NICOLAS POUSSIN, c1594-1665: THE LATE MYTHOLOGICAL LANDSCAPES: THE LAST SYNTHESIS

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department
of
Fine Arts

We accept this thesis as conforming to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

August, 1969
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Date August 17, 1969.
Galileo's confirmation of Copernican cosmology was one of the major cultural problems of seventeenth-century Europe. Which was right? The reasoned experiments of science, or the faith of the Roman Catholic Church, which condemned such cosmology as contrary to Holy Writ?

Nicolas Poussin, the classical French painter in Rome, offered his personal solution to this dilemma in his final paintings, mainly landscapes, usually mythological, but always allegorical. From antique, sixteenth-century and Campanellian thought, particularly Stoicism, he depicted the order and harmony of Creation by means of allegory. He concluded with Campanella that contemplation of the Copernican universe offered a means of spiritual growth.

To Poussin, the Stoic Divine Reason behind Nature became the sign of eternal salvation offered by God to those who accepted union with Him. In particular, he felt that this union depended upon Man's use of the Christian sacraments to obtain the grace needed to act in co-operation with God. This fusion of religious feeling with philosophical conviction caused an exquisite integration of form with complex allegorical content, in an intense unity characteristic of the age of the Baroque. The masterly classical freedom and precision of Poussin's final manner adapted all pictorial elements in order to arouse delectation, or spiritual delight, in the person who perceived his pictures.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For help in doing this thesis, I wish to thank especially the following persons: first, those people working at this University, particularly Professor George Rosenberg, Executive Secretary, Department of Fine Arts, my faculty advisor, his assistants and associates; Miss Melva Dwyer, Art Librarian, and all her assistants, especially Mrs. Diana Kraetschmer; Professor James Russell of the Department of Classics; Professor Leslie Miller of the Department of German; Mrs. Joan Selby, Head of the Humanities Division of the Library, and her assistants; Mrs. Yandle of the Special Collections Division, and hers.

I am also indebted to: the staff of the Art and Music Section of the Vancouver Public Library; my parents for much encouragement and the provision of a typewriter to reproduce this thesis; Miss Pauline Olthof who has kindly helped me proof-read it, in addition to my parents.

Any errors or omissions of acknowledgment or in the body of this thesis are my responsibility.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## INTRODUCTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER I. THE BACKGROUND FOR THE LATE LANDSCAPES: POUSSIN'S LIFE, WORK AND HUMAN CONTACTS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aim of this Chapter</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poussin's Life; His Early Mythological Allegories; His Religious Painting</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poussin's Main Patrons and Friends in His Last Years</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul Fréart de Chantelou</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Lebrun</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cardinal Camillo Massimi</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbé Claude Nicaise</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michel Passart</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pointel</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commendatore Cassiano dal Pozzo</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duc de Richelieu</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacques Stella</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giovanni Domenico Campanella</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER II. POUSSIN AS A LANDSCAPE PAINTER

| The influence of Claude Lorraine | 45 |

## CHAPTER III. PICTORIAL ANALYSIS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aim of this Chapter</th>
<th>47</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Landscape with Polyphemus</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth of Bacchus</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscape with Orion</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscape with Hercules and Cacus</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscape with Two Nymphs and a Snake</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Four Seasons</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summer</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autumn</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winter</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apollo and Daphne</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER IV. POUSSIN'S IDEAS ON RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

| 121 |

## CHAPTER V. POUSSIN'S IDEAS ON PAINTING AND HIS METHOD OF WORK

<p>| 129 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>POUSSIN'S LATE STYLE</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ABBREVIATIONS: WORKS CITED IN BRIEF IN THE FOOTNOTES</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FOOTNOTES BY CHAPTER:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHAPTER I</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHAPTER II</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHAPTER III</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHAPTER IV</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHAPTER V</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CHAPTER VI</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY (with some annotations)</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>APPENDIX: FÉLIBIEN'S DESCRIPTION OF THE FOUR SEASONS (translated)</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TABLES: I. PICTURES OF POUSSIN IN POZZO'S COLLECTION

     Page

ILLUSTRATIONS: PLATE I. LA GIRANDOLA

     Page

                    PLATE II. THE CASTEL SANT'ANGELO

                    PLATE III. POUSSIN'S DRAWING OF THE
                    MILVIAN BRIDGE
INTRODUCTION

The late landscapes of Nicolas Poussin (c.1594-1665) are a richly expressive, imaginative and personal synthesis of form and content. This synthesis, analogous to the intense organic unity of poetry, is epitomized in three ways in the phrase ut pictura poesis, "as is painting, so is poetry,"¹ which came to mean "as is poetry, so is painting." First, it indicates the poetic quality of the late landscapes. Secondly, it recalls the formal, philosophical, and literary inspiration Poussin drew from classical and early Christian antiquity to paint them. Lastly it signifies his digestion of all the aspects of Renaissance art theory implicit in this saying by the seventeenth century, to the extent that Poussin invested this simile with deep meaning.² However, in the final period of his art, Poussin went beyond the humanistic attitude to painting connected to this dictum to depict a view of the world more representative of his century. The grandeur of sentient nature becomes pre-eminent. Mythological figures represent natural activity. Human beings are apparently puny, in size although not in significance. I believe that Poussin was accepting Copernican cosmology as interpreted by the philosopher Tommaso Campanella, his contemporary. Also, the importance of depicting nature expressed by Leonardo da Vinci in his Treatise on Painting,³ which Poussin had helped illustrate, appears to have influenced his acceptance of such philosophy. While fully expressing creative and destructive Nature, Poussin shows forth in his final paintings the primary, and eternal significance of the actions of God for Man.
In order to appreciate the mythological landscapes painted by Poussin between 1658 and 1664, it is essential to understand the main events of his life, particularly his last years, for "one cannot understand the artist without becoming acquainted with the man." It is necessary to know those people in Paris and Rome with whom he was connected, whom he served, and who were sympathetic to his artistic aims, especially at that time.

Since his late landscapes are a synthesis of his earlier work, a review of his development in drawing and painting clarifies his final art. The sixteen-thirties are embryonic in his total artistic development, while the sixteen-fifties and sixties show a moving and novel contribution to the landscape genre moderately influenced by Claude Lorraine, as well as by Leonardo da Vinci's work. This is demonstrated by a stylistic and iconographical analysis of Poussin's late works, including a few earlier transitional paintings related to them in form and theme. A three-fold discussion follows. A consideration of Poussin's ideas on painting and his method of work show how the rich fusion of form and content in these paintings reflects a deeper conception of the nature of his art. This new depth is related to his ideas on philosophy and religion, both ancient and of his own time, explained in the preceding chapter (see Contents). All his ideas--on religion, philosophy and art--dynamically determine his late style, a richly expressive, imaginative, personal synthesis of content with form.
CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND FOR THE LATE LANDSCAPES: POUSSIN'S LIFE, WORK AND HUMAN CONTACTS

Aim of this Chapter

This chapter gives a biography of Poussin concentrating on his late life. It discusses his development of mythology for allegory before that time. It comments upon his treatment of religious topics. Finally it contains biographies of the main patrons and friends of his old age. Because Poussin's late landscapes appear to express ideas held by his contemporary, the Dominican friar Tommaso Campanella, the chapter concludes with a biography of this philosopher.

Poussin's Life; His Early Mythological Allegories; His Religious Painting

The self-portraits of Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) show us what he looked like at thirty-six and at fifty-six. For his seniority we must rely on the verbal description of Bellori. He drew a Rembrandtesque likeness of himself while he was ill in 1630 (figure 94). Bernini commented that the self-portrait of 1649-1650 in Chantelou's possession was a good likeness. Bellori said his friend was tall, well-proportioned and of a rare temperament; his complexion was somewhat olive-colored, and his black hair was mainly whitened by age. His eyes were almost sky-blue; his sharp nose and broad forehead made his modest face look noble. His clothing was not splendid but severe.

Bellori believed Poussin's character was reflected in his appearance, so well shown also in Chantelou's picture (plate 197) for he described Poussin as wise, noble in thought, shy of frequenting the aristocracy, but treating
all his friends of whatever rank with the simple hospitality offered in his modest home. This is a thumbnail sketch of an artist who, contrary to the customs of his century, worked independently for private patrons in Rome for most of his life.

Poussin's peasant upbringing around Les Andelys, Normandy, his birthplace was enriched by study. Mancini notes

After M. Poussin had learned Latin and acquired a good knowledge of histories and fables, he dedicated himself to the study of painting. Bellori, another seventeenth-century biographer reports "his early knowledge of the Latin language, even though it was not perfect." By a recent study, Bardon confirms this imperfect knowledge of Latin. But current bibliographies show existence of translations into French, Italian, or both, of Latin works, especially antique ones. Bellori also relates that in later life Poussin "knew Italian as well as if he had been born in Italy." Therefore, antique, medieval and contemporary writings originally in Latin could be read in French or Italian by Poussin.

His art education prior to 1624 is described by Bellori. He was inspired to go to Paris for this training in 1612 by Quentin Varin who visited Les Andelys that year to paint pictures for one of its churches. But although we know little of his activities between 1612 and 1624, Bellori records he became dissatisfied with contemporary French art in Paris. He therefore studied antiquities and Renaissance masters. Antiquities there were chiefly a few casts from molds brought back by Primaticcio from Italy. The royal collections were rich in Renaissance painting except Venetian. However, according to Bellori, the artist learnt more by copying engravings of Raphael and Giulio Romano paintings than he did from formal instruction. The love of Raphael remained with him.

His contact with the Italian poet Marino, who was in Paris till 1623 at
the French court was most significant in furthering Poussin's painting career. Marino lodged him, invited him to Rome, and before 1624 commissioned drawings. Bellori thought these were illustrations of Marino's Adone. Actually, they were Poussin's first attempt to illustrate the Metamorphoses of Ovid, which inspired him to more poetic and philosophical paintings as he matured. The "Marino" drawings show Poussin's classical tendency in the economy and clarity with which he treats each incident, for example, Polyphemus, Acis and Galatea.

After several attempts to get to Rome with interim visits to Florence, Venice, and Lyons, Poussin reached Rome, March 1624.

Between 1624 and 1630 in Rome, Poussin advanced his artistic education, endured personal and professional hardships but met lifelong friends and patrons. Bellori says that he furthered previous anatomical studies by reading Vesalius and by attending dissections performed by a noted French surgeon. He obtained information on geometry and perspective from the publications of Alberti and Durer, and from the manuscripts of Padre Zaccolini. Until 1631 he drew from the model in the studio of Domenichino. He must have familiarized himself with the works of antiquity in Rome, for one of his best-known works of this period uses the Meleager Sarcophagus of the mid-second century A. D. for a model. This is the Death of Germanicus. However, he studied, observed, analyzed and annotated as well as sketched, according to Félibien, so that we have no large body of authentic drawings of ancient works.

His early biographers say that among the moderns in Rome he was especially impressed with the Flagellation of St. Andrew, by Domenichino, and the Titian Bacchanals, done for the Este family, then in the Villa Ludovisi.

His personal hardship was two-fold: poverty from lack of commissions; sickness from which he recovered 1630.

Professionally by 1630 he was serving a small clientele of amateurs. Failure with large church commissions but success in pleasing individuals, as
Cardinal Francesco Barberini with his 1627 Death of Germanicus influenced this decision apparently. From before 1630 to 1650 he worked under the aegis of the Cardinal's secretary, Cassiano dal Pozzo, "the most cultivated and learned of all Italian art patrons." Through Pozzo he possibly met Tommaso Campanella.

By 1630 he had made or renewed contact with the Lyon-born Parisian painter Jacques Stella (d. 1657) his lifelong friend and patron.

Concerning Claude, Sandrart says

Another time we went on horseback, Poussin, Claude Gellée and I, as far as Tivoli, in order to paint or draw landscapes after nature.

Abraham Brueghel wrote from Rome April 22, 1665, the year of Poussin's death

At present he does nothing more except sometimes he drinks a little glass of good wine for pleasure with my neighbor, Claude Lorraine.

Poussin and Claude evidently remained friends for life. In 1630 Poussin wed his well-beloved spouse, Anne-Marie Dughet (d. 1664) in the Roman church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina. He settled for life on the Via Paolina (now Via del Babuino) near the Piazza di Spagna.

Finally by 1630 he had rejected the baroque manner of his famous contemporary, Cortona, for a classical style.

Between 1630 and late 1640, Poussin worked in Rome. Here he continued to build up a clientele and reputation which caused his official invitation of 1639 to royal employment in Paris.

He continued to treat mythology and religious subjects classically. He developed mythological allegory, inspired in form and content by Titian's Bacchanals, the paintings of Raphael, the Carracci and Domenichino, as well as antiquity, for example, sarcophagi. His chief literary sources were Ovid, Tasso and Philostratus. The principle behind his work was the humanistic concept of the purpose of painting as instruction. The intellectual circle of Pozzo including Campanella encouraged this art especially in
the early 1630's. For Pozzo favored Titian, whose style influenced Poussin at that time. Moreover, Pozzo and his friends were undoubtedly aware of the seventeenth-century allegorical uses of mythology to express four things: moral conduct; natural phenomena; philosophy; and Christian mysteries.

Blunt believes that the use of allegory to suggest good moral conduct determined Poussin's selection of stories from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* painted in the mid-1630's. In the *Allegoria* prefixed to editions of 1581 and some subsequent reprints, Tasso stated that the stories symbolized the order of things. The tale of Rinaldo and Armida is an allegory of the victory of Reason over Concupiscence. Since, according to Stoicism, Reason was the governing principle in the universe and was intended to be in Man, Poussin selected stories in accord with Stoic and Christian ethics.

The *Kingdom of Flora*, 1631 (plate 65) is a three-fold allegory: the cycle of natural growth and decay; life and death in human beings, also under Divine Reason; Christian resurrection. In this anthology of Ovid, Poussin paints all those persons changed into flowers in the *Metamorphoses*. Furthermore, content and style show Poussin is expressing the philosophy behind the stories. This philosophy is Stoicism, stated in the first and last part of the *Metamorphoses*, as well as in other ancient writings. From Stoicism Campanella derived his philosophy. Apollo, representing the sun, the source of life in nature, Divine Reason, and therefore Christ, according to Campanella's theology, presides at the top. On the left is Priapus, god of gardens and fertility. Below Apollo, in the middle, is Flora, in green, personifying the growth caused by the sun. Other figures represent death and dissolution into earth and water before the change into flowers; for example, in opposition to the upright Priapus and Flora is Ajax leaning on his sword to the left. He becomes the hyacinth. Narcissus is next to him, apparently drenched with water from the fountains behind Priapus. He gazes at his own
reflexion in a pot of water as he kneels besides the pool. Opposite Ajax stands Hyacinthus, accidently killed by Apollo, while Clytie, who loved Apollo unhappily, is behind Narcissus. Death is connected to uncontrolled passion, for example, Ajax was mad; and Clytie could not master her love for Apollo. Thus Poussin is representing the Stoic belief in the order and harmony of Nature including human nature under Divine Reason. Secondly, he paints the existence of birth and death in Nature as a cycle of creation and dissolution in which fire, the most refined principle, is the essence of life, while water and earth are related to death. This is Stoicism. Lastly he speaks of metamorphoses, in which one form of life becomes another. In this picture the figures are metamorphosed into flowers, associated with death and resurrection in Christian iconography. The resurrection of Christ occurred in spring like the Roman festival of the Floralia. Thus allegory, synthesis, and syncretism appear in Poussin's 1631 painting of the Kingdom of Flora. As the painting was commissioned by the crook Vallgarnera, it is likely it represents Poussin's own thinking stimulated by his patron Pozzo and the philosopher Campanella.

To express the manifold allegory as clearly as possible, Poussin wisely chose a classical style. He had not yet decided to let Nature express its own grandeur. Instead he arranged a balanced composition of allegorically-mythological figures, in sculpturesque forms, profile or full-face, with bright local color in cool clear light, treating the background as subsidiary. The calm happiness of Flora, who dances, personifies the allegorical theme of hope suggested by the formal treatment of the other parts of the picture.

The Bacchanals for Cardinal Richelieu contain complex allegory. The commission was arranged by the Marchese Pompeo Frangipani in 1635-1636, and two out of the four which Poussin completed before 1639 were shipped to
Richelieu May 1636. These two were: **Triumph of Bacchus** (plate 89) and **Triumph of Pan** (plate 88). I will deal with the first one only. The **Triumph of Bacchus** is a bas-relief-like procession below another chariot-borne Apollo. His association with Bacchus is made plain in his form; except for the hand bearing the thyrsus he is copied after the antique sculpture of the Farnese Apollo (figure 269). The thyrsus is aligned with the trees to the left behind Bacchus. Furthermore, a centaur, half-man, half-beast, lifts a torch toward Apollo on the right. Below him rests an aged river god. Opposite, beneath Bacchus, a baby crawls up carrying the grapevine associated with the god. Other figures, such as Hercules with the tripod he stole from Apollo, emphasize that deity rather than Bacchus. Below Apollo the twin mountain suggests his haunt Parnassus. So, although Blunt avers that the picture agrees with Lucian's **Dionysus**, I think Poussin is interrelating gods to express allegory.

This is supported by Poussin's use of two preparatory drawings (figures 126 and 127) which show an Indian triumph of Bacchus. This approach was rare in Poussin's time; it appeared often on Roman sarcophagi (figure 125). So did depictions of putti performing the rites of the Bacchic mysteries (figures 64, 65), evidently indicating these were helpful to the dead in the after-life. But in the painting there is no elephant or giraffe. Any frenzied action is subdued. Bending figures incline to Bacchus. His stillness on the left is balanced on the right by two "frozen" dancers. And looking at him is the reclining river god.

Bacchus-Apollo thus claims attention. Therefore the painting appears to be allegory. Its meaning is suggested by the late antique Trinitarian view of Apollo. His heavenly position is obvious; his earthly connection to Bacchus is evident; the putto appears to suggest his association with the underworld. This is reinforced by Hercules who holds the tripod of Apollo,
is in the Bacchic procession and yet was famed for his descent to the underworld as well as his translation to heavenly immortality by fire. The painting appears an allegory of the seasonal fertility of nature under the sun, but reflections on the nature of man and his destiny may also be inferred in it. We can agree with Bernini, who is reported to have said to Chantelou in 1665 while standing in front of one of the Bacchanals, "Truly this man has been a great inventor of stories and fables." 64

Regular natural cycles—the seasons, the alternation of night and day—are also expressed by other mythological paintings in the 1630's. 65 Cephalus and Aurora (plate 54) signifies night and day. The swan of Apollo in it emphasizes day. Phaethon begging the Chariot of Apollo (plate 69) relates to both cycles, for in it appear the sun, the four seasons, the zodiacal circle and Time.

Consequently, from 1630 to 1640, Nicolas Poussin developed allegorical mythology upon the renaissance belief that a painter must delight to instruct. First he modified the color, light and landscape background of Titian's Bacchanals. Then he turned to classical art—antique, Renaissance and of his own time—for the clarity of the frieze-like composition, the sculptured form, full-face or profile, with appropriate gestures, using clear light together with the bright local color appropriate to his theme. Classical and allegorical literature provided sources and verification for his depictions. Added accuracy was obtained from study of drawings and text of a book on Roman religion. 68 Though concerned with natural cycles and phenomena, he showed interest in the nature, moral conduct and destiny of man. Constrained by humanistic classicism, his mythological allegory was stated in human forms and their activity; he did not allow Nature to predominate visually as well as in meaning. But he laid the groundwork for the complex synthesis and syncretism of his late mythological landscapes. It is evident that he
chose mythology, not only because his contemporaries understood its language in story or allegory, but also because it offered the richest pictorial possibilities for a painter, whether it was treated in a baroque or classical way.

This development of mythological allegory was especially relevant to Poussin's last work. At the same time, he expanded his range of subjects again after 1633 to include religion and ancient history. Since Roman Catholic belief is mixed with philosophy and love of legend in Poussin's late work, it is helpful to consider his earlier religious and history painting. Camillus and the Schoolmaster of Falerii (plate 121) shows Poussin's interest in Roman history and legend as well as in Stoic philosophy. Its theme is the nobility of the Roman general Camillus who refuses to take advantage of an enemy's treachery. As in the Triumph of Bacchus, the story is explained pictorially from left to right by the general seated in profile pointing to the enchained schoolmaster, facing us. Spectators—the entourage or the captors—gesticulate appropriately or watch the action. The simple "backdrop" background just indicates the setting but its general silhouette builds up to the seated Camillus. As Stoic virtue combined with Roman legend and mythology appears in the Landscape with Hercules and Cacus, 1659-1661. Poussin's 1630's history paintings prepare us to understand his late mythological landscapes.

About 1636, Poussin began to paint the first of two series of the seven Roman Catholic sacraments. He depicted each sacrament twice in fourteen paintings. The first set (plates 130 to 136) finished 1642 in Paris was for Cassiano dal Pozzo; the second (plates 154 to 160) was done in Rome 1644 to 1648 for Paul Fréart de Chantelou. Completion of the Pozzo series was delayed by Poussin's service in Paris for Louis XIII. This was from late 1640 to September 1642. Royal service had
other disadvantages. Appointed First Painter, Poussin suffered from the intrigues of persons who coveted this honor or who had enjoyed it, for example, Simon Vouet. Poussin was also assigned work for which his Roman experiences had not prepared him properly, for example, frontispieces for Horace, Vergil; a decorative scheme for the Louvre Long Gallery; and altarpieces, such as that for the Jesuit Novitiate in Paris. There were compensations: good pay and comfortable lodgings in the Tuilleries gardens made pleasanter by the courtesies of Chantelou; meetings with intellectuals who admired Pozzo, such as Naudé, Bourdelot and Patin; social relationships with friends such as Jacques Stella and Jean Lemaire; contacts with French bourgeoisie who continued to patronize him till his death.

However, Poussin was unhappy in Paris. In 1642 he left for Rome supposedly to fetch his wife. He never returned. The royal pension ceased for a time, but those who had compelled him to come to Paris all died between 1642 and 1645: Louis XIII, Cardinal Richelieu, and Monseigneur Sublet de Noyers, Superintendent of Buildings, in whose department Chantelou was a secretarial assistant. Thus Poussin was able to stay in Rome till his death in 1665, continuing to serve Italian and French patrons.

The sacraments upon which he worked from 1636 to 1648 were a subject rarely represented in art before this time. The Reformation of the sixteenth century had questioned the value of the sacraments for human salvation; Protestantism stated salvation depended on faith in the mercy of God in imputing to fallen Man Christ's merit. Some sacraments were helpful. Roman Catholicism declared the sacraments were the means of grace by which salvation became possible, keeping all seven. Thus Poussin went to the roots of his faith in depicting this subject.

His depiction was original. It stressed early Christian practice, for example, in the first Confirmation (plate 130) to the right of the
altar burns the Paschal candle, indicating Easter Eve, when such a sacrament was administered in the Early Church. Poussin used the triclinium for the Eucharist (plates 131, 159), and for Penance (plates 132, 157) in order to be archaeologically accurate to the Roman antiquity out of which his Church was born. Such accuracy and fidelity to the customs of the Early Church rather than to popular liturgy of his period would not have been welcomed in a church commission. It therefore indicates pictures painted for private contemplation. Also, antique dress and architecture suggest the timeless significance of these sacraments. Finally there may be syncretic references to ancient pagan religion, for example in the second-series painting of the Ordination (plate 158) to Greek religion in the "E," the first letter of the word "Eis" meaning "thou art" in Greek. For although this indicates the Christian theme, Christ's statement "Thou art Peter," the rock upon which He would build his Church, "E" was also put at the gate of the shrine of Apollo at Delphi. In the painting the "E" is on a stone monument to the right hand of Christ. So Poussin appears to be saying that sacraments have always been a means of salvation. Had he also, using Campanellian theology, equated the Divine Reason, represented by Apollo, with Christ?

The classical manner of the sacraments becomes more articulate than in the 1630's mythologies. There is also a development in psychological drama and meaning between the first and the second series. "Ideal human nature in action," especially the theme of these paintings, compels clarity in background as well as foreground. In the front plane, sculptural figures in antique draperies, grouped with more freedom but still parallel to the canvas show their reaction to the central action by expression and rhetorical gesture, for example, Ordination (plate 158). Their draperies are bright spots of clear red and brilliant gold against the brownish backgrounds. These backgrounds, chiefly interior architecture, are symmetrical and severely simple. They
forced Poussin to deal with the problem of light which he solved through adapting ideas from Leonardo's *Treatise on Painting*; for example, the three light sources in the first *Eucharist* (plate 131) throw a shadow on the pavement, a device new in Poussin's work.\(^{93}\)

The characteristics described are common to both series, but more developed in the second, which represents an advance in clarity and richness of classical style, together with more complex meaning. The increase in depth of meaning and clarity in style may be seen by comparing the two depictions of the Eucharist (plates 131, 159). Pozzo's version of the late 1630's is a simple representation of the Last Supper, symmetrically arranged, with the disciples lying on a triclinium which is parallel to the picture plane upon its longest side. They respond in various ways as Christ blesses the bread and wine. The scene is an interior lighted as described, with Doric pilasters dimly visible behind the triclinium. Evidently it only represents one event because the twelve disciples are all present; the figure leaving to the left must be a servant. The Chantelou depiction of about ten years later has intimations of the washing of the disciples' feet which occurred before the meal, by the placement of a basin to the right. On the left, Judas is leaving, suggesting Christ's coming Passion. Though Christ is central, he is surrounded on four sides by the rest of the reclining disciples in a scene which is better lit by one hanging lamp, more alive by reaction through gesture and expression to what He is saying, "One you shall betray me," combining that dramatic moment with the transcendental reality of the institution of the sacrament. The Chantelou version is full of figures more amply modelled than those in the Pozzo picture; Poussin carefully fore-shortens those in front so that the composition for Chantelou is in the form of a double relief. Pilasters, scarcely visible in Pozzo's *Eucharist* are clearly articulated; Poussin adds a curtain behind Christ to enhance the drama.
in which the figures occupy a larger part than in the Pozzo picture.

In the two sacraments which are set outdoors, Baptism (plates 136, 156) and Ordination (plates 134, 158) Poussin progresses from a simple second plane of trees and hills to a landscape with several planes also containing water, varied architecture and distant mountains. The 1647 Ordination (plate 158) is the best example of this ordered articulation of background. This is topographically related to the foreground because the right-hand tomb is like those outside Jerusalem (figure 271) where the story occurred. It is also thematically connected to the Ordination by the meaning of the monument bearing the 'E.'

What relevance do the sacraments series have for Poussin's last "synthesis"? First, in his late works, Poussin expresses concern with the essential belief of his Church: the salvation of man through its sacraments, of which Baptism and the Eucharist are the most necessary. Secondly, his style as well as his subject demonstrates his interest in timeless reality. Showing, but subordinating warm color to clearly-defined forms, he garbs the figures and sets the action in the most appropriate antiquity—early Roman Christian—even suggesting that pre-Christian mysteries used the same method of salvation. Thus, as in the 1630's mythologies there is a syncretism which appears especially in the many-faceted meaning of the Four Seasons. Poussin even strives for topographical accuracy in attempt to make all parts of his composition contribute appropriately to the main theme, another aspect of his late style. Thus the closer fusion of more complex form and meaning in the second series is leading to the rich synthesis in Poussin's late manner.

After the seven sacraments, Poussin produced even more severely classical and monumental religious compositions with multiple meanings until his death, for example, the 1657 Annunciation (plate 235).
But in 1648 he began to paint landscapes novel in their synthesis of background with the tiny foreground figures who are the keys to the pictorial meaning. No other painter of classical landscapes had carried the humanistic principle of decorum (or fitness to the subject) so far as did Nicolas Poussin in paintings like these. Since his humanistic approach is evident in all previous painting, why would Poussin, in the middle of producing paintings on the principles of poetic tragedy emphasizing human action, dwarf human forms in size if not in significance?

Firstly, he did not do so in all his work. Poussin was never primarily a landscape painter. Between 1648 and 1651, while he was doing his first famous landscapes, Poussin produced many classically-treated religious, mythological and historical paintings, in which human figures dominate in size, significance and activity, whether the background is an interior, as in the Judgment of Solomon, 1649 (plate 199) or an exterior, as in the Holy Family with the Bath Tub, 1651 (plate 209); in Coriolanus, c1647-1651 (plate 174); or in Achilles among the Daughters of Lycomedes, 1648-1650 (plate 175).

What he did do in these landscapes was to express Stoicism, an ancient philosophy particularly concerned with the conduct of life, which includes the belief that Divine Reason is shown in the order and harmony of nature as much as in human virtue. Poussin's treatment of the Kingdom of Flora, 1631, appears to express this idea allegorically through an Ovidian anthology, but scarcely with the high seriousness which the theme warranted. The Campanellian philosophy he may also have expressed in his 1631 painting was an extension of the natural philosophy of the Stoics. Moving in Rome and Paris in intellectual circles who understood antique and Neo-stoicism, and expressing its ideas in his correspondence, especially as a philosophy of life, Poussin would be satisfying his own tastes as well as that of his
This was his artistic intention.

From 1642 until his death Poussin worked quietly in Rome, living with his wife on the Via Paolina in a simply-run house with no servants.

