
Repeat Offenders: Reprinting Visual Satire Across France's Long Eighteenth Century

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Résumé

Dans cet article, nous nous penchons sur deux caricatures françaises du XVIII^e siècle et sur leurs différents tirages parus au courant des XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles : *Triomphe des Arts Modernes ou Carnaval de Jupiter*, d'auteur inconnu, et *L'Assemblée de Brocanteurs*, attribuée au comte de Caylus. Empruntant aux méthodologies des études de la culture matérielle et visuelle, nous examinons la signification cachée du geste éditorial qui consiste à produire de nouveaux tirages de ces plaques de cuivre, geste riche de similarités avec la nature même de la satire et avec la matérialité de l'estampe. En déchiffrant l'iconographie dense de chaque image et en examinant les différences dans le fonctionnement de chaque estampe selon la date du tirage, nous traitons de la tendance de ces caricatures à citer de façon parasitique les cibles de leurs attaques. Par ailleurs, nous mobilisons l'interprétation de Miriam Hansen de l'essai de Walter Benjamin, « L'Œuvre d'art à l'époque de sa reproductibilité technique », afin d'analyser l'importance de la matérialité de l'estampe par rapport au statut de chaque nouveau tirage et de réfléchir aux notions d'« image » vs « chose », et d'éloignement vs proximité.

Copies, imitations, reproductions, interpretations. Print history in particular is bound to these terms, and must reconcile itself to them in order to address the important questions that they urgently pose: what is the status of the copy; how does this vary depending upon medium used, individuals involved, and circumstances of reproduction; does the binary of original to copy always apply, or is there yet another way of understanding the relationship of these to one another that we have yet to decode; and what are the potentialities unlocked by reproducibility that permit prints to engage in political, religious, and social life in ways that surpass the unique object?¹

As a caricature historian, my object of research is necessarily reproducible, a fact further complicated by copies of the printed images I study. These include different states of a print, pulls from different editions of the image, and outright counterfeits. In my research trips, these copies of copies have often felt like noisome obstacles, delaying my hunt for new and exciting images. However, I recently became aware that a surprising set of prints—my repeat offenders (figs. 1 to 5)—fit awkwardly within the categories of copies I have just outlined, and are best described as either perfect counterfeits or belated editions; in proper print vocabulary, late restrikes.² Their publishers, having somehow acquired these caricatural copper plates either by inheriting or purchasing them from estate auctions, re-pulled prints from them 50 to 90 years after their original dates of publication.³

This publishing gesture speaks to an important question which thing theory, visual studies, and material culture studies have worked to disentangle: our experience of images as immaterial, or virtual, and as material, or thingy.⁴ Scholars such as Mieke Bal, Nicholas Mirzoeff, and W. J. T. Mitchell have called for the study of the experience of seeing and of the encounter, and confusion, of subject and object. Similarly, material culture studies have proposed a study of materiality—a conceptual complement to visual studies' "visuality"—that also emphasizes the social and cultural contexts that mediate and are mediated

by the encounter of subject and object. Alongside the emergence of these approaches, scholars such as Tim Ingold have voiced concerns about the study of materiality, arguing that an attention to materials themselves has been overlooked in favour of the subject's encounter with the object.⁵ Finally, recent studies in print history have necessarily straddled these virtual and material experiences of the image, in particular contributions by Sophie Raux, Kristel Smentek, and Stéphane Roy, who explore the relationship between the circulation, technology, and reception of prints.⁶

The caricatures and their restrikes presented here allow us to address some of the methodological challenges posed by material culture and visual studies, in particular the tension between the experience of images as virtual and as material. Further, these restrikes beg questions that, even if they are difficult to answer, are important to ask: why do restrikes of these caricatures exist; what is the status of the restrike; how do these images and their copies interact with one another; what motivated publishers to reprint images; and how did audiences respond to their restrikes? This paper will address these questions by exploring the ways in which each image's satirical strategies and targets shift slightly from edition to edition. In the interest of acknowledging that these prints' multifaceted lives are as yet not extinguished, I will explore these themes by narrating the circuitous ways in which I became aware of these belated editions.

Triomphe des Arts Modernes

The first is a print entitled *Triomphe des Arts Modernes ou Carnaval de Jupiter, dédié aux amateurs du...* or "The Triumph of Modern Art or Jupiter's Carnival, dedicated to the amateurs of..." (fig. 1). I first came across this medium-sized and impressively detailed etched and engraved caricature in 2010 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France's (BnF) Département des Estampes. This edition was found in the BnF's thematic folio of "Prints pertaining to the Arts" and includes notations below



Figure 1. Anonymous, *Triomphe des Arts Modernes*, ca. 1700. Etching and engraving, 34.5 x 19.6 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Paris (Photo: author).

it that tentatively date it to around 1700. A bit of digging reveals our anonymous annotator's dating motivations. On 16 May 1700, the librettist Antoine Houdar de la Motte staged a performance of his *opéra-ballet*, *Le Triomphe des arts*, and three years later, a *comédie-ballet* entitled *Le Carnaval & la Folie* was presented with Jupiter as the lead character. Both performances took up a strong modernist stance within the ongoing Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns that raged across France's national academies during this period; and both modernized the classic lyrical form and the heroic genre by weaving a set of mythological characters into carnivalesque festivities, emphasizing dance and *galanterie* throughout. Houdar's subversive cultural gesture is complemented by a political one: both plays argue for the independence of the arts from royal patronage and contradict Jean-Baptiste Lully's deferential court ballets from fifty years prior, in particular his *Ballet des Arts* (1663).⁷

