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Conceptualizing the Copy:

Abraham Bosse's

*Sentimens sur la distinction*

*des diverses manières de peinture,*

*desin et gravure et des originaux*

*d'avec leurs copies*

In 1985, at the symposium "Retaining the Original", Richard Spear set two methodological marks for the history of the modern dualism of original and copy. First, it seemed that "when copies were seen as bearers of invention beyond technical virtuosity", they were "worthy in their own right".<sup>1</sup> The second mark seemed to be the moment "when it started to matter whose invention it was".<sup>2</sup> Spear asked for the historical moment, when the invention of an artwork and its execution were seen as two distinct procedures of artistic production for the first time. After this important question, art historical studies on both, the art market and art theory, confirmed his suggestion of linking the dualism with the invention. Neil De Marchi and Hans Van Miegroet, for instance, verified in their study about the Netherlandish art markets that the distinction between original and copy was linked with the notion of invention and the quality of value in the seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup> Then, art lovers, such as Giulio Mancini (1559–1630) and Franciscus Junius (1591–1677), wrote the first thoughts about connoisseurship, which included the distinction between originals and copies.<sup>4</sup> At that time, the "original" seemed to have its first conjuncture.

A remarkable example of the conceptualization of this distinction by an artist was realized in the treatise of the French printmaker, theoretician and teacher, Abraham Bosse (1604–1676), *Sentimens sur la distinction des diverses manières de peinture, desin et gravure et des originaux d'avec leurs copies* (*Opinions on the Distinctions between different Styles of Painting, Drawing, Intaglio Printmaking, and on the Relation between Originals and Copies*),

printed in 1649 in Paris.<sup>5</sup> Bosse introduced the terms “original” and “copy” to give young artists and collectors advices on how to explain the difference between the two. However, he did not identify the difference between originals and copies itself. Instead, Bosse described the relation between the two concepts. The treatise is written in reference to printmaking and therefore raises the question about his intended meaning of “original” and “copy”. Was he referring to an original object and its replicas, or to the more theoretical concepts of imitation and invention?

### Bosse's *Sentimens* – State of Research

Traditionally, research of the topic focuses either on connoisseurship or “reproductive” prints. In both fields, the terms “original” and “copy” are categories of modern art history. Studying the terms entails the risk of projecting modern concepts and interpretations onto the past, though the use of the terms has a long history and may be traced back to the beginning of Early Modern art writing.<sup>6</sup> The term “reproductive print”, for example, was only introduced into art-historical writing by the Viennese art historian Franz Wickhoff (1853–1909) in 1899. He used it to describe the prints of the Italian printmaker Marcantonio Raimondi (1475–1534), who copied the paintings of Raphael at the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup> In her study on fifteenth-century intaglio copies, Lisa Pon noted that at that time the concept of copy was based on the tropes of reproduction and translation.<sup>8</sup>

Beyond modern theorizations, “original” and “copy” are historical concepts with changing meanings. The “history of concepts” as a traditional method of cultural and historical studies may form a basis for this issue. In this context, history of concepts means that the discourses on creativity, production and reproduction are interpreted as products of the history of European visual culture. Therefore, the meanings of the unique artwork in art writing, art production and the art market are manifestations of their history itself.

Bosse's book is well known to art historians as one of the first primary texts on art criticism and connoisseurship in European writing on art.<sup>9</sup> Since the 2004 exhibition on Bosse in Paris and Tour, several studies on Bosse's *Sentimens* were published.<sup>10</sup> Scholars, such as Carol Gibson-Wood and Marianne Le Blanc, stressed the treatise's function and theoretical approach in the making of connoisseurship as well as the issues of perception.<sup>11</sup> Anna Tummers in her in-depth study of seventeenth-century Dutch connoisseurship contextualized Bosse's concepts of the original in terms of attribution and contemporaneous connoisseurship.<sup>12</sup> Alongside the studies on the status of artefacts in the Early Modern period at large, they proved that the making of connoisseurship was linked with the art market, where Bosse himself had to compete with pirate copies and replicas of his inventions.

Gabriele Lo Nostro links the *Sentimens* with Bosse's printmaking and writings on engraving.<sup>13</sup> Independently, Carl Goldstein deepened this issue in his comprehensive study on the French print culture and links Bosse's *Sentimens* both to his efforts to valorise

printmaking among the visual arts as well as to his position on the French market for prints and the emerging print collections in Paris.<sup>14</sup> Ultimately, Thomas Frangenberg studied Bosse's adaption and discussion of Italian art theory in relation to French writings on art of the first half of the seventeenth-century as well as the printed edition of Leonardo's treatise, and stressed both, his knowledge of and his contribution to art theory.<sup>15</sup>

Building on the latest scholarship on Bosse, this paper will specify the research of concepts of reproduction by providing a reading of *Sentimens* regarding Bosse's notion of copying. Therefore, I will discuss the treatise in the context of Bosse's writings first and try to derive some conclusions of his theoretical and artistic conceptualization of the copy from that.