Bellori says:

He followed a very regular way of life, for there are many who paint at their whim and go on for a short time with great enthusiasm, and then grow exhausted and leave their brushes for long periods, whereas Nicolas was in the habit of getting up early and taking an hour or two's exercise, sometimes walking in the town but almost always on the Monte della Trinità, that is to say, the Pincian, which was not far from his house and to which there led a short slope made pleasant by trees and fountains, and from which there unfolded the most beautiful view of Rome and its lovely hills, which, with the nearby buildings, made it, as it were, a stage set. There he talked with his friends in curious and learned discourses. Returning home, he at once set about painting till midday and, having eaten, continued painting for several hours; and so he achieved more by continued application than another painter by practical skill. In the evening he went out again and walked below the hill in the Piazza di Spagna, to meet foreigners who used to gather there. He was almost always surrounded by friends who accompanied him, so that those who, on account of his fame, wished to see him or to speak with him in a friendly way found him there, since he always admitted to his company any man of worth. He listened willingly to others, but afterward his own discourses were weighty and were received with attention. He very often talked about art and with such experience of the matter that not only painters but other men of intelligence came to hear from his mouth the finest reflections on painting, which he made not with the intention of instructing, but as occasion demanded. As he had read and observed much, no topic arose in the conversation which he had not mastered, and his words and ideas were so just and so well ordered that they seemed rather thought out than made spontaneously. The cause of this was his fine mind and his wide reading, not only, I say, of histories and fables and the branches of learning in which he excelled, but in the other liberal arts and in philosophy. In this he was well served by his early knowledge of the Latin language, even though it was not perfect, and he knew Italian as well as if he had been born in Italy. He was penetrating in understanding, discreet in choice, and retentive in memory, and these are the most desirable gifts of intelligence.

The pattern of life Bellori describes included freedom from politics, a personal choice motivated by Poussin's Stoicism. This meant he was not directly at the mercy of Papal changes, although it is possible that Pozzo's lack of commissions after 1651 is related to his smaller income after the death of Pope Urban VIII (Barberini) in 1644 when the other Barberini fled, and the new Pope Innocent X was not friendly to Pozzo's
pursuits. On the other hand, the presence in Rome from 1658 till after 1665 of Cardinal Camillo Massimi (unemployed due to the change of pope 1655) may have helped Poussin in his last paintings, because in 1658 Massimi assumed the role of Pozzo in Roman patronage after the latter's death 1657.

In spite of Massimi's earlier commission for two paintings between 1642 and 1645, as well as some landscapes for Pozzo, Poussin's patrons after 1642 were chiefly French. Between 1644 and 1648 he did Chantelou's set of the seven sacraments. In the period 1648 to 1651, people like Pointel and Chantelou's brother Jean obtained works from him. 1651 was the year he completed his last commission from Pozzo.

Between 1653 and his death in 1665 his patrons for single works were mainly those who had ordered pictures before, such as Chantelou, and Jacques Stella. However it was Nicolas Fouquet who in 1655 to 1656 gave Poussin his main commission for the decade—the herms for Fouquet's chateau at Vaux-le-Vicomte, while the Due de Richelieu ordered the Four Seasons, done 1660 to 1664. His last unfinished work, the Apollo and Daphne of 1664 was a gift to Cardinal Massimi.

During the last years of his life, Poussin received adequate payment for his work, although he did not enjoy the prosperity of his contemporary Claude. Poussin, however, held an international reputation. 1663 testimony of this is given in the journal of the traveller Monconys who accompanied the young Duc de Chevreuse to Rome. Balthasar de Monconys reports the Duc wished to spend his last day in that city with Poussin, the most illustrious person to grace painting, equal to Raphael in design but surpassing him in story and in organization.

Others approached the painter with less honorable intentions. In the last few months of his life an importunate Norman relative "this miserable
rustic without a brain" descended for inheritance upon the enfeebled painter, widowed October 1664. The nephew was sent home without inheritance. Of his wife's death Foussin had written to Chantelou

She died when I had most need of her help, having left me heavy with years, paralyzed, full of infirmities of all sorts, a stranger and without friends (for in this City there are none of them).

Foussin may also have been bothered by N whom he mentions in a letter of January 1665 as a man who "writes on the works of modern painters and their lives. His style is turgid ... " It would have been a tactless time to seek a biography from a dying man wracked with pain to the degree he could no longer work. For in July, 1665 he wrote to the Abbe' Nicaise

I have quitted the brushes forever... I have nothing more at present than to die, it will be the only remedy to the evils which afflict me. God grant it will be soon, for life weighs too much on me.

The ill health from which Poussin suffered had showed a symptom that must have alarmed in 1641—the trembling of his hand. This is especially visible in the late drawings for Apollo and Daphne; it is also recorded by Félibien in his description of the Four Seasons, 1660-1664. In August-September 1646 he was laid low by illness; this was only one of various attacks. As Thuillier puts it

The admirable serenity found in his last works was attained only through the most cruel physical suffering.

Foussin himself in 1660 wrote to Chantelou

I do not spend a day without pain and the trembling of my limbs increases with the years.

Foussin died November 19, 1665, after severe suffering; it is said he received the sacraments of his Church as a perfect Christian and Catholic. He was buried from the church of his marriage, S. Lorenzo in Lucina. Thus Poussin's mature and late paintings are eloquent testimony to his Christian and Stoic practice of the cardinal virtue of fortitude.
From 1642 on, religious and classical subjects predominated in Poussin's work, whether in figure compositions or in landscapes. In religion he emphasized the basic doctrines of his Church concerning salvation, using the New Testament for many paintings but reverting to the Old for the Four Seasons. In classical themes he usually depicted an incident in the life of a Stoic hero in which reason governed the passions, for example, *The Continence of Scipio*. But the use of Ovid gradually predominated until his last unfinished work, *Apollo and Daphne* is a complex meditation beginning from the *Metamorphoses*, that he had illustrated before 1624 in Paris.

Poussin altered the drama and color of the figure compositions in the early 1650's. Gestures are exaggerated; expressions are intensified, yet there is more calm and less sense of actual action. The architectural backgrounds have mathematical precision. The color is fresco-like. For example, *St. Peter and St. John Healing the Lame Man* (plate 222) contains all these characteristics.

In landscape, the rigid geometry of architecture and Nature combined with formal clarity and very cool color in the 1648 Phocion compositions, for example, yields to shapes nearer Nature, composed in a more spacious, freer, balanced harmony. Architecture becomes less conspicuous. Finally, manner and meaning fuse intensely in the religious and mythological allegory of the Four Seasons; a supreme synthesis of philosophy and feeling magnificently overcomes physical weakness.
Poussin's Main Patrons and Friends in His Last Years

Poussin painted in Rome under the aegis of Cassiano dal Pozzo (d. 1657), then Cardinal Camillo Massimi. By 1639 he was corresponding regularly with Paul Fréart de Chantelou. Though these men were his chief patrons, others asked for pictures. The lives of such patrons, especially those who commissioned his late work are summarized in the following pages. These were: Jacques Stella; the Duc de Richelieu; Passart; Pointel; and probably Charles Lebrun. Since the Abbe Nicaise is suggested as the source for the complex iconographical programme of the Four Seasons, there is a biography of him. I conclude with Campanella, the Dominican friar whose form of Stoicism is a key to understanding Poussin's late landscapes.

Paul Fréart de Chantelou, 1602-1694

The friendship cultivated by work and correspondence from 1639 with this usually patient, devoted French civil servant, less learned than Pozzo, made Chantelou in addition, the artist's main patron after 1640. Born at Mans, the youngest of three brothers, Jean, the elder and Roland the oldest who took the surname "de Chambray," Chantelou was the son of the chief provost of Maine. He must have received the usual classical education, for he appreciated a reference to the eagles on Mount Taurus taken from Plutarch's Moralia, even although it was muddled up in Poussin's letter. There are many other classical references in Poussin's correspondence which he evidently expected Chantelou to understand.

With the appointment of his relative Monseigneur Sublet de Noyers as Superintendent of Buildings in 1638, Chantelou found employment in that department as clerk or secretary to Noyers. In 1640 Chantelou was sent to Rome to persuade Poussin and Cortona to come to Paris. He succeeded with Poussin. Despite the disgrace of Noyers 1643 preceding his 1645 death,
Chantelou does not seem to have lost employment entirely. However, in 1645 he had a temporary honorary appointment with the Prince of Conde, known as the Duc d'Enghien.\textsuperscript{141} In 1647 Poussin addressed him as Councillor and Master of the Ordinary Hôtel of the King, a remunerative post which he lost for a time, but regained by 1657.\textsuperscript{142} In 1656 he had married Mme. de Montmort, who had control over the Chateau of the Loir through her first husband.\textsuperscript{143} This post fell to Chantelou. In his capacity as Maître d'Hôtel he entertained Bernini in Paris, 1665, making a journal of that artist's visit published in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{144}

Besides his Roman visit, Chantelou sometimes travelled with the Court, for example to Mâmes, in 1642, where he saw the Maison Carrée.\textsuperscript{145}

His philosophy of life appears to have been Stoicism, his religion, Roman Catholicism.\textsuperscript{146} He was not politically active except in expressing aversion to Mazarin in accepting a post with Conde.\textsuperscript{147}

His friendship with Pointel was tinged with jealousy of Poussin's services to the banker.\textsuperscript{148}

Chantelou lived on the Rue Saint-Thomas-du-Louvre, where he remained until after Poussin's death. Later he had a house at Reuilly near Trône.\textsuperscript{149} In these he kept his excellent picture collection, the best Poussin one in Paris at that time. It included such masterpieces as the Self-Portrait (plate 197) and the Seven Sacraments (plates 154 to 160), each under a little curtain, a device Poussin approved.\textsuperscript{150} He also owned The Israelites Gathering the Manna (plate 128), a Holy Family (plate 219), The Ecstasy of St. Paul (plate 145) probably a Conversion of St. Paul, now lost, a small wax model of the Vatican Sleeping Ariadne (figure 27) and two paintings originally commissioned by his wife: The Holy Family in Egypt (plate 231) and Christ and the Woman of Samaria (plate 239).\textsuperscript{151} Poussin had also done a Baptism (plate 171) for his brother Jean, while de Chambray had lauded Poussin in one of his
books. Thus the Chantelou family patronized Poussin.

The correspondence records Poussin serving as an agent in Rome after 1642 chiefly for the acquisition of antique sculpture. Poussin received funds for this, rendering periodic accounts of his purchases in a scrupulous manner. Thus we are given added information into the activities of the artist. But we are most indebted to Chantelou for his preservation of the letters, upon each of which he made a succinct summary. For Poussin’s letters give us not only the views of the artist on politics, philosophy, morality, religion, current events and art, but by content and expression permit us to form a picture of the personality of Poussin.

Charles Lebrun, 1619-1690

This French painter, who held the positions of First Painter to the King, Director of the Royal Furniture Factory and the Royal Academy of Painting, among other posts, lived in Paris on the Rue des Fosses-Saint-Victor. To this Neo-stoic, reason was a set of rules limiting the imagination, not inspiring it. Strangely it was probably he who commissioned the mysterious Landscape with Two Nymphs and a Snake of 1659. I have found no record of other Poussin paintings owned or commissioned by him. His interest in Poussin was connected with his desire to reform the Royal Academy; he used Poussin’s ideas and practice to do so in collaboration with Colbert in the early 1660’s. It was the classical figure paintings in which Poussin adopted Raphael’s forms and color closely that impressed Lebrun. He favored the concept of ut pictura poiesis, as well as classicism, praising the Israelites Gathering the Manna finished 1639 for Chantelou for its use of classical sculpture, where ideal beauty was to be found. Was he surprised when he received the landscape of 1659?
Cardinal Camillo Massimi, 1620-1677

Despite the coarse, surly appearance depicted in a Velasquez 1649 portrait of him, Cardinal Camillo Massimi, who received Poussin's last unfinished work, the Apollo and Daphne, as a gift from the artist in 1664, was reputed to be a cultivated, attractive man. Born into one of Rome's oldest and most distinguished families, he received a sound humanist education, supplemented by drawing lessons from Poussin, who probably gave him the 1630 self-portrait drawing (figure 94). In 1640 he came into a good inheritance; Haskell seems to infer that this was indirectly from Vincenzo Guistianini, the famed antiquarian and amateur, whose tastes Massimi shared. He frequented court circles upon the elevation to the papacy of Innocent X (Pamphilij) after 1644, making two commissions for incidents from the life of Moses from Poussin, which were completed around 1645. By 1647 he had come into possession of the "Marino" drawings of the Metamorphoses done by Poussin in Paris. He became Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1653, Papal Nuncio to Spain, 1654, but politically unsuccessful there 1655 to 1658 because his policies differed from the new pope, Alexander VII. He returned to Rome 1658 to remain unemployed until 1670, but enabled to devote time to intellectual pursuits, taking over the patronage extended by Cassiano dal Pozzo who had died in 1657. At this time he possibly obtained the first version of the Arcadian Shepherds (plate 56) as well as Midas Washing at the Source of the Pactolus (plate 57).

During Poussin's late years, Massimi was his closest friend among Roman art patrons. Bellori reports Massimi visiting the artist's home, although no date is given. Poussin must have used Massimi's library often between 1658 and 1664 to help paint his last works.

An inventory of Massimi's possessions upon his death shows paintings,
drawings, coins, manuscripts in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, together with copies of Justin (a Christian Stoic writer), Lactantius, Cicero, Seneca, Valerius Maximus, the Bible in Hebrew and Syrian and books on astrology. The drawings were: the self-portrait, the *Coloring of Coral*, the "Marino" illustrations, and a preparatory study for the worship of Priapus by the Bacchantes and Fauns.

His library and the collection of Poussin works he owned confirm his learned, discriminating tastes. Enjoying a long, close and apparently warm relationship with Poussin, he was in an emotional and intellectual position to aid the artist in his final work. He was also free of Church responsibilities. It is possible that his support may have been one factor in encouraging the last rich synthesis of form and content in Poussin's painting.

The Abbé Claude Nicaise, 1623-1701

Friedlaender believes that

It is possible that Poussin did not formulate this theological program for the Four Seasons, 1660-1664 himself, but that it was suggested by one of the learned French clerics who frequented Poussin's house during his last years. Nicaise is reported by Félibien to have been a particular friend of Poussin's in his last years, and to have composed his epitaph. According to Félibien, the Abbé was known by his merit and the understanding he had of belles-lettres.

The Abbé, Canon of Ste.-Chapelle at Dijon, who later retired to Villey near Is-sur-Tille, spent many years in Rome pursuing his two avocations: art biography and antiquarianism. His *Vie des Artistes* was never published. A letter to Félibien from Poussin refers to the turgid style of N who wrote on modern painters. Was this a reference to Nicaise? The two extant Poussin letters to Nicaise are: advice to obtain a copy of one of Poussin's works in the Chantelou or Cerisier collections in Paris, as Poussin was too
ill to oblige (he was working on Winter, however) information that the artist has stopped painting altogether and awaits death. Thus, evidence in the letters is inconclusive concerning the friendly relationship between the cleric and painter recorded by Félibien. Furthermore, it is possible that Poussin, using Cardinal Massimi's library and his own previous reading either decided upon the program of the pictures himself, or asked Cardinal Massimi's help with it, or that of Holstenius, Barberini librarian.

Michel Passart (or Passard, Passar)

According to Bellori

Nicolas worked willingly to satisfy the noble genius of this lord, very fond of painting and infinitely learned in this art. This lord was the Master of Accounts, later General of Finances, who lived on the Quai de la Megisserie, Paris. Poussin worked for him in later life, keeping in regular touch by letters now lost. He commissioned two notable Stoic subjects: the Testament of Eudamidas (plate 224) and the first version of Camillus and the Schoolmaster of Falerii (figure 173). The puzzling Landscape with a Woman Washing Her Feet (plate 195) was likely painted for him. To the patron who also collected many of his works, Claude dedicated his etching of the Dance of the Four Seasons to Time. It seems likely that even if he did not program the subject of the Landscape with Orion (plate 237) this allegory was certainly painted with his tastes for Stoic thought and allegory in mind.

Pointel

This banker from Lyons, settled in Paris on the Rue St.-Germain, made periodic trips to Italy. Bonnaffe records two to Rome, one in 1645/46 when he formed a close friendship with the artist, with whom he corresponded, and 1655, when he came to buy art for himself and the Duc de Crequi. Blunt
Félibien records his passion for Poussin paintings. Pointel says his banking took him to Naples, and perhaps Sicily. 199

Between 1647 and 1651 the artist completed twelve paintings for him. 201

These were: 202

Moses Trampling on Pharoah's Crown (plate 165) Between 1642 and 1647.
The Finding of Moses (plate 169), 1647.
Eliezar and Rebecca (plate 170), 1648.
Landscape with a Man Killed by a Snake (plate 182), 1648.
The Judgment of Solomon (plate 199), 1649.
The Holy Family with Ten Figures (plate 208), 1649.
Landscape with Polyphemus (plate 190), 1649.
Self-Portrait (plate 196), 1649.
Calm (plate 193), 1651.
Storm (plate 263), 1651; original lost; engraving only remains.
Christ Appearing to the Magdalene (see Catalogue R41)
Landscape with St. Francis (plate 186) no date. 203

In his letters to Chantelou, Poussin shows affection for Pointel to the point that it is necessary to reassure Chantelou that the self-portrait of Poussin he will receive is a better likeness than the one painted for Pointel. 204

Blunt believes that the Landscape with the Man Killed by a Snake represents an incident at Fondi, near Naples since comparison with an engraving of the town shows that the background resembles it, while such an accident occurred during the first visit Pointel made to Rome. There is a gap in Poussin's correspondence with Chantelou, April 7 to June 3, 1647. Poussin does not explain an absence from Rome to which he returned June 1 as noted by Félibien. In addition the June 3 letter is the one in which Poussin refers to the return of the "heretic" Pointel to Paris. 205

Blunt postulates Poussin and Pointel took a trip down the coast, not mentioned to Chantelou because of the jealousy Chantelou had shown over the Rebecca painted for Pointel. From the iconography of the Landscape with the Man Killed by a Snake, Blunt concludes that Pointel's commissions to Poussin
were quite definite. He also suggests that a Sicilian trip prompted the commission of the Landscape with Polyphemus.\textsuperscript{206}

The Commendatore Cassiano dal Pozzo, 1588-1657\textsuperscript{207}

His contemporaries felt that this "most cultivated and learned of all Italian art patrons" was a hard, reserved and cold man as Bernini caricatured him, in spite of his European reputation for scholarship.\textsuperscript{208} Poussin's correspondence confirms this.\textsuperscript{209} He always addresses Pozzo in the body of the letter as "Your Most Illustrious Lordship's Establishment." The one letter to Pozzo's brother, Carlo Antonio, the executor of Poussin's 1643 will is warmer. Poussin reports Pozzo's death briefly to Chantelou a few months after its occurrence. Thus his long relationship with the artist was a formal one.

The Turin-born\textsuperscript{210} Cassiano was the son of a civil servant to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. He received his liberal education living mainly in the home of his uncle, the Archbishop of Pisa. This man was a diplomat, art patron, archeologist and town planner. Pozzo was trained as a lawyer.\textsuperscript{211}

By 1609 or 1612 following the deaths of his uncle and the Grand Duke, Cassiano moved to Rome.\textsuperscript{212} Between that time and 1622 he established himself there. By 1622 he was intellectually accepted. He belonged to the Accademia dei Lincei, a scientific society active till 1630.\textsuperscript{213} In the 1620's he joined the other two important academies: the Umoristi and Crusca.\textsuperscript{214}

Through Alessandro Orsini he obtained life employment with Cardinal Francesco Barberini. His various posts, such as secretary, gave him a moderate income.\textsuperscript{215} In 1625 and 1626 he accompanied the Cardinal to Paris and Spain respectively. His French stay included a visit to Fontainebleau, where he admired the Leonardo works moderately.\textsuperscript{216} On his return to Rome he settled permanently on the Via Chiavari\textsuperscript{217} possibly in the Palazzo Peruzzi.\textsuperscript{218}
His younger brother Carlo Antonio and the latter's wife lived with the batchelor Pozzo. Here he accumulated a library. Here he created a museum with a zoological collection of skeletons, anatomical drawings, precious stones, mechanical instruments and rare living birds and plants, it is said. Carlo Antonio his brother was keen on birds, while Cassiano favored flowers which he also cultivated at a villa at Nervi. As well, Cassiano collected coins, medals, sculpture, paintings and graphics. Though interested in reports of rare natural occurrences which came in from all over Europe, his first love was Roman antiquity. By his modest income he created a "paper museum," the Museo Cartaceo, of prints and drawings relating to the following: ancient religions, which he carefully classified as false opinions of the ancients on the Deity and sacrifices; ancient social life and customs; Roman history and fable on reliefs and triumphal arches; ancient statues, vases and utensils; figures from ancient manuscripts and mosaics, for example, Vergil, and the Palestrina Nilotic scenes mosaic. He is said to have employed artists like Poussin and Cortona on this project which amounted to twenty-three bound volumes.

This intense involvement in antiquity coupled with interest in science including the new astronomy of his friend Galileo gave Cassiano Europe-wide scholarly contacts. Thus his home became the intellectual and cultural centre of Rome till his death.

Although he was a "civil" servant who kept out of politics, his fortunes were influenced by changes in Roman government. When Pope Urban VIII (Barberini) died 1644, the flight of his relatives diminished Cassiano's income, although I have no information that he was discharged by them. The new pope Innocent X (Pamphilij) was hostile to his pursuits. In 1655 his friend Fabio Chigi became Pope Alexander VII. This did not benefit the sick Cassiano who died 1657.
His apparently life-long employment by a Cardinal did not signify a devout Roman Catholic. A morally upright, basically orthodox believer, as seen by his *Seven Sacraments* commission to Poussin, c1636-1642, his interest in antiquity and science led to opinions that at that time would not have been considered correct by his Church, for example, he was Secretary of the Lincei at a time when his friend Galileo, also a member, was being tried for heresy.\(^226\) Antiquity interested him in early Christian practices. He even thought of Julian, the Apostate Emperor, as a source of information on these.\(^227\) Undoubtedly he saw parallels between Christianity and ancient religions. Syncretism was characteristic of his circle.\(^228\) Poussin's monumental *Annunciation* of 1657 is therefore a fitting tribute to him.\(^229\) Considering the propinquity of the Holy Office, prudence must have been his watchword.

His philosophy was Christian Stoicism. He won the epithet, "a mind contemptuous of Fortune." He followed the late antique Stoic practice of avoiding politics.\(^230\)

Although Cassiano patronized scientists, his connection with artists, particularly Poussin, was a major preoccupation of his life.\(^231\) Conditioned by antiquity, he preferred classicist art, which seemed closest to it to him. It may have been his interest in ancient religion which prompted his preference for Titian, whose *Bacchanals* were then in Rome; or he may simply have liked the sensuous, colorful, landscaped Venetian painting. He enjoyed Leonardo's work, owning two, one a copy of the *Mona Lisa*.

His interest in scholarship, science and art combined in preparing the manuscript of Leonardo da Vinci's *Treatise on Painting* for publication from 1635. He employed Poussin to illustrate it, but had others embellish these drawings. When Chantelou came to Rome to fetch Poussin in 1640, the illustrated manuscript was delivered to him. Chantelou's brother, M. de Chambray,
had it published, with a French translation, in Paris in 1651, about the year Poussin painted the large Leonardo-inspired Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe for his patron.

Although Poussin considered himself "a pupil in his art of the house and museum of the Cavaliere dal Pozzo," the patron helped him most by commissioning about fifty paintings, listed insofar as they were identified in 1958 in a table on the succeeding page. This table should be used in conjunction with the 1966 catalogue by Blunt listed in the bibliography of this thesis. All these commissions likely helped Poussin to modify his style as he deepened his thought in the stimulating cultural milieu of Pozzo's establishment, particularly in the period up to 1640.

Armand-Jean de Vignerod Duplessis, Duc de Richelieu, 1629-1715.

The great nephew of Cardinal Richelieu commissioned Poussin's last complete work, the Four Seasons, 1660-1664. Blunt calls this a "belated gesture on the part of the nobility toward the artist, whose reputation was now established throughout Europe," by a distinguished figure in Parisian society. He was a cultivated man who had a library and a printing establishment. In 1656 he was responsible for the publication of the Richelieu Bible. By 1664 he had already bought seven other Poussin paintings: The Plague at Ashdod; The Virgin Appearing to St. James; a Bacchanal; a picture of the blind at Jericho; a Moses story; a large landscape; and an ecstacy of St. Paul. These, together with the Four Seasons, were sold to Louis XIV, as part of twenty-five pictures lost in a wager with the king in 1665. After this, the Duc began to collect paintings again, specializing in Rubens upon the advice of Roger de Piles. Although he was a cultivated man, the Duc's other interests seemed primary, so that he relied upon outside advice for the purchases he made. Therefore
# APPENDICE

## TABLEAUX DE POUSSIN DANS LA COLLECTION DAL POZZO

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUPE A</th>
<th>Désignation</th>
<th>Emplacement actuel</th>
<th>Date probable (*)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Autoportrait</td>
<td>Hovingham</td>
<td>v. 1624-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sœur Catherine</td>
<td>ex-coll. Cook</td>
<td>v. 1628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sacrifice de Noé</td>
<td>Tatton</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Renaud et Armide</td>
<td>Harrach</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mars et Venus</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>v. 1629-30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Aurore et Céphale</td>
<td>Hovingham</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>St Jean Baptisant</td>
<td>Belvoir</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Extrême-Onction</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>années 1630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Confirmation</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>fin des an. 1630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Pénitence</td>
<td>détruit en 1816</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Ordination</td>
<td>Belvoir</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Mariage</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Eucharistie</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Baptême du Christ</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>1642*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Petit paysage</td>
<td>coll. Leon</td>
<td>v. 1645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
<td>»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Pyrame et Thisbé</td>
<td>Francfort</td>
<td>1651*</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUPE B</th>
<th>Peintures ayant un titre précis</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Le Christ au Jardin des Oliviers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>La Samaritaine</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>(Triomphe de) Bacchus et d'Ariane</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Bataille avec Porus sur un Eléphant</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Paysage avec les Funérailles de Phocion</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>» » la femme qui se lave les pieds</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>» » l'homme qui fuit un serpent</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUPE C</th>
<th>Sujets désignés de façon vague</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Vénus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Un Sacrifice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Bacchanale</td>
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<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>»</td>
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<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>»</td>
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<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>Une Perspective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Une Chasse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>La Vierge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34-40.</td>
<td>7 autres petits paysages (cf. n. 15 et 16, groupe A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Copie des Noces Aldobrandines</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) L'astérisque désigne une date certaine. Les autres dates sont fondées sur le style ou les références dans les textes.
it is likely he commissioned the **Four Seasons** because he wished a painting by an artist then fashionable, as Blunt suggests, not because he was especially concerned with what the artist would paint for him.

**Jacques Stella, 1596-1657**

This Parisian painter-collector is an example of the intimate friends for whom Poussin painted most of his late work. He was the most celebrated member of a Lyonnais family of painters, engravers and collectors. He may have inherited a taste for landscape from his father who did these.

In 1620, Stella went to Florence, a visit which had lifelong influence on his art. From there he moved to Rome, where, enriching his style under the influence of Domenichino and the Carracci, he remained 1623 to 1634. Around 1625 he was producing large religious decorations, but gained a good living through numerous book illustrations and little pictures.

In 1634 Richelieu retained him in Paris, gave him lodgings in the Louvre, a pension and title of Painter to the King. He was employed upon projects similar to Poussin's assignments: frontispieces, a composition for the Jesuit Novitiate, and two retables for the Chapel of St. Germain, but his frail health interfered with his work. After 1640, he became a pale shadow to Poussin, living unmarried with relatives in the Louvre galleries until his death, producing his best-loved work, the *Pastorale*, known from engravings.

His work is cool. It includes a delicate series of childhood games connected with the children's Bacchanals done by Poussin when he first reached Rome. It is apparent from a drawing of the Erotes playing with a hare loved by Venus because it can be fertile all the year that Stella was interested in mythological allegories of fertility, one aspect of the **Birth of Bacchus**, which Poussin painted for him in 1657. He was also aware of
the connection of the Bacchic mysteries with the underworld and with life after death. His niece did an engraving of Stella's _Putti Flaying_ (figure 257) showing one of them holding a Bacchic mask signifying the terrors of the underworld.

I feel that there are allusions of this kind to birth, death and resurrection in the _Birth of Bacchus_ which would have pleased Stella. As Poussin was a close friend, he would have adapted the painting to Stella's taste whether the latter made any specific suggestions or not.

Stella was a close friend of Poussin as the _Correspondance_ shows. Félibien preserved fragments of letters from Poussin to Stella, begun after Stella's return to Paris. There are also complimentary references to Stella in letters from Poussin to others, for example, "M. Stella, painter, my friend," and "I forgot to tell you I know Stella well." He calls Stella's family an "honest group of faithful Lyonnais." Bellori refers to Stella as Poussin's "very kind friend." Félibien, who saved the correspondence said Stella had a singular esteem for Poussin. He showed it in the collection of drawings and paintings he made.

Claudine Bouzonnet Stella's 1693 inventory revealed the following items still owned by the family: seventeen drawings, five paintings of the Crucifixion, Moses striking the rock, St. Peter and St. John healing the Lame man, Venus and Aeneus, and bathing women. Stella had originally owned a Hercules and Dejaneira, an ecstasy of St. Paul, an Apollo and Daphne, a _Rinaldo and Armida_ in addition to the _Birth of Bacchus_ and a reclining Danae.