Our anonymous caricaturist transforms Houdar's triumphal procession into a bacchanalia by populating it with monsters and *comédie italienne* characters. An Arlequin-Apollo lazily cradles his lyre and waves the procession forward with a wreath of laurels. His chariot is pulled by a pack of donkeys upon which drunks and fools from the *comédie italienne* are perched, includ-

ing Pantalon, with his long pointed beard, and in front of him, Scapin. Behind these figures, we can make out Don Quixote in profile. Their troupe is led by Mercury, who heralds their arrival, perched upon a chimera, and they are trailed by the jester Momus, who carries the emblems of painting and architecture, and the allegory of music, who clashes cymbals, as one might in an orgiastic bacchanalia. In contrast, Apollo reappears in the heavens, heroically charging toward Jupiter, at the other end of the zodiac.

The anonymous satirist has also perhaps woven the Rococo painter and engraver Claude Gillot, Watteau's teacher and the originator of the *fête galante* genre, into the print. Gillot collaborated with Houdar on a modern illustrated edition of his *Fables* in 1719, which was prefaced with a discourse on the value of modernizing this revered text,⁸ and which Pantalon appears to be holding in the caricature. Similarly, the leopard that he rides attacks a donkey, as in Gillot's illustration to Houdar's eighteenth fable, "L'âne et le lièvre."⁹ Ironically, the image's similarity to Gillot's compositions, in particular his engraved *Bacchanales* series from ca. 1648–1722, has led this caricature to be attributed to him,¹⁰ whereas it is much more likely that our caricaturist is satirizing the success of the modern



Figure 2. Anonymous, *Triomphe des Arts Modernes*, ca. 1760. Etching and engraving, 36.2 x 21.7 cm. BnF, Paris (Photo: Gallica, bibliothèque numérique, BnF).



Figure 3. Anonymous, *Triomphe des Arts Modernes*, ca. 1791. Hand-coloured etching and engraving, 37 x 22.5 cm. BnF, Paris (Photo: Gallica, bibliothèque numérique, BnF).

style, with its preference for the representation of bacchanalias, carnivals, and mythological festivals.

I was surprised to come across this print again two years later, on Gallica, the BnF's digital document portal, which includes digitizations of almost the entirety of the Hennin and de Vinck collections—two collections of thousands of vernacular images that pertain to French history, donated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There, I ran into a second pull of the *Triomphe des Arts Modernes*, dated to around 1760, which has had its lettering scraped out and re-written (fig. 2).¹¹ The titling has been altered to read, “Il y a encore de grands Artistes, mais la frivolité, le luxe, les modes font dégénérer les talens, et s'il n'arrive une heureuse revolution, le Dieu du goût ne sera plus, comme on le voit ici, qu'un histrion entouré d'un vil cortège,” which translates roughly to, “There are still great Artists, but their talents are being whittled away by frivolity, luxury, and fashion, and barring a welcome revolution, the God of Taste will become nothing more than, as we see here, a wandering minstrel followed by a vile procession.”

With this restrike, however, no singular event presents itself to help us determine the motivations behind Hennin's dating. However, as Marc Fumaroli and Annie Becq have argued in their discussion of French aesthetics and the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns, these debates were still pressing at mid-century under the reign of Louis XV, when visual artists, in particular, contested the newly popular Rococo aesthetic and, with the Comte de Caylus leading the charge, advocated instead for a “retour à l'antique” (a return to classical style), and equally, a return to the ambitious patronage of Louis XIV and Colbert.¹²

In particular, the loaded vocabulary employed in the new lettering—frivolity, luxury, fashion—often appeared alongside the terms “degeneracy” and “decadence” within mid-century debates on luxury in political economy.¹³ The same vocabulary was frequently employed in mid-century art criticism, produced to respond to the contemporary art works exhibition at the newly biennial Salon du Louvre. In particular, the art amateur Étienne La Font de Saint-Yenne produced acerbic critiques of the luxury and decadence he observed in France's arts administration and cultural production, decrying the prevalence of portraiture in Salon submissions and calling for a return to the practices of state patronage under Louis XIV.¹⁴

In my examination of these images, I needed to determine whether the ca. 1700 print and this one were the same size. I was led down into the bowels, or as they call it, the *aquarium*, of the Département's image storage, where the large, red-leather bound folios of the Hennin collection were pulled out for me. There, I discovered that the prints were not only the same size, but that Hennin was one step ahead of me: he had mounted his ca. 1760 print alongside a ca. 1791 edition of the same plate (fig. 3).