### Abraham Bosse – Theoretician

Abraham Bosse was an artist, as well as an art theoretician, artisan and teacher. He started his career after artisanal training in the workshop of the French printmaker and librarian Melchior Tavernier (1594–1665) and, further on, at the workshop of Jacques Callot (1592–1635) in Paris.<sup>16</sup> As printmaker he specialized successfully in reproductive prints, book illustrations and self-invented single prints and series.<sup>17</sup> Besides his success as a printmaker, Bosse was well-known for his books about optics and perspective.<sup>18</sup> His manuals about printing techniques such as *Traicté des manières de graver en taille douce*, where he explained the intaglio techniques of his teacher, Jacques Callot, became standard books for the following centuries.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, with manuals such as *Manière universelle de Mr. Desargues, pour pratiquer la perspective*, he established his career at the newly founded Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture (Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture) as a visiting professor for his perspectives on writings on the methods of the French mathematician Gérard Desargues (1591–1661).<sup>20</sup> Though Bosse's strict obedience to Desargues' perspective rules caused a quarrel with Charles le Brun (1619–1690) that led to Bosse's exclusion from the Academy in 1661. His writings on perspective founded an educational system of art-production that included not only imaging methods for drawing points, lines, and surfaces in space, but also for the depiction of light, shadows and colour values.<sup>21</sup> This methodology should become the practical backbone ("le règle") of Bosse's concept of the copy.<sup>22</sup>

However, the *Sentimens sur la distinction des diverses manières de peinture, dessin et gravure et des originaux d'avec leurs copies* of 1649 was a theoretical treatise in the style of Italian writings on art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and not a user guide.<sup>23</sup> On about one hundred pages, the *Sentimens* discusses the relation between original artworks and their copies for amateurs, collectors and experts, artists and art traders.<sup>24</sup>

Bosse stated in his introduction that the *Sentimens* in many ways continued his earlier writings.<sup>25</sup> Integrating intaglio printmaking equally into the visual arts alongside with drawing and painting, it discussed a comprehensive concept of the visual arts that

covered all two-dimensional pictures.<sup>26</sup> Dedicated to the members of the royal academy, the treatise had a clearly educational focus towards professionalizing young artists and educating future connoisseurs. Anyway, the purpose of the *Sentimens* was more general. Bosse provided an art theoretical terminology and glossary to talk about paintings and to judge them: disposition, "beautiful expression" (*belle expression*), "great style" (*grand manière*), "coloration" (*teinte*) and also "vaghezza".<sup>27</sup>

Although the first chapter of Bosse's treatise promises a general definition of what he intended to be – an original or a copy. It concentrates on a description of the term "original". He defined "original" by its relation to nature; as something artificial, "something that is not similar to anything in nature".<sup>28</sup>

Furthermore, he introduced his concept of the original as a matter of copyright at the convergence of painting, printmaking and connoisseurship.<sup>29</sup> Bosse's distinction between original and copy originates in the needs of the mercantile art market. This issue had a strong social dimension with economic consequences for Bosse. Over 1,600 copies of prints survived from Bosse's busy workshop. Unauthorized copies, replicas and imitations of his prints were in circulation; his writings were also quickly translated into different European languages without his permission.<sup>30</sup> With regard to the art market, Bosse discussed the problem of the original within printmaking, where originals were made to be multiplied.

For instance, he was the first to mention terms such as "original print" (*stampe originale*)<sup>31</sup> and original engraving (*taille douce originale*).<sup>32</sup> Independently, Ann Tummers and Carl Goldstein discussed at length the question of attribution and the challenges of recognizing a copy from an absent original or an unseen original, in both Bosse's treatise and the art market of the seventeenth century, in their studies.<sup>33</sup>

Bosse's theoretical concept of the original, the economic dimension of its art production, as well as his efforts as academician and teacher provided a basis for his comprehensive concept of the copy that included both, a theoretical and a technical level, as will be discussed in the following section.

## Theorizing the Copy

In Bosse's writings, copying was linked with printmaking both theoretically and practically. First and foremost, it meant making prints after paintings, which is basically modern reproduction printing.

In the *Sentimens*, two chapters on the distinction between copy and original instruct the readers in how to make good engraved copies. Bosse stated that original and copy are linked together on the level of quality – good models may result in good copies.<sup>34</sup> A good model provides a good copy, because the copyist imitates the model like the painter imitates nature – "imiter comme le peintre qui imite le naturel".<sup>35</sup> Here, the term "imiter"

refers to imitation in terms of a creative process.<sup>36</sup> Thus, copying also meant a process of creative design by imitating a model and composing something new from it through translation. Copying, thus, meant translating a picture from one medium into the other.