Although his original purchases, commissions and their current locations are not stated in this biography, the items cited offer evidence that Stella commissioned Poussin paintings until 1657.
Giovanni Domenico Campanella, 1568-1639

This Italian philosopher from Calabria entered the Dominican order in adolescence in admiration of Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas. His teacher in science and philosophy was Telesio, who based his ideas on sensory perception. Telesio held nature animate, that is, everything in it possesses some sensation. This is panpsychism. To Telesio, life in animals and plants, together with natural phenomena, for example, rain, was explainable by the unified action of heat and cold on inert matter.

Campanella surpassed Telesio in identifying heat with the Stoic spiritus, or soul of the world, deriving from the sun; he connected the earth with cold and corruption. Interaction of heat and cold produced all created things.

This theory is poetically stated in his City of the Sun. Its inhabitants assert two principles of the physics of things below, namely, that the Sun is the father, and the Earth the mother; the air is an impure part of the heavens; all fire is derived from the sun. The sea is the sweat of the earth, or the fluid of earth combusted, and fused within its bowels; but is the bond of union between air and earth, as the blood is of the spirit and flesh of animals. The world is a great animal, and we live within it as worms live within us.

Campanella's physics is closely related to Stoic physics from which the Stoics developed their theology, psychology and ethics. The four Stoic elements are earth, water, air and fire. Earth and water are passive, fire and air active. Fire is the basic source of life; because all the other elements, air chiefly, contain some degree of warmth, even the grossest one, earth. Change is either an upward process to fire or a downward one to earth.

Just as the mind is the governing principle in the human being, the Stoics felt that the creative fire giving life, present in the sun, sky or aether could be deemed Divine Reason. Other names for it were: Logos, Soul of the World, Divine Providence, God, and Nature. So divinity was
immanent in the universe, but the universe was not all divine. Thus the
philosophy was not materialistic. 271

Campanella's emphasis on the sun, and his interpretation of it is
close to Stoicism, for example, the City of the Sun inhabitants
contemplate and know God under the image of the Sun, and they call it
the sign of God, His face and living image, by means of which light,
heat, life and the making of all things good and bad proceeds.

Beyond all other things they venerate the Sun, but they consider no
created thing worthy the adoration of worship. This they give to
God alone, and thus they serve him... 272

Campanellian theology identified Universal Reason and Christ. 273

Stoic psychology and ethics, seeing man with part of the fire in his
mind or soul dominating his body was connected to its physics. For man,
as part of God, is happiest when he follows cheerfully the decrees of Divine
Reason; it is his duty to do so. By such rational activity, he attains the
supreme good, virtue. The passions are irrational, so they must be controlled.
The four cardinal virtues, or states of mind were: wisdom (prudentia);
justice; courage (fortitudo) and soberness (temperantia) (as opposed to
unhealthy infatuation or hilarity. It was a matter of argument among the
Stoics as to whether wisdom or courage was the primary virtue, containing
all the others. Paragons of Stoic virtue were Diogenes and Socrates, who
acted from inner conviction; there was a certain value in outer conformity to
one's station in life. 275 276 277

Stoicism was not a narrow philosophy, for it saw
all men as citizens of one cosmos, an idea attractive in the seventeenth
century fresh from national and religious division. It was related to the
humanistic and classical education all received. 278 279 Finally it had a clear
code of conduct.

Campanella's system never reached the synthesis of Stoicism. His
theology differed from it because he believed that metaphysics was the
governing principle, that is, the Divine Mind and ours may be analogous,
but the Divine Mind knows much more. He therefore accepted the fact that theological truth was revealed in Holy Scripture and by the Church, who had the last word even in cosmology. From his theology he believed that

All things which separate themselves from their principles by going from innate knowledge to knowledge derived from outside do so because they seek some end. Once this end is attained, they return to their principles. The end is twofold; one is known to them; the other is only known to the Prime Cause, which uses them as instruments. Thus the end sought by water which rises from the spongy earth till it is above the tops of the mountains is its own preservation, dilation, and extension; but the end sought by God is the irrigation of plants, the refreshing of the earth, and the draining of the water toward the lower areas, which are essential to the life of plants and natural things. In the same way, the end sought by the heat of the sun is its expansion, which leads to the destruction of cold, but the end of God is the generation of plants, of waters, of metals, and of animals, within which heat is later retained by a will added from outside. Once this function is performed, its natural will causes it to rise again and return to the sun.

Analogous to the Stoics, Campanella saw the laws of nature similar to those governing human behavior.

We know not what we do, but God knows, whose instruments we are.

He thought four things benefitted man, and thus should order his conduct: individual self-preservation, perpetuation through children, renunciation of fame, and an eternal life with God where man shares in infinite being. These appear to have been accepted but not stressed in Stoicism.

Stoicism, believing in Providence, accepted the idea of destiny, fate, or fortune. From this they tolerated astrology. So did Campanella in moderation. But it was Copernican astronomy as taught by Galileo that he supported as being in accord with Holy Writ. He believed in spiritual and intellectual progress like St. Thomas Aquinas whom he admired.

Thus he repeatedly expressed the idea that spiritual enlargement would follow enquiry into the universe of Copernicus and Galileo. In making this declaration he followed the example of the Psalmist and Prophets,
as well as that of the Classical writers and fathers who had found in contemplation of the cosmos a source of religious growth and exaltation. But Campanella applied the ancient precedent to the new heavens of an heretical astronomy soon to be condemned and proscribed by the Roman Church. In doing so, he marched in the vanguard of his age. It was in fact not until after Newton and the Principia that an appreciable number of men turned consciously to the new universe for spiritual enlargement.

No doubt Campanella felt this was especially valuable as he believed the end of the world was being announced not only by the approach of the sun to the earth, but by all sorts of heavenly and earthly anomalies and catastrophies: the Protestant heresies.

His best-known among his many writings are: De Sensu Rerum, 1620; Metaphysica; The Defense of Galileo, 1622; The City of the Sun, written 1602, published 1623. Many of these were composed in prison in Spanish-governed Naples where he was confined 1599 to 1626, first on charges of conspiracy, then heresy. After pleading Pozzo by letters for Papal release, he came to Rome 1629 to 1634 under the protection of Pozzo's employer, Cardinal Francesco Barberini. He helped Pope Urban VIII astrologically. When a Calabrian conspiracy caused Spain to demand his extradition, the pope obtained the aid of the French Ambassador, Naudé and Patin to transfer Campanella to Paris, where the Dominican died 1639. In 1642, one of these men had Poussin take back to Pozzo publications of Campanella's works.

As Poussin and Campanella were in Rome associated with Pozzo from 1626 to 1634, Poussin probably learnt Campanellan ideas straight from the philosopher whose motto was "I shall never be silent." The City of the Sun emphasized the instruction of youth in science, most valuable to education, by painting, so that this book would be the one of greatest interest to Poussin. In Paris, Poussin contacted Naudé and Patin; in Rome he was patronized by Pozzo. All could have explained Campanellan ideas to him. It is reasonable to suppose that Poussin became familiar with the philosophy of Campanella by one of these means because it is a key to his late landscapes, if not to his
earlier mythological allegories as well.
CHAPTER II

POUSSIN AS A LANDSCAPE PAINTER

Although Poussin was not chiefly a landscape painter, nature predominates in his paintings of 1648 to 1651 and 1658 to 1664. Emphasizing the latter period I discuss Poussin's development, concluding with his relationship to Claude Lorraine, that other classical seventeenth-century French painter of similar renown, living in Rome.

Poussin developed ability to depict nature in several ways. He studied other art: the antique; frescoes then in Rome; Raphael's followers, especially Polidoro da Caravaggio; Titian; the Carracci; Domenichino; and Claude Lorraine. He drew from nature for painting and book illustration. He is said to have experimented with pure landscape painting from 1624 on. He increasingly made the backgrounds of figure compositions fit the subject, in agreement with his interpretation of the artistic principle of decorum, or suitability, connected to the theories of ut pictura poesis.

I believe that the main motivation behind his landscapes was Stoic philosophy, probably even by 1648 the version of Campanella. Nature, or God, or Christ is Divine Reason. Its order and harmony may instruct and delight more satisfactorily than the dramatic actions of imperfect man. In the "heroic" or "classical" landscapes of 1648 to 1651, though Poussin dwarfed man, he first selected virtuous persons so that the observer might read from the conduct or significance of their figures to the order of the landscape, Nature, with which their conduct was in harmony. "Live according to Nature," the Stoic dictum, meant allying oneself with the collective right reason which governed the universe. This is what the
figures in the 1648 landscapes are doing or have done. I can think of no more severely didactic treatment of landscape. Contact with Campanella's ideas on the value of painting for instruction could have affected Poussin's didactic approach. However, the serious, severe unity of 1648 is in accord with Poussin's 1636-to-1648 work on the Seven Sacraments, incorporating basic Roman Catholic belief, salvation of man by means of grace received in them. Such deep thought united with mature artistic consideration, already evident in that series, to produce the 1648-to-1651 landscapes. This happened 1658-to-1664 in a greater degree because by then Poussin had fused his religious beliefs completely with his philosophy, mirrored in the expressive unity of his late landscapes.

His major landscapes were:

from 1648 to 1651,

Landscape with the Body of Phocion Carried Out of Athens, 1648 (plate 176)
Landscape with the Ashes of Phocion Collected by his Widow, 1648 (plate 177)
Landscape with Diogenes, 1648 (plate 188)
Landscape with a Man Killed by a Snake, 1648 (plate 182)
Landscape with a Roman Road, 1648 (plate 184)
Landscape with a Man Washing His Feet at a Fountain, no date (plate 185)
Landscape with Polyphemus, 1649 (plate 190)
Landscape with a Woman Washing Her Feet, 1649 (plate 195)
Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice, 1650 (plate 191)
Landscape with a Storm, c1651 (plate 263)
Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe, c1651 (plate 187)
Landscape with St. Francis, no date (plate 186)
Landscape with Buildings, 1651? (plate 193) (probably the "Calm," a companion to the Landscape with a Storm listed above. 12

from 1658 to 1664,

Landscape with Orion, 1658 (plate 237)
Landscape with Two Nymphs and a Snake, c1659 (plate 240)
Landscape with Hercules and Cacus, c1658-1660 (plate 241)
The Four Seasons, 1660 to 1664 (plates 242 to 245)
(related to these late landscapes are The Birth of Bacchus, 1657 (plate 236) and the unfinished Apollo and Daphne, c1664 (plate 251) 13

Although Poussin's major landscapes were done from 1648, experiments preceded them. This germinal stage of experiments has three periods
ending 1635, 1642 and 1648 respectively.

Up to 1635, there is evidence of pure landscapes—drawings and paintings. Félibien says that in the early Roman years Poussin made studies of landscapes, trees and light effects in that city. Sandrart mentions a visit to Tivoli with Poussin and Claude to draw and paint from nature. An X-ray of a fragment of an Adoration of the Golden Calf, dated before 1627 shows a landscape of the Colosseum beneath it. Roman guide books refer to small landscapes by Poussin in his prima maniera. Between September, 1629 and March, 1630, Pozzo was trying to get landscapes for a Florentine friend, Galli. His first letter explains that Poussin cannot do one as he is sick. The last letter says Pozzo will have two done for Galli.

In his figure compositions up to 1635, Poussin began to develop landscape backgrounds. The art which influenced him first was that of Titian; then he referred to classical painting—antique, Renaissance, and contemporary. He was stimulated by Pozzo's interest in Titian, nature, and scholarship.

By 1635 Poussin had established three characteristics of his later landscape painting: the generalized location of his landscapes in Rome, its environs, the Campagna and the south-west Italian coast from Rome to Naples; the combination of landscape with mythology and religion; moderately clear articulation of space. Examples of these characteristics can be seen in Numa Pomphilus and the Nymph Egeria, c1633 (plate 132) and The Virgin Protecting the City of Spoleto, c1635 (plate 95).

In 1635 after Domenichino left Rome and as Pozzo helped by Poussin worked on Leonardo's Treatise, the artist's interest in landscape backgrounds increased further. For example, for the first time he introduced architecture in the Saving of the Infant Pyrrhus, c1637 (plate 112). In this painting he also began matching the color with the time of day as recorded in his literary source, here Plutarch. He combined architecture and landscape
effectively in the 1638 Finding of Moses (plate 124). In 1639 he used landscape alone to give ample space for the Israelites Gathering the Manna (plate 128). He was possibly trying to be archeologically accurate in the pyramid in the Finding of Moses because he was working on the Pozzo Seven Sacraments, 1636 to 1642. However, the Ordination (plate 134) and Baptism (plate 136), finished 1642, show landscape still often a backdrop.

Poussin's serious concern with pure landscape began after 1642. His return to the patronage of Pozzo, for whom he then painted his earliest extant landscapes may be partly responsible. This is suggested by an unusual description of the Parisian spring, in a 1642 letter to Pozzo, eulogizing the budding trees and the little birds beginning to rejoice by their song. The three Pozzo landscapes are poetic, yet the diagonals connecting the planes parallel to the canvas relate them formally to those of 1648. Two religious landscapes containing St. Matthew and St. John respectively (plates 150-151) adapt this compositional formula to serious subjects.

During this entire experimental period Poussin drew from nature, apparently stressing light and shade, but actually interested in form. The stress on light and shade came from his use of a bistre wash, a technique learnt from Dutchmen in Rome, for example, in the Aventine (figure 239). Beneath the dramatic chiaroscuro of this drawing appears the formal organization of a Poussin painting. This is verified by a comparison with the drawings of Claude, which show more tonal nuances in the wash, therefore more emotional expression. Numerous studies of trees also stress Poussin's concern with the details of form beneath the chiaroscuro treatment, for example, Five Trees (figure 234). Finally his drawings of architecture, for example, The Arch of the Goldsmiths (figure 235) firmly define form.

Poussin's landscapes of 1648 to 1651 develop from didactic Stoicism
through allegory to acceptance of varied aspects of nature. In 1648, for example, the Socrates-like Stoic hero Phocion is the key to the rigidly architectonic, cool-colored composition with the archeological accuracy to antiquity Poussin had sought in the Seven Sacraments. Nature appears as she should be, not as she is, from the foreground tree to the background support of the architecture. Diogenes, another Stoic hero was famed for asceticism; even St. Francis was as distinguished by devotion to poverty as to natural creation. In 1650, Poussin tried allegory, notably in the Orpheus composition; the "keys" are the figures of Orpheus and the smoking castle. It is difficult to decipher the meaning. By 1651, however, Calm, Storm and Pyramus and Thisbe depict different aspects of nature. Poussin's letter on the last shows that he is working from the landscape to the figures, for he wishes to depict the effects of a storm. The influence was Leonardo. Just as Poussin had in 1639 turned to that Treatise for variation in emotional expression in the Israelites Gathering the Manna, so now he varies the face of nature according to Leonardo's direction. Formally he is trying to follow a less rigid structure to reflect the actual aspects of nature better; there is still calm enclosure from his firmly classical and Stoic approach to nature as well as to painting.

From the 1648 Phocion, therefore, where the figures are the key to the landscape, Poussin reached Pyramus where the landscape is the key to the figures. Midway is Orpheus, an allegory understood through connecting the castle to him. Poussin's feeling for decorum, expressed in the Seven Sacraments, challenged by antique example made him attempt to depict the varied aspects of nature under Leonardo's clear direction.

If Stoic philosophy motivated dwarfing man so that Divine Reason could be shown through Nature, Poussin's experiments had led him to realize the complex character of its order. Furthermore, attempts to enrich the landscapes
by allegory did not result in a composition in which the meaning was clear. In addition, Pozzo, who had commissioned Poussin's first landscapes of the sixteen-forties, asked for no more after 1651. Therefore Poussin reasonably put aside landscape to express his ideas through figure painting.

It was a figure painting, a mythological allegory of natural fertility, with deeper implications of life, death and resurrection which in 1657 became the forerunner to Poussin's late landscapes following natural forms, subordinating architecture. This was the Birth of Bacchus painted for Stella the year he and Pozzo died. The next year, 1658, Massimi returned to take over the patronage extended to artists by Pozzo; he did not commission any late landscapes but was given Poussin's last mythological allegory, the Apollo and Daphne, by the artist who found it impossible to finish it before his death. Like the Birth of Bacchus, it deals with the order of Creation, with suggestions of Christian salvation.

The grandeur of nature in the late landscapes is no enigma if one considers the Stoic thought and practice in landscapes of 1648 to 1651. Also relevant is the artist's systematic search for fitness, so that all parts of his painting might be adequate expressions contributing to the whole work as much as possible. Natural forms thus properly dominate allegories of natural order, such as the Orion, depicting the cycle of rain-formation by which the earth becomes fertile. In the Four Seasons, a synthesis is made between the grandeur of sentient nature and the salvation of man primary to Poussin's belief. To express this belief more satisfactorily he returns again to the forms with the richest associative meaning to himself and his century—the human forms of antique mythology—for his final unfinished 1664 Apollo and Daphne given to Massimi.

Poussin and Claude were life-long friends. It is probable that Claude's landscapes influenced Poussin, just as Poussin's themes were picked up by
Claude. For there are stylistic affinities to Claude in Poussin's late landscapes, although Poussin uses some characteristics of Claude's manner to express complex allegorical meaning. First, the treatment of space is more Claudian, employing his normal method, but new in Poussin's work. This is the construction of the picture around a central area of rest in the middle distance, often an oval body of water, for example, Poussin's *Landscape with Two Nymphs and a Snake*. The landscape around it is built up like a relief map on a horizontal plane. This seems to begin in the landscapes of 1648 to 1651, for example, the *Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice* of 1650. I find that this is combined with a more sensitive use of atmospheric perspective, for example, *Summer*. The result is a sense of spacious depth nearer to the infinity in Claude's paintings, a depth most apparent in the *Four Seasons* and the *Apollo and Daphne*, the last works. It is most appropriate to their themes. In the use of light, Poussin like Claude chooses a specific time of the day. The *Four Seasons*, representing dawn, noon, twilight and night are the best example, but one can also see early morning in the *Birth of Bacchus* and in the *Hercules and Cacus*. While, however, Claude's intention is to express the changeability and form-dissolving effect of light, Poussin uses light to define form in order to reveal allegorical and literary significance; for example, the changing times of day in the *Four Seasons* represent the eternal order and harmony of the universe, a timeless meaning, not an expression of a moment in time. Literary accuracy places the time of Hercules' action at sunrise, one reason for the reddish light. Finally, Poussin's late landscapes express the majesty of nature, even more grand than shown by Claude, but in something of the same humility in which Claude reacted before the Roman Campagna.
CHAPTER III

PICTORIAL ANALYSIS

Aim of this Chapter

Chapter III analyzes twelve paintings by Poussin. These are:

first, paintings believed transitional to the late landscapes,

1. Landscape with Polyphemus, 1649? for Pointel (plates 190, 192a and Friedlaender colorplate 42)
2. Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice, c1650 (plates 191, 192b and Friedlaender colorplate 41)
3. Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe, c1651 for Pozzo (plate 187)

secondly, a mythological figure painting which may precede the late landscapes,

4. Birth of Bacchus, 1657, for Stella (Plate 236, Friedlaender colorplate 45)

thirdly, the late landscapes,

5. Landscape with Orion, 1653, for Passart (plates 237, 238)
6. Landscape with Hercules and Cacus, c1659-61 (plate 241)
7. Landscape with Two Nymphs and a Snake, 1659, probably for Lebrun (plate 240)
8. to 11. Four Seasons, 1660-64, for the Duc de Richelieu
   8. Spring (plates 242, 246)
   9. Summer (plates 243, 247) (Friedlaender colorplate 46)
   10. Autumn (plates 244, 248)
   11. Winter (plates 245, 249) (Friedlaender colorplate 47)

forthly, the final unfinished mythological figure painting,

12. Apollo and Daphne, 1664, given to Massimi (plates 251 to 254 and Friedlaender colorplate 48)

I have attempted a chronological order. Opinions differ upon the dating of the Landscape with Polyphemus; Mahon, with whom I agree, thinks it was painted about 1660. I have also accepted his date of c1659-61 for the Landscape with Hercules and Cacus which Blunt thinks a reasonable alternative to the date of c1655 which is given in his
Catalogue. My catalogue follows his chronology; I state why I believe that the *Landscape with Polyphemus* should be dated differently in my analysis of that picture.

The *Birth of Bacchus* and the *Apollo and Daphne*, although not landscapes, are included because they are mythological allegories of the ideas behind natural creation.

The *Catalogue of 1966* by Blunt is the source for all information except medium, discussion of commission, style and iconography. Friedlaender's recent book provides some color plates with medium and size in inches.

Commission discussions are brief, based on biographies in Chapter I. In analyzing style, I have sometimes referred to planes in describing a late landscape in which the organization may be freer. This has been for convenience in discussing parts of the painting. In the iconography, there is, in addition to re-evaluation, some new interpretation, especially in the *Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice*, the *Landscape with Polyphemus*, and the *Landscape with Hercules and Cacus*. 
Landscape with Polyphemus

**Size:** 150 x 198 cm. or 58 1/4 x 77 1/2".

**Medium:** oil on canvas.

**Location:** Leningrad. Hermitage.

**Commission:** Painted in 1649 for Pointel, according to Félibien, IW, 59.

**Dating:** Although Sir Anthony Blunt accepts Félibien's 1649 date, I feel that style, iconography, a late drawing and Pointel's second visit of 1655 recorded by Bonnaffé agree with Mahon's opinion that this landscape should be dated about 1660.¹

**History:** After the painting had been bought by Catherine II of Russia, it was paired with the Landscape with Hercules and Cacus acquired by the same lady. Through her it reached the Hermitage.

**Drawings:** Figure 265² of three nymphs being spied upon by satyrs is dated in the 1660's. Blunt does not relate it to this painting.

**Engravings:** one.³

**Copies:** eight.⁴

**Commission Discussion:** Blunt believes that a Sicilian trip by the banker Pointel, a close friend and avid patron of Poussin after the mid-1640's may have inspired the subject of the painting.⁵ Pointel had already received the Landscape with a Man Killed by a Snake, which includes a background view of Fondi, near Naples, which patron and artist may have visited together.⁶ Although the topographical aspects of this painting seem limited, Poussin evokes antique associations with Sicily which would have been most satisfying to Pointel. This will be shown in the iconographic analysis.

**Style:** This landscape is organized around the quiet area formed by a plain upon which figures are active in agriculture. It has complete spatial unity in recession into depth enhanced by aerial perspective, from the foreground with six small clear mythological figures to the little bay with blue
mountains in the background. Behind the area with the tiny figures working the land are two rocky crags; into the most distant one blends a gigantic figure. He is framed at the top of the canvas by a careful balance between the nearer mountain on his left and a great tree to the right growing out of the plain. These two forms together with the nearly level plain form a firm geometrical horizontal-vertical structure behind the spacious composition. There is, however, a slight diagonal movement, on two levels: from the reclining left foreground figure across the plain to the bay; from the mountain ridge to the bay, where the sea is. I believe this is relevant to the iconography of this painting, in particular to its allegory.

Another suggestion of deeper than ordinary meaning in this unhappy love story is in the size and shape of the rocky crags, which have little resemblance to Sicilian mountains. The right-hand tree is exceedingly large and luxuriant; in contrast the mythological figures are small while man is minute. To top it all, the giant appears fused with the mountain.

To make us view the whole panorama of the landscape, Poussin has placed the two protagonists, the giant, Polyphemus, and the nymph, Galatea as far as possible from one another vertically as well as in recession into the picture. Typical of Poussin's late landscapes, these mythological figures, particularly the foreground ones, are not too easy to identify. However, the expression of Galatea, one of relaxed, calm happiness, puts her beyond the ordinary passions associated with the Ovidian love tale. The same is true of Polyphemus, who is not even looking at her. These figures thus appear to be keys to the allegory connected with natural forms suggested by their unusual size and depiction.

Light in this picture has several functions. It appears to be noonday light, which casts a clear glow over the painting. Secondly, it mutes the mountains, including the giant on them, giving greater depth to the
landscape. Thirdly, it makes the small mythological figures in the foreground as clear as possible through the way it is used to model form. Fourthly, the light reveals a color-scheme, suited to the subject by the predominant green, but warm and bright through the bronzes of the land combined with the blue of the heavens. The mood, or Mode, as Poussin would have put it, is one to arouse exaltation, a deeper feeling than we would experience if he had merely depicted the Ovidian love tale.

**Iconography**

There appear to be three aspects to this picture. First it evokes all the major myths of Sicily. Secondly, it is an allegory of the vital life of the earth, as seen in Campanellian Stoic natural philosophy. Thirdly, it shows a primeval age of man when all was peace and harmony. As the Louvre exhibition catalogue puts it

In this composition, as in many others of the end of his career, Poussin has mixed with the evocation of a myth a profound allegorical thought. It represents a vast landscape of Sicily with high mountains and a sunny bay. The Cyclops Polyphemus, enamoured of the nymph Galatea, plays for her on his pipe seated on a rocky summet.

But, at the same time, the picture represents the first ages in the life of men. The Cyclops in the rear, symbolizes the epoch which precedes the discovery of agriculture, when men lived only from the fruits of the earth. Nearer, in the second plane, it is the age following; men work the earth, digging a garden, guarding their flocks.

The nymphs in the foreground symbolize the secret forces of Nature, her serene fertility.

Poussin's sources were: Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Vergil's *Georgics*, Theocritus, Appian and Campanella's *City of the Sun*. For the likeness of Arethusa he may have consulted Goltzius' book on Greek coins.

The classical sources gave Poussin all the elements of the painting; Campanellian Stoicism explains their particular combination in it.

According to Ovid the Cyclops Polyphemus is described as sitting on a wedge-shaped promontory washed by the sea. He carries a pine trunk for
a staff, and a pipe of a thousand reeds, which he tried to use to win Galatea.
In his song he speaks of seasons, apples, grapes, fruit of the arbute-tree, flocks, many being in the valleys, in the woods, others safe in their cavern folds. He also speaks of himself having a cave. All these are in the picture.
In wooing Galatea, he speaks of his one eye, excusing it on the grounds of its size and the fact that the sun has but one eye, yet sees all on earth. He says "I fear you alone, O Nereid Galatea; your anger is more deadly than the lightning-flash." 14 Such a flash belonged to Jove. He then asks Galatea why she prefers Acis. Now the narrator of this wooing is Galatea herself who says "all the mountains felt the sound of his Polyphemus' rustic pipings; the waves felt it too. I, hiding beneath a rock and resting in my Acis' arms, at a great distance heard the words he sang and well remember them." 15 Well she might, for the Cyclops made no light declaration of love. His song ends "For oh, I burn, and my hot passion, thus scorned, rages more fiercely within me; I seem to carry Aetna in my breast, borne thither with all his violence. Ardyou, Galatea, do not care at all." 16

Polyphemus is thus a fiery figure poetically connected to the sun; Galatea is a sea nymph. But where is Acis? Which nymph is Galatea, or is she in the picture?

There is a difference of opinion between Friedlaender 17 and Blunt 18 upon the identification of the middle-blue-clad nymph. To Friedlaender, and to me, she is Galatea, the personage with the greenish-blue hair, even although she does not agree with Ovid's description by Polyphemus, "O Galatea, whiter than snowy privet-leaves." 19 Her dress is the color of the ocean. She is not wearing the wreath of reeds used for river nymphs. Friedlaender also points out that Raphael's depiction of Galatea in the Farnesina fresco in Rome, which Poussin would assuredly have seen does not show Galatea as white-skinned either. I do not know about the color of her skin in the Carracci
Farnese ceiling fresco, but it is certain that in that depiction, as in the ancient fresco of the House of Livia, which Poussin may have known, Galatea is in the sea. That is where Blunt thinks she is, in the sea to the right, in the direction in which Polyphemus is facing. He thinks the central nymph's hair color is to be taken as resembling the reeds around, and therefore, all three, with satyrs, represent fertility. I agree with his connection of them all with fertility.

To Friedlaender, Acis is the youth with the white skin and girlish appearance on the left of the central nymph, Galatea. This is because a greyish urn, the symbol of a river god, is beside him, and because Ovid describes him as just over sixteen and beautiful. Blunt does not mention Acis. If one compares the two figures on either side of Galatea, it seems unlikely that the left one is male.

I believe that it is possible to see in the painting the evocation of several myths connected with Sicily, aside from that of Polyphemus and Galatea, and that these additional myths contribute to the allegorical meaning of the picture.

As the Ovidian story suggests, the region is near mount Aetna. There is a certain topographical likeness between what may be the Cyclops' cavern and the famous Ear of Dionysius in the Syracusan quarries, known in the sixteenth century. Aetna was the traditional home of the Cyclops, sons of Uranus (heaven) and Gaea (earth) and associated with thunder, lightning and thunderbolts. A map of Sicily shows Aetna to be near Syracuse on the east of the island. According to Ovid, Syracuse is the setting for part of the story of Proserpina and Ceres, a "bay of the sea between Cyane and Pisaean Arethusa, its waters confined by narrow points of land, as in Poussin's picture. At Henna, in the Sicilian interior, Pluto had abducted Proserpina. But he took her down to the underworld via the fountain of Cyane at Syracuse;
Cyane then became a river, upon which floated the girdle of Proserpina, giving evidence to the bewildered Ceres as to where her missing daughter was. The fountain Arethusa was also involved in this tale, for in her escape from another country via the underworld she had seen Proserpina; she begged Ceres to restore fertility to Sicily, which happened when Proserpina returned annually. Syracuse itself was a city founded from Corinth by the Bacchiades (sons of Bacchus) in two parts.