This hastily hand-coloured and visibly faded edition possessed additional lettering: “Les Arts sortant du Temple du Gout vont faire leur petition a l'Assemblée Nationale” or “The Arts, emanating from the Temple of Taste, on their way to petition the National Assembly.” This line refers to the mini-revolution that occurred within the Académie in the wake of the French Revolution, when some of its own members, led by Jacques-Louis David, splintered off to form the *Commune des arts qui ont le dessin pour base* in 1790.¹⁵ This group presented a petition for the suppression of the Académie in 1791—the same year they held the first *Salon libre* in which anyone, not just Academicians, could display their art in the state's exhibition.¹⁶

Upon closer inspection, it became clear that these three prints all possessed the same plate size and were indeed pulled from the very same plate. In each of our three cases the same image, pulled from the same plate, had been recycled to contest changes to Academic artistic production categorized as “modern.” The satire represents the survival of this institution through the allegory of time that surveys the procession, its sickle and hourglass in hand. Time, with Fortune on his back, is accompanied by the astrological insignia emblazoned behind him, and seems to cast a foreboding prognostication for the art movements that parade below them as he flatulates insects—butterflies or moths. This gesture represents a timely iconographic pun: Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* employed insects in its representation of imagination, whereas the Régiment de la calotte, a satirical troupe of turn-of-the-century modernists, employed butterflies in their bacchic imagery to represent folly and fancy.¹⁷

Finally, Time bears a strange X on his rear, the same that we find in the lettering on the 1700 pull after “amateurs du.” Our satirist may here have included something in between a key, a rebus, and an indexical marker that allows us to fill in the blank and complete the title as “dédié aus amateurs du temps” or “dedicated to the lovers of the past.” In a way, this representation of time, who embodies the opinions of the amateurs to whom the image is dedicated, overturns a symbol of creation which had itself been appropriated by a subversive academic coterie, and suggests that this group will only enjoy a brief success.

Assemblée de Brocanteurs

After I had strung these three prints together, I went back to my notes, where I discovered that I had already documented another instance of the same kind of phenomenon: the Comte de Caylus's infamous *Assemblée de Brocanteurs* or “A Gathering of Merchants of Curiosities,” dated to ca. 1727 in the BnF's caricature folios (fig. 4). There, the annotator has added further text to explain the image, stating that Caylus engraved it to ridicule merchants of curiosities and false connoisseurs who

treat every painting as though it were extremely valuable. In the caricature, the *brocanteurs* carefully examine paintings, prints, and sculptures. Caylus reimagines them as donkeys—which in caricature and iconographic texts are often employed to accuse their targets of ignorance¹⁸—dressed up as connoisseurs with their characteristic walking canes and magnifying glasses.¹⁹ The *brocanteurs-connoisseurs* who are closest to the central painting wave around incense-burning thuribles of Christian and especially Catholic worship. The smoke from their incense wafts up to the painting’s surface, and may be intended to darken it, thus endowing it with a patina of age to trick the buyer into paying more for it. The thurible may also refer to a phenomenon that Patrick Michel calls the “abbé brocanteur,” or the abbot-merchant.²⁰ He notes that a surprising proportion of connoisseurs who began speculating on the art market were in fact abbots.

The image is likely dated to ca. 1727 because of its authorship: Pierre Charles Trémolières, who was in residency with Caylus around this time and who left for his Grand Tour in 1726 or 1727, produced a double-sided drawing that represents a merchant scene on one side and, on the other, an artist’s studio with the same set of *connoisseurs-brocanteurs*. We can infer their estimation of the work they observe from the downtrodden expression on the artist’s face. Peter Mäker argues that Caylus and Trémolières’s work apes the shop sign Watteau produced for the merchant of curiosities and art dealer Edmé-François Gersaint around 1720, in which a similar scene is represented with shop aids moving paintings for the viewing pleasure of genteel buyers.²¹ Caylus and Trémolières’s sardonic take on the same sort of scene reveals their estimation of Watteau and Gersaint’s generous representation of the latter’s clientele.

A trip to the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal’s caricature folios revealed to me a restrike in which the slightly damaged plate had its sparse lettering removed and re-drawn, and a publisher’s name included (fig. 5). Here, the image has been retitled to *Les connoisseurs les brocanteurs et les juges au Salon* or “Connoisseurs, Curiosity Sellers, and Judges at the Salon exhibition,” with the publisher “Naudet” indicated in the lower right-hand corner. Though the image has been attributed to Thomas-Charles Naudet, who died in 1810, the *Bibliographie de la France* lists this image’s publication date in November 1814. It was available from Naudet’s shop in the colonnade du Louvre, where the understudied but fascinating publisher and caricaturist, Caroline Naudet, daughter of Thomas-Charles, published works under her full name around the same period, including this restrike of *Assemblée de Brocanteurs*.²²

This date draws our attention to the often overlooked Salon of 1814, the first Bourbon Restoration Salon. It teetered precariously between Napoleon’s first defeat, the restoration of the Bourbon Monarchy, and Napoleon’s brief occupation of Paris

in 1815. As Marie-Claude Chaudonneret and Sébastien Allard have demonstrated, works that recalled Napoleon’s Empire or that were commissioned by him were purged from the 1814 exhibition by the Salon Jury. Given that Napoleon was still actively commissioning works as late as January 1814 and only fell in April of that year, the 25 August opening of the 1814 Salon exhibition gave artists only a few months to rethink their Salon submissions, and no time to produce new ones.²³ There was thus a large number of works shown that had been exhibited before, which transformed the 1814 Salon into something of a retrospective for artists such as Guérin and Girodet, and there was a noted absence of the battle paintings that had previously dominated the Empire Salons.²⁴ Caroline Naudet addresses this in her inscription and strategically expands the caricature’s insult to include the Salon jury, blaming them for the poor showing of new works at the Salon that year.