The idea of the copy as translation was a trope of the Renaissance “culture of copying”, as Lisa Pon notes in her study on the copy and print in the fifteenth century.<sup>37</sup> The definition of the copy in modern art history is based on this model. In 1803, Adam von Bartsch (1757–1821), the first curator of the print collection of the Viennese court library, which became later a part of the Grafische Sammlung Albertina in Vienna, stated in the introduction of his catalogue :

The print that makes an engraver after the design of a painting can be perfectly compared to the translation of a work from a different language to that of the author; and as a translation cannot be correct when the translator is not convinced of the author’s ideas, the same holds true for a print that will never be perfect when the engraver lacks the talent to understand the spirit of its original and to render its value with the lines of his burin. However, the translator and the engraver who possess this quality are both rare.<sup>38</sup>

Similar to Bosse, Bartsch compares a print after a painting to the translation of a text from one language into another. A proper interpreter of the original work needs both, technical and intellectual skills. However, in contrast to Bosse, Bartsch included a far-reaching hierarchization into the concept of the copy as translation: *Peintre-Graveurs* were called painter-printmakers such as Dürer or Rembrandt, who made their prints after their own inventions. He distinguished this category from engravers, who engraved after the designs of other artists. This separation stressed a hierarchization that became instrumental for nineteenth- and twentieth-century academic art historiography.<sup>39</sup>

In contrast, Bosse’s early definition of the copy as translation did not include a hierarchy of artistic production, although Bosse set an ontological order of original and copy and stated clearly that a copy cannot exceed its original model – nature is more perfect than the artwork.<sup>40</sup> Instead, he stated that the copy has its own autonomy.<sup>41</sup> Bosse exemplified this in his art history of engravers in Chapter VII on intaglio printing. Introducing Italian *Cinquecento* printmaking, he wrote about the engraver Marcantonio Raimondi, who “[...] proved in his works that he was not only an exact imitator of the originals, but he also sought a great liberty of his burin, the beauty of the order, the arrangement of the hatchings, [as well as] the strength and swelling [of the lines] [...]”<sup>42</sup>

Raimondi was famous for his engravings after the paintings of Raphael.<sup>43</sup> Bosse claimed that Raimondi had two talents: He was capable of properly imitating Raphael – one of the most important authorities in academic art; moreover, instead of merely adhering to the great model, he was able to maintain the eloquence of his hand and line. This concept of copying had its own value that went beyond invention.

The autonomous valuation of the copy refers to a common notion among the art markets of the seventeenth-century, as Anna Tummers discusses in her study of seventeenth century connoisseurship.<sup>44</sup> The quality of the artwork made the difference and less the label of an artist.<sup>45</sup> Accordingly, the connotation of the concept of copy varied. Copies circulating around Europe's art markets ranged from budget copies and forgeries to costly commissions and the finest executions, from piracies over pupil works to master copies. Though Bosse was well aware of this variety of meanings, his concept of copy referred to high-end works in terms of artistic practice and less to the economic dimension of the market.<sup>46</sup>

According to Bosse's concept of copying, an artist – painter or engraver – was able to create the same visual effect to the beholder as the imitated object: A good copy is able to reproduce the sensuous qualities of the original, the relief appears as relief, tender appears tender, hard appears hard.<sup>47</sup> For that, the copyist needs technical skills as well as an intellectual understanding of the depicted figures and bodies. For instance, Bosse stated that it was not sufficient to draw the outline of a human body, but to reproduce it as a living being with the structure of the muscles beneath the skin.<sup>48</sup>

However, Bosse's approach was highly sophisticated, because it demanded excellent drawing skills<sup>49</sup>, which was a quality that so many printmakers effectively lacked. Bosse self-confidently used the expression of the "knowing" or "learned" engraver ("savant Graveur"), alongside the term "savants Peintres".<sup>50</sup>

Moreover, this demand for drawing referred to the foundation of the Early Modern art theory on the concept of *disegno* as the canonical and intellectual basis of the visual arts since the sixteenth century.<sup>51</sup> It also proves his in-depth knowledge of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian writings on art. Thus, Bosse's *Sentimens* claimed no less than that the poetic power of the visual arts was equally true for painting, sculpture, as well as printmaking.

This ambitious claim of painting and intaglio unified by *disegno* is already depicted in the *Sentimens'* frontispiece [Fig. 1]. The graphic arts are presented as imaging methods, set alongside the traditional scheme of art theory and art hierarchy.<sup>52</sup> Two women personify the graphic arts – intaglio printing on the left and painting, with the palette in her hand,



1. Abraham Bosse after Sébastien Bourdon, Frontispiece of *Sentimens sur la distinction des diverses manieres de Peinture, Dessin & Graveure*, 1649. Photo: © British Museum

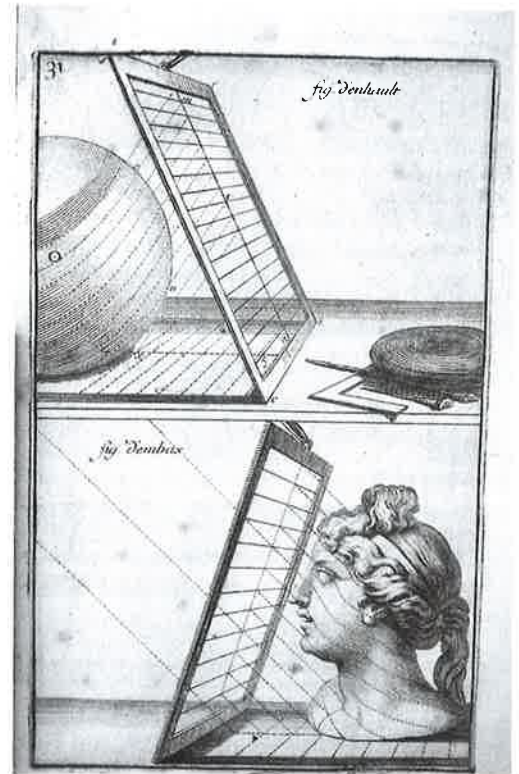
on the right. Together they gaze at a tablet with a drawing of Minerva – *disegno* – which a putto shows them. Setting the lines of a drawing as basic elements of any visual depiction, Bosse linked the art of intaglio printmaking and the art of painting on the same structural level.<sup>53</sup>