It seems to me that the left-hand nymph is Syracusan Cyane, said by Ovid to be the most famous of the Sicilian nymphs. She holds in her hand a chain, I think, possibly the girdle of Proserpina. Below her is the greyish urn, signifying her transformation into a river, and also her lawful union with the river god Anapis. In her stream the papyrus from Egypt flourished, giving the name Papireto to it. This would account for her skin being white. On the right of the blue-clad nymph, is another figure grasping her. If we compare her profile with that of the famous Demareiton of Syracuse, there is a striking similarity. In addition, although Ovid says she has green locks, Vergil says "Arethusa thrust out her golden head: ..." However, I believe that the two nymphs have golden hair to connect them poetically as Ovid did with the Proserpina-Ceres myth. Both these nymphs on either side of Galatea are evocative of Sicily's most mysterious myth, one connected with the seasons, suggested in the plain in the picture. The wreaths symbolize the fact they were both married, in contrast to Galatea.

As for the satyrs, although they represent fertility, they may also evoke the city of Syracuse where this myth had a connection, for Bacchus was attended by satyrs, and here are two, matching the two nymphs and the two parts of the city.

Quite suitably this whole front scene takes place in myrtle bushes.
sacred to Venus, for it was Venus, sitting on Sicilian mount Eryx, sacred to her, whose desire to dominate the world and her anger at the virginity of goddesses like Minerva that led her to command Cupid to put an arrow through the heart of Pluto, and so start the rape of Proserpina in Sicily. In Ovid this story was told by the Muse Calliope, who began "Ceres was the first to turn the glebe with the hooked plough share; she first gave corn and kindly sustenance to the world; she first gave laws. All things are the gift of Ceres; . . ." This allusion to Venus might account for the white birds, the doves sacred to her, or these might be seagulls or quails, connected with Ortygia, the "quailly place", where Arethusa was at Syracuse.

This still does not account for Galatea, or Acis. In Idyll 6 of Theocritus, we are made to feel that the two protagonists of this story, of which Galatea is one, will never unite. But I do not see this is applicable if one takes their allegorical meaning. I think Galatea is the blue-clad nymph who may appear turned away from Polyphemus as he is not observing her because the two personify two of the Stoic elements, Polyphemus, fire, the most refined one, connected with rational order, and the active principle in creation; Galatea, water. If they were united both would lose their nature. But Galatea's expression suggests union. I think Campanellian Stoic physics explains her attitude and location. It also indicates why she has two other nymphs around her, both with underworld associations. And it accounts for the predominance of nature over dwarfed man in this picture. Finally it shows why Acis is not necessary here.

They assert two principles of the physics of things below, namely, that the Sun is the father, and the Earth the mother; the air is an impure part of the heavens; all fire is derived from the sun. The sea is the sweat of the earth combusted, and fused within its bowels; but is the bond of union between air and earth, as the blood is of the spirit and flesh of animals. The world is a great animal, and we live within it as worms live within us.
In this painting Poussin therefore uses mythological figures, such as Polyphemus, associated with air, fire and the sun, and Galatea, with the sea, to indicate the reason for the creative life apparent in the painting, for example, in the tree on the right. He stresses the ever-current importance of the myth by the placement of Galatea in the mid-foreground, and Polyphemus in the upper part of the picture, framed by the tree and the other pinnacle. Recession of mountains and the slight rise of the plain towards the sea underlines the allegory in the picture.

The more complex significance I have assigned to the nymphs beside Galatea does not prevent us from connecting the painting to the primeval ages of man. For they are associated with the seasonal myth which Ovid classes with the Silver age. Behind them on the plain, spring activity, ploughing, is taking place. A silver urn lies beside one nymph. In the background, Polyphemus is associated with a more heavenly state of man in the Golden age. Perhaps there is a hint of the bronze age in the urn, for men were not impious yet, says Ovid.

The antique poet usually connected with this land, famous throughout the world for its fertility, was the pastoral poet and citizen of Syracuse, Theocritus. I believe he is the wreathed reclining figure on the left, in the foreground, watching the pastoral and bucolic activities on the plain.

There is one version of the Polyphemus-Galatea tale which Poussin might have known, since he was interested in the history of Rome. According to Appian, the two got married, giving birth to sons, one of whom was father of the Gauls. Since this picture was painted for a Frenchman from what had once been part of Roman Gaul, did Poussin use this version to express, not only the fertility of nature dependent on their union, but also as a pleasant conceit for Pointel?
Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice

Size: 120 x 200 cm. or 48 7/8 x 78 3/4".

Medium: oil on canvas.

Location: Paris. Louvre.

Commission: Not the picture mentioned as commissioned by Charles Lebrun, 1659, by Félibien (IV, p. 66) as first, Félibien does not say what the subject of this commission was, and secondly, the preparatory drawing, now in the British Museum (CR, IV, p. 47, no. 284) has on the recto a study for a Holy Family which can be dated to 1650.

Date: c1650.

History: Bought for Louis XIV in 1685, according to his royal account books.

Drawings: two; one mentioned under Commission above, of a smoking castle; one in Paris, École des Beaux-Arts, entitled The Fonte Molle in the Roman Campagna, illustrated plate 15, of Scherer: The Marvels of Ancient Rome (See Thesis Bibliography)

Engravings: one, described in Catalogue 170 entry.

Copies: four, described in Catalogue 170 entry.

Commission Discussion: The commissioner is unknown. I speculate that this painting is a memorial to Pietro Testa. This artist, employed by Pozzo, committed suicide in 1650 by throwing himself into the Tiber. He had painted landscapes in a style based on Poussin's earlier Titianesque manner.

Style: The composition recedes by four planes parallel to the surface of the picture. The first is bounded on both sides by trees and/or rocks. It contains minute mythological figures. The second is a reach of river, very like the quiet centre of the late landscapes. On the far side play tiny figures. Plane three is a sequence of buildings, including a bridge. The castle on the left dominates. The largest peak is to the right of the mountains which form plane four.
This painting lacks the amount of depth, the degree of aerial perspective, and the complete fusion of planes developed later by Poussin. However, formal clarity is gained in several ways. First, the figures are grouped around the quiet, nearly oval reach of river. Their arrangement, gestures and gazes cause the eye to move from Eurydice to Orpheus to the right still life, and from there through the playing figures to the lighted castle. Secondly, there is a careful counterbalance of parts, helped by Poussin’s use of light. It is the natural light of early morning, which emphasizes Orpheus and the castle, leaving the foreground rocks and the background peak in comparative darkness, except for two white stones on top. Therefore, light and shadow link planes one, three and four. Orpheus balances the castle. This balancing of two elements is continued in minor pictorial details, for example: twin smoke spires on the castle; twin peaks on the mountain; two muses; Orpheus and Eurydice; Hymen and the fisherman; two groups of figures on either side of the boat in the middle of the river; twin trunks on trees at both sides. Because "two" is repeated so much, one expects it signifies the theme. It does.

So does the color. This is apparent in the generally subdued total scheme as well as in details, for example, the bright part of the sky, the blue lake, a green patch of sunlit grass, figures garbed in lemon yellow, bright red, gold, maroon and blue. The relation of the color scheme and such details to the composition will be clear from the iconographical analysis.

For this landscape is a model of decorum (or suitability) in that all parts—figures, setting, light and color in it—fit. Therefore, I agree with Sir Anthony Blunt when he claims that this picture is one of Poussin's calmest and most harmonious landscapes, which sets forth in visible terms the sweetness of Orpheus' music perhaps using the Hypolydian, a softer mode.
There is classical dignity through the use of light as noted by Friedlaender. But the motifs of the smoking castle and the central figure of a woman recoiling from a snake contrast with the seated lyre-player and the smooth lake to give an ominous feeling to the harmony. I have tried to account for this feeling.

The *Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice* leads to Poussin's late work in several ways. First, it is an early experiment in combining mythological allegory with pure landscape. Secondly, it shows "judgment in every part." Thirdly, the background is as significant to the manner and meaning of the painting as the tiny foreground figures. Fourthly, natural forms, as in the right peak, are as prominent as the architecture they will dominate in Poussin's late landscapes. Fifthly, Poussin returns to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

**Iconography:** This painting is an allegory of life and death. In it Poussin says two things: in the midst of life is death; in the midst of death is life.

The allegory in the picture is suggested as follows: first, the figures in the first plane do not correspond in action or dress to any one artistic or literary version of the tale of Orpheus and Eurydice; secondly, the myth took place in Greece whereas the third plane is a condensed view of Rome. Thirdly, the condensation is unusual. Poussin has made the tower of the *Milizie* stand near the right end of the Milvian bridge, while he depicts the Castel Sant' Angelo at the left end of it; fourthly, the light falls as strongly on the smoking castle as on Orpheus. This castle appears in 1) the only compositional sketch extant for this painting 2) a more complex allegorical drawing of the *Rape of Europa* belonging to Poussin's late period.

In short, I found that the relationship of parts apparent in the form became meaningful only when the picture was viewed as an allegory.
Poussin's sources for this allegory were multiple: Ovid, the Aldobrandini Wedding fresco, Roman history and legend, a book on ancient wedding customs, and lastly La Girandola. This fireworks display from the Castel Sant' Angelo was performed on festive occasions. 1650 was the Jubilee year in Rome. Thus Poussin could have seen the spectacle and made his own drawing of it, or he could have used an engraving of it such as that in Lafreri's Speculum.

Although the two drawings are architectural, I shall explain the allegory working from the foreground figures to the background mountain. The basis is Ovid's tale of the marriage of Orpheus to Eurydice, as recorded in the *Metamorphoses*:

Thence through the boundless air Hymen, clad in a saffron mantle, departed and took his way to the country of the Ciconians, and was summoned by the voice of Orpheus, though all in vain. He was present, it is true; but he brought neither the hallowed words, nor joyous faces, nor lucky omen. The torch also which he held kept sputtering and filled all eyes with smoke, nor would it catch fire for any brandishing. The outcome of the wedding was worse than the beginning; for while the bride was strolling through the grass with a group of naiads in attendance, she fell dead, smitten in the ankle by a serpent's tooth.

In the centre we see Eurydice recoiling from a serpent. She wears no veil or wreath customary in ancient weddings. The daylight coming from the east to the west side of the Tiber on which the Castel Sant' Angelo was located says this is the morning after the wedding night. Let us look further at Eurydice. She is dressed in pale yellow, like ripening corn. She has just dropped a basket of flowers, as she recoils from the snake to the left. The naiads are with Orpheus, not with her. She may be Eurydice, but she is also associated in the lack of veil, color of dress, basket and imminent departure to the underworld with Proserpina, upon whom the fertility of the earth depended.

Next to her on the right appears Hymen. His undertunic of maroon is like that in the Aldobrandini wedding representation of him. Over it he
wears a garment, not a toga, as it is on backwards. Therefore he is not a Roman. The yellow he may have used for the wedding is under the still life at the right, another indication the ceremony is done. The color of his garb is significant. He wears maroon suggesting profane love. But his blue-white mantle is over it; he is also wreathed like Orpheus. He appears to combine sacred and profane love. But sacred predominates in dress, wreath and in his gaze. He is looking at Orpheus.

Although Apollo is associated with the lyre, the connections of this instrument with Orpheus are traditionally strong. Furthermore, the lyre-playing was done at the wedding, not after it. So Orpheus is the one involved in playing the lyre. He is wreathed, wearing bright red over gold. This colored costume and accessory as well as the lyre relates him to his father Apollo, god of the sun, Divine Reason, the Stoic fire which germinates Creation. He appears to represent, in addition, sacred love.

Now an unsystematized religion had become connected to Orpheus—the Orphic mysteries. The basic beliefs behind these were: 1) earthly conduct determined one’s destiny; 2) saving faith and sacraments absolved one from sin. These were Poussin’s primary Stoic and Christian beliefs.

The mythological tale of Orpheus, according to Ovid, had three aspects: he visited the underworld in an unsuccessful attempt to get Eurydice back; after this, he took up homosexual love, which caused the women of his country, whom he scorned, to tear him to pieces; his soul happily rejoined Eurydice. His lyre was put among the stars. I believe Poussin was seeing Orpheus in his relation to Apollo as well as to the Orphic mysteries. But the conduct which caused his death also relates him to Hadrian, who was buried in the Castel Sant'Angelo in the rear of the painting. For Hadrian loved Antinous, who drowned. Poussin had made a measured drawing of the statue of Antinous.

In front of Orpheus are two female figures. Supposedly they are
Eurydice's naiads, but they are not looking at her. They appear to be Muses. Perhaps the one nearest Apollo, facing us is Calliope, Muse of Epic Poetry, Orpheus' mother and Apollo's love. She is in blue, wreathed. The other may be Erato, Muse of Love Poetry, whose symbol was the lyre. She is maroon, not wreathed, and turned from us. I associate Calliope with sacred love, Erato with profane love. The attention to Orpheus stresses the importance of sacred over profane love.

Now Orpheus, who had multiple divine associations "is said to have taught mysterious truths concerning the origin of things and the immortality of the soul." He was also represented in the catacombs as a figure symbolizing the Christian Logos that overcomes the heart of a stone. On the left is a fisherman who points to the dark stones and looks at the mythological scene.

On the right is a still life. The wreaths suggest the wedding is done; they are together over the yellow associated with ancient weddings, either with Hymen or with the veil of the bride. The basket of food with the left pot, a purifying jug are regular wedding accessories. The right container is ambiguous, but it looks like the Magi still-lifes in Poussin's 1648 Holy Family on the Steps (plate 172). It is located beneath a tree which divides into two trunks shortly above the base. Beneath it is the blue robe symbolizing the water given together with fire to the bride by her husband after the official ceremony was over. It signified their wedded life. The red robe connected with fire is on another tree; two quivers, symbolic of Apollo and Diana, who were among the guardians of marriage, are beside it. Beneath it are the flowers, traditional in the bride's father's house.

The separation of the red robe from the blue, equal to the physical separation of Eurydice from Orpheus in the painting combines with actual separation imminent in the death of Eurydice from snake-bite.
In the second plane are two sets of figures playing, with a boat in between. The playing figures have a double meaning: people who do not understand, but for whom the allegory has significance; festive activities signifying the wedding was performed at an inauspicious time according to Roman religion. The boat is probably part of the festivities but one cannot help connecting it with that which took souls to the underworld, especially because it is a dark form right above Eurydice, and just below the battle tower on the canvas.

The landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice, therefore, contains complex allegorical reflexions on life and death. These range from allusions to fertility in Eurydice-Proserpina (the earth) and Orpheus-Apollo (the sun) as part of the natural order including man. It is suggested that apparent death results in real life, both in nature and for humanity. Orpheus appears to signify the eternal salvation of man through good conduct combined with use of sacraments, a Roman Catholic concept also expressed in antiquity.

The two extant drawings related to this picture are of the background. One is the Castel Sant'Angelo, smoking. An earlier topographical drawing of 1491 verifies its identification evident in the Speculum. The second drawing shows the Milvian Bridge. If one combines these two buildings with the Milizie tower, the architecture symbolizes life, death and resurrection, themes implicit in the treatment of the mythological figures.

The Castel Sant'Angelo was 1) the home of the popes, head of Poussin's Church, and the representative of Christ by whose death and resurrection Christianity had been established, 2) the tomb of the Helenophile Emperor Hadrian, whose conduct has already been described. By the battle of the Milvian Bridge, Constantine established Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire. His defeated rival Maxentius drowned in the Tiber. This bridge unites the Castel Sant'Angelo with the tower of the Milizie
204. THE GIRANDOLA AT THE CASTLE OF SANT’ANGELO
CELEBRATING THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE ELECTION OF A POPE

From an engraving by Ambrogio Brambelli in Lafreri’s Speculum, 1579.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

The text engraved below this plate, made about a hundred years after the first recorded display of the girandola, describes it as ‘a sign of joy which is performed in Rome, and which is called “the whirling one”. . . . It would seem that all the stars in heaven are falling to earth, a thing verily most amazing, and vastly marvellous to see. . . . That it may be understood by all, this drawing of it is newly published with every diligence.’
201. THE CASTLE AND BRIDGE OF SANT'ANGELO FROM DOWNSTREAM, ABOUT 1491

Drawing by the Anonymus Escurialensis. Madrid, Escorial Collection

The drawing shows the monument just before the extensive alterations carried out by the Borgia Pope Alexander VI, at the end of the fifteenth century. The bridge-head across the Tiber is heavily fortified by towers and walls; once across the bridge one was already in the Castle.

The third of the bridge’s ancient arches is covered here by medieval structures.
Poussin’s drawing of this historic bridge just north of Rome demonstrates his accuracy of observation and his ability to convey the essentials of a scene in simple form. Though it underwent some repairs and alterations in the nineteenth century, the bridge today is immediately recognizable in the drawing of three centuries ago.

Aside from its picturesque quality this bridge has the added interest of age and association. Its four central arches, dating probably from 109 B.C., are among the oldest of any bridge in the neighbourhood of Rome. And it was near this ancient Pons Milvius that the rival emperors, Constantine and Maxentius, fought their decisive battle for control of the Empire in A.D. 312, ending in the defeat of Maxentius and his drowning in the Tiber.
in Poussin's picture. The tower appears to reinforce the idea of conflict. It is located immediately above the figures of Eurydice and Hymen (god of marriage) in the painting.

Finally there is the problem of the smoke apparently coming from the Castel. I believe Poussin was representing La Girandola. But it is also possible that the smoke comes from the mountains. The problems are: the double plumes; and what mountains. Vesuvius, the nearest volcano, had erupted in 1631, but it has only one crater. Moreover, the Girandola served several purposes in Poussin's painting. First, it represented a celebration, suited to the idea of weddings performed at an inauspicious time. Secondly, it took a spectacle for which Rome was then famous. This together with the Castel itself plus the Milvian Bridge and the Milizie tower were aspects of Rome known by everyone then. Thus the allegory had an ever-current reality. This reality concerned life and death. The multiple associations with these well-known facets of the Eternal City thus enhanced the allegory begun in the myth. They may well have been the starting point for it in the mind of the artist who kept and reused the smoking castle drawing again later in life.

Finally I believe that Poussin used the twin-lighted peaks to the right mountain in connection with the mythology. For a hypothetical triangle down its sides takes in all the mythological depiction including the fisherman. This mountain could be a specific one, such as the Capitoline, on which Jupiter and Juno had temples on the south summit; the Aventine upon which Hercules, another guardian of marriage had put up the Ara Maxima. But it may be that the mountain is disposed in the picture to represent the divine order of Nature associated with the Christian order of salvation by sacraments.

Since the idea of eternal salvation is indicated by the foreground
combined with the background of the painting, the harmony, though ominous, is calm. All the pictorial elements combine to contribute to the manner and meaning of the painting.

I found the allegory in this mythological landscape was difficult to decipher. In his late style, Poussin incorporates myths with contrasting significance to suggest the opposition of life and death more clearly than he does in this picture. In the landscapes such as the *Four Seasons*, there is a deeper fusion naturally expressed between the foreground and the background of the picture. Thus in treatment of subject as well as of style, this is a transitional painting.
Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe

Size: 192.5 x 273.5 cm., or approximately 6 1/2 x 9 ft.

Medium: Oil on canvas?

Location: Frankfurt-am-Main. Städelisches Kunstinstitut.

Commission: Painted for Cassiano dal Pozzo in or shortly before 1651. (Correspondance, p. 424)

Dating: c1651.

History: Purchased by the Museum at Frankfurt in 1931.


Engravings: one—see Catalogue 177 for details.

Copies: One—see Catalogue 177 for details.

Commission Discussion: I believe Cassiano dal Pozzo had considerable say in Poussin's final painting for him. The reasons are as follows. First, Cassiano was keenly interested in natural phenomena. (This is a picture of a storm). He prompted Poussin's work in landscape; he is believed to have attempted to get landscapes from Foussin in 1630; in 1642 he commissioned Poussin's first serious experiments in the genre. Thirdly, he was deeply interested in both the art and the writings of Leonardo da Vinci. This painting uses them. It was completed in the year Leonardo's Treatise was first published. Cassiano had compiled the Italian version, illustrating it with the help of Foussin. Fourthly, the picture reflects Pozzo's taste for the romantic. The tale of Pyramus and Thisbe is a Romeo-Juliet-style love story from the Metamorphoses of Ovid, which also gives the myth behind the mulberry tree's red berries as related to the lovers. Ovid was the source used by Foussin for his early Titanesque 1630's paintings done under Pozzo's aegis. Fifthly, the mixture of antiquity with botany would have pleased Cassiano, for under a drawing of a hyacinth in his collection, he recorded the "AI" on the petals as symbolizing the origin (in the blood of Ajax) of that flower. Sixthly, Cassiano preferred classicist art. Seventhly, he was sympathetic
to the rational Stoicism which brought Poussin to depict the harmony of Nature under its apparent disorder. He had communicated with Campanella, who believed in the educational value of showing such natural phenomena in painting, considering that spiritual growth occurred from contemplating the whole creation as it was revealed in the light of Copernicus' discovery. These ideas would not be unknown to Cassiano, and he may well have been the one to tell Poussin of them. For surely the dwarfing of man in this painting arose not only from antique Stoicism, but also from awareness of the immensity of Nature as compared to Man, made clearer by such cosmology. Finally Cassiano was an antiquarian. He would have been pleased to own a work painted after the example of Apelles, the most famous painter of antiquity.

This was the last pure landscape which Poussin painted for some years. The letters indicate a formal relationship between Poussin and his greatest Roman patron. Thus it is likely that Cassiano carefully specified to Poussin what his expectations were.

The painting that he got must have dominated his large collection of Poussin's work by its dimensions and brilliance until his death in 1657. He could probably commission no more because of his depleted income.

**Style:** Although there appears an oval quiet lake, around which some figures move, recession is by planes parallel to the surface of the picture. The first contains a repoussoir tree to the left, with two small figures to the right. The second plane has figures driving their herds from a lion attacking on the left. The third plane is the lake, with a tree on the far right. The fourth has small buildings which rise each side to enclose the composition to some extent. A tree is prominent near the centre. Plane five is a view of hills above the lake.

This landscape is transitional to Poussin's final works in five formal
ways. The composition is first tending to be organized around the central lake. Secondly, there is more depth. Thirdly, less enclosure appears. Fourthly, natural forms predominate over figures as well as architecture. Finally, it contains a careful relation of light and cool color to the theme. Blunt suggests that the total treatment may be in the Hypolydian, or tragic mode:

The treatment of light is unusual. It is a glow from the left which illuminates the foreground figures. The background is variously lit. The left townscape is in silhouette, the right is bright. Generally all is dark. This suggests either a storm or approaching night. The storm subject is plain from the lightning running diagonally from the left foreground to the right rear above the hills.

Suitably, the rest of the sky is inky blue. The clear left horizon contains modulated tones of yellowish and pinkish buff. There are also touches of red. Generally the harmony of hues is cool.

Iconography: We know Poussin was trying to represent a natural phenomenon from his letter to Stella, a painter friend in Paris, saying that he had made for the Cavalier del Pozzo a great landscape in which, he told him, I tried to represent a tempest on the earth, imitating as best I could the effect of an impetuous wind, or air filled with obscurity, rain, flashes of lightning, and of lightnings which fall in many places, not without disorder there. All the figures that one sees there play their role according to how the weather goes: some flee through the dust, and follow the wind which carries them; others on the contrary, go against the wind, and walk with trouble, putting their hands before their eyes. On one side, a shepherd runs and abandons his flock, seeing a lion which, having thrown certain herdsmen to the earth, is attacking others, some of whom defend themselves and others spur their oxen, and try to save themselves. In this disorder, the dust raises great eddies. A dog, quite far away, barks, with his hair bristling, not daring to approach. In the front of the picture one sees Pyramus dead and lying on the earth, and beside him Thisbe who abandons herself to grief.

Poussin's sources for this painting were: the example of Apelles; the art and writings of Leonardo da Vinci, specifically *The Battle of Anghiari* and the treatise on painting; Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; Palladio;
According to Pliny, Apelles painted what could not be depicted: storms, thunder, lightning. Poussin wishes, like many seventeenth-century painters, to emulate, even to surpass antiquity. Here was an opportunity in Cassiano's commission.

Poussin adapted his depiction of a storm from Leonardo's *Treatise on Painting*. The section reads:

**How to represent a storm.** If you wish to represent a storm well, consider and place before your mind the effects of the wind, blowing over the surface of the sea and the earth, as it removes and carries with it those things which are not firmly imbedded in the mass of the earth. In order to represent the storm well first of all paint the clouds, torn and rent, swept along by the course of the wind, together with the sandy powder lifted from the seashores; include branches and leaves, raised by the powerful fury of the wind, scattered through the air, as well as many other light objects. The trees and grass are bent against the earth, seeming almost as if they were trying to follow the course of the winds, with their branches twisted out of their natural direction, their leaves battered and turned upside down. Some of the men there have fallen and, wrapped in their clothing, are almost unrecognizable because of the dust, while those who are still standing are under some tree, hugging it so the wind will not tear them away. Others, with their hands before their eyes because of the dust, are bent down to the earth, and their garments and hair stream in the direction of the wind.

The turbulent and tempestuous sea is filled with whirlpools of foam between the high waves, with the wind raising the thinnest foam, amid the striving air, in the fashion of a thick, enveloping mist. Depict some of the ships in the painting with torn sail, the pieces flapping in the air with some ropes torn apart, some masts broken and gone overboard, the ship cracking up and broken by the tempestuous waves, while men shout and cling to the wreck of the ship.

You will paint the clouds pursued by impetuous winds, beaten against the high crests of the mountains and enveloped among them, whirling about like waves dashed on the rocks, with the air itself terrifying because of the dark shadows created in the air by dust, mist and thick clouds.

The basic difference between Poussin's depiction and Leonardo's description is not the omission of the whirling clouds, but the representation of harmony in the midst of disorder. Trees, animals, and people are disturbed; it is a catastrophe. Nevertheless, the calm central lake, cyclical in shape, indicates that such phenomena are part of a rational order, however disorderly and terrifying they may be in effects upon Nature and Man.
Leonardo's relation of painting to nature was expressed elsewhere in
the Treatise

How he who disparages painting loves neither philosophy nor nature
If you disparage painting, which alone can portray faithfully all the
visible works of nature, you certainly disparage a discovery which
considers all manner of forms with subtle and philosophic attention:
the sea, places on land, plants, animals, grass, flowers, all of which
are surrounded by shadow and light. Truly this is a science and the
legitimate daughter of nature, since painting is born of nature. To
speak more accurately, we could say the grandchild of nature, for all
visible things are born of nature and painting is born of these.
Therefore, we rightly call painting the grandchild of nature and
related to God.12

Poussin's late treatment of nature showed a "subtle and philosophic
attention" to natural forms; awareness of shadow and light (for example,
in the Four Seasons, 1660-4 (plates 242-245); the belief that from Nature
were born all created things; the idea that painting was an intense expres­
sion of the order of the natural world by which man could experience de­
lectation, or spiritual exaltation. In substance as well as in function
Poussin related painting to God closely in his late period, as seen in his
1665 letter as well as in his work.13

I agree with Bialostocki that besides Leonardo's theory and philo­
sophy of nature, his interest in mathematics and perspective, and his
faith in the possibility of understanding the world via the five senses could
have been a source for Poussin's deepened concept of reality and art in his
old age.14

The extant preparatory drawings show interest in Leonardo's art for this
painting. They are quick sketches: two men on horseback attacked by lions;
the shepherd next on the right who drives off his herds.

Poussin incorporates Leonardo's famous cartoon in the lion attack for
three reasons: his patron's interest in Leonardo's art; expression of the tragic
destiny governing men's lives; which relates to the story of Pyramus and
Thisbe told by Ovid.15
Babylonian Thisbe met her lover at night. She came to the trysting tree, and departed, dropping her cloak, because she was terrified while sitting there by a lioness. The animal, having quenched its thirst, came upon the cloak, tearing it with bloody jaws. Pyramus found it. Thinking Thisbe dead, he killed himself with his sword, and withdrew it. At this point Thisbe returned as the picture shows, to find her dead lover, as Ovid describes him. The story moves to a Romeo-Juliet conclusion not shown in the picture, since Thisbe kills herself.

She spoke, and fitting the point beneath her breast, she fell forward on the sword which was still warm with her lover's blood. Her prayers touched the gods and touched the parents; for the colour of the mulberry fruit is dark red when it is ripe, and all that remained from both funeral pyres rests in a common urn. 

In Poussin's painting, the trysting tree must be the one on the left of the foreground, a mulberry.

The faithful love of Pyramus for Thisbe is appropriately symbolized in the reconstruction of the Temple of Bacchus (god of fertility) which was later turned into the church of S. Costanza. It appears on the left in the fourth plane, on a hypothetical diagonal with the dead Pyramus, and the lion. To the right on the same plane just above Thisbe is a shining tomb, appropriate to the tragic end of the story. Its form was chosen as near-eastern from those outside Jerusalem seen in a pilgrimage record because Thisbe was Babylonian. Thus figures, architecture, men, animals, trees are related to the catastrophic forces active within the Natural Order.

The painting is not novel in its careful union of context and form. It is the attempt to let natural forms express the laws of nature, dwarfing man, showing him subject to them, that makes this landscape a transitional painting between the "heroic" compositions of 1648 and the more "Ideal" landscapes of around 1658 to 1664.
The Birth of Bacchus

Size: 114.5 x 167.5 cm, or 48 5/16 x 70 1/2"

Medium: Oil on canvas.


Commission: Painted for Jacques Stella in 1657 (Félibien IV, 65).

Date: 1657.

History: Presented by Mrs. Sachs to the Museum in 1942.