There is some question, however, as to whether or not Naudet re-pulled from the plate or simply produced a near flawless counterfeit. Damage is visible in the hard lines that riddle the plate, suggesting fissures in the copper itself, but the two images are subtly different from one another, in particular in the cross hatching used to shade in the frame, the background, and the foreground. Either the plate was so damaged and worn down that extensive retouching was necessary and was impossible to accomplish without such differences, or Naudet took an enormous amount of care to produce a painfully accurate counterfeit of this caricature.²⁵ It is even more fascinating, then, if this image were not only a counterfeit, but a counterfeit of a restrike: by simulating plate size and mirroring the original plate so closely, Naudet endeavours not simply to reproduce a caricature, but to trick us into believing that she has re-pulled from Caylus’s plate.

In sum, our *Triomphe* series first appeared around 1700, was re-lettered and re-pulled sixty years later, and then again another thirty years after that. Caylus’s *Assemblée de Brocanteurs*, first appeared ca. 1727 and reappeared ninety years later in 1814. These plates were either inherited or purchased, carefully scraped and burnished, and then re-lettered. Each restrike builds upon the previous image’s meaning, layering, rather than replacing, and thus piggy-backing upon the satirical bite of previous impressions: for the Caylus/Naudet print, the connoisseurs and brocanteurs of old have been joined now by the equally suspect Salon judges; and for *Triomphe des Arts Modernes*, the Academy continues to struggle against its sometimes misguided membership, and yet triumphs, as our flatulating Time sardonically suggests. By reusing each image, the caricatures function as mnemonic devices, recalling the recurrence of a very similar kind of problem that resulted in the production of the very same caricature. If audiences were unable to recall the print’s prior publication, they would have at least been tipped off by



Figure 4. Attributed to the Comte de Caylus, *Assemblée de Brocanteurs*, ca. 1727. Etching and engraving, 22.2 x 14.6 cm. BnF, Paris (Photo: author).

the anachronistic style of each image in its restrike, in particular in *Triomphe des Arts Modernes*, where its use of procession, dense cluster of emblems, allegorical figures, and a key had become less popular by mid-century, and even less so in the Revolutionary period, when emblem and allegory were used sparingly and appeared alongside personal caricatures of distorted faces and bodies.²⁶

The Status of the Restrike

I believe that it is the materiality of these prints that motivated the publishers to re-pull from the same plate, and indeed, later compelled the collector Hennin to acquire multiple editions of the print and mount them alongside one another. By this I mean that it is not simply the image that they valued and wished to re-present. Rather, in their insistence upon re-pulling from the original plates, or at least seeming as though they had, our publishers also presented the physical qualities of these caricatures as *things*—as copper plates worked upon by burins and acid

and artists and workshops, that are inked up and run through a press, and that once printed, are circulated, viewed individually and collectively, and participate in the larger conversations with which they symbolically engage. What our publishers here seem to evoke is their production and circulation—their exchange value, commercially, culturally, and socially.²⁷

Little work has been done on the status of restrikes in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.²⁸ Conventional wisdom dictates that collectors and museums should avoid purchasing restrikes because of their lower market value. However, Elisabetta Lazzarro's study of late twentieth-century sales of Rembrandt's prints demonstrates that posthumous restrikes are not as undervalued on the market as we would assume. Rather, the more important determining factor in the discrepancy between the price fetched for original pulls and late editions is how many states of the print we know to have existed: multiple states seem to foster a doubt about originality and attribution and, as a result, the variance between prices fetched for original versus restrikes increases from a factor of 3 to a factor of 20.