Bosse's description of copying as "[imitating] like the painter who imitates nature" ("imiter comme le peintre qui imite le naturel") may be his theoretical foundation of copying, because it describes imitating as a circle of copying the *disegno*: Nature itself has the drawings, providing images – the painter only needs to imitate. Likewise, the copyist imitates a model provided by the painter. Thus, Bosse's concept of copy claimed truth independently from the model, because he set it as something "natural".

Bosse's copy, to sum up, is the imitation of an original object from nature or art. For Bosse, copying meant to be the creative process that translates the sensual appearance of an image from one medium into another. On the theoretical level, Bosse referred to the whole field of mimesis. On the practical level, he limited the imitation of artworks to intaglio printmaking.

### Techniques of Copying

Practically, Bosse had developed an instruction system for young engravers. The question of the status of copies may be exemplified by Bosse's method of finding new hatchings in order to create graphic structures. He introduced his method in 1653 in his treatise on the construction of linear perspective, *Moyen Universel de pratiquer la Perspective sur les tableaux*.<sup>54</sup> Explaining the practice of the linear perspective according to the method of Gérard Desargues, Bosse treated the depiction of geometric figures and the formation of shades alongside various diagrams and illustrations. Accordingly, one could shape geometrical objects and their lighting just by modelling the swelling of parallel lines. For that, Bosse had developed a hatching method. Plate 31 of the treatise [Fig. 2], entitled *La raquette* (the racket), shows two examples of experimental arrangements of his method.<sup>55</sup> A frame with parallel mounted strings is set between an object and its light source in such a way that the strings cast shadows on the object. The light falls analogously to natural daylight in parallel rays. Thus, the shadows of the strings also appear as parallel lines on



2. Abraham Bosse, «La Raquette», Plate 31 in *Moyen Universel de pratiquer la Perspective*, 1653. Photo: after K. Leonhard, R. Felfe, *Lochmuster und Linienspiel. Überlegungen zur Druckgrafik des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg i. B. (et al.) 2006, p. 104

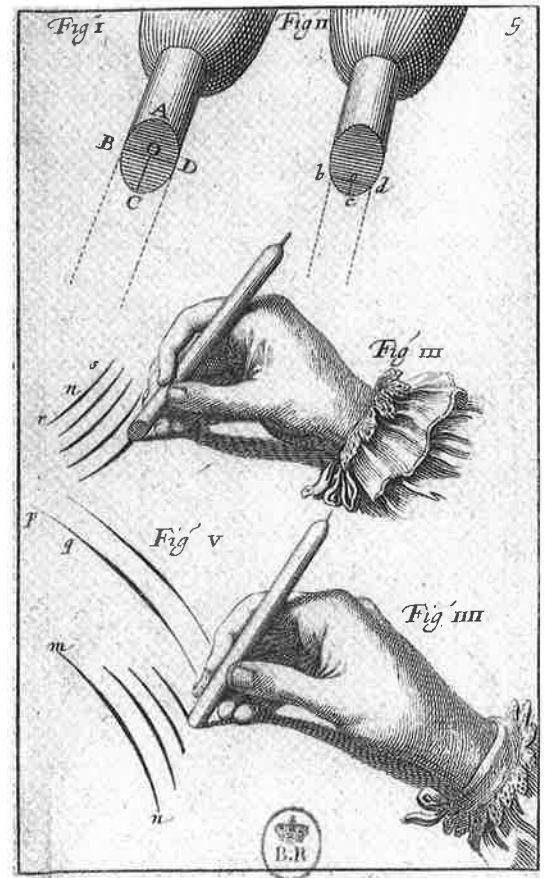


the surface. Depending on the incidence angle of each spot, the shadows of the strings change their position and are more or less stretched. In this way, the string frame creates a shadow picture that is able to shape the form and relief of the object only through the up and down swelling of the shadow lines. The method works with simple figures such as the ball in Bosse's table above as well as with more complexly and irregularly shaped bodies such as the human bust below.

The *Sentimens*, however, continued with the educational and instructive approaches on perspective and printmaking. Bosse pointed out that the basis for a good copy was the translation of colours into shadow and light.<sup>56</sup> Its success depended largely on the depiction of light effects and tonal values of differently curved surfaces. Bosse demonstrated this in the experimental setting of *La raquette* by explaining the graphic cast of the shadows that shape the object.