Engraving: One made from the drawing, not the painting, so that the engraver put a halo about Bacchus' head, and showed Apollo who does not appear in the painting. The upper right group of Jupiter and Hebe was also misunderstood; it became a Venus and Cupid in the engraving.

Copies: Eight, and pictures on the same subject in six separate sales are recorded by Blunt in the catalogue entry for this painting.

Commission Discussion: Jacques Stella (d. 1657) a Parisian painter friend of Poussin shows in his own art an interest in the allegorical significance of the subject.

Style: Poussin has presented this mythological allegory as a figure painting in which all parts are linked formally and iconographically to the figure of the baby Bacchus in the right front. He is being handed to a nymph, seated in the foreground water, by the standing figure of Mercury. The curved form of the group around the baby is echoed twice, once by the background of vine-covered rocks and trees through which the rising sun penetrates, and a second time in the curved cloud formation to the upper right where Jupiter lies attended by Hebe. The nymphs in the left foreground form a triangle of figures, standing, sitting, then reclining parallel to the picture plane.
and nearest the baby. While they are reacting by gesture and/or gaze to his arrival, a second triangular formation of two figures on his right seems unaware of him. Beyond them a mountain forms the most distant part of the picture. Slightly above them and the child, Pan plays his pipes in a tree.

By gaze or gesture or both, the majority of the mythological figures welcome the new-born Bacchus. Those who actually receive him look especially happy. Mercury who delivers him relates the child to Jupiter and the pipe-playing Pan by pointing to them.

Although this is a composition stressing figures grouped in a loose semi-circle about a quiet pool, natural forms interrelate with them. The figures are in or around the pool of water. A rocky, treed cavern behind them silhouettes their forms, while including one of them. Two natural devices break the sense of enclosure created by this cavern: the distant mountain to the right treated with careful aerial and geometric perspective; the two areas of light, one of which breaks through the trees above the cave. These devices make the composition more spacious, airy and bright. Sunlight appears to focus on the baby, or the baby itself gives off light.

The light on the left is sunrise; consequently irrational light defines the forms of a foreground nymph as well as a figure on the right.

Although the cave is a dull green, the different hues in varied tones on the figures enliven the picture. Conspicuous is the flame-colored robe of Mercury. Besides this, bronze, gold, blues, turquoise, light green to a pearly white brighten the scene. The greenish-tinged flesh combined with pale-colored dress on the two right-hand foreground figures is in strange contrast to the warmer, more intense hues associated with the majority of figures.

**Iconography:** This painting is a three-fold allegory. It explains the dual aspect of all creation including man, resulting from the infusion of divine
life (or ideal form) into matter; it contrasts life with death, suggesting eventual resurrection through virtuous conduct combined with the use of the sacraments; it states that all kinds of life continue in an orderly pattern whether the seasonal one of nature in which man participates, or the spiritual one in which man has a particular share. The main way in which we know allegory is intended is that Poussin puts the myth of Narcissus and Echo which has no literary relationship to that of the story of Bacchus in the right hand two figures of the foreground. By careful use of multiple sources they are fused into the painting in meaning and manner in the best possible way.

Poussin's literary sources probably were: Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Philostratus' *Imagines*, Comenius (Conti's) *Mythologia*, Campanellian Stoicism; perhaps Macrobius' *Saturnalia*.

It was a popular subject in ancient art, for example, on the Salpion Vase at Gaeta (figures 131a, b) which Felibien says Poussin admired so much. There was also a fresco of the subject in the Palazzo del Te at Mantua. In Paris, Poussin had studied prints of the work of Giulio Romano who had done that sixteenth-century fresco. For details, the figure on the extreme left is a variant of the person left of Peitho in the antique Aldobrandini Wedding fresco; the ancient Palestrina mosaic of Nilotic scenes may have inspired the swimming women to the left, thinks Friedlaender. Also the curtain behind the nymphs receiving Bacchus is quite like the waterfall in Domenichino's *Judgment of Midas*. The Bacchic Mysteries were often depicted on ancient sarcophagi, suggesting the triumph of life over death.

As with most of Poussin's late mythological paintings, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is Poussin's main source. According to Ovid, Bacchus, son of Jupiter and the mortal Semele lost his mother before his birth when she was reduced to ashes through following the suggestion of the jealous Juno.
to ask to see Jupiter in his full glory. The fire of his presence consumed her. Jupiter sewed Bacchus into his thigh till the child was ready for birth, then gave him to Ino, Semele's sister to carry to the nymphs of Nysa, who hid him in their cave. Although Mercury replaces Ino in Poussin's painting Poussin follows Ovid in showing the nymphs receiving Bacchus, with Jupiter reclining in the sky after the delivery, receiving a cup from Hebe, probably wine.

Philostratus' version under Semele is as follows:

Bronte thunder, stern of face and Astrape lightning, flashing light from her eyes, and raging fire from heaven that has laid hold of a king's house, suggest the following tale, if it is one you know. A cloud of fire encompassing these breaks into the dwelling of Cadmus as Zeus comes wooing Semele; and Semele apparently is destroyed. But Dionysus Bacchus is born, by Zeus Jupiter, so I believe, in the presence of the fire. And the form of Semele is dimly seen as she goes to the heavens, where the Muses will hymn her praises; but Dionysus leaps forth as his mother's womb is rent apart, and he makes the flame look dim, so brilliantly does he shine like a radiant star. The flame, dividing, dimly outlines a cave for Dionysus more charming than any in Assyria and Lydia; for sprays of ivy grow luxuriantly about it and clusters of ivy berries and now grape-vines and stalks of thrysus which spring up from the willing earth, so that some grow in the very fire.

We must not be surprised if in honour of Dionysus the Fire is crowned by the Earth, for the Earth will take part with the Fire in the Bacchic revel and will make it possible for the revellers to take wine from springs and to draw milk from clods of earth or from a rock as from living breasts. Listen to Pan, how he seems to hymning Dionysus on the crests of Cithaeron, as he dances an Evian fling...

This version 1) reinforces Jupiter's presence in the painting 2) partly explains the shining halo around Bacchus in the preparatory drawing 3) sets the scene beside a cave which is fertile with the ivy over the baby 4) suggests Bacchus' birth is a combination of fire and earth which leads to fertility in nature 5) accounts for the presence of Pan above Bacchus in the tree.

Poussin also used Philostratus for the setting of the Echo-Narcissus story beside a pool in a grotto because in Ovid's version the tale took place in a "coppice that would never suffer the sun to warm the spot." In Philostratus' section on Narcissus he says
The pool paints Narcissus, and the painting represents both the pool and the whole story of Narcissus. A youth just returned from the hunt stands over a pool, drawing from within himself a kind of yearning and falling in love with his own beauty; and, as you see, he sheds a radiance into the water. The cave is sacred to Achelous and the Nymphs, and the scene is painted realistically... nor is the pool without some connection with the Bacchic rites of Dionysus, since he has made it known to the Nymphs of the wine-press; at any rate, it abounds in clusters of grapes and the trees that furnish the thyrsi, and tuneful birds disport themselves above it, each with its own note, and white flowers grow about the pool, not yet in blossom, but just springing up in honour of the youth.

Now Bellori claimed that Poussin included Echo and Narcissus in this painting because it was nearly the next tale in Ovid's Metamorphoses, this in spite of his apparent recognition of Poussin's use of Philostratus for complex thematic organizations as well as for individual motifs. Élibièn only mentions the commission.

But the couple so carefully set by the pool where Bacchus was born represent frustrated love, sterility and death. Ovid says Echo's love for Narcissus was unrequited; she pined away until only her voice remained; for they say all her bones were turned to stone. Nemesis heard of Narcissus' mocking of Echo's love, and turned Narcissus' love to his own image in a pool, where at last he died, and where his body had been they found flowers with white petals and a yellow centre. Because the body of Narcissus appears with the flowers in the painting, Poussin modified both Ovid and Philostratus for this detail. Placed so close to Bacchus in the Poussin painting, the figures form a dramatic contrast to the ideas of life represented in the rest of the picture. Such a contrast appears in the late drawing of the Rape of Europa (figure 252), a preliminary study for an unexecuted painting, as well as in the Apollo and Daphne, 1664 (plate 251).

Mercury is not in Ovid's or Philostratus' version of the Birth of Bacchus. For this most conspicuous figure Poussin may have turned to Comes, or he could have used Campanellian Stoic philosophy prompted by the connection
made between Earth and Fire in Philostratus. In it, Mercury would symbolize the heavenly fire from the sun which impregnates matter, the earth. Comes just notes what was common knowledge—Mercury was the link between gods and men.

However, Comes may have clarified the significance of Bacchus as well as that of the nymphs who received him, for in his *Mythologia* he says

Of Bacchus.
Moreover what ancient fables say about Bacchus is also connected with physical matters, when they tell that he was nourished by the Nymphs. For, since the nymphs are the matter in natural things, they receive the form and foster it. For Dionysus, Bacchus, is the virtue of the sun in relation to generation, which performs the function of the male in the works of nature. Hence they record that the phallus or male member was dedicated to him, with those sacrifices which they called Canephoria.

Of the Nymphs.
But because there is nothing which is whole useful, and since the greater part of food is not turned to the profit of the body, nor is the whole substance of water used in the generation of animals, but part is absorbed into the embryo and part into its nourishment—as appears above all in eggs—they (the ancients) called those parts of the seed or water by means of which generation takes place by the name of the Nymphs. Hence the Nymphs are called fruitful, and are said to nourish men and all animals and to be the goddesses of shepherds and the presiding deities of fields. By this they also mean that through them (the nymphs) matter itself is transformed into individual natural things.  

He also says Pan as a symbol of the divine and the terrestrial as Pan was half-man, half-beast.  

Thus, although the Natural Order includes death as symbolized by Echo and Narcissus, the main theme is life. Apollo who is not directly related to the myth either appears in the painting in the form of the sun rising between the cleft in the trees above the cave. This is a refinement on the drawing. Poussin suggests here the relationship Campanella had made between the sun and life in creation. The sun, image of the Deity, contains the Divine Fire. It is the equivalent to the Soul of the World. Next to it in refinement is the air, Jupiter. So Bacchus, born out of the fire that consumed Semele, sheltered by Jupiter, the air, also an active principle; is the virtue of the sun in respect to generation. The passive elements with
which this virtue unites are signified by the nymphs, connected with water and the earth who assist creation because they nourish Bacchus. Fittingly they are in a pool, with a background of rock.

Creation as the union of divine and terrestrial elements is expressed in other ways. First it is signified by the figure of Pan, to whom Mercury points. The relationship of Bacchus to the Divine Fire incandescent in the sun is made even clearer by having Mercury, the messenger of the gods, clad in a flame-colored robe, deliver Bacchus to the Nymphs. Finally Bacchus himself is half-divine, half-human, resulting from the union of the god Jupiter with the mortal Semele.

Since Bacchus is the child representing the virtue of the sun and since the sun is the image of the deity, according to Campanella, Bacchus is thus equivalent to Christ, as the drawing suggests. The nymphs show a suitable exaltation in receiving him.

This is more than an allegory of physical phenomena as declared by Campanellian Stoicism. For Campanella had identified Christ with Divine Reason seen in the Order and Harmony of Creation. Echo and Narcissus (in watery blue laid flat on the earth) are dying or dead. They represent the degenerative process of the natural order. They also symbolize self-centred, unreasoning passion. A moral as well as a natural allegory may be drawn from their presence in the picture. Bacchus is Christ and Stoic Divine Reason, the virtue after which Christians and Stoics strive. He is not only the spiritual form of the new life as in spring but the regenerative force in human nature as well as the personage in both pagan and Christian thought whose activity and death led to human salvation ending in eternal life. This mystery was represented on the sarcophagi showing Bacchic rites which Jacques Stella had drawn. It is to be hoped that he received this joyous message of hope before he died.
Size: 119 x 183 cm. or approximately 4 x 6' ft.

Medium: Oil on canvas?


Commission: Painted for Passart (Bellori, p. 455; Féliebien IV, p. 66)

Date: 1658, according to Féliebien.

History: Bought by the Museum in 1924.

No drawings, engravings or copies are mentioned in the catalogue entry.

Commission Discussion: Passart, Master of Accounts in Paris was an intellectual patron of Poussin's later years who was enthusiastic about Stoic philosophy and allegory. If he did not program the subject Poussin painted, it was certainly done by the artist with Passart's tastes in mind.

Style: A balanced composition suggests the harmony of the phenomenon of nature of which this painting has been found to be an allegory. Around the quiet form of the central portion of ground resembling the surface of the earth in the Creation scenes in the Loggie of the Vatican by Raphael are grouped natural forms, together with the large mythological figure of the giant, Orion. This giant, together with the clouds on which there stands the tiny figure of Diana, is balanced by the left foreground tree, which is disproportionate in size and luxuriance of foliage. A certain dynamic is created by the giant stepping diagonally into the picture towards the mountain in the mid-background. The clouds above him parallel this diagonal motion, indicating a relationship between heaven and earth. The allegory is also signified by a cycle consisting of the giant, the clouds, the fertile left tree, and then the barren foreground stumps. The dull light combined with cool coloring is suited to the subject.
Iconography: Poussin's literary sources appear to have been: Comes' Mythologia; 2 Lucian's Naturalis Historiae; 3 Campanella's City of the Sun; 4 ideas of Campanella expressed best in one passage of the Metaphysica. 5 His artistic models included Raphael's Vatican fresco of God separating water and earth for the shape of the earth in the middle of the picture.

Neither Bellori nor Félibien realized that this is an allegory of the formation and fertilizing effect of rain-clouds. 6 Possibly this allegory was inspired by the second rampart of Campanella's City of the Sun on which there were paintings concerning the element of water. 7 Campanella's ideas were popular in France at that time. 8 They corresponded with Poussin's own.

The story goes that Orion a giant hunter was blinded by King Oenopeion of Chios. Warned by an oracle that the rays of the rising sun would bring back his sight, he wandered through the forests, bending his steps towards the east. He prayed to Hephæstos (Vulcan) from whom he received Cedalion in order that, perched on his shoulders, this servant could guide his steps. Orion was loved by Diana. Poussin represents her full of compassion (according to the Louvre exhibition description—to me she looks impassive: as she contemplates from the heights of the sky the blind hunter who, meanwhile, one day, victim of a ruse, she will kill by an arrow. 9

For the detail of Cedalion, the figure on Orion's back, Poussin used Lucian's Naturalis Historiae. 10 He made Vulcan (god of fire) 11 point out the way to Chios, as Comes suggests, not as Lucian records, however. The sight of Orion was restored by Apollo, god of the sun.

The giant Orion had three fathers according to Euphorion's version used by Comes. These were: Neptune (Water); Jupiter (Air) and Apollo. These are the factors in the making of rain as Comes says:

Through the combined power of these three gods rises the stuff of wind, rain, and thunder that is called Orion. Since the subtler part of the water which is rarefied rests on the surface, it is said that Orion had learned from his father how to walk on the water. When this rarefied matter spreads and diffuses into the air this is described as Orion having come to Chios, which place derives its name from "diffusion" (for cheein means to diffuse). And that he further attempted to violate Aeropel 12 and was expelled from that region and deprived of his lights—this is
because this matter must pass right through the air and ascend to the highest spheres and when the matter is diffused throughout that sphere it somehow feels the power of fire languishing. For anything that is moved with a motion not of its own loses its power which diminishes as it proceeds.

Orion is kindly received by Vulcan, approaches the sun, finds his former health restored and thence returns to Chios—this naturally signifies nothing else but the cyclical and mutual generation and destruction of the elements.

They say that he was killed by Diana's arrows for having dared to touch her—because as soon as the vapors have ascended to the highest stratum of the air so that they appear to us as touching the moon or the sun, the power of the moon gathers them up and converts them into rains and storms thus overthrowing them with her arrows and sending them downward; for the power of the moon works like the ferment that brings about these processes. Finally, they say that Orion was killed and transformed into a celestial constellation—because under this sign storms, gales, and thunder are frequent.13

From Campanella's *Metaphysica* is a section relevant to the Orion.14

All things which separate themselves from their principles by going from innate knowledge to knowledge derived from outside do so because they seek some end. Once this end is attained they return to their principles. The end is twofold; one is known to them; the other is only known to the Prime Cause, which uses them as instruments. Thus the end sought by water which rises from the spongy earth till it is above the tops of the mountains is its own preservation, dilation, and extension; but the end sought by God is the irrigation of plants, the refreshing of the earth, and the draining of the water toward the lower areas, which are essential to the life of plants and natural things. In the same way, the end sought by the heat of the sun is its expansion, which leads to the destruction of cold, but the end of God is the generation of plants, of waters, of metals, and of animals, within which heat is later retained by a will added from outside. Once this function is performed, its natural will causes it to rise again and return to the sun.

The Landscape with Orion, an allegory of rain-formation, embodying Stoic and Campanellian thought, is painted in a style suited to signify its meaning by organization, use of natural forms, treatment of figures, light, and cool color-scheme.
Landscape with Hercules and Cacus

Catalogue 158
Plate 241

Size: 156.5 x 202 cm. or 5 x 7' feet approximately.
Medium: Oil on canvas.
Location: Moscow. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts.
Commission: Unknown.
Dating: either 1655 (Blunt) or 1659-61 (Mahon) on stylistic grounds.
History: Because this painting was bought for Empress Catherine II of Russia in 1772 along with the Landscape with Polyphemus, the two have often been paired, and it has been felt that they should be dated together.
Blunt does not agree, for reasons cited under Catalogue 150 entry on Diogenes, which I have recorded in a footnote to the Landscape with Polyphemus analysis. I accept Mahon’s dating which Blunt believes is also a possibility for the Landscape with Hercules and Cacus. However, I feel that if either of this pair should be dated earlier, on thematic grounds, I would place this painting before the Landscape with Polyphemus.
Drawings: none.
Copy: One, 1928, sold in Budapest anonymously, lacking the figures of Hercules and Cacus.
Style: Typical of Poussin’s late manner, an oversized natural form dominates the composition above a quiet centre, around which other natural forms balance it in a free manner. This stresses the grandeur of nature. The unusually dominant form is an enormous crag, like those in ancient and medieval painting. It is located on the upper right. On its slopes, hardly visible, are giant figures. One has laid low another. There are also two huge cattle to the right of them. Below the crag lies a quiet reach of water, surrounded by trees. These, in clumps in the centre and on the right, combine with a sheer cliff, topped by a withering tree on the left, to keep
an equilibrium with the mountain. Their darker, distinct forms help this balance with the relatively pale rocky crag. In the foreground, beside myrtle, glow four tiny nymphs, one of whom points to the mountain, while another regards the withering tree on the left cliff. Since the river god on the left of them is less visible than they are, they appear an afterthought in the painting. Water wanders from the foreground through the quiet river in which minute figures are active, punting a boat in the centre. A distant view of mountains shown more realistically appears behind the river to the left of the tall crag.

The disposition of figures is typical of the late landscapes and mythologies. Poussin separates Hercules on the mountain from Diana in the foreground, the figures who are the main representatives of the Order of Nature. Thus we must survey the whole landscape into which, like keys, they are integrated.

Light comes as a sunrise glow from the left rear. The use of it is suited to the subject, as I shall relate. It enhances space by the aerial perspective Poussin adopted in a modified way in his late compositions. It bathes the whole painting in a reddish glow appropriate not only to the time of day, but also to the heroic battle which has taken place on the mountain. Irrational light makes the tiny nymphs in the foreground shine whitely. The limited number of hues is another feature of Poussin's late style. It combines with natural forms to emphasize their grandeur.

Iconography: This painting has rich associations. It is an allegory of the Order of Nature governing Creation besides which individual men appear insignificant. The Divine Reason embodied in these laws, however, stresses Courage as a Cardinal Virtue in the conduct of human behavior. This painting is also an allegory of Courage—in life, through death to immortality. It declares that good is victorious over evil. It is finally a meditation on the
legends of early Rome when there was peace and harmony.

Poussin's sources appear to have been: Vergil's *Aeneid*, Livy's *History of Rome*, a book on ancient Roman *religion*, perhaps Du Choul, Ovid's *Fasti*, Campanell's Stoic philosophy. One of his artistic models may have been the river god before the Palazzo dei Senatori in Rome, or the so-called Marforio in the same city. Another was the Cumaean Sybil by Michelangelo on the Sistine Ceiling.

The allegorical meaning is suggested by the huge size of the mountain upon which Hercules defeats Cacus. There are also nymphs in the foreground who are not easy to connect with this incident.

The story of Hercules and Cacus as told by Livy and Vergil is as follows. Cacus, a giant, who lived in a cave with a hidden entrance on the Aventine hill in Rome caused the ground to reek with new blood from his slaughter of the inhabitants, then ruled by the Pelopponesian exile, Evander, admired for his knowledge of letters. Hercules, who had just completed the tenth labor by killing the three-headed Geryon, was on his way back with Geryon's cattle. He took a nap during which Cacus stole some of the beasts, hiding them in his cave. Hercules awoke, says Livy, at the first streak of dawn, and saw some of the cattle were missing. Those hidden in the cave lowed, and so revealed their presence. Poussin was combining Vergil's account with Livy's version, because in Livy Cacus is just a shepherd, with human form; in Vergil, he is half-man, half-beast. Moreover, Livy says Hercules killed him with his club, which is what looks like happened in the picture, rather than the colorful Vergilian account of throttling a fire-belching monster and dragging forth the shapeless carcass.

It is, however, likely that Poussin used Vergil's account of the Aventine mountain quoted by Blunt, for it is nothing like the actual hill in Rome.
Now first look at this rocky overhanging cliff, how the masses are scattered afar, how the mountain-dwelling stands desolate, and the crags have toppled down in mighty ruin! Here was once a cave, receding to unfathomed depth, never visited by the sun's rays, where dwelt the awful shape of half-human Cacus; and ever the ground reeked with fresh blood.  

When the cattle revealed themselves by lowing in the hidden cave, Hercules decided to get into it.

There stood a pointed rock of flint, cut sheer away all around, rising above the cavern's ridge, and exceeding high to view, fit home for the nestlings of foul birds. This, as it leaned sloping with the ridge to the river on the left, Hercules shook, straining against it from the right, and, wrenching it from its lowest roots, tore it loose; then of a sudden thrust it forth: with that thrust the mighty heaven thunders, the banks leap apart, and the affrighted river recoils. But the den of Cacus and his huge palace stood revealed, and deep below, the darkling cave lay open.

The story is a legend about the founding of the Ara Maxima in Rome, as Vergil makes clear through Evander's statement to Aeneas. This is also stated by Ovid in his Fasti, as well as by Livy, the altar being on the victory site.

It is obvious that Poussin used ancient literature for the setting as well as the account of Hercules' and Cacus' battle. But what about the foreground figures, and the little swimmers together with the boat in the river? According to Livy's narrative, Cacus, a shepherd, was killed; Hercules was then accused of murder. But Evander's mother, Carmenta, was a prophetess who acted like the Sybil before the latter came to Italy. She informed Evander who Hercules was. Evander addressed him "Hercules, son of Jupiter, hail!" and went on to tell how Carmenta had prophesied he would join the company of the gods. Hercules did join them after he had burnt to death on Mount Aetna; during this ordeal his immortal part was rescued by Jupiter and admitted among the other immortals. Carmenta appears to be the nymph who looks towards the dead tree, which symbolizes death in other late landscapes, for example, Autumn, 1660-1664 (plate 244). She has a face like the Cumaean Sybil of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling. The river she is in is the River Tiber, mentioned by Livy, which Hercules
swam across before grazing his cattle. The river god is Father Tiber, probably drawn after one of those sculptures in front of the Palazzo dei Senatori in Poussin's time, or after the river god from the Via di Marforio, also on the Capitol. From the quiver and arrows it is suggested that the other figures are Diana and her nymphs. When Servius Tullus, a legendary king of Rome, concluded a league with the Latin federation, a temple to Diana was built on the Aventine. The Latins, according to Livy, were following the example of the Asian States who had jointly built a temple to Diana at Ephesus. Just as the Diana of Ephesus was connected with fertility, so the Romans connected Diana with it as in Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*, calling her Lucina, and seeing her as one assisting in bringing to birth (Ilithyia).

Hércules, by height and size, dominates this landscape painting. He is also fused with the mountain. Why? Livy gives us a clue as to Poussin's feeling when he says at the end of his narrative of the institution of the Ara Maxima:

This, out of all foreign rites, was the only one which Romulus adopted, as though he felt that an immortality won through courage, of which this was the memorial, would one day be his own reward.

So Hércules is symbolic of a major Stoic and Christian virtue, and the painting an allegory of courage.

To the Stoic, "Courage appears in its highest development in the face of tyranny and death." This is an allegory of Courage as the tyranny vanquished is suggested by the action of the painting; courage facing death is implicit in Hércules' story and possibly symbolized in the painting by the withering tree, balancing the mountain, and pointed out by the nymph-like foreground figure who may be Carmenta, the prophetess. To pain, the courageous person answers: "If I can bear it, it will be light; if I cannot bear it, it cannot be long," a quotation from Seneca.
But Courage has two sides, passive and active. The active side, Greatness of Soul, is shown by the undertaking of great enterprises, as in the painting. In summary, Cicero said

The virtue of Courage is characteristically Stoic, and may be considered, like its counterpart Wisdom, as the foundation and source of all the virtues; the knowledge of good and evil can only be attained by the soul that is duly strung to vigorous resolution. 25

The second significance of the painting is a victory of good over evil. The legend of Hercules and Cacus has always meant this in art as well as in mythology. 27

All the figures are integrated into larger natural forms. They act as keys to reinforce the idea that an allegory of Natural Order lies behind these immense shapes. The rock-like background may suit Hercules' courageous character. But his position in the painting at the top reminds us he was one of the immortals, divine, exercising the reason seen in his virtuous conduct. Hercules may, in his position in the painting, signify the strength of Divine Reason in the Natural Order. Such Divine Reason is associated with Fire, as was Hercules, the primal creative active force. Hercules has just been active. It is supreme, but it must be associated with the passive principle connected with the earth, and water, signified by the goddess of fertility, Diana, in her place lower in the order of Stoic elements.

Hercules and Diana are related in that worship of both is connected to the Aventine, and in that both are deities guarding marriage. 28 This is an allegory of Natural Creation, signified by the two key figures. The distance between these figures increases the pictorial tension, for we are meant to look over the whole natural Creation, in which man in the middle is minuscule, as Campanella said he was.

The minuscule men in the middle may, however, reinforce the idea of the Golden Age after the lawless state when men were completely united with nature.
For Evander speaks of a later peace under Saturn, following a time when such primeval people inhabited that region.²⁹

Finally Poussin has evoked two myths concerning the origins of Roman religion, one the Ara Maxima, set up by Hercules, the other the Temple to Diana, a subject pleasing to the antiquarian tastes of his time, as well as reflecting his own interest in such legends.³⁰
Landscape with Two Nymphs
and a Snake

Size: 118 x 179 cm. or approximately 4 x 6 ft.

Medium: Oil on canvas?

Location: Chantilly, Musée Condé.

Commission: Probably painted for Charles Lebrun in 1659, as suggested by Félibien (IV, p. 66) who says Poussin did a landscape that year for Lebrun. Only Wild questions the authenticity of this painting.

Dating: 1659.

History: The date of acquisition by the Musée is not given.

Drawings: None.

Engravings: One—for details, see Catalogue entry 208.

Copy: One—for details, see Catalogue entry 208.

Commission Discussion: I believe that if Charles Lebrun was the person who bought this landscape, it must have been because he wished to own a Poussin, not because he wished the special treatment of a landscape by Poussin, according to such specifications as might have been suggested by Pozzo for his painting from the artist.¹

Style: Light dominates this spacious landscape in which there is a free relationship of the different parts. Poussin relies, as in his other paintings, of landscape in this period, upon natural forms, arranging them around the still lake and only introducing two buildings masked in trees on the upper left of the composition. The pinnacle formed by these is balanced by three foreground trees, to the right. From these trees a diagonal path winds to the central lake, giving added emphasis to it, despite a waterfall in the left background. There is no exaggeration of natural forms except perhaps in the size of the snake, although the composition emphasizes nature. This suggests topography, which must be connected to a fetid lake, because the composition shows it surrounded by a relatively bare tract of land. The figures in the picture
consist of two foreground nymphs watching a snake swallowing a bird, and a figure not trying to fish in the lake next to which he is standing, as well as a few other tiny forms on the far side of it. Thus, composition, figure disposition, and the presence of the snake combine to suggest the idea of destruction in connection with the lake.

**Iconography:** The theme of this painting may be stated as: in the midst of life is death. This refers to the natural order.

Poussin's sources were the Nilotic scenes mosaic from Palestrina (figure 250a) and the decipherment of one of the words near the serpent used in the picture by Athanasius Kirchner. Kirchner misread the word on the mosaic as ANTEC to mean the name of a lake inhabited by water snakes which poisoned the water and killed all the fish and frogs. Thus, the lake is shown without too much foliage other than grass directly adjacent to it; a little figure near it does not fish; while the snake swallowing the bird is the index to the location. The two nymphs are Poussin's frequent symbol for fertility. Here they represent life beside which is death, the serpent, also symbolized by the fetid lake in the midst of many well-lighted trees and shrubbery.
The Four Seasons

Size: each 118 x 160 cm. or 46 1/8 x 63\".

Medium: Oil on Canvas.

Location: Paris. Louvre.

Commission: Painted between 1660 and 1664 for the Duc de Richelieu

(Félibien IV, p. 66)

Dating: last works to be finished by Poussin.

History: Bought 1665 by Louis XIV.

