. C. & sold by A. Bettesworth in Pater-Noster-Row, 1725), 68.
65. Richardson, *Two Discourses* (note 9), 1:186–87.
66. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1756] (note 3), 6 = Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), 9, 10.
67. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), pls. H, K, L.
68. Picart, *Impostures innocentes* [1734] (note 2), pl. L. That of the *Judas*, plate K, is a drawing now thought to be a copy after Rembrandt; the original of the third, a *Roman Charity*, plate G, is not known but probably also not by Rembrandt.
69. See Marian Hobson, *The Object of Art: The Theory of Illusion in Eighteenth-Century France* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1982), esp. 38–77.

70. Quoted from *London Magazine*, May 1735, 225; cited by Matthew Craske, “And ’tis in vain to find faults in the arts of deceiving . . .,” in idem, *Art in Europe, 1700–1830: A History of the Visual Arts in an Era of Unprecedented Urban Economic Growth* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), 145–218.
71. Le C. Gordon de Percel [pseud. Pierre Nicolas Lenglet du Fresnoy], *De l’usage des romans, où L’on fait voir leur utilité et leurs differens caracteres . . .* (Amsterdam: Veuve Poilras, 1734), 1:61: “je suis ravi d’être trompé.”
72. Charles Pinot Duclos, *Oeuvres complètes de Duclos* (Paris: A. Belin, 1820), 1:214: “[u]ne espèce d’hommage que le mensonge rendit à la vérité,”
73. Reed Benhamou, “Imitation in the Decorative Arts of the Eighteenth Century,” *Journal of Design History* 4, no. 1 (1991): 1–13, esp. 10.
74. Laurentius, Niemeijer, and Ploos van Amstel, *Cornelis Ploos van Amstel* (note 41).
75. Attribution and photo from Otto Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt*, 6 vols. (London: Phaidon, 1954–57), no. 744.
76. Friso Lammertse and Jaap van der Veen, *Uylenburgh and Son: Art and Commerce from Rembrandt to De Lairese, 1625–1675*, exh. cat. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2006), 79–103.
77. *De Hollandsche spectator*, 17 May 1734 and 21 June 1734.
78. See Johan van Gool, *De nieuwe schouburg der Nederlantsche kunstschilders en schilderessen . . .* (The Hague: printed for the author, 1750); Lyckle de Vries, “De kunsthandel is zoo edel als eenigen, vermits ‘er geen bedrog in is’: De pamflettenstrijd tussen Gerard Hoet en Johan van Gool,” *Leids Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 4 (1985): 1–16; and Lyckle de Vries, *Diamante Gedenkzuilen en Leerzaeme Voorbeelden: Een bespreking van Johan van Gools Nieuwe Schouburg* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1990).
79. Susan Lambert, *The Image Multiplied: Five Centuries of Printed Reproductions of Paintings and Drawings* (London: Trefoil, 1987), 141.