Robert Felfe and Karin Leonhard analyzed this method in their book on seventeenth-century print theory.<sup>57</sup> They observed that even though the lines projected onto the figures are already hatch-like lines, Bosse did not depict them as such. Instead, the lines on the bust and the ball are schematic and unspecified dashed lines. This imaginative method reminds us of surprisingly similar techniques of the nineteenth century, such as those of the photographer Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877), who claimed the calotype prints of his “Pencil of nature” to be drawn by nature itself.<sup>58</sup>

Bosse did not go so far. His figure shows a projection, a mere cast of shadow. Instead of introducing a concept of nature as painter in the tradition of *deus artifex*, his method needs a human hand and a creative mind to transform a mere image of shadows into an artwork. His teacher, Jacques Callot, had developed an etching needle with which an etcher was able to swell lines as engravers were able to do with the burin. Bosse explained this method in his intaglio manual *Traicté des manières de graver en taille douce*, published in 1645 in Paris. Figure 5 of the treatise shows Callot's invention, the *échoppe*, in the upper part of the engraving and two examples of its use below [Fig. 3].<sup>59</sup> Two hands, solicitously adorned with lacy cuffs, are drawing different swelling lines with the *échoppe*. They represent the manual quality that Bosse believed to be constitutive for artistic creation in an exemplarily way.<sup>60</sup>



3. Abraham Bosse, Fig. 5 in *Traicté des manières de graver en taille douce*, 1645. Photo: C. Goldstein, *Print Culture in Early Modern France. Abraham Bosse and the Purposes of Print*, Cambridge (et al.) 2012, p. 21



To conclude, both levels of copying were unified by quality in terms of technical brilliance and intellectual creativity as a method of distinction.

Bosse's writings were published at the beginning of the institutionalization of artists' training and art criticism that was accompanied by an alienation from a "mere" artisanal background of one's work. In relation to this tendency, Bosse's position was more than unusual, as Robert Felfe and Karin Leonhard pointed out.<sup>61</sup> Although Bosse supported a highly academic concept of art that was based on quasi scientific methods, he never disconnected this from the experience and knowledge of artisanal work. Instead, he considered in-depth technical skills and manual practice to be the indispensable and creative basis for artistic work. Criticizing habitual applications of mere assumed artisanal practice, he represented a concept of artistic work that was both intellectual and manual, and continuously deliberated. Therefore, Bosse represented a historical late example of the artists' self-awareness of practical experience on which is based artistic knowledge, or what Pamela Smith called "artisanal epistemology", in her fundamental study on the "body of the artisan".<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> R. E. Spear, "Notes on Renaissance and Baroque Originals and Originality", in *Retaining the Original. Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions*, Washington, DC, 1989 (Studies in the History of Art, 20), p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> N. De Marchi, H. J. Van Miegroet, "Pricing Invention: *Originals, Copies*, and their Relative Value in Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Art Markets", in *Economics of the Arts*, ed. by V. A. Ginsburgh, Amsterdam, 1996, pp. 27–70. Cf. *Art Market and Connoisseurship. A Closer Look at Paintings by Rembrandt, Rubens and their Contemporaries*, ed. by A. Tummers, K. Jonckheere, Amsterdam, 2008; A. Tummers, *The Eye of the Connoisseur. Authenticating Paintings by Rembrandt and his Contemporaries*, Amsterdam, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> Tummers (as in n. 3) gives a comprehensive overview and discusses the points of view of connoisseur-writings of the seventeenth century.

<sup>5</sup> Abraham Bosse, *Sentimens sur la distinction des diverses manières de Peinture, Dessin & Graveure et des originaux d'avec leurs copies*, Paris, 1649. Translation of the title after C. Goldstein, *Print Culture in Early Modern France. Abraham Bosse and the Purposes of Print*, Cambridge, 2012, p. 25. On editions and translations, see *Abraham Bosse, savant graveur: Tours, vers 1604–1676*, ed. by S. Join-Lambert, M. Préaud, exh. cat., Tours, 2004, p. 256. T. Frangenberg, "Abraham Bosse in context. French responses to Leonardo's Treatise on painting in the seventeenth century", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 75, 2012, pp. 225–226, recently published a substantial bibliography on Bosse.

<sup>6</sup> For terminological conceptualizations that are historically more comprehensive, see e.g. the approaches of A. Mensger, "Déja-vu. Von Kopien und anderen Originalen", in *Déja-vu? Die Kunst der Wiederholung von Dürer bis Youtube*, ed. by *idem*, exh. cat., Bielefeld, 2012, pp. 30–45; *idem*, "Original/Kopie/Fälschung", in *Lexikon Kunstwissenschaft. Hundert Grundbegriffe*, ed. by S. Jordan, J. Müller, Stuttgart, 2012, pp. 254–256; *Reproduktion. Techniken und Ideen von der Antike bis heute. Eine Einführung*, ed. by J. Probst, Berlin, 2011; W. Augustyn, U. Söding, "Original – Kopie – Zitat. Versuch einer begrifflichen Annäherung", in *Original – Kopie – Zitat*, ed. by *idem*, Passau, 2010, pp. 1–14; *Das Bild im Plural. Mehrteilige Bildformen zwischen Mittelalter und Gegenwart*, ed. by D. Ganz, F. Thürlemann, Berlin, 2010; W. Ullrich, *Raffinierte Kunst. Übung vor Reproduktionen*, Berlin, 2009; Ch. S. Wood, *Forgery, Replica, Fiction. Temporalities of German Renaissance Art*, Chicago, 2008; M. H. Loh, "New and Improved: Repetition as Originality in Italian Baroque Practice and Theory", *Art Bulletin*, 86, 2004, pp. 477–504; N. Gramaccini, H. J. Meier, *Die Kunst der Interpretation. Französische Reproduktionsgraphik 1648–1792*, Munich–Berlin, 2003; *Ancient Art of Emulation. Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity*, ed. by E. K. Gazda, A. Arbor, 2002; P. Parshall, "Imago contrafacta. Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance", *Art History*, 16, 1993, pp. 554–579; J. M. Muller, "Measures of Authenticity: The Detection of Copies in the Early Literature on Connoisseurship", in *Retaining the Original* (as in n. 1), pp. 141–149.