Drawings: See entries for each Season.

Copies: Paintings of these subjects in a sale described in the catalogue were attributed to Foussin.

Commission Discussion: The Duc de Richelieu probably commissioned these paintings because it was fashionable at that time to own works by Poussin. The next year he sold them to the King. Advised by Roger de Piles, he then began to collect works by Rubens. If any learned cleric had a share in helping Poussin to fuse the religious and classical allusions into these landscapes, I feel that it is most likely to have been his long-time warm friend the intellectual Cardinal Camillo Massimi. However, because of the painter's ability already demonstrated in earlier works to make complex syntheses of philosophical and allegorical meaning whether he was depicting a religious or mythological subject, Massimi's role could have been practical support and encouragement to the aged and infirm artist. I am inclined to reject the Abbé-Nicaise as having had any hand in this work, although he is said to have frequented the painter's household in Poussin's declining years.

Style: It is true that if one sees in these four pictures the force and the beauty of the genius of the painter, one also notices in them the weakness of his hand.

Such was the opinion of Poussin's seventeenth-century biographer Félibien.
But posterity appears to have overlooked the weakness, seeing the force and beauty, for example. Diderot in the eighteenth century; Delacroix and Turner in the nineteenth; finally Sir Anthony Blunt's 1966 appraisal of them as "among the noblest examples of his late landscape style."

Foussin arranges the natural forms around a quiet centre. In Spring this is the Tree of Knowledge; in Summer, the cornfield; in Autumn, another huge tree above a pool. In Winter, however, all the water is quiet. The centre is a waterfall in which a boat upsets; suitably the forms are built about this fall, implying catastrophe. Thus Poussin adapts his pictorial organization to the meaning of the painting.

A firm geometric structure underlies the paintings, however close they may appear to the topography of nature. For example, in Summer, the deep recession is by fused planes parallel to the canvas, as is emphasized by the line of standing corn. In Winter, wings of rock protrude to separate the frontal area of water from the back. The centre waterfall is parallel to the plane of the picture. In the same painting the right-hand rocks combined with the swimming figures form a right-angled triangle on that side of the painting.

In the set there appears a poetic relationship of forms. The left side of the picture in Spring is similar to the right side in Winter. For in the first appears the Tree of Life, in the last the evergreen olive, connected with final Salvation. Even if these two elements are unnoticed, because they are against rock, one cannot help being aware of the comparison between a flourishing tree and one with frail or sparse foliage which occurs both in Summer and Autumn. In all four pictures there is a distant mountain. In Summer and Autumn, it is centrally located; in Winter to the left, in Spring to the right. The mountain is always related to significant activity in the delineation. For example, it is directly beyond Boaz and Ruth in
Summer; it is beneath God's flight in Spring; in Winter it is behind the waterfall where people appear about to drown; in Autumn, it is above the Spies. This device is a development from the Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice, c1650 (plate 191).

Natural forms are usually treated with scientific accuracy as to size relative to their disposition in the picture or as to their state respecting the season. Where there is unusual luxuriance, as in the tree in Autumn, or frail growth, like the one in Summer, allegory is indicated. But Poussin has refined his exaggeration. The unnaturally large, extraordinary crag in the Landscape with Hercules and Cacus, about 1659-1661 (plate 241) is replaced by a more subtle structure of rocks in Winter. The rocks on both sides of that picture seem topographically accurate, yet Poussin makes the right side, which seems to be connected with the allegory of salvation, much more prominent.

In all the paintings the size and disposition of figures varies according to the subject and meaning of the picture. In Spring, Summer and Winter, in which man was or could be in a state of grace through the sacraments, the figures are dwarfed into the landscape, in the proportion in which they would appear normally if seen from where the viewer is. In Autumn, however, the figures of the two Spies are the same size as those in a figure composition. This may be related to Man living under the law of Moses, divinely inspired, but man-formulated, unlike the dispensation of Christ, the Saviour, as Poussin saw him. Architecture is also most prominent in this painting among all those in the Seasons set. I think this is connected to the theme of Man living under a man-made law.

As to disposition, two examples suffice. In Spring, there are two sources or areas of light, one each side of the Tree of Knowledge. The tiny figures of Adam and Eve are so placed that they catch the light from the left,
helping to create a sense of movement around the tree from left to right up to God. In Winter, the movement of the figures swimming or climbing up on to the right rock indicates the deeper meaning that I shall show is behind this painting.

The set varies in treatment of light as well as in warmth of tone. Spring appears lit by the first light of the sun, and to be relatively cool in the predominance of the green of the foliage and other vegetation which makes up most of the painting. Summer is warm, bright gold, as if the sun on the corn were at noon. Autumn has a greyish hue, the figures casting long shadows not seen in Summer. Winter, the darkest of all is cold grey-blue in tone all over, a scene like that of Poussin's Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe of 1651 (plate 187) of a storm with a story in it located in time at night. This use of light is part of the allegory.

Poussin also uses light for subtle aerial perspective, as in the mountain in Summer and for definition of forms, whether a natural source is available for this or not, for example, the foreground figures in Winter.

In all ways this set is an example of Poussin's Theory of the Modes. The emotion to be aroused in the viewer depends upon the judicious organization of all the elements of the picture. It shows his feeling for the grandeur of the Divine Order apparent for man in Creation. He signifies his acceptance of the empirical approach of Leonardo to Nature, made by God. He is parallel in painting to Campanella who felt study of the grandeur of Natural Creation as further revealed by Copernicus led to spiritual exaltation. Form richly fuses with meaning.

Poussin apparently used many literary, artistic and personal sources for helping the production of this set. The literary ones were: The Bible, using Genesis for Spring, Ruth for Summer, Numbers for Autumn and a combination of St. Matthew with Genesis for Winter, but also making references to
other parts as necessary; classical writers including Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; works of the Early Church Fathers, such as Tertullian, whose views were close to the Stoic opinion that Divine Reason was immanent in Creation, and who discussed the sacraments. 7

His artistic sources were: the Arch of Titus, with the horses in the triumphal procession drawn by Poussin; 8 *Roma Sotteranea* 9 by Bosio plus his own visits to the catacombs, for example perhaps to the Crypt of St. Januarius, which associates Christ with the four seasons in a painting. 10 Michelangelo's fresco of God separating water from the earth, the source for a drawing by Poussin; 11 Raphael's Creation frescoes in the same place, the Vatican; 12 Bernini's *St. Theresa* in the Cornaro Chapel, Rome, and his *Longinus* in St. Peter's; 13 Antonio Carrađoi's fresco of the *Deluge* in the Quirinale or a print of it; 14 an illustrated Holy-Land pilgrimage book, such as *Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme*, by Zuallardo; 15 books of the Plantin Press with their sixteenth-century mark of a vine connected with Christ. 16

He could have drawn on the following persons for help: Cardinal Massimi and his library; 17 Lucas Holste (Hölstenius), the Barberini librarian and his employer's library; 18 the opinions of Tommaso Campanella. 19 Iconography. 20 In the *Four Seasons*, Poussin relates the Christian-Stoic concept of Divine Harmony in the Natural Order to his Roman Catholic faith in the final salvation of man through sacraments, especially those of his Church. He does this by presenting the Order of Nature in the most obvious cycles in which it occurs: a) the seasons b) the times of day. These are related to salvation by the early Christian Fathers for

Speaking to those who deny the resurrection of the dead, Theophilus of Antioch appeals to the signs . . . that God puts within their reach in those great phenomena of Nature, the beginning and end of the seasons, and of day and night. He goes so far as to say: "Is there not a resurrection for the seeds and the fruits?" For Clement of Rome, "day and night show us the resurrection: the night descends, the day breaks; the day departs and night arrives." 21
The same writer believed salvation occurred in winter, as in Poussin's painting.\(^22\) Hanfmann confirms the view that the seasons in Christian belief first symbolized resurrection, then later, after the Peace of the Church, their cycle equaled the Universe. Poussin combined the Renaissance and Baroque tradition of portraying the seasons as antique gods, not done in antiquity, with early and medieval Christian tradition in philosophy and art.\(^23\)

In Poussin's *Four Seasons*, he viewed the variety of this harmony seen in different aspects of nature: **Spring**, benign; **Summer**, rich; **Autumn**, somber and fruitful; **Winter**, awful. Into these he fused the four states of man in a new personal way: **Spring**, before Man needed any law; **Summer**, the gift of grace by Christ superseding the law of Moses; **Autumn**, Man before this grace was given, living under the law of Moses; **Winter**, the Last Judgment including final salvation by Baptism.\(^24\)

Poussin did this by Old Testament stories. He related these first to the New Testament, then to mythology. Thus **Spring** is an allegory of the original and the final state of man. It is also a paean to Apollo, Christ, or Divine Reason through whom creation occurred;\(^25\) **Summer** is the union of Christ with his Church, signified constantly for its members in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. From the Old Testament story of Ruth and Boaz, which had come to signify this Christian meaning, Poussin also relates the painting to the Ceres-Proserpina myth, part of the Eleusinian Mysteries for eternal life in ancient times. **Autumn** is the second element of the Eucharist, the wine or blood of Christ, supplementary for Catholic laity because Christ is fully present in either species. This association is derived from the story of the Spies bringing back grapes and other evidence to Moses of the nature of the promised land of Canaan. The grapes used also suggest Bacchus whose mysteries were considered a way to salvation as shown on ancient
sarcophagi. Finally, Winter, the Old Testament Flood, which in the New Testament is described as the form of the Last Judgment, becomes an allegory of final salvation for those who avail themselves of the sacrament of Baptism. For the waters of destruction are also those of regeneration, as this primary, most necessary Roman Catholic sacrament stressed. Allusions are made to the division of evil from good by the serpent on the left, for it is the Python of the Flood described by Ovid, later slain by Apollo, Divine Reason. On the right, the evergreen tree, the olive of the first flood, a symbol of hope to Noah, is the tree sacred to Athena, Goddess of Wisdom the highest Stoic Virtue. It is to this side the swimming "baptized" figures move.

In these complex allegorical landscape paintings, Poussin subordinated Stoic ancient and recent thought to Christian beliefs in resurrection to express a faith shared with Campanella that contemplation of the Universe produced spiritual exaltation.
Spring, or the Earthly Paradise

Drawings: one in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, of God the Father probably after an engraving of the same separating the earth from the sea in the Sistine Chapel fresco by Michelangelo.

Engravings: two—for details see Catalogue entry 3.

Copies: two—for details see Catalogue entry 3.

Iconography: De Tolnay agrees with me that this painting does not contain the serpent usually found in depictions of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. Furthermore, neither of the couple are ashamed of their nakedness, which is what happened after they had, under the influence of the serpent, eaten of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil which stood in the centre of the Garden of Eden. I think that Foussin, wishing to stress the state of Paradise, left out the serpent, which had strong connotations of evil for him, as can be seen in Winter, and other late landscapes. There is therefore no death in this harmonious landscape, unless the basically cross shape of the central tree group above Adam and Eve suggests it.

There were, of course, two notable trees in the Garden, The Tree of Knowledge already mentioned, and the Tree of Life. Poussin follows Genesis closely in that there are only two fruit trees in the picture. By comparing the fruits of the one on the left to the pomegranates carried by the Spies in Autumn, it is the Tree of Life which grows there. From the left comes the sunlight reminiscent of the Birth of Bacchus. There it symbolizes the generative power of the sun. Here it represents a synthesis: Apollo, the Sun, Creative power, Divine Reason, and Christ whom Campanella equated. But the Gospel of St. John says both Christ and God the Father were involved in creation. It lights on Eve, whom Adam so named because she was the mother of all living. Also foreground water and myrtle suggest the generative
power of the earth fertilized by the warmth of the sun. God the Father
in the upper right corner, appears to have been taken more from the Raphael
creation of Sun and Moon than from Michelangelo's fresco, despite Poussin's
drawing from it. Poussin did this because the original source is more
closely associated with the meaning of his own painting, and not, as De.
Tolnay suggests, because the French preferred Raphael. He is paying no
attention to the human pair, but moves toward the sun. Why? It is
probable that Poussin is saying that God the father in association with
Christ is the source of light and life. And his Raphaelesque image in the
painting confirms the association of the light with dawn as suggested
by its association with the Birth of Bacchus. Nature and man are combined
here as part of the life of the universe. It is indeed Paradise. Never-
theless, the feeling of the light and movement revolving around the Tree
of Knowledge of Good and Evil at which Adam and Eve innocently gaze is
perhaps more pregnant with the idea of immanent change than any minor-
depiction of a serpent. The cycle moving from the human to the divine,
immortal level is suggested by placing God the Father on the upper right,
so that final immortality, the end of Man may be indicated in Spring.
But it is certainly the state of man before any law was needed, as Willi-
bald Sauerländer suggested. I think that this is confirmed by the
fact that the Tree of Life is on one side and God and the bright mountain
are on the other, so that one cannot say, as in Winter that one side appears
associated with salvation, the other with death.
Summer, or Ruth and Boaz

Drawing: Poussin may have re-used his c1640-45, Triumph of Titus (figure 179)

Engravings and Copies: one of each—see Catalogue entry 4 for details.

Iconography: The richness of nature is suggested by the harvesting of the corn, the main activity in the picture. The bright, warm light, without cast shadows, shows it is noon.

Félibien says the picture represents the story of Ruth and Boaz.42

The widow Ruth, a model of faithfulness in friendship43 had followed her Hebrew mother-in-law Naomi to Bethlehem even although Ruth was a Moabitess.

They arrived at the beginning of the barley harvest. Ruth received permission from Naomi to go to glean in the fields of Naomi’s relative, Boaz.44 Boaz came from Bethlehem, and asked who Ruth was. After the servant in charge of the reapers had told him, Boaz permitted Ruth to continue reaping after his maidens. He said that when she was thirsty she could go to the vessels and drink what the young men had drawn. After falling on her face and bowing to the ground, Ruth thanked him when she learnt why he would protect her. Boaz told her to come and eat some bread and to dip her morsel in the wine. In the end, Ruth became the wife of Boaz. From their offspring came the lineage of David, the ancestor of Christ.

The picture shows Boaz questioning the servant about Ruth, permitting her to glean in his fields. All the figures are accounted for by the Biblical narrative except for a man driving a team of horses to the far right. Other accessories, such as the food, also fit into the Old Testament story.

The main personages left to right are Boaz, Ruth and the servant in charge of the reapers.

Boaz points to Ruth, clearly indicating she will become his wife. Ruth’s gesture is one of submission to this fact. However, the union of Ruth and Boaz had more significance by the seventeenth century than an Old
Testament wedding. As they were the ancestors of Christ, in medieval times
Boaz was seen to represent Christ, and Ruth, his bride, the Church. Ruth's
posture and costume reinforce this identification. She spreads both hands
submissively like the Virgin in Poussin's 1657 Annunciation (plate 235).
Then her dress is a pale version of Boaz' bright garments.

The connection with pagan mysteries of salvation may be made from
the sheaves about Ruth, signifying Ceres, goddess of earthly fertility,
the passive principle in Creation.

Boaz too has multiple meaning. By dress as well as gesture his bright
garment connects him to Apollo, or god of the sun, or of Divine Reason, whom
Campanella saw as Christ, and as the active principle in natural Creation.
By the story and his gesture he is connected to Ruth, his future bride.
He also seems to bless the harvest. This suggests the corn represents the
body of Christ. For Christ says "I am the bread of life ... if anyone
eats of this bread he will live forever."46

The idea of the natural form—the corn field—representing the sacrament of the Eucharist in which the body of Christ is blessed is reinforced all over the picture.

First, the recession is the deepest in the Four Seasons set, indicating
depth of meaning by such a manner.

Secondly, the noon meal is leavened bread and wine. It is on a table
with a red robe over a piece of wood with a cross piece, on top of which is
a scythe. The meal echoes the Eucharist, the red suggests Christ's passion,
and the scythe, time and death which he endured before resurrection.

Now the still life and the figures of Ruth with Boaz are shaded by a
huge tree. It is a bit like the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil in Spring
but there is no fruit, since it is yet summer, and since the fruitfulness of
the earth is suggested by the corn. The tree suggests the growth possible
under the Christian order of Grace. In contrast, the background right
tree is frail. Below it is a figure driving horses like those from the
triumpbhal procession on the Arch of Titus. Titus laid low the Temple at
Jerusalem. Such a frail tree, running up to the buildings above, seems to
suggest that the Mosaic order is constrictive.

Who but a Roman would be driving such a team? His dress is just like
that of Boaz's servant next to Ruth on the right of the foreground. This
servant now takes on another meaning. His gesture, dress, and spear suggest
he is the Centurian, Longinus in charge of the Crucifixion, who first
recognized Christ as the Son of God. He bows his head to Boaz—and also
thus to Christ.

So all the main forms and figures have a triple relationship—to
 antiquity, to the Old Testament Story and to the salvation of Man in the
Sacrifice of the Mass, in which the core is the Eucharist, represented here
by the central field of corn being blessed by Boaz—Christ.
Autumn, or The Spies with the Grapes from the Promised Land.

Drawing: A copy of a lost original for the whole composition (CR, IV, p. 53, no. AI43)

Engravings: two—see Catalogue entry 5 for details.

Copy: one—see Catalogue entry 5 for details.

Iconography: The sombre yet fruitful aspect of Autumn appears in the barren landscape in which two men carry a huge cluster of grapes, and in which a woman plucks fruit from a tree behind them. Cast shadows from the front figures indicate twilight. The remaining allegory is easier to understand from the story of the Spies who carry the grapes.

The story comes from the Book of Numbers in the Old Testament. There, Moses is recorded as sending twelve spies, one from each of the twelve tribes to "spy out the land of Canaan." He instructed them to "go up into the Negeb yonder, and go up into the hill country, and see what the land is, and whether the people who dwell in it are strong or weak . . . . " ending with the exhortation, "Be of good courage, and bring some of the fruit of the land."

The time was the "season of the first ripe grapes. . . . they came to the Valley of Eshcol, and cut down from there a branch with a single cluster of grapes, and they carried it on a pole between two of them; they brought also some pomegranates and figs." Subsequently there was an upset among the Israelites because ten of the spies brought back unfavorable reports. However, Joshua, the son of Nun, and Caleb, the son of Jephunneh retorted that it was "an exceedingly good land." Through God's command the opinion of these two men was accepted. They lived. The other spies were put to death.

The Bible does not specify Joshua and Caleb as the men who brought back the grapes, figs and pomegranates. But this is not necessary to Poussin's painting. He shows the Spies as described in the Bible bringing
back the evidence of the land flowing "with milk and honey." The drawing indicates their principal importance. Although there are two trees in the background, both fertile, yet no woman is walking towards one of these trees, nor is another lady picking fruit off the same tree. Even the terrain is less enclosed than that of the finished painting, in which Poussin depicts better the desert and hill country through which the spies passed. They walk in the painting towards the light.

The connection with Christian salvation as well as with the mysteries of Bacchus is made first through the grapes and pomegranates carried by the spies. These are evidence of God's promise to the Israelites; the grapes (from which the sacramental wine of the Eucharist is made) combined with the pomegranates (signifying immortal life) symbolize the Eucharist as the means of eternal salvation according to the institution and promise of Christ. Now grapes were also the symbol of Bacchus; in the Vigenère translation of Philostratus which Poussin probably used, a parallel is drawn between the Christian and Bacchic mysteries, especially the Eucharist. Such a parallel had been drawn by the early Christian writer Clement of Alexandria. This writer saw in the new life springing from Bacchus' member after the god's death a pagan statement of death and resurrection. Clement also believed that the pomegranate sprang from Bacchus' blood: this acted as evidence of the salvation promised by his mysteries to antiquity, related to immortality through their appearance on sarcophagi.

The Christian associations in this picture go beyond the symbol of eternal salvation by the Eucharist in the fruits carried by the spies. Behind them rises a great, fruit-laden tree. A woman picking apples stands on a ladder which appears to rise from the grapes. Here this tree signifies the growth possible through partaking of the Eucharist, the blood as well as the body of Christ.
A woman picks its fruits. She is a Christian taking advantage of the redemption offered in the death and resurrection of Christ, by the Eucharist.

There is another woman walking toward the tree. Sauerländer thinks she represents the Synagogue, shown as blind in medieval times; this is because the linen from her basket possibly obscures her vision. Blunt believes this is uncertain because he cannot be sure that the cloth blinds her. I think the cloth makes it difficult for her to see. She is laden with fruit, representing man after the Fall, his will weakened by it according to Catholic doctrine. Her vision could then partially be saved. Between her and the tree is a pool. A tiny background man points to it. This signifies the Baptismal immersion, the first sacrament necessary to redeem Man from the weakness of the Fall. Then, confirmed, he can partake of the Communion with Christ through the Mass.

The barreness is in agreement with the Old Testament Story. If its barreness emphasized by the fruitless tree on the left has Christian significance, it may mean the inability of Man to save himself without the use of sacraments and without following any law, even that of Moses. For the Spies are carrying the fruits of the Promised Land through the desert in obedience to Moses' command from God. Through such obedience, the Jewish people provided the milieu for Him whom Christians accept as the Savior. This relationship is indicated by the combination of the spies' activity with the fruitful tree behind them, as well as by the various allusions in the fruits, which they are bringing back to Moses. Such an interpretation would agree with Poussin's reasonable Stoicism.
Winter, or the Deluge

Drawings: None

Engravings: One—see Catalogue entry 6 for details.

 Copies: Five—see Catalogue entry 6 for details.

Sources: The Quirinale fresco of the Deluge by Antonio Carracci may have offered formal inspiration to Poussin in its actual state or through an engraving. 

Iconography: The five meanings of this painting are: first, Winter (this is apparent from the lack of foliage on the trees combined with the barren rocks); second, Night (this can be deduced from the nearly uniform dark color scheme which is like that of the Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe, containing a story which took place at night, as well as the relationship of this painting to the times of the day indicated by the other three Seasons); third, the Deluge; fourth, the Last Judgment; fifth, final salvation by Baptism.

As the last three meanings require a longer explanation, there is a separate discussion of each.

First, the Deluge. The atmosphere suggested by the color scheme reinforces the many other signs of the Flood in the painting. These are: the amount of water in the foreground, with people attempting to save themselves; the background water submerging buildings except the Ark on the left; the evergreen olive tree on the right rock;  the Python of the Flood as described by Ovid on the left.

The suggestion of the Last Judgment comes from references in the Gospel of St. Matthew.  

For as the lightning comes out of the east, and shines as far as the west, so will be the coming of the Son of Man. . . . Immediately after the tribulation of those days, the sun will be darkened and the moon will not give its light, and the stars will fall from heaven . . . But as were the days of Noah, so will be the coming of the Son of man.

The Second Coming is not only indicated by the lightning in the sky,
above all the signs of the Flood; there is a division of the painting in
the foreground. On the left side, there is the serpent, the Christian
and Poussin's personal symbol of evil, also the Python of the Flood, slain
by Apollo, according to Ovid. On the left, also, the little figures in
the boat being upturned by the waterfall look as if they are about to die.
One of them points to the lightning which streaks across the sky from the
left..

Although Poussin represented the Old Testament and Antique Deluge,
he appears to have seen these prefiguring New Testament events, for the
Ark of the original Flood is in the left rear, very difficult to see.

To the right, however, there appear, even in the death of winter
combined with the complete destruction of the Deluge, signs of life.
In the background there is the evergreen olive tree which in winter gives
the needed yield. It is associated, as already stated, with Athena,
goddess of Wisdom, the highest Stoic cardinal virtue, foundation of all
the rest; the olive tree is also connected with the Mount of Olives,
where Christ's Passion began, and the Cross was said to be of olive wood.
It is thus a tree rich in associations with salvation.

More apparent is the fact that the little figures in the water, in
the boat parallel to the canvas appear to have reached a place of safety on
the right even although the Deluge is not over. They are turning away from
the serpent who winds his way to the left on its rocky crag. The light on
these figures is irrational, or supernatural. I also see in the rock at
the right side a poetic evocation of the side where stood the Tree of Life
in Spring. The man about to fall from the left boat is counterbalanced by
the man helping the woman and child to safety on the right.

Concerning immersion in water as a means of salvation, a recent writer
reports.
Upon the cosmological no less than upon the anthropomorphic plane, immersions in the Waters signifies, not a definitive extinction, but a temporary re-entry into the indistinct, followed by a new creation, a new life or a new man, according to whether the nature of the event in question is cosmic, biological or soteriological. From the point of view of structure, the "deluge" is comparable to a "baptism," and the funerary libation to the lustrations of the newly-born, or to the ritual bathings in the Spring that procure health and fertility.

In whatever religious context we find them, the Waters invariably preserve their function: they dissolve or abolish the forms of things, "wash away sins," are at once purifying and regenerative. It is their lot both to precede the Creation and to re-absorb it, incapable as they are of surpassing their own modality—that is, of manifesting themselves in forms.55

Irenaeus, an early Christian writer sees the Deluge... an image of salvation by Christ and of the judgment on sinners. Noah's survival through the Flood was seen as analogous to the immersion and ascent from the waters in Baptism. Through Baptism, Man regains resemblance to God, according to Tertullian, De Baptismo V. He, Man returns to the original innocence which he had before the Fall, like that of Adam and Eve in Poussin's Spring.66

Thus Poussin is painting in the spirit of the Early Christian Fathers, as Blunt suggests,67 probably with Holstenius' help.68

Tertullian69 also states that water was the first seat of the Divine Spirit, who then preferred it to all the other elements... It was water that was first commanded to produce living creatures... it was water which, first of all, produced that which has life, so that we should not be astonished when, one day, it would bring forth life in baptism. In the formation of man himself, God made use of water to consummate his work... all natural water thus acquired, by ancient prerogatives with which it was honoured at its origin, the virtue of sanctification in the sacrament, provided that God be invoked to that effect. As soon as the words are pronounced, the Holy Spirit, coming down from Heaven, hovers over the waters, which it sanctifies by its fecundity: waters thus sanctified are in their turn impregnated with sanctifying virtue... That which formerly healed the body, today cures the soul; that which procured health in time procures salvation in eternity...70

Winter, Night, the Deluge, the Last Judgment, and salvation for eternal life by Baptism are implicit in the somber luminosity of this painting revealing its desolate forms. These forms, however, signify
the paradox of Spring. In that picture was the idea of an end in the beginning. In Winter, it is the idea of a beginning at the end.
**Apollo and Daphne**

**Size:** 155 x 200 cm., or 61 x 79 1/2"

**Medium:** Oil on canvas

**Location:** Paris, Louvre.

**Commission:** none. Bellori (p. 444) relates that it was given as a gift unfinished in 1664 to Cardinal Camillo Massimi, because the artist knew he could not work any longer, and would not be able to finish it.

**Dating:** 1660-1664.

**History:** Acquired by the Louvre in 1869.

**Drawings:** Nine out of ten of these are illustrated figures 261 to 268, 271 in Blunt's *Nicolas Poussin.*

**Engravings:** none

**Copies:** none

**Recipient:** Poussin gave this mythological work to Cardinal Camillo Massimi probably because he knew this long-time intimate friend was capable of appreciating it. It may also have acknowledged the Cardinal's help, perhaps with the *Four Seasons.*

**Style:** This figure composition arranges the mythological beings in an oval around a quiet pool. The long sides of the oval are parallel to the picture plane. A large, clearly-defined oak on the left is balanced by a wood containing a cavern on the right. To the left behind the figures is a herd of cattle guarded by a dog in the centre of the picture. In the distance is a tiny mountain with twin peaks.

Depth is by fused planes parallel to the canvas, with careful attention to perspective.

Such perspective depth is enhanced by the use of light, as in the muting of the tone of the mountain. Light mainly models forms. Even
although it appears through the leaves of the oak, to give more atmosphere to the picture, its clear, even quality enhances the clarity of the foliage.

The cool color-scheme is based on earth tones: green, reddish-brown, blue. Bright primary hues are used in the draperies on the figures.

The treatment of figures places the protagonists, Apollo and Daphne, on opposite sides of the canvas. Hence one is forced to view the whole canvas to understand the meaning of the picture. The composition appears quiet because the interaction among the figures is by gaze more than by gesture. However, both are employed, so that the ultimate effect is a complex net of cross-tensions. However, the untroubled and even exalted expressions on the faces of many of the figures supplemented by the balanced compositional structure of the picture around the quiet pool gives an impression of still harmony to this painting, surmounting the tensions within it.

**Iconography:** Poussin's main literary sources for this picture appear to have been: Ovid's *Metamorphoses;* Fausanias' description of Greece; Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos;* Philostratus' *Imagines;* Zimnos' treatise, *Il Sogno Overo della Poesia;* Campanellian philosophy. His artistic sources were possibly illustrations in Philostratus and a book on Greek coins by Goltzius; the Farnese seated Apollo.

His contemporaries were not aware that Poussin's painting is an allegory of the divine order and harmony of Creation, especially its fertility, under the sun; God's loving desire to save recalcitrant Man by union with him. For Bellori described the picture as Apollo enamored of Daphne. The love of Apollo for Daphne arose from his contest with Cupid to prove which was the more skillful with the bow. Apollo sits, already wounded by Cupid's arrow, and gazes lovingly at Daphne, seated opposite him, with her arms round the neck of her father, the river Peneus, beside a cave. Meanwhile Cupid aims at her a lead-pointed arrow so that she shall not love him Apollo but flee him. As a joke the painter has shown behind Apollo the crafty Mercury who robs him and steals a golden arrow from his quiver. The fair-haired god, transfixed with love for the newly seen beauty, does not notice.
Between them are nymphs lying naked on the banks of the stream; one of
these wrings out her wet hair.