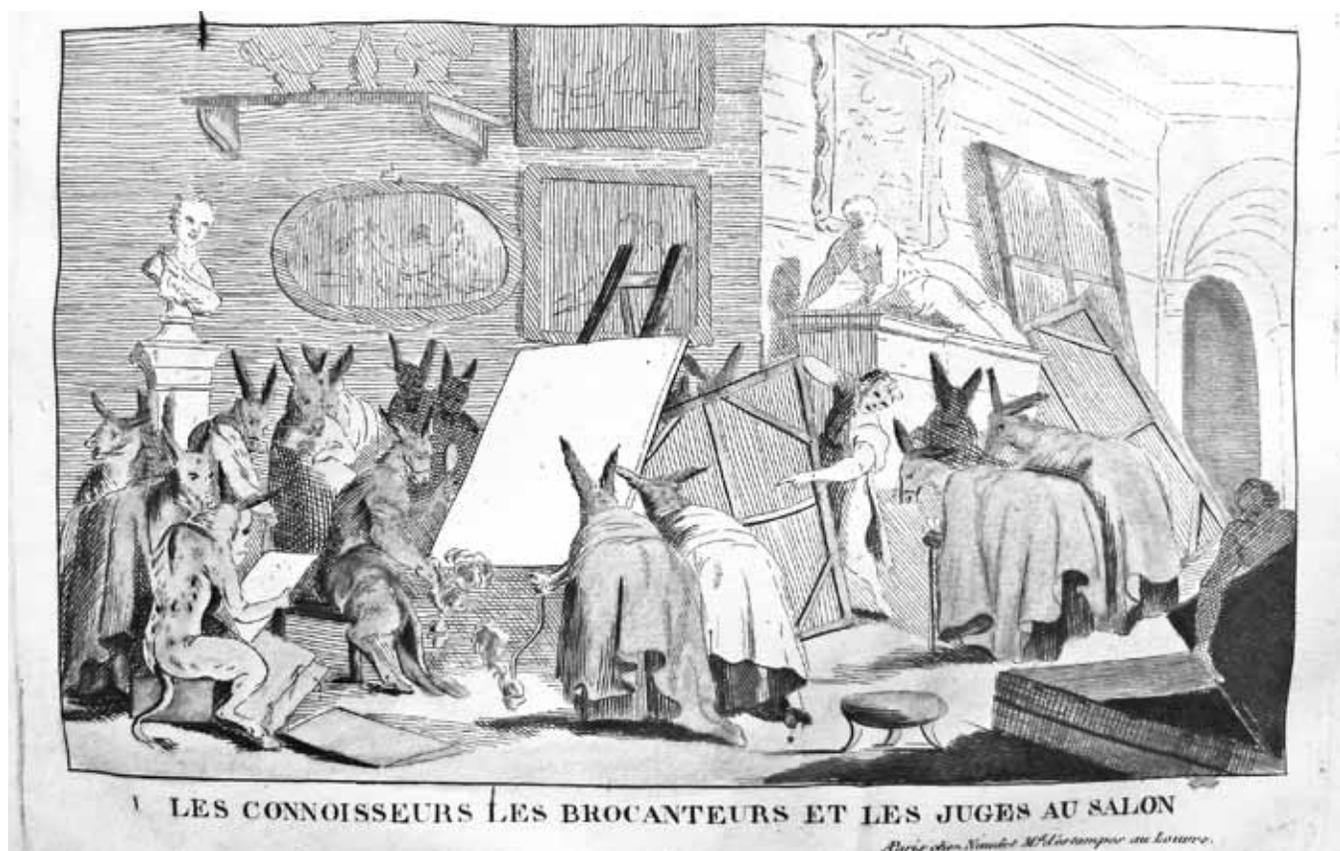


Figure 5. Anonymous, *Les Connoisseurs les brocanteurs et les juges au Salon*, 1814. Published by Caroline Naudet. Etching and engraving, 25.6 x 19.1 cm. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, BnF, Paris (Photo: author).

Lazzaro further demonstrates that there is a positive correlation between the prices garnered for original states that have posthumous restrikes, where the value of the original state increases when posthumous editions are known to exist.²⁹

A study on a similar scale has not been conducted for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; however, Erik Hinterding's work on the history of Rembrandt's copper plates demonstrates that by the mid-eighteenth century, collectors and publishers avidly sought out his plates at auction to either collect them or pull restrikes, but that these plates were not valued as highly as "superb editions" pulled from earlier states of the plates.³⁰ Altogether, these findings suggest that the relationship between restrike and original is more complex than it first seems: copper plates were sought after, restrikes could enhance the value of the original plate, and they were evaluated differently, but not dramatically less, than the original pull.

In sum, Lazzaro's and Hinterding's work suggests that restrikes do not simply exist because they are cheap, convenient, and expedient. Rather, collectors and publishers alike have

demonstrated an awareness of the unique status of the restrike, though we have yet to begin decoding their intentions in producing and marketing them. Indeed, print scholars such as Raux, Roy, Smentek, and Melot have attempted to draw our attention to the complex relationship between what we have formerly called "original" and "copy," suggesting instead that seriality and imitation elicit multifaceted and surprising relationships among the viewer, the artwork, and its referent.³¹ This scholarship opens the way for a more adventurous hypothesis as to the value of these restrikes, or in one case, possibly counterfeit restrike.

Image, Object, and Exchange

As we have explored, *Triomphe des Arts Modernes* and *Assemblée de Brocanteurs* mount arguments that engage with cultural and institutional debates in the early eighteenth century. The publishers that pull, or counterfeit, restrikes from these plates piggy-back on each image's message, updating it to address

current debates while revelling in the image's reference to its original circumstances of publication. However, as I hinted above, I feel that it is not only the images that have been recycled, but the prints as well. In other words, our restrikes call attention to themselves both as repeating satirical images and as repeating printed objects.

Material culture studies have developed a sophisticated vocabulary for the discussion of this dual experience of the visual object. Bill Brown defines "things" as "what is excessive in objects, as what exceeds their mere materialization," and defines *thingness* as the moment in which we stop looking through objects to see what they disclose, and notice the object itself.³² By re-pulling from the same plate, our publishers encouraged, and encourage still, a kind of leaping among types of visual experience: we can look through the object's surface, its medium, to its content, and try to decode its satirical gesture and its repetition of earlier satirical gestures, but we are also encouraged to recall that in a way, we are somehow interacting with the closest we can get to the *original* object itself.