<sup>7</sup> F. Wickhoff, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Reproduzierenden Künste: Marcantonios Eintritt in den Kreis Römischer Künstler", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 20, 1899, pp. 181–194.

<sup>8</sup> L. Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi. Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print*, New Haven–London, 2004, pp. 33–36.

<sup>9</sup> On the *Sentimens*, see (in chronological order): C. Goldstein, "Forms and Formulas. Attitudes towards Caravaggio in Seventeenth-Century France", *Art Quarterly*, 34, 1971, p. 350; C. Gibson-Wood, *Studies in the theory of connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli*, New York, 1988, pp. 44–58; C. Goldstein, "The Platonic Beginnings of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris", in *Academies of Art. Between Renaissance and Romanticism*, ed. by A. W. A. Boschloo et al., The Hague, 1989 (Leids kunsthistorisch jaarboek, 5–6), p. 190; D. Posner, "Concerning the 'Mechanical' Parts of Painting and the Artistic Culture of Seventeenth-Century France", *Art Bulletin*, 75, 1993, pp. 591–592; M. Le Blanc, "Les *Sentimens d'Abraham Bosse sur la distinction des diverses manières de peinture, dessein et gravure...* Stratégies d'un discours sur l'art à la fin des années 1640", in *Littérature et peinture au temps de Le Sueur*, ed. by J. Serroy, A. Mérot, Grenoble, 2003, pp. 35–42; *Abraham Bosse, savant graveur* (as in n. 5), p. 256; M. Le Blanc, *D'acide et d'encre. Abraham Bosse (1604?–1676) et son siècle en perspectives*, Paris, 2004; T. V. Senkevitch, *The printmaker's perspectives: Abraham Bosse and the pedagogic debates at the Académie de peinture et de sculpture, 1648–1661*, PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2005, pp. 99–178; G. Lo Nostro, "Abraham Bosse 'maître graveur' e abile mercante. Le incisioni, gli originali e le copie", *Grafica d'arte*, 22, 2011, pp. 8–13; Frangenberg (as in n. 5), pp. 233–234; Goldstein (as in n. 5).

<sup>10</sup> *Abraham Bosse, savant graveur* (as in n. 5), and the exhibition website: <<http://expositions.bnf.fr/bosse/>> [accessed on 10 April 2013].

<sup>11</sup> Gibson-Wood (as in n. 9), pp. 44–58; Le Blanc (as in n. 9), pp. 35–42.

<sup>12</sup> Tummers (as in n. 3), pp. 68–74.

<sup>13</sup> Lo Nostro (as in n. 9), pp. 8–13.

<sup>14</sup> Goldstein (as in n. 5).

<sup>15</sup> Frangenberg (as in n. 5), pp. 223–260.

<sup>16</sup> For Bosse's biography, see esp. Le Blanc (as in n. 9).

<sup>17</sup> See *Abraham Bosse, savant graveur* (as in n. 5).

<sup>18</sup> Bosse taught perspective and optics at the *Academy of Painting and Sculpture* (Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture), founded in 1648, until 1661 when he was expelled after didactic and

methodological disputes with Charles Le Brun. On Bosse's conception of perspective and French perspective theory, see M. Kemp, "A Chaos of Intelligence! Leonardo's *Traité* and the Perspective Wars in the Académie Royale", in *'Il se rendit en Italie' Etudes offertes à André Chastel*, Paris–Rome, 1987, pp. 415–426.

<sup>19</sup> Abraham Bosse, *Traicté des manières de graver en taille douce sur l'airain par le moyen des eaux-fortes et des vernis durs et mols. Ensemble de la façon d'en imprimer les planches, et d'en construire la presse*, Paris, 1645. On editions and translations, see Abraham Bosse, *savant graveur* (as in n. 5), n. 205, pp. 227–228. Among his most famous etchings are scenes of the life of printmakers such as *Les Graveurs en taille-douce* of 1643 and *Les Imprimeurs en taille-douce* of 1642, showing the work of engravers.

<sup>20</sup> Abraham Bosse, *Manière universelle de Mr. Desargues, pour pratiquer la perspective*, Paris, 1648.

<sup>21</sup> R. Felfe, "Sehen am Faden der Linie. Spiele des Bildermachens bei Abraham Bosse", in *Spektakuläre Experimente. Praktiken der Evidenzproduktion im 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. by H. Schramm, L. Schwarte, Berlin, 2006, p. 84. On Bosse's relation to the Academy, see Senkevitch (as in n. 9).