There are many indications of allegory in this painting. First, both
painting and preparatory drawings show different stories connected with
Apollo. These different tales are all welded into one unified composition,
even although not apparently connected to the main incident. Even if one
reads the main tale in Ovid, Poussin has departed from his own previous
depiction of the subject for Marino in not showing Apollo physically pursuing
Daphne. Here is no apparent flight. Apollo looks like a relaxed master of
the situation, while Daphne cowers frozen with her eyes closed on the
extreme opposite, or right side of the canvas, both in the front plane, in
profile and parallel to the surface of the picture. Thirdly, there is Bellori's
"joke." Fourthly, a dim figure appears dead at the back of the painting.

Then, finally, the painting is divided into two parts. On the left are
shown the creative aspects of Apollo. For example, there is the most careful
delineation of the wonderfully fertile oak, as well as the cattle. The
mythological figures around Apollo appear particularly happy. On the
right, however, in addition to the reluctant Daphne who is later changed
into a lower form of life, there is another dead figure. The auxiliary
persons look pale besides the group about Apollo.

The dramatis personae are (left to right):

1. Mercury stealing the quiver beside Apollo. Blunt believes that since
   no classical source gives an exact account of this incident the artist
   has used another such theft, for example, the pilfering of an arrow from
   Apollo by Mercury when the latter was a child as a basis for stating the
   fact that the planets borrowed light from the sun. The arrows of Apollo were
   seen by Zinano as representing the rays of the sun.

2. A Muse? in blue with an oak wreath, holding on to the oak tree as she
sits above and behind Apollo. She looks peacefully at Mercury. Blunt does not identify her. She may be the Muse Calliope of Epic Poetry, who was loved by Apollo and gave him a son Orpheus. Her relationship to Apollo was happy and fruitful. However, this identification does not explain why she is looking at Mercury.

3. **A Tree Nymph.** Blunt identifies her as Melia, in gold, sitting in the oak. She looks in the direction of Daphne. Poussin has adapted her form from that of a Hellenistic coin of Gortyna (figure 270) which he could have seen in Goltzius' book. The coin depicts the figure of Europa, later raped by Jupiter, just as Melia, according to Pausanias, was raped by Apollo. This daughter of Oceanus was associated with oak trees, and the fertilization of trees by rain in Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*. Her clothing, gold, is suitable, for honey was distilled from the oak in ancient times.

4. **Apollo.** Classicized in form after the manner of the Farnese seated Apollo (figure 269) his depiction is a free adaptation of this statue, for Poussin had by this time refined his compositions to the degree that he did not place the antique forms just as they were into his compositions, any more than he did with borrowings from other sources. He has chosen the Farnese Apollo, I think, because the form was most suited to his theme: the order and harmony of the universe under the Divine Reason represented by that god. The Farnese Apollo carries a lyre; he is not shooting at a lizard, as in one of the early drawings.

Apollo is draped in bright red, symbolic of the Stoic divine fire. On his right is the quiver, but his bow is not in the picture, unless Cupid has it. His left arm rests upon the lyre, apparently motioning to Cupid. Behind him he has coiled around the tree the Python of the Flood, which he slew, according to Ovid, just prior to falling in love with Daphne, his first love. The reason that the tree is the oak, is not only its.
fertility, but also the fact that until Daphne had been "immortalized" by her change into the laurel, it was not connected with Apollo. I believe that the suggestion of fertility in the oak, such as that by Plutarch, caused Poussin to put the oak in the picture so carefully, beside the god of the sun, also the god of reason, prophecy, poetry, music and medicine. His face glows with love for Daphne, indicating that, as Ovid records, Cupid has struck him with a gold-tipped arrow, in order to make him love her.

In the background are herds, including a goat. This is reminiscent of the service Apollo did as shepherd for Admetus, a time during which the animals were especially fertile. Apollo's dog guards them.

Beyond the herds is twin-peaked Mount Parnassus, sacred to Apollo and the Muses. It is not connected with either side of the canvas. It may simply symbolize the whole theme of union of two forces essential to Creation on a physical or spiritual level.

5. The two left-hand nymphs reclining in the foreground. Although Cupid is the king-pin of Ovid's tale, I will first deal with the two nymphs who recline in the foreground, one in blue, one wringing her wet hair out, a gesture signifying fertility. They both look in the direction of Apollo, their faces rosy, as if with a glow from his garment. As Apollo had loved other nymphs happily, it is quite possible that these represent some of them, perhaps Cyrene, who gave birth to the bee-keeper Aristeius, or Clymene, the mother of Phaethon. But these are not identified. Poussin suggests identifications, as in Melia, but is not absolutely clear about them, so that they can function flexibly as symbols of creation and regeneration on the physical and on the spiritual level.

On the physical level, they are symbols of the passive principle connected with water and the earth, which, in unity with the sun, symbolized by Apollo, produce all created things. On the spiritual level they represent
human souls who accept unity with Christ, symbolized by Apollo, because according to Campanellian thought, Divine Reason and Christ were synonymous. Thus, in his final painting Poussin incorporates ideas similar to the physics and the theology of Campanella.

6. **Cupid**, according to Ovid, is shooting a lead-tipped arrow into Daphne to make her refuse the advances of Apollo, to remain a virgin. If we look across at Daphne we can see that she acts as if she had been hit by that arrow already, for she is dressed like Diana. She also clings to Peneus her river-god father, asking for metamorphosis to protect herself. If one considers this anachronism as part of the spiritual allegory, it would possibly fit. Cupid may be using Apollo's bow and an arrow which is of a spiritual nature, as an action representative of the love of Christ for the obdurate human soul. Sinano's allegory includes this idea. Cupid represents divine generation. Here he is under the aegis of Apollo.

7. **Right-hand nymphs**. The opposite side of the canvas which is set in the Thessalian Vale of Tempe, according to Ovid, includes four nymphs who cluster about Peneus, Daphne's river-god father. Two of them resemble the Graces. They are much paler than those about Apollo, and equally difficult to identify. They seem to be willing to receive the benefits of Apollo, although some distance from him. It is as if they are less aware of what these benefits will mean, or are persons who have not yet enjoyed them. I think this would account for the fact that Cupid seems to be aiming his arrow at them, as much as at Daphne. They are in contrast to her in that they attempt to see, while she refuses.

8. **Daphne**, on the extreme right has here eyes closed because she is determined not to see the light of spiritual and physical regeneration centering in Apollo.

9. **Hyacinthus** is the dead figure in the background, it is believed, because
he is the other unhappy love of Apollo referred to in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Gods*. There is an analogy between Daphne and himself, also in the fact that neither were related to Apollo in a way which could be fruitful physically. It is no surprise that Hyacinthus is dead, while Peneus' gesture toward the ground indicates the degeneration which will happen to Daphne. Poussin appears to be stating by his selection of two figures mythologically related to Apollo that creation is a process of union between two opposites, on the natural or the spiritual level. He appears to me to have selected a figure composition for his last allegorical work to stress the relationship of Man to this fact of Creation.

According to Stoicism, the natural order exhibited a constant flow up and down. Up meant a process in which the grossest element earth became water, then air, finally fire. The downward cycle also existed, in reverse. To Heraclitus, an early Stoic, the dynamic of the process was analogous to human love, creation taking place by the attraction of opposites, hence the sense of division of the picture into two parts, grouped around Apollo and Daphne respectively, and the placement of these main figures as far as possible from one another across the canvas. To Heraclitus, the basic union was between fire and water with earth. He only saw three elements. This is suggested on the left side of the canvas both generally and specifically. For the divine fire represented by Apollo has creatively united with a water deity who wrings out her hair, suggesting fertility, and with the nymph Melia, who is connected with the fertility of trees. However, the constant attraction is present, binding the water nymph Daphne, whose opposition indicates that in the process the water loses its essential nature. For her refusal there is only the downward path to earth and death, suggested by her father's pointing finger.
Said Heracleitus

For it is death to souls to become water and death to water to become earth. But water comes from earth, and from water, soul.

Hyacinthus is the lowest part of this cycle of "love" signified by Cupid, active in the area of Apollo. He is the earth, inert and gross; then come water deities, leading up to the fiery-robed figure of Apollo. The Apollo and Daphne myth is an allegory of the natural order of Creation and its fertility, best understood in terms of the Stoicism of Heracleitus in this painting.

The source of Poussin's knowledge of Heracleitus? Apparently parts of it were in the commentaries and references made by Vigenère in his translation of the Imagines of Philostratus.

I think Zinano's treatise, although helpful in comprehending the fertility allegory, as I have mentioned, is most useful in suggesting the spiritual allegory behind it. Zinano saw Apollo the Sun as the Image of the Creator, just as Campanella did. Python Zinano saw as Lucifer, Cupid divine generation, and Daphne human reproduction. But she, like Cupid, has a double meaning—she is also humanity fleeing the benefactions of God.

If this is compared with Campanellian thought, as I have done, Poussin appears to be portraying the actions of the Savior, Apollo, for Daphne, or Man. So this final allegory is one of human salvation. I believe that although he used mythological figures—they had the richest associations for himself and his patrons—the artist was declaring that the grandeur of God's work for Man was expressed not only in the Order of Creation, but in the active love of Christ for the obstinate human being. This was a reasonable conclusion to the life work of Poussin.
CHAPTER IV

POUSSIN'S IDEAS ON RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

Poussin's letters, biographies, and painting, including his treatment of nature in the late landscapes, show he was a Christian Stoic. I deal first with his Christianity, then his Stoicism, explaining their fusion in his old age.

His letters combine occasional warm piety with sardonic comment upon the popular devotion encouraged by what he thought inferior church government. But to the Roman Catholic Christian, the sacraments of the Church are means of salvation which work no matter what the character of the priest or the recipient. So Poussin retained the almost orthodox Roman Catholicism apparent in his painting, remaining a member of that Church. This is shown by three things: his marriage and burial from his parish church, his last will accepting Catholic belief, and his receipt of the last rites of his Church upon his death.

He uses warm piety to express friendship in a letter to Chantelou of 1644, in which Noyers' replacement is mentioned. Poussin says

God omnipotent hold you always in his protection and make you prosperous in all sorts of good things.

There are more examples of frank disillusionment with contemporary church government which also encouraged superstitious piety. Concerning Pope Urban VIII, who died 1644, Poussin writes to Chantelou

It is said here that his Holiness is not well. If we lose him, God give us a better.

When the conclave to choose Urban's successor met, Poussin commented

May God will that we be better governed in respect to the incoming
Concerning Innocent X's expedition of 1649, Poussin remarked to Chantelou:

The pope makes a harvest, and gathers grapes for the Duke of Parma in the Duchy of Castro, where an archbishop had been murdered. His only written comment on the Jubilee year of 1650 when all the Italian towns contributed to festivities in Rome is a remark on the possibility that the Pope would give ceremonial shearing to a crucifix from Florence which was growing a beard. His criticism of the papacy extended to lower members of the church hierarchy. When shipping the Extreme Unction he declared that Chantelou would obtain it without being sick at the hands of a priest, but from a Lyons courier. Since he received the last rites himself, he was probably trying to be witty here; perhaps no condemnation of the clergy is intended.

There does not appear to be enough evidence to link Poussin firmly with any order or movement within his Church.

Poussin's paintings witness concern with the salvation of man, the heart of religion. All his Old Testament themes, except for one, are types of salvation according to Christian thought of the early and middle ages. The exception is the 1649 Judgment of Solomon in which Poussin shows wisdom, one of the four Christian/Stoic cardinal virtues. His New Testament subjects are the major events in the life of Christ the Savior: the Nativity, the Holy Family, the Baptism, and the Passion.

His depiction of the seven sacraments is the clearest evidence that Poussin was a Roman Catholic Christian. To the Roman Catholic, the sacraments are the means by which people receive the divine grace necessary to salvation. By Christ's institution and promise they contain the grace they signify. Protestants hold that salvation depends upon the mercy of God in imputing to fallen man Christ's merit to the believer. Sacraments are important,
but secondary to this "justification by faith"\(^{14}\) and there are not seven of them. Even to the Roman Catholic, two sacraments are especially necessary: Baptism, the absolutely essential primary sacrament; and the Eucharist, an act of consecrating bread and wine so that the body of Christ is substantially present entirely and permanently in either one of these elements. For this reason, communion was dispensed to the congregation in the bread wafer only. The Eucharist, the core of the Mass, is seen as a perpetuation of the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross.\(^ {15}\)

In Poussin's *Four Seasons*, he goes further than in his eleven years' work on the *Seven Sacraments* series to express the basic tenets of his faith. *Summer* is an allegory of the Eucharist; *Winter*, when the deepest destruction is apparent holds the significance of the first essential sacrament for salvation, Baptism. These *Seasons* are also a summary of his painterly expression of his religion because he works from Old Testament subjects to suggest New Testament salvation, for example, in *Summer*, Ruth and Boaz, Old Testament figures, represent Christ and his bride, the Church, which dispenses the sacraments for salvation.

Although he was basically an orthodox Roman Catholic, Poussin believed that ancient religious mysteries had contained the same principles of salvation by sacrament perpetuated by Roman Catholicism. This is suggested in the *Ordination*. In the *Four Seasons*, the religious allegory is enriched by mythological associations; Ruth, the Church, the Bride of Christ, has wheat sheaves around her. This was also the symbol of the fertility goddess Ceres. Therefore, this could be a reference to the Eleusinian mysteries, because the Ceres-Proserpina (Demeter-Persephone) story played a part in them. These mysteries guaranteed everlasting life, just as did the Christian sacrament of the Eucharist, if one made proper use of the grace given through it.
The most remarkable synthesis of ancient (here Stoic) religious ideas with Christian beliefs about salvation appears in Poussin's last painting. Poussin represents the actions of God for man. God here is Apollo, Divine Reason or Nature, which, according to Stoic philosophy, governed the universe. To Campanella Universal Reason was Christ.

Since Poussin shows influence of his natural philosophy, Poussin may well have known of his theological belief. In the painting, Man is represented by the reluctant Daphne, the victim of an unreasonable passion to remain independent of him by keeping herself virgin. But the Divine Reason of Stoicism, the Creator in Christian allegorical terms and Christ in Campanellian theology, is victorious with others if not with Daphne. Therefore, Poussin's unfinished painting affirms his faith in the final salvation of humanity through the reasonable love of God for Man.

In the *Four Seasons*, his last pure landscapes, the treatment glorifies nature, minimizing the size but not the significance of man. The size of these figures could be a recognition of the empirical relationship between the universe and man, who is minuscule. In this Poussin would be accepting the cosmology of Copernicus, Galileo and Campanella. So, although the *Four Seasons* is an allegory of salvation through the sacraments of the Church, they signify Poussin's acceptance of this cosmology. They also show that Poussin agreed with Campanella who said

A tiny glimmer is all we know. Therefore wisdom should be sought in the whole book of God, which is the world, where more truth always may be discovered.

The world is wisdom in material form and shows us more as we have more capacity.16

Campanella followed the tradition of the psalmists, the prophets, classical writers, and early church fathers. He agreed with them all that
contemplation of Creation was a source of religious growth and exaltation. Poussin himself summarizes his final aim in painting not as delight, but as delectation, something which has deeper religious connotations.

Poussin's late landscapes therefore appear to express the Christian Stoicism of Campanella. He accepted Campanella's synthesis of Stoicism, empiricism, Christianity, and Copernican cosmology, together with the belief that Nature is panpsychic. Or he reached a conclusion similar to that of the Dominican friar from personal meditation provoked by the intellectual milieu of Pozzo and Massimi.

Poussin's Stoicism is so amply revealed in his letters, by his biographers and through his paintings that is is easy to conclude that Stoicism was the mainspring of his life, as it was for many of his contemporaries. I believe that especially in his late years, Christian Catholic doctrines of salvation offered hope not present in Stoicism. Stoicism encouraged fortitude in his final personal adversities. It helped him understand the workings of Nature. But the ultimate salvation lay in the hands of God, not in antique philosophy. The truth claimed by Stoicism to lie within myth could express Christian reality. This change in the value system of the artist to me explains the form and content of the late landscapes, as well as the final unfinished mythology.

Why did Poussin accept Stoicism? Poussin shared with his contemporaries a deep veneration for antiquity generated in the seventeenth century by the classical education common to European society. This education gave Europeans divided by creed and nationality a cultural means of communication. The antique cosmopolitan philosophy of Stoicism, in which man was a part of one society under the kingship of Zeus, Divine Reason, favored idealized monarchy or the rule of the best man. It provided a political ideal for the seventeenth-century autocracies, a concept of unity beneath
political and religious diversity, and it put Reason uppermost, in agreement with the scientific advances of the time. Thus the whole Stoic philosophy was held in esteem in the seventeenth century.

Originating in the teachings of Zeno in the Athenian Painted Stoa in the fourth century B.C., Stoicism developed during Roman times through the writings of Seneca, the philosopher, and Marcus Aurelius, Roman Emperor, A.D. 161-180. The latter sought fortitude against the evils of his circumstances in its ethical principles, which were detachment from the outside world, whatever might occur, and the maxim "follow nature," which meant allying yourself with the collective right reason of mankind and the providential course of the world. As has been shown, Stoics saw the world as an organic whole, animated and directed by intelligence. God was the active principle; the passive principle was matter. These were the inseparable aspects of reality, which was four-fold, fire being the element associated with divinity and creation. By Roman times the Stoics saw myths, not as falsehoods, but as hiding kernels of truth about the natural world. Thus mythology for them became allegory.

During the preceding century, Stoic ideas had permeated French literature in the writings of Montaigne, Guillaume du Vair and Pierre Charron. These Neo-Stoics inspired the so-called "libertins" or advanced liberal thinkers, such as Naudé, with whom Poussin was in contact in Paris.

Poussin's temperament predisposed him to accept the Stoicism of the seventeenth century from antiquity, his own countrymen, and Campanella. In his letters he wrote

My nature constrains me to search out and to love ordered things, fleeing confusion, which is to me as contrary and inimical as is light to obscure shadows.
From the letters it is also plain that Poussin believed Stoicism offered the best method of conducting one's life. He wrote to Chantelou

But if all your actions are conducted by the way or reason, you can do nothing which will not have a truly virtuous end. (italics mine)

for thereby

The repose and tranquility of mind which you can possess are good things which have no equal.

for

If you would consider all things without passion, they will not ever rebound upon you within yourself. (italics mine)

As by temperament Poussin accepted Stoicism, so by temperament, education and artistic capacity, Poussin was not fitted for large Church commissions. He therefore made a virtue out of necessity, living in the modest "Stoic" manner described by Bellori and prudently keeping apart from politics, a late Stoic practice recommended by Seneca. As Poussin put it

It is a great pleasure to live in a century in which such great events take place, provided one can take shelter in some small corner to watch the comedy at one's ease.

Apart from his temperamental love of peace and order, because he was in a sense "in business" for himself, he could share his French patrons' concern over political disturbances, as seen in his letters and paintings. He writes of the "beastly quality and inconstancy of the masses" he paints pictures of Phocion, a Socrates-like martyr to mob rule in ancient times, about the time of the Fronde in Paris, 1648-50.

Indeed, Stoicism is the key to most of Poussin's painting. First this is evident in his subjects. In history, he depicts Stoic heroes—Phocion, Diogenes, Camillus. He uses mythology usually as allegory to reveal Stoic concepts of Man and/or the natural world, which he believes is governed by Reason despite the apparent confusion therein. Secondly, to paint these
pictures he refers to historians of ancient times, such as Livy, or antique mythological writers like Ovid who accepted Stoic philosophy. Thirdly, he treated such topics with the meticulous care of a reasonable man being just to himself and his patrons.

For, from Reason, according to Stoic thought, stem the four cardinal virtues: Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance and Justice. The practice of these was an integral part of Poussin's life whether in relationships with friends and patrons, in dealing with personal problems, or with work. For an example of the first, we have his steady relationship to Chantelou, including not only the faithful performance of commissions, but also friendship retained until Poussin's death. Poussin could not always show the uncomplaining fortitude of a Stoic in talking of his personal difficulties, for example in the death of his wife, but he labored to produce his last masterpieces under the professional handicap of an increasingly trembling hand. He went about his work with diligence giving the paintings the care that enabled him to say "I have neglected nothing." Yet this was done without intemperate haste, as his many letters to clients requesting their patience also show. Even his choice of his life's work—the production of small masterpieces—was a wise one in view of his age, education and abilities. These characteristic Stoic qualities are reflected in the increasingly direct clarity of his correspondence, as well as in the severe, intellectual approach to his art. But it was this lifelong pattern of patient Stoic "reasonable" activity which permitted the last synthesis of his religious convictions with his Stoic concepts of the Divinity of Reason behind Creation.
CHAPTER V

POUSSIN'S IDEAS ON PAINTING AND HIS METHOD OF WORK

Stoic Reason governed Poussin's life. Consequently the production of his art was a rational process. His religious beliefs fused with his Stoicism in his old age. The reasons for this have been suggested. The result was a deeper and broader concept of what painting was. That this development occurred, can be seen by comparing notes preserved by Bellori with a 1665 letter by Poussin.

In the notes, Poussin had defined painting as

simply the imitation of human actions, which, properly speaking, are the only actions worthy of being imitated; other actions are not imitable in themselves, as principal parts, but incidentally, as accessories; in this manner one can imitate not only the actions of animals but all natural things.  

In other words, Poussin is repeating the idea of Aristotle, "ideal human nature in action," the subject of poetry and painting, according to the theory of ut pictura poesis. Aptly he copied the definition exactly from Torquato Tasso's Discorso del Poema Eroico, with one exception: the first word, "poetry," becomes "painting" in Poussin's note.

Poussin used Tasso neither for subjects nor for theory in his last years. His letter to de Chambray of 1665 declares painting is

an imitation with lines and colors on any surface of all that is to be found under the sun. Its aim is delectation. (italics mine)

To early Christian writers such as St. Augustine, the great spectacles of nature were the primary source of true delectation. St. Bonaventura, who derived his ideas from that Saint explained that delectation was the deep delight of the soul in evil or good. A soul in a state of grace would
delight in good, become beatified and so be united with God. This was one of the four things which benefitted Man, according to Campanella. Therefore, Poussin extended the principle of *ut picture poesis*—instruct through sensuous delight—to emphasize arousing feelings of spiritual exaltation as well.

In the first definition, Poussin declared that the representation of all natural forms is of minor importance; in the second, painting represents "all that is to be found under the sun." Thus he aims to depict the world including Man rather than to treat it as an accessory to human actions. These were "the only actions worthy of being imitated," according to his first definition. The reference to the sun suggests Poussin's sympathy with the viewpoint of Campanella, who saw the sun as a symbol of God as well as the source of life in Nature.

As well as being a deeper and broader definition of painting, Poussin's 1665 declaration summarized his ideas on art in the same way as his late paintings synthesized his earlier work. The definition, which has a simplicity lacking in the notes, continues with "Principles Every Man Capable of Reasoning Can Learn." These are items necessary to vision as the seventeenth century understood it: light, boundaries, color, distance, instrument, and a transparent medium. By instrument, Poussin must have meant the human eye. Of course these elements of vision are related to those of representation. Then the painter's innate genius selects, disposes, and embellishes a subject "with judgment in every part," so that it can acquire the best form. As Poussin puts it about subject matter, it must be noble and not have taken on any common quality so that the painter may show his spirit and industry. It must be chosen so as to be capable of taking on the most excellent form. The painter must begin with disposition, then ornament, decorum, beauty, grace, vivacity, costume, *vraisemblance* and judgment in every part. These last qualities spring from the talent of the painter and cannot be learned. They are like Vergil's Golden Bough which none can
find or pick, unless he is guided by destiny. 

The simplicity of the basic definition is also present in the above description of what a good painting should be. Two examples are: the mention of line and color; the relation of subject to form.

In the 1665 letter line and color are: 1) part of painting; 2) the elements of vision. A verbose statement of line and color as part of painting appears in the Notes

On the Bounding Lines of Drawing and Color

A painting will appear elegant when its extreme elements join the nearest by means of intermediate ones in such a fashion that they do not flow into one another too feebly nor yet with harshness of line and colors; and this leads one to speak of the harmony or discord of colors and of their bounding lines.

Similarly, Poussin makes a complex optical distinction between prospect (simple vision) and aspect (vision with comprehension) in an earlier letter to Noyers.

The 1665 definition relates subject to form closely because a noble subject, necessary to challenge the painter's ability and industry, must be selected so as to be capable of the most excellent form. This comment may be compared with a much longer note entitled On Certain Forms of The Grand Manner. On Subject Matter. On the Conceit. On Composition and On Style which begins

The grand manner consists in four things: the matter, that is, the subject, the conceit, the composition and the style. The first thing that is required, as the foundation of everything else, is that the matter and the subject should be something lofty, such as battles, heroic actions, religious themes ... 

Much later, Poussin gets around to style.

Though copied from elsewhere, these notes are one source for Poussin's views on painting. A second is his letters. According to Bellori, who preserved them, Poussin planned a treatise on painting. In 1650 in a letter to Chantelou Poussin reported that he was beginning to make notes
on painting, but thought it best not to publish them yet. Félibien reports that after Poussin's death, Poussin's secretary, Jean Dughet wrote to Chantelou denying that Poussin had ever written such a book, although Poussin had said many times that he would do so. Therefore, Poussin, nearing death, must have used the opportunity of the 1665 thank-you letter to Chambray for another book on painting to express ideas of his own on this art.

His late mythological landscape painting, including the religious Four Seasons set, show that he has finally fused philosophical with religious belief in order to express his aim—delectation. Particularly in the Four Seasons and the Apollo and Daphne the "noble subject" challenged the artist to adapt it diligently to a "most excellent form." He continued to use the reasoned approach of previous periods, showing "judgment in every part!" But the appeal of his art is to the whole human being, body, mind and spirit, not just to the mind. He communicates the depth of his convictions by the formal organization of the composition.

In spite of the deeper conception of his art, expressed in his late statements and paintings, Poussin's ideas originated in the Renaissance equation between painting and poetry, summarized in the saying, *ut pictura poesis*. During the middle ages the painter was regarded as a craftsman, practicing a mechanical art, while a poet was seen as enriching the mind, thus his art was liberal. This distinction affected the socio-economic status of the artist. As knowledge of classical literature increased and the classical treatise by Aristotle on poetry was rediscovered in 1500, painters saw a way out of this dilemma, which lowered the dignity of their profession, by the implicit equation of poetry and painting made by three ancient authors: Aristotle in his *Poetics*, Horace in his *Ars Poetica* and the saying of Simonides quoted by the ancient historian Plutarch that
painting was mute poetry, poetry a speaking picture. This equation was succinctly summarized in Horace's book as *ut pictura poesis*, that is, "as is painting, so is poetry." Avidly artists translated it "as is poetry, so is painting." A whole canon of concepts of painting, its subject, style, and the preparations for doing it arose out of this apparently simple saying. Horace's *ut pictura poesis* was actually part of a plea for liberal criticism of poetry. He believed poetry was either like the detailed style of painting, needing close scrutiny, or like the broad, impressionistic style, requiring view from a distance. In the *Poetics* of Aristotle are also found the elements of Renaissance and seventeenth-century attitudes to painting. Aristotle wrote that painters as well as poets imitate human nature in action, but that painting fulfilled its highest function when it depicted superior human life. (Poussin's note defining painting, already discussed, shows he accepted this idea which Alberti and Leonardo partly upheld in their writings).

If superior or representative or ideal human nature was to be imitated, two ways were possible. There was the manner of Zeuxis, the fifth-century B. C. Greek painter, who depicted Helen by selecting the best parts of several women models. Then there was the method of Apelles, a fourth-century B. C. Greek, considered the greatest painter of antiquity, who selected the most beautiful model available. But the late sixteenth century did not believe it was as fortunate as Apelles, although Dolce, a critic, mentions both methods. However, by Poussin's period the view prevailed that in their statuary the ancients had already obtained all perfection of art, and it could be used to learn the ideal nature of man to put its principles into practice discreetly. All artists, Baroque or Classicist, agreed on this. Poussin, the Classicist, is said to have maintained the value of Zeuxis' method; Bernini, says Baldinucci, thought the Zeuxis story was a fable.
"because the beautiful eyes of one woman do not fit with the beautiful mouth of another." Baroque Bernini retained therefore the Neoplatonic view from Mannerism that the source of ideal beauty was God, not external nature synthesized. The difference appears in their use of antique models. Poussin used to sketch an idea, and intensify and idealize the human action by classicizing the figures through the use of antique model studies, for example, his *Apollo and Daphne*, in which he used the Farnese Apollo. Bernini commended the study of the same before life sketching to the French Academy, so that these ancient or esteemed masters might give eyes to the students who would from their prior study learn how to perceive the beauties of the subject in life which they were doing. But Bernini himself thought that once the antique was understood, it should be put to one side, just as he did with portrait drawing; through divine inspiration he could render alive the portrait of mythological subject he was depicting in marble. Bernini and Poussin knew the same models; but Bernini showed more interest in Late Hellenistic like the Laocoon, while Poussin preferred antique reliefs, as on sarcophagi, and Neo-Attic works. Thus, although he extolled the Barberini Faun, a Late Hellenistic sculpture, he neither drew nor painted any figure in his oeuvre after this model.

Thus Poussin, the Classicist, like Bernini, the Baroque artist, was aware of antique sculpture, but not using it in the same way, nor stressing the same models.