Thus, the reprinting of these plates suggests the possibility of a surprising sort of fetishism and reverence—surprising because, as Walter Benjamin suggested in "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility," we tend to reserve fetishism for original artworks that still wield their auratic power.³³ According to Benjamin, the aura of the image is linked to its "unique existence in a particular place." It possesses a "here and now" quality that we regard as authenticity, and this quality changes when the work is reproduced—its value, in a way, becomes less significant, since it exists in many heres and many nows, and no longer enjoys a unique existence.³⁴ And yet these printed caricatures, which were already not unique, were re-struck and thus copied yet again, betraying a reverence for the original pull. While Benjamin, in this interwar essay, optimistically heralds the death of the aura and argues that the reproducibility of the work of art can move us away from the spectacular aesthetics of fascism, our restrikes seem to serve as evidence that the reproducible can possess an aura despite its reproducibility.³⁵

It would be easy to deploy Benjamin here as a straw man and to argue that his notion of the aura must surely be false, if not for Miriam Hansen's convincing exploration of where Benjamin's "Work of Art" essay fits within his writings.³⁶ She contends that in this essay, Benjamin strategically provides us with only half the picture and that elsewhere, he argues that the fascistic, fetishistic aura is a *simulated* one, which he associates with Kantian notions of distance and the sublime. Hansen believes that Benjamin sought to develop a materialist notion of the aura consistent with his ideas of the modern experience of technology, rather than destroy the notion of the aura altogether.³⁷ In this, she cites Lugwig Klages's discussion of modes of percep-

tion as having been deeply influential for Benjamin, in which Benjamin, using Klages, associates a sensation of farness with *image*, and of nearness with *thing*.³⁸ In Benjamin's formulation, the unique existence of a work of art invests it with authority and tradition, and thus a kind of aura that he associates with spectacle, virtuality, passivity, and distance. The technological reproducibility of the work of art responds instead to an opposite desire for *nearness*, materiality, and tactility.

This aura replacement that Benjamin hides at the centre of his "Work of Art" essay overlaps considerably with contemporary thing theory and notions of materiality, and all of these help us conceptualize the value of these restrikes. Our publishers created images that, in their second and third lives, are able to internally recall their own biographies as things and evoke their physical circulation and the tactility of their reception. Similarly, these images raise the question of whether the rules of the print market applied differently to works in the satirical register. As I hope to have demonstrated in my discussion of these images, these already relied on copying, citing, quoting, parodying, burlesquing, and so on. Their jokes were compiled through a collage-like series of references that invoke their sources satirically, and as such parasitize them and do violence to them.³⁹ The idea of the restrike resonates with these satirical strategies. We could say that, whereas satire's relationship to the sources it references is parasitic, these restrikes enjoy a symbiotic relationship with their earlier pulls, one in which original strikes and restrikes fortify and nuance one another's satirical bite.

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Notes

Unless otherwise indicated, translations are mine.

- 1 These questions have been explored across disciplines and media. For a selection of recent studies that have been particularly influential in nuancing my understanding of the relationship between original and copy, and types of copies, see Anthony Hughes and Erich Ranft, eds., *Sculpture and Its Reproductions* (London, 1997); Hans J. Van Miegroet, "Copies-fantômes et culture de l'imitation au début de l'époque moderne en Europe," *L'estampe un art multiple à la portée de tous?*, ed. Sophie Raux (Villeneuve-d'Ascq, 2008), 47–64; Christopher L. Witmore, "The World on a Flat Surface: Maps from The Archaeology of Greece and Beyond,"