<sup>22</sup> Bosse (as in n. 5), p. 11.

<sup>23</sup> Goldstein (as in n. 5), p. 25.

<sup>24</sup> Bosse (as in n. 5), pp. 1–2.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* (unpaged).

<sup>26</sup> On Bosse's art theory concept, which he called *portraiture* (*pourtraicture*), see M. Le Blanc, "Da la *portraiture* à la peinture: la place de Bosse dans l'essor des arts et de leur théorie à la française", in Abraham Bosse, *savant graveur* (as in n. 5), pp. 71–75, and Goldstein (as in n. 5), pp. 145–146.

<sup>27</sup> Bosse (as in n. 5), unpaged. Senkevitch (as in n. 9), pp. 99–178, thoroughly discusses Bosse's language of art in the context of the foundation of the academy.

<sup>28</sup> "[...] une chose de laquelle on ne puisse trouver le semblance dans la nature [...]", Bosse (as in n. 5), p. 8.

<sup>29</sup> "Je tiens donc qu'à toute rigueur, lon ne peut donner ce tître d'Original qu'à une chose de la quelle on ne puisse trouver le semblable dans la nature, ainsi qu'un tableau representant divers Corps & dont la forme ne soit connuë qu'à celui qì la fait, car de faire la Representation ou Pourtrait d'une chose connuë, quoy que naturelle, elle ne peut prendre que le nom de Coppie d'apres cette naturelle"; Bosse (as in n. 5), p. 8. See Lo Nostro (as in n. 9), pp. 8–13.

<sup>30</sup> Goldstein (as in n. 5).

<sup>31</sup> Bosse (as in n. 5), p. 81.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83. Bartsch used this terminology in his introductory manual on intaglio prints. A. von Bartsch, *Anleitung zur Kupferstichkunde*, 2 vols, Vienna, 1821.

<sup>33</sup> Tummers (as in n. 3); Goldstein (as in n. 5).

<sup>34</sup> Bosse (as in n. 5), p. 56.

<sup>35</sup> "Tant plus le Naturel est beau, & bien proportionné, tant plus l'Ouvrage fait d'apres iceluy, doit estre excellent, estant fait par un bon Ouvrir, De mesme, davant plus qu'un Tableau est excellent, davant la Copie faite sur iceluy doit estre excellente", *ibid.*, p. 56.

<sup>36</sup> On seventeenth-century concepts of imitation, see P. Duro, "The surest mesure of perfection! Approaches to imitation in seventeenth-century French art and theory", *Word and Image*, 25, 2009, pp. 363–383.

<sup>37</sup> Pon (as in n. 8), pp. 33–36.

<sup>38</sup> "L'estampe faite par un graveur d'après le dessin d'un peintre, peut être parfaitement comparée à un ouvrage traduit dans une langue différente de celle de l'auteur; et comme une traduction ne peut être

exacte que quand le traducteur s'est pénétré des idées de l'auteur, de même une estampe ne sera jamais parfaite, si le graveur n'a le talent de saisir l'esprit de son original, et d'en rendre la valeur par les traits de son burin. Cependant le traducteur et le graveur qui possèdent cette qualité, sont rares l'un et l'autre", A. von Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur*, vol. 1, Vienna, 1803, préface, p. III. Quoted by Pon (as in n. 8), p. 174, n. 93.

<sup>39</sup> On the history of this far-reaching hierarchization beginning with Vasari's valuation of Marcantonio's prints in his *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, see D. Landau, "Vasari, Prints, and Prejudice", *Oxford Art Journal*, 6, 1983, pp. 3–10.

<sup>40</sup> "Ceux qui Copient les dits Ouvrages, taschent bien d'en faire le mesme, mais comme le Naturel & relief est d'ordinaire de beaucoup plus parfait que l'Ouvrage fait sur iceluy, de mesme l'Original est-il plus parfait & complet en ces choses que sa Copie", Bosse (as in n. 5), p. 56.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. T. Bartsch, "The Originality of Copies. An Introduction", in *Das Originale der Kopie. Kopien als Produkte und Medien der Transformation von Antike*, ed. by *idem*, Berlin–New York, 2010, pp. 27–43.

<sup>42</sup> "Dans le temps de Raphaël d'Urbain, il y avoit en Italie Marc Anthoine, & Augustin Venitien, qui ont gravé plusieurs Stampedes tres-bonnes d'après les Oeuvres de divers excellens Peintres, comme dudit Raphaël d'Urbain; Ledit Marc Antoine a tesmoigné par ses Oeuvres qu'il estoit sort exact imitateur de ses Originaux, mais non pas de rechercher une grande liberté de burin, & beauté en l'ordre & arangemet des hacheures, fortifiement & affoiblissement d'icelles [...]", Bosse (as in n. 5), pp. 75–76.

<sup>43</sup> On Raimondi's line between liberty and reproduction, see Ch. S. Wood, "Eine Nachricht von Raffael", in *Öffnungen. Zur Theorie und Geschichte der Zeichnung*, ed. by F. Teja Bach, W. Pichler, Munich, 2009, pp. 109–137.