- Re-Presenting the Past: Archaeology through Text and Image*, ed. Sheila Bonde and Stephen D. Houston (Oxford, UK, and Oakville, CT, 2013), 127–52.
- 2 Bamber Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints: A Complete Guide to Manual and Mechanical Processes from Woodcut to Inkjet* (New York, 2004), 58.
 - 3 Pierre Casselle briefly discusses the way in which a publisher of printed images may inherit or purchase a collection of copper plates in his seminal dissertation, “Le commerce des estampes à Paris dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle,” *École nationale des Chartes*, 1976, 33–36.
 - 4 Anne Friedberg disentangles the words “virtual,” “virtual reality,” and “digital.” She redefines the “virtual” as that which is able to exercise power despite its materiality. *The Virtual Window: From Alberti to Microsoft* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), 8–12.
 - 5 Tim Ingold et al., “Discussions around ‘Materials against Materiality,’” *Archaeological Dialogues* 14, 1 (June 2007): 1–38. For representative examples from visual studies and material culture studies, see W. J. T. Mitchell, “What Do Pictures ‘Really’ Want?,” *October* 77 (Summer 1996): 71–82; Mieke Bal, “Visual Essentialism and the Object of Visual Culture,” *Journal of Visual Culture* 2, 1 (April 2003): 5–32; Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, NC, 2010); Bill Brown, “Thing Theory,” *Critical Inquiry* 28, 1 (October 2001): 1–22; and Mark Poster, “Visual Studies as Media Studies,” *Journal of Visual Culture* 1, 1 (April 2002): 67–70.
 - 6 See in particular their contributions to Margaret Morgan Grasselli, ed., *Colorful Impressions: The Printmaking Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Washington, DC, 2003); Sophie Raux, *Quand la gravure fait illusion: autour de Watteau et Boucher, le dessin gravé au XVIIIe siècle* (Montreuil, Roubaix, 2007); Philippe Kaenel and Rolf Reichardt, *Interkulturelle Kommunikation in Der Europäischen Druckgraphik Im 18. Und 19. Jahrhundert/The European Print and Cultural Transfer in the 18th and 19th Centuries/Gravure et communication interculturelle en Europe aux 18e et 19e siècles* (Hildesheim and New York, 2007).
 - 7 Georgia Cowart, *The Triumph of Pleasure: Louis XIV & the Politics of Spectacle* (Chicago, 2008), 172–81, 194–96. Marc Fumaroli’s recent contribution thoroughly explores the impact of the Quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns on France’s academies, see *Le Sablier Renversé: Des Modernes aux Anciens* (Paris, 2013).
 - 8 For more on Houdar’s discourse and its impact on subsequent *fabulistes*, see François Moreau, “Les Fables Nouvelles de La Motte ou comment s’en débarrasser,” *Le fablier* 2 (1990): 19–24; Jean-Noël Pascal, “Brève remarques sur quelques fabulistes des Lumières: une nouvelle idée du genre au service d’idées nouvelles?,” *L’idée et ses fables: le rôle du genre*, ed. Geneviève Artigas-Menant and Alain Couprie (Paris, 2008), 307–19; Jean-Noël Pascal, “La ménagerie des fabulistes des Lumières,” *Dix-huitième siècle* 42, 1 (June 2010): 160–80.
 - 9 Antoine Houdar de La Motte, *Fables nouvelles* (Paris, 1719), 137–39.
 - 10 Rena M. Hoisington briefly discusses this caricature’s frequent misattribution to Claude Gillot in her “Etching as a Vehicle for Innovation: Four Exceptional Peintres-Graveurs,” *Artists and Amateurs: Etching in 18th-Century France*, ed. Perrin Stein (New York, 2013), 67.
 - 11 *Triomphe des Arts Modernes* is item 9083 in the Hennin collection, and has been dated to ca. 1760 within his *Recueil*. See Georges Duplessis, *Inventaire de la collection d’estampes relatives à l’histoire de France léguée en 1863 à la Bibliothèque nationale*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1881).
 - 12 Fumaroli, *Le Sablier Renversé*, sec. 3; Annie Becq, *Genèse de l’esthétique française moderne: de la raison classique à l’imagination créatrice, 1680–1814*, *Évolution de l’humanité* 9 (Paris, 1994), vol. 2. For the “retour à l’antique” in theatre, see Jérôme Brillaud’s contribution, which explores the development of this phenomenon via the reception of travelogues and newly translated Greek theatre: *Sombres Lumières: essai sur le retour à l’antique et la tragédie grecque au XVIIIe siècle* (Quebec, 2010).
 - 13 Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, “The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates,” *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods*, ed. Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger (Basingstoke, 2002), 7–27; Michael Kwass, “Consumption and the World of Ideas: Consumer Revolution and the Moral Economy of the Marquis de Mirabeau,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 37, 2 (January 2004): 187–213.
 - 14 Étienne La Font de Saint-Yenne, *Réflexions sur quelques causes de l’état présent de la peinture en France. Avec un examen des principaux ouvrages exposés au Louvre le mois d’août 1746* (La Haye, 1747), and *L’Ombre du grand Colbert, le Louvre et la ville de Paris, dialogue: réflexions sur quelques causes de l’état présent de la peinture en France avec quelques lettres de l’auteur à ce sujet* (s.l., 1752). For more on the way in which this debate was reflected in the arts administration under Louis XV, see Christian Michel, *L’Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture (1648–1793): la naissance de l’école française* (Geneva, 2012), esp. 92–121. For the use of this vocabulary in writing on prints, see Joëlle Raineau, “Le discours sur la décadence de la gravure de l’ancien régime à la restauration,” in *The European Print and Cultural Transfer*, ed. Kaenel and Reichardt.
 - 15 Christian Michel provides the most recent account of this split in his *L’Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*, 132–53.
 - 16 Claudette Houllé, “Les beaux-arts en révolution: au bruit des armes les arts se taisent!,” *Études françaises* 25, 2–3 (1989): 193–208.
 - 17 Antoine de Baecque, “Les éclats du rire. Le Régiment de la calotte, ou les stratégies aristocratiques de la gaieté française (1702–1752),” *Annales* 52, 3 (1997): 477–511; Helene E. Roberts, *Encyclopedia of Comparative Iconography: Themes Depicted in Works of Art* (Oxford and New York, 2013).