<sup>44</sup> Tummers (as in n. 3), pp. 75–78.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. the famous praise of the copy of the English portrait painter and art theoretician Jonathan Richardson (1665–1745), *Two Discourses, I. An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism as it relates to painting*, London, 1719, p. 179, in the chapter of the distinction of original and copy: "A Coppy of a very Good Picture is preferable to an Indifferent Original; for There the Invention is seen almost Intire, and a great deal of the Expression, and Disposition, and many times good Hints of the Colouring, Drawing, and other Qualities".

<sup>46</sup> V. s., p. [6].

<sup>47</sup> Bosse (as in n. 5), p. 56.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57. For a congruence of this demand with Rubens' idea of *diaphanitas*, see A. Thielemann, "Rubens' Traktat De imitatione statuarum", in *Imitatio als Transformation. Theorie und Praxis der Antiken-nachahmung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by U. Rombach, P. Seiler, Petersberg, 2012, pp. 125–135.

<sup>49</sup> See his remarks in Chapter VII on copies of prints, Bosse (as in n. 5), pp. 82–83. For the problem of low quality-reproductive prints, see T. Ketelsen, "Der Widerstreit der Linien. Zum Status der Zeichnung und Stich(el) bei Vasari und van Mander", in *Druckgraphik. Zwischen Reproduktion und Invention*, ed. by M. A. Castor et al., Munich, 2010, p. 210; W. S. Melion, "Theory & Practice. Reproductive Engravings in the Sixteenth Century Netherlands", in *Graven Images. The Rise of Professional Printmakers in Antwerp and Haarlem 1540–1640*, ed. by T. A. Riggs, L. Silver, exh. cat., Evanston, 1993, pp. 47–69; W. S. Melion, "Hendrick Goltzius's Project of Reproductive Engraving", *Art History*, 13, 1990, pp. 458–468.

<sup>50</sup> Bosse (as in n. 5), p. 84, p. 22. On status and self-confidence in the relation between painters and engravers, cf. A. Stijnman, "Kupferstecher bei der Arbeit. Bildliche Quellen zur Stellung von Kupferstechern im Vergleich zu Malern, Bildhauern und Architekten vor Abraham Bosses *Traicté des manieres de graver en taille douce sur l'airin* (1645)", in *Druckgraphik. Zwischen Reproduktion und Invention* (as in n. 49), pp. 261–290.

<sup>51</sup> See, i.a., W. Kemp, "Disegno. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Begriffs zwischen 1547 und 1607", *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 19, 1974, pp. 219–240; D. Mahon, "Art Theory and Artistic Practice in the Early Seicento. Some Clarifications", *Art Bulletin*, 35, 1953, pp. 226–232; M. Burioni, "Gattungen, Medien,

Techniken. Vasaris Einführung in die drei Künste des *Disegno*", in G. Vasari, *Einführung in die Künste der Architektur, Bildhauerei und Malerei. Die künstlerischen Techniken der Renaissance als Medien des "disegno"*, ed. by M. Burioni, Berlin, 2006, pp. 7–24.

<sup>52</sup> Abraham Bosse after Sébastien Bourdon, Frontispiece of *Sentimens sur la distinction des diverses manieres de Peinture, Dessin & Graveure et des originaux d'avec leurs copies*, Paris, 1649, etching, 117 × 68 mm. Abraham Bosse, *savant graveur* (as in n. 5), p. 256, n. 263.

<sup>53</sup> Felfe (as in n. 21), pp. 78–113.

<sup>54</sup> Abraham Bosse, *Moyen universel de pratiquer la perspective sur les tableaux, ou Surfaces Irregulieres*, Paris, 1653. See K. Leonhard, R. Felfe, *Lochmuster und Linienspiel. Überlegungen zur Druckgrafik des 17. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg i. B., 2006, pp. 85–108; Abraham Bosse, *savant graveur* (as in n. 5), p. 263, n. 275–278. On earlier hatching techniques, see D. Landau, P. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print, 1470–1550*, New Haven–London, pp. 67–76.

<sup>55</sup> Abraham Bosse, *La Raquette*, 1653, etching, 137 × 85 mm, Plate 31 of Bosse (as in n. 54). See Abraham Bosse, *savant graveur* (as in n. 5), pp. 261–262, n. 273.

<sup>56</sup> Bosse (as in n. 5), p. 58.

<sup>57</sup> Leonhard, Felfe (as in n. 54), pp. 103–107.

<sup>58</sup> H. Fox Talbot, *The Pencil of Nature*, London, 1844. See Leonhard, Felfe (as in n. 54), p. 106.

<sup>59</sup> Abraham Bosse, Fig. 5 of *Traicté des manières de Graver en taille douce*, 1645, etching, 136 × 82 mm. See n 19.

<sup>60</sup> On the trace of painting esp. picture-making in French art theory, see Posner (as in n. 9).

<sup>61</sup> Leonhard, Felfe (as in n. 54).

<sup>62</sup> P. H. Smith, *The Body of the Artisan. Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution*, Chicago, 2004, p. 8; Leonhard, Felfe (as in n. 54), p. 68.