- 18 Jean-Baptiste Boudard employs donkeys in the representation of ignorance, arrogance, error, and obstinacy in *Iconologie tirée de divers auteurs. Ouvrage utile aux gens de lettres, aux poètes, aux artistes, & généralement à tous les amateurs des beaux-arts* (Parma, 1759), 147, 116, 102, 43, 189, 25.
- 19 Charlotte Guichard briefly describes the key features of satires against amateurs in *Les amateurs d'art à Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Seyssel, 2008), 301–05.
- 20 Patrick Michel, *Le commerce du tableau à Paris dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle: acteurs et pratiques* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 2007), 112.
- 21 I am indebted to my colleague, Magdalena Kolodziej, who translated this article for me. Peter Märker, “Comte de Caylus und Watteau. Zu einer Zeichnung von Pierre-Charles Trémolières in Darmstadt,” *Studien zur Künstlerzeichnung*, ed. Klaus Schwager, Stefan Kummer, and Georg Satzinger (Stuttgart, 1990), 224–336.
- 22 Duplessis, *Inventaire de la collection d'estampes*, vol. 1, item 12491. The *Bibliographie de la France* entry was found using ArtFl “Image of France” database by George KcKee, no. 4711.
- 23 Sébastien Allard and Marie-Claude Chaudonneret, *Le suicide de Gros: les peintres de l'Empire et la génération romantique* (Montreuil, 2010), 26–32.
- 24 Art critics were especially vocal in their observations of the impact of political turmoil on Salon turnout. See *Dialogue raisonné entre un Anglais et un Français, ou revue des peintures, sculptures et gravures exposées dans le musée royal de France le 5 novembre 1814* (Paris, 1814); Antoine Dupuis, *Lettres impartiales sur l'exposition des tableaux en 1814; par un amateur* (Paris, 1814).
- 25 I have been able to compare the two images closely by overlaying one over the other in a graphics editor. The possible counterfeiture of this restrike went unnoticed by those whose expertise in this area far exceeds my own. The esteemed print collector Michel Hennin (see n.24) and Thomas Arnaudet, who was employed at the Département des Estampes during the Second Empire, both overlooked the discrepancies between these supposed editions of the plate. Thomas Arnaudet, *Notes sur les estampes satiriques bouffonnes ou singulières relatives à l'art et aux artistes français pendant les XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1859), 105.
- 26 The contrast between early and late eighteenth-century satirical images and their use of emblematic versus caricatural forms is a topic of lively debate in caricature studies. In particular, see Diana Donald and Eirwen Nicholson's discussion of the relationship of these two visual modes. Diana Donald, “Wit and Emblem: The Language of Political Prints,” *The Age of Caricature: Satirical Prints in the Reign of George III* (New Haven, 1996), 44–74; Eirwen E. C. Nicholson, “Emblem v. Caricature: A Tenacious Conceptual Framework,” *Emblems and Art History: Nine Essays*, ed. Alison Adams (Glasgow, 1996), 141–67. On emblem and caricature in the eighteenth-century French context, see Pierre Wachenheim, “Early Modern Dutch Emblems and French Visual Satire: Transfers of Models Across the Eighteenth Century,” *The Efflorescence of Caricature, 1759–1838*, ed. Todd Porterfield (Farnham, UK, and Burlington, VT, 2011), 31–48.
- 27 Igor Kopytoff expands the commercial definition of exchange value to include other forms of social exchange. Equally fruitful is his argument that singularization and commoditization exist along a continuum: “The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process,” *The Social Life of Things*, ed. Arjun Appadurai (Cambridge, UK, 1986), esp. 68, 87.
- 28 More work has been done on the Early Modern restrike, including: Sharon Gregory, *Vasari and the Renaissance Print* (Burlington, VT, and Farnham, UK, 2012); Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth Century Woodcuts and Their Public* (New Haven, 2005); and Alison G. Stewart, “Sebald Beham: Entrepreneur, Printmaker, Painter,” *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 4, 2 (2012).
- 29 Elisabetta Lazzaro, “Assessing Quality in Cultural Goods: The Hedonic Value of Originality in Rembrandt's Prints,” *Journal of Cultural Economics* 30, 1 (March 2006): 15–40.
- 30 Erik Hinterding, “The History of Rembrandt's Copperplates, with a Catalogue of those that Survive,” *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 22, 4 (January 1993): 276.
- 31 Michel Melot, “L'art au défi du multiple,” *Médium* 32–33, 3–4 (December 2012): 169–82.
- 32 Brown, “Thing Theory,” 4–5.
- 33 Walter Benjamin, “*The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility*,” and *Other Writings on Media*, ed. Michael William Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Levin, trans. E. F. N. Jephcott (Cambridge, MA, 2008).
- 34 Benjamin, *The Work of Art*, 21.
- 35 Benjamin, *The Work of Art*, 20, 24.
- 36 Miriam Bratu Hansen, “Room-for-Play: Benjamin's Gamble with Cinema,” *October* 109 (Summer 2004): 3–45, and “Benjamin's Aura,” *Critical Inquiry* 34 (Winter 2008), 336–75.
- 37 Hansen, “Benjamin's Aura,” esp. 355–66.
- 38 Hansen, “Benjamin's Aura,” 366. Walter Benjamin, “Outline of the Psychophysical Problem (1922–23),” in *Selected Writings. Volume 1, 1913–1926*, ed. Michael William Jennings and Marcus Bullock, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Cambridge, MA, 1999).
- 39 Ivo Nieuwenhuis explores the notion of parasitizing in satire in his upcoming publication: “Enlightenment Subverted: Parody as Social Criticism in Pieter van Woensel's *Lantaarn*,” in *The Power of Satire*, ed. Marijke Meijer Drees and Sonja de Leeuw (Amsterdam, 2015).