Another aspect of the analogy drawn between painting and poetry, from which this discussion of artistic borrowing from antiquity was a slight digression, was the nature of invention. Novelty in painting was seen as a good and new disposition or expression of a subject, not necessarily use of an entirely original subject, for example Poussin's note *On Novelty* and his treatment of the *Four Seasons*. This accounts partly for the
borrowing from antiquity. Of course, the subject for painting, since it had to be ideal human nature in action, must be either religious, historical, or mythological. Thus, it is necessary to account for Poussin's landscape painting in terms of his philosophy, for in his figure painting he carefully observed all the tenets of the *ut pictura poesis* theory.

To depict sacred or profane history or mythology, knowledge was necessary, said Horace. There arose from his dictum and the writings of other ancients such as Cicero, as well as from Renaissance treatises the concept of the painter as a learned man, knowing not only the rules of perspective and the facts of anatomy, but also widely read in history, the poets, geography, climatology, the manners and customs of various countries as well as religious and ecclesiastical literature including theology and the lives of the saints. The education of Poussin, with access to Pozzo's paper museum included all these. Furthermore, we have the testimony of Bellori that Poussin used his working knowledge of Latin together with his Italian and French to become widely read. There is also a specific reference in a letter of 164; Poussin reports that he is reading up on the lives of Saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier for a subject for the Jesuit Novitiate.

Besides reading, the painter was encouraged to cultivate the acquaintanceship of learned men. Pozzo and Massimi are certainly examples of them.

Finally his knowledge of human nature was to be as extensive and as intensive as possible in order that he might express the emotions of representative human beings in the most effective way, selecting the bodily movements or gestures most suited to these, as Quintilian had advised the orator to do when making a speech. For the end of painting, poetry and oratory was to instruct by delight. Mythological allegory was considered the best way of doing this in painting as in literature.
The aim of instruction was furthered by use of gestures which made the painting readable just as if it were a speech or a poem. Thus Boaz in *Summer* gesticulates with two-fold meaning. Poussin declared in his letters that he wished his patrons to try to treat his pictures in that way. For example, concerning the *Israelites Gathering the Manna*, of the late 1630's, in which he took particular care with the expression of the emotions, supplementing oratorical techniques with the advice of Leonardo, he asks Chantelou to "read the story and the picture in order to see whether each thing is appropriate to the subject."^33^

In his writing, Horace set up a standard of selection which suggested that an artist, to instruct by delighting, must make certain all aspects of his composition were decorous or suitable to the subject, just as Poussin had asked Chantelou to check in the *Manna*. For example, the young epitome of female beauty, Helen of Troy, was not to be shown with withered hands. Poussin retained this idea in his 1665 definition of painting, as well as throughout his work. Antique sculpture was believed to incorporate this aspect of decorum. This concept of fitness in age, sex, dress, location as well as gesture, stressed in Poussin's 1665 letter as well as in his late painting, was also connected by Horace to a moral notion of decency, emphasizing the need to make the work of art conform to standards of propriety and religion. As a result of the Counter-reformation, this aspect of decorum was especially stressed in the late sixteenth century. Poussin's extant correspondence, together with his work, shows he was aware of this aspect of decorum. He conformed to it.

The idea that learning produced the best painters remained in seventeenth-century thought, as can be seen from the comment of the English diarist and traveller, John Evelyn, who said that the best painters were learned men, good historians, generally skilled in the best antiquities
"such as Rubens, Poussin and Bernini." It was only laid low in later times. Although the concept of *ut pictura poesis* explains the freedom in treating mythological subjects, for example, from Ovid, which arose in the Italian Renaissance and continued from then on, the content and organization of paintings were also influenced by what was known about ancient painting. Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* was especially influential. This Roman, who died in the A. D. 79 eruption of Vesuvius devoted two chapters of his work to sculpture and painting. The ancient painter described by Pliny who most influenced Poussin appears to have been Apelles, who refused to do frescoes, specializing in small easel pictures. He is said by Pliny to have painted what could not be depicted: storms, thunder and lightning. All these were attempted by Poussin in his landscapes, especially *Winter*, and the *Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe*. For, according to Félibien

He formed all his thoughts on what he had read of the paintings of the ancient Greek painters

This explains not only the many paintings for which Poussin referred apparently to Philostratus' *Imagines*, a book describing actual pictures by Greek painters, but also Poussin's original contribution to art theory—his idea of the Modes, which he adapted from Greek musical theory by way of a then-current treatise on harmonics.

Poussin's theory of the Modes was original in extending the idea of expressing emotion by appropriate gesture and expression to a way of treating the whole painting. The relationship between music and painting which he established became not only a nineteenth-century commonplace, but also the basis for some early abstract paintings c1909-1912.

To Poussin the word "mode" means actually the rule or the measure and form, which serves us in our productions. This rule constrains us not to exaggerate by making us act in all things with a certain restraint and moderation; and consequently,
this restraint and moderation is nothing more than a certain determined manner or order, and includes the procedure by which the object is preserved in its essence.40

This statement appears a complicated version of the idea of "judgment in every part." The Modes of the ancients, Poussin continues, were a combination of the elements of painting to arouse a certain emotional reaction in the spectator, for "the ancient sages attributed to each style its own effects. Because of this they called the Dorian Mode stable, grave and severe," and applied it to subjects of that nature. They connected the Phrygian Mode with pleasant and joyous things because it contained more minute modulations and "a more clear-cut aspect" than the other Modes, but Poussin also defines it as "intense, vehement, violent and very severe, and capable of astonishing people," concluding unexpectedly "the subject of frightful wars lends itself to this manner." Tragedy is connected with the Lydian Mode; suavity and sweetness are the characteristics of the Hypolydian Mode, which fills the souls of the spectators with joy. It is thus suitable to subjects of divine glory and paradise, while the festive Ionic Mode is applicable to Bacchanalian dances.

The theory of the Modes has various aspects. It is an example of Poussin's particular admiration for Greek antiquity.41 It expresses his reasoned Stoic approach to painting. It is the clearest statement of Poussin's practice of varying the style of his paintings to suit the subject. It is an extension of the idea of Decorum, applying it to the whole composition to organize it. Its relation to the use of color in painting is secondary, but it explains why Poussin took such care to vary that pictorial element, particularly in his last finished paintings, the Four Seasons.

In the late paintings, color is subdued to stress form. This is suggested in the 1665 letter, in which very little emphasis is placed on
color, whereas the artist was to strive for the "most excellent form."

Poussin believed "colors in painting are a snare to persuade the eye like the charm of the verse in poetry." However, as his later letter declared, color was an integral part of the painting to be subordinated to the whole picture, in which the subject was uppermost in the mind of the painter. Color can then be used as a key to the pictorial meaning.

While Bellori records Poussin's wide reading and Felibien the continual notebook study, Sandrart offers the best summary of Poussin's method of work.

He was learned in discourse and always had with him a little book in which he noted everything in words or in line. When he was planning some work, he read carefully all the available texts and pondered over them. Then he made a couple of sketches of the composition on paper—for example, the Apollo and Daphne studies—and if he was painting a history, he made little wax figures in the nude in the proper attitudes, as he needed them to represent the whole story, and set them up on a smooth board, marked out in squares. Then he added to them draperies of wet paper or thin taffeta, as he wanted them to be, and equipped them with strings so that they could take their correct place in relation to the horizon. From them he painted his works with colors on canvas. In this process he also often made use of the life, and left himself the leisure to do so. For he often set to work, and then left off and went walking, but all the time thinking well and pertinently of his work. And so he regulated his life as seemed to him right and proper for his art.

This pattern, also recorded by other biographers, suited Poussin's slow, careful approach to his art. For he felt that the things in which there is perfection should not be seen quickly but with time, judgment and intelligence. It is necessary to use the same means to judge them well as to do them. (italics mine)

This is certainly a portrait of a Stoic rationalist approach to art, however Poussin modified his conception of painting. His approach was confirmed by Bernini who said of Poussin in 1665 that he was a painter who worked from his mind.

What was Poussin's aim in his last period, apart from his intention to give spiritual delight? To Chantelou, his close friend, this independent painter had previously written "I shall put forth my efforts to satisfy
art, you and me."
POUSSIN'S LATE STYLE

Poussin integrated his Roman Catholic beliefs with his Stoic philosophy in his late period. This had four results. First, he deepened his artistic aim from instruction by sensuous delight to delectation. Secondly, he chose subjects "capable of taking the most excellent form." In this form, he planned the whole "disposition," adding accessories with "judgment in every part." Thirdly, he took the form from Nature herself, supplementing it by mythological figures dwarfing men. Poussin's concern was the order and harmony of Creation. He wished to show its immutable laws to give spiritual exaltation to the people who perceived his painting. Fourthly, the exquisite interrelation of formal elements dominates the depth of content within the painting. There appears a rich poetic expression new in Poussin's work. I think of Winter especially. Such paintings have long been admired for their form although their complex meaning has until lately remained hidden. A stylistic evaluation therefore seems a fitting conclusion to a thesis on the last work of Poussin; it necessarily explains his contribution to the landscape genre.

When in 1648 Poussin seriously experimented with pure landscape to express divine natural order, he first built the composition around the tiny figure whose reasonable virtue was the key to his subject. The most formal artistic exemplar was Domenichino, who learnt from the Carracci. These men followed Titian in landscape. Out of this tradition, motivated by Stoicism, Poussin developed his own landscapes. These were organized in
planes parallel to the surface of the picture. Architecture was prominent in the pictorial construction because Poussin combined it with nature to articulate the second plane of the painting. This plane almost enclosed the composition. The distant view of mountains was minor.

However, a device used by Claude proved a better way for Poussin to express the cyclical order of Creation. In the landscapes of around 1650 to 1664, there appears frequently a quiet area, usually an oval body of water, parallel in its length to the plane of the canvas. The *Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice*, c.1650 (plate 191) is an early example; the *Apollo and Daphne*, 1664? (plate 251), although an allegory of Natural Order using mainly human forms, is the final example of this means of construction. The still area suggests the calm harmony behind Nature. Sometimes it is not water. It may be a plain, as in the *Landscape with Polyphemus*, 1649? (plate 190). It may be a spherical shape like the globe in a Creation fresco by Raphael, as in the *Landscape with Orion*, 1658 (plate 237). It may be a flat wheat field, as in *Summer*, 1660-1664 (plate 243). But it is usually present in the paintings, forming a centre around which the composition is put together geometrically. This geometry also expresses the principles behind the Natural Order. It remained firmly present underneath the fused pictorial planes parallel to the canvas, just as pure mathematical forms underly natural shapes, for example, in the cornfield in *Summer*, 1660-1664 (plate 243). But Poussin gradually modified recession by planes parallel to the picture surface with architecture mixed with landscape to a balance of natural forms alone around the quiet centre. This was a better expression of the orderly cycles of Nature. A beginning was made in the 1648-1651 period as in the *Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice*, c.1650 (plate 191). Here the castle is juxtaposed with a mountain. In the *Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe*, c.1651 (plate 187) Poussin diminished the architecture
because the trees showed the effects of a storm better. The Landscape with Orion, 1658 (plate 237) is an exceptionally good example of this organization, because the great tree adequately balances the giant whose activity will make it fertile. Similarly in the Landscape with Polyphemus, 1649? (plate 190) a mountain and a tree on either side frame the giant at the top of the picture, who incorporates the divine creative fire.

Poussin understood the immensity of Natural Creation. He expressed it in his pictures by greater, more spacious depth. The enclosure present in the Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice, c1650 (plate 191) subsides in the Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe, c1651 (plate 187) to disappear in Summer, 1660-1664 (plate 243).

Since Poussin wished to explain the order and harmony of Nature, he modified the "disposition" of figures in the landscapes. This is easiest to see in the two mythological compositions in which Nature is present but figures predominate, the Birth of Bacchus, 1657 (plate 236), and the Apollo and Daphne, 1664? (plate 251). In both these Poussin modifies his figure arrangement from the frieze-like disposition of the Triumph of Bacchus, 1635-1636 (plate 89), to a curvilinear sequence around the central pool of water. This relates the figures to the orderly natural cycle which they represent. Whether Poussin depicts such order and harmony primarily by figures or by landscape, his disposition of figures in the late mythological compositions expresses the grandeur of Creation implied by the geometrical spaciousness of the landscapes. In several pictures Poussin places the protagonists a long way from one another. In the Landscape with Polyphemus, 1649? (plate 190), the Cyclops is in the upper background fused into a mountain; Galatea is in the low foreground. A plain is between them. The distance between them compels one to survey the whole picture of Nature.

In the Apollo and Daphne, 1664? (plate 251), Apollo is on the far left,
Daphne on the extreme right of the picture, with the same results upon the viewer. In the *Birth of Bacchus*, 1657 (plate 236), the large figures of the Nymphs with Bacchus in the low foreground are related to the tiny figures of Jupiter with Hebe in the high heavens.

The *Four Seasons*, 1660-1664, returns to a classical frieze-like arrangement of figures since most of the action takes place on the plane parallel to the canvas, for example *Summer* (plate 243), *Autumn* (plate 244). Only in *Winter* (plate 245) does Poussin break away from this more classical disposition.

The natural forms predominating in Poussin's late landscapes are not scientifically accurate in size or shape, for example, the rocky crags in the *Landscape with Polyphemus*, 1649? (plate 190), as well as in the *Landscape with Hercules and Cacus*, ?1659-1660 (plate 241), are unlike the mountains of Sicily or Rome, the respective locations of the two paintings. The foreground tree in the *Landscape with Orion*, c1658 (plate 237), is exaggerated in size and luxuriance of foliage. Such treatment indicates an allegory behind the mythology.

Figures are treated in four ways. Usually men are small compared to Nature or to the mythological figures who represent her functions. In the compositions the main figures are usually related to one another by gesture and/or gaze. The landscapes up to 1660 include a second plane of figures who do not seem to be aware of background or foreground activity, for example, in the *Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice*, c1650 (plate 191), there are little figures swimming; in the *Landscape with Polyphemus*, 1649? (plate 190), they are active in agriculture. Man is dwarfed by Nature. For Natural Order is represented better by landscape supplemented by mythological figures. The associations the viewer will make with this will show the artist's intent to depict the ideas behind natural phenomena. In the 1660's the plane of
apparently irrelevant figures is replaced by figures whose activity is
unusual. For example, in Summer, 1660-1664 (plate 243), a man clad in a
tunic drives five or more horses into the wheat fields; in Winter, 1660-1664
(plate 245), the figures on the right all strangely appear to be reaching
safety in spite of the Deluge.

The third way in which the figures are treated is in the relative clarity
of the identification. Raphael, when using allegory, usually placed the
appropriate attributes beside the figure. Poussin in his last synthesis
achieves a multi-faceted meaning in the parts of the composition by lessen­
ing the emphasis on this sort of prop. In Summer, 1660-1664 (plate 243),
Ruth is certainly the prospective Jewish Bride. Boaz indicates this in the
way he points to her. She is gathering corn. But this corn also assoc­
iates her with Ceres, goddess of fertility. So pagan meaning enriches a
figure who is also the Bride of Christ. Such meanings extend the signif­
icance of the painting to the Eleusinian Mysteries, in which the myth of Ceres
and Proserpina played a part. These were the pagan means to immortal life,
just as Christ personally, through his union with the Church which administers
the sacrament of the Eucharist, his body and blood, gives the grace necessary
to eternal salvation to the Roman Catholic Christian. Therefore, Poussin
sacrificed absolute for relative clarity in his treatment of a subject, just
as his contemporaries did. His final aim of arousing spiritual delight in
the viewer by an intensive unity of parts in the painting is not far removed
in spirit from the high degree of unity created by his Baroque contemporary,
Bernini. The best example is the Cornaro Chapel. Here architectural,
sculptural, and painted forms are intermingled in a representation culminating
in the hidden source of light, the dove of the Holy Spirit. This character­
istic of Poussin's late painting is well illustrated by his treatment
of figures in the Four Seasons, 1660-1664 (plates 242-245).
Fourthly, Poussin's classicized figures exhibit a relaxed, calm happiness, for example, Apollo in the *Apollo and Daphne*, 1664? (plate 251), or Galatea, in the *Landscape with Polyphemus*, 1649? (plate 190). They seem beyond the passions which distress ordinary people. Thus their symbolic meaning is signified. Thus also they express the exaltation it was Poussin's aim to arouse in the viewer.

Poussin's treatment of light enhances the forms of his late landscapes in several ways. First, it helps express the extent of Creation by a more refined aerial perspective, adapted from antique frescoes, Titian or Claude. Poussin, however, never destroys, only mutes the tone of distant forms, for example, the mountain in the *Birth of Bacchus*, 1657 (plate 236). He varied light most sensitively to suit the subject, as in the *Four Seasons*, 1660-1664 (plates 242-245). For example, in *Autumn* (plate 244)(twilight), he surely adapts the cast shadows from Leonardo's direction. *Winter* (Night) (plate 245), is a development of the *Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe*, cl651 (plate 187), in which Poussin had followed the description of a storm by Leonardo in his *Treatise on Painting*. Usually Poussin depicts morning light, for example in the *Landscape with Hercules and Cacus*, ?1659-1661 (plate 241), because this agrees with his literary source. Attempts to match light with the theme, as in the *Birth of Bacchus*, 1657 (plate 236), and *Winter*, 1660-1664 (plate 245), sometimes forced him to use irrational light to define form: for example, the left foreground nymph in the *Birth of Bacchus*, and the right figures in *Winter*. But these three uses of light—for aerial perspective, for modelling form and for fitness to theme—all point to the subject, uppermost in Poussin's mind in his 1665 definition of painting.

Coolness of color combined with an encaustic mat finish suggests Poussin's reference to frescoes, including antique ones, in his late paintings. But "judgment in every part" is an adequate definition of Poussin's treat-
ment of color in them. The most important aspect to Poussin is its fitness to the subject in total scheme as well as in particular detail. For example, in the color scheme of the Landscape with Orion, c1658 (plate 237), a dull, cool green predominates. This is suitable for an allegory of rain fertilizing the earth. In the depiction of Summer, 1660-1664 (plate 243), there is a coloristic warmth culminating in the glowing golden corn. This is appropriate to the five-fold significance of the painting. One of its meanings is the Eucharistic sacrifice. The golden corn symbolizes the body of Christ, the bread of life. The same painting shows Ruth dressed in similar hues to Boaz, her future husband. But she is a pale shadow of him. This is suitable because Boaz also represents Christ, whereas Ruth is his Bride, the Church. This fidelity in coloristic detail enables one to use it as one key to the pictorial meaning, for example, in the Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice c1650 (plate 191), color suggests that Orpheus should be identified with his father Apollo, for he is dressed in red and gold, whereas the paler lemon yellow of Eurydice's dress associates her with the earth, the ripening corn of spring. From Poussin's reduction of hues, combined with usually subdued colors we are aware of his emphasis on form. However, who can dispute the fitness of his color scheme for Winter, 1660-1664 (plate 245)? The dark, cold dampness of the Deluge is fully expressed in the dominant steely greys. But bright-colored garments on the tiny figures at the right give life to the sombre hue of the whole painting. Secondly, they are suitable to its meaning—an allegory of salvation.

Poussin exhibits the following qualities common to the late style of artists. He uses cross tensions instead of overt action, creating an equilibrium. He maintains an intrinsic unity. There is a dynamic behind his compositions which organizes them with expressive clarity. For his forms follow his deeper and broader concepts of reality. Finally, a new lyrical
quality appears in his painting.

Unlike many aged artists, Poussin retained attention to detail, carefully ordering everything into a free, diversified composition. Said Louis Fouquet in 1655:

"Although it is said his trembling hand doesn't make his work so beautiful, it is yet a slander, and he works better than he has ever done and more precisely."

Although we must accept Poussin's increasing enfeeblement seen in his drawings and stated by Félibien, I feel that the comment of Fouquet reflects the impression the late landscapes leave with us. In his late style, Poussin has not only fused form with content; he has also given us an excellent demonstration of his concept of the Modes, his most original contribution to the theory of art."
In his last years, Nicolas Poussin was moved by a desire to instruct in a deeply spiritual manner. Through exquisite integration of form with content, according to his theory of the Modes, he infused his late landscapes and mythological figure compositions with richly expressive, multifaceted meaning, in order to make them allegories of the harmony of Creation signifying the final salvation of Man.

This intense organic unity, akin to that of poetry, and typical of the art of Poussin's century, was this artist's solution to a major cultural problem—a deep-rooted uncertainty caused by the apparent polarity between reason and faith.

Steeped in antiquity, the main means of cultural communication in his time, Poussin's orderly personality accepted its most cosmopolitan philosophy—Stoicism—because it deified Reason. This Stoicism was not only the backbone of his method of work; it gave him also a tool to express awareness of the importance of science, especially Copernican cosmology, because to the Stoics, myths were allegories of natural phenomena, governed by an intrinsic order and harmony.

Trained in the Italian art principles of ut pictura poesis, Poussin's paintings were mainly religious and historical figure compositions. Thus it is necessary to see his landscapes as an expression of his Stoic conviction that the order and harmony of Nature was perhaps a better reflection of the Divine Reason governing humanity than the activity of heroic human
beings.

In painting his landscapes to show this Order, it is reasonably possible that Poussin not only followed antique and contemporary Stoicism, but was also influenced by the ideas of the Dominican philosopher, Tommaso Campanella. Poussin's paintings from 1630 appear to show the Stoicism of this friar who was especially interested in the sun as the source of life in Nature. Our primary documents for the connection between the two men are, however, the late mythological paintings, mainly landscapes, of Nicolas Poussin. Apparently neither Poussin's extant correspondence, nor his biographers, such as Félibien or Bellori, mention contact with Campanella, who died in Paris in 1639.

Campanella endeavored to integrate antique Stoic physics with the concept of the universe as revealed by Galileo and Copernicus from a belief in spiritual progress taken from St. Thomas Aquinas who had earlier worked out a synthesis of reason with faith. To Campanella the new discoveries of science were beneficial to the spiritual growth of Man.

Poussin began to experience in later life a new humility regarding the immutable laws of nature as well as the eternal truths of his faith. In his pictures there appeared the subordination apparent in Campanellan thought of the marvel of Creation to the wonder of human salvation.

I believe that the influence of Poussin's late work on succeeding landscape painting stemmed as much from his excellent classical style "with judgment in every part," as from the pantheism underlying such judgment with which his most impressive compositions, for example, Winter, were created. In Poussin's late years his reasonable philosophy of life and art coalesced with enlightened religious feeling to form a dynamic invincible against formidable physical weakness including a trembling hand.

The artist Poussin was always more articulate in painting than in
writing. This is shown by his letter of 1665 about his art, defining the aim new in his late painting, that of delectation or spiritual delight. Likewise, his late works are a much clearer demonstration of his principle of using all pictorial elements for emotional expression than his somewhat confused explanation of the concept behind such work which he called the theory of the Modes.

Chapter I of this thesis discusses Poussin's life interweaving it with the artist's early allegorical treatment of mythology as well as with his painting of religious subjects. In this first chapter, I also demonstrate the relative independence of Poussin, unique in his century in Roman Catholic countries. This was made possible by the patronage of the illustrious intellectual Cassiano dal Pozzo, the naturalist and antiquarian secretary to Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Pozzo, whose home was the cultural and intellectual centre of Rome, offered Poussin, besides commissions, continuing intellectual and artistic education through his museum and friends (as Poussin himself declared). Among these was Cardinal Massimi who took over Pozzo's patronage upon the latter's death in 1657. Pozzo was a sun around which persons like Campanella also revolved. Poussin's final painting, with its allegorical complexity, combining antiquity, Stoicism and syncretic religion in landscape was his most eloquent tribute to the "education" provided by this unusual patron.

In late life, Pozzo, impoverished by change in Papal government, limited his commissions; but through Parisian royal service, 1640-42, Poussin had enjoyed close contact with Paul Fréart de Chantelou, who from the mid-1640's became, with other Frenchmen, his best patron as well as a firm friend. The bulk of Poussin's extant letters are to this French civil servant.

In Paris, Pozzo's Neo-Stoic intellectual friends had kept in touch with
Poussin; but men of moderately comfortable means like Chantelou afterwards became his life-long patrons. Those who commissioned his last paintings are described in the final section of Chapter I. These biographies are further evidence of the unusual freedom of this artist to suit his pictures to his artistic ideals, his own tastes, as well as those of his buyers. Chapter I concludes with a biography of Campanella whose philosophy especially influenced Poussin's late mythological and landscape painting.

A discussion of landscape in Chapter II shows that the expressive depiction of Poussin's last years was the fruit of four things: Stoicism; formal sensitivity to Nature itself; continued experiments in the landscape genre; the influence of other classical artists, from antique Apelles, Renaissance Raphael and Leonardo to contemporary Claude Lorraine, for example.

An analysis of twelve paintings c1650-1664 manifests Poussin's developing ability to fit form to depict the relevance of the essence of Natural Order to the eternal salvation of Man, however minute he may appear by Copernican cosmology. This chapter on Poussin's landscapes and mythologies also shows how his increasingly judicious use of literary and artistic sources enabled him to incorporate such complex allegory so satisfactorily within his paintings.

The root of Poussin's final approach to Nature in his Roman Catholic Stoicism is discussed in Chapter IV; Chapter V demonstrates that the development perceptible in the paintings of 1650 to 1664 was reflected less coherently in Poussin's written expression of his deeper concept of painting, as well as in his theory of the Modes. It is also evident that his final painterly synthesis was the result of his patient Stoic reasonable approach to his art, done for the sake of art, himself and his patron.

Chapter VI analyzes the manner in which Poussin freed form to mirror
most expressively the multi-faceted meaning by which he endeavored to arouse spiritual exaltation in those persons whom he hoped would try to perceive his painting. His late style therefore is not mystical vagueness; it is divine precision.

Such precision provokes two questions: why was such meaning apparently unperceived by Poussin's early biographers who not only knew him personally but were deeply interested in his art? Secondly, are other Poussin landscapes and mythologies also allegorical?

This thesis does not answer the second question in any detail, but does attempt to deal with the first. Concerning the meaning hidden beneath the paintings, it must be remembered that Poussin was not only painting independently for a group of close friends, such as Massimi, who understood what he meant, but that also, like Campanella, he was expressing concepts in advance of his time. The Church had officially condemned Copernican cosmology after the trial of Galileo in 1616. Not till much later did men generally come to regard Natural Order as a source of inspiration. Secondly, in his attempt to enrich his meaning, Poussin sacrificed absolute for relative clarity. Thus, most persons saw and enjoyed the surface conceit without carefully considering the formal construction of the painting to the degree that they realized that allegory was intended. Thirdly, Poussin's earlier work was clearly based on the ut pictura poesis concept, a well-defined Italian art theory. This theory, with many of his paintings, passed to France, where that Italian dogma provided a firm basis for instruction in the French Academy. That Poussin had deepened his own concept of painting was unperceived. Thus, inadvertently, Poussin somewhat defeated his own purpose by the poetry of his late landscape painting. For emotionally, people responded immediately to their magnificent manner because it reflected the intense sincerity of the inner philosophic-religious spirit in which he
created them.
ABBREVIATIONS: WORKS CITED IN BRIEF IN THE FOOTNOTES

AAF Archives de l'Art Francais.

AB Art Bulletin.


AF Art de France.

BM Burlington Magazine.


BSP Bulletin de la Societe Poussin.


Correspondance Poussin, Nicolas. Correspondance de Nicolas Poussin. Publiee d'apres les Originaux par Ch. Jouanny. Societe de l'Histoire de l'Art Francais, n.s., t.5. Paris: F. De Nobele, 1911. All citations to letters and other documents in this work are given the number assigned by Jouanny; where page references occur, they are for footnotes only.


GBA. Gazette des Beaux-arts.


MJBK. Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst.

RA. Revue des Arts.

ZKG. Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte.
INTRODUCTION

1 From Horace. *Ars Poetica*.

2 For example, the concept of the painter as a learned and upright man, and the use of mythological allegory to delight and instruct. See Rensselaer Wright Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: the Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: Norton, 1967) for a discussion of this subject and the source of the quotation from Horace cited.

3 First published 1651.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

1. FNP, p. 172 and colorplate 37.

2. Sir Anthony Blunt, "Témoignages sur Poussin," Lettres, p. 179, citing in French translation Bellori, Le Vite. For identification of Bellori and his relationship to Poussin, see my footnote 7. As Bellori was both a friend and a believer in an art theory which held the painter should be a learned and virtuous man, the thumbnail sketch of Poussin's nobility may be a bit biased. See Poussin's remarks on Scarron, Correspondance 145 of 1647.

3. Ibid.

4. BNP, I, 172.

5. Ibid., I, 8.

6. FNP, p. 15, quoting in English translation from Giulio Mancini, Considerazioni sulla Pittura, a two-volume work completed about 1626. Mancini, who was personal physician to Pope Urban VIII, wrote a brief note on Poussin in his book.

7. BNP, I, 172, quoting in English translation from Giovanni Pietro Bellori, Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti Moderni (Rome, 1672) who was one of the two main biographers of Poussin. Elizabeth G. Holt, comp. and ed. of Michelangelo and the Mannerists: the Baroque and the Eighteenth Century, Vol. II of A Documentary History of Art, Doubleday Anchor Books (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1958), pp. 93-4, reports that this Roman biographer (1615-1696) was an intimate friend of Poussin, writing the Vite with the artist's help. He dedicated it to the founder of the French Academy. The introduction to the book translated in Holt shows Bellori's preference for classicist art.


10. BNP, I, 172, quoting Bellori.

11. Ibid., p. 9, according to Bellori.
Ibid., p. 31, but Poussin's letter to Pozzo of 1641, 
Correspondance 40, says no studies from the antique were possible and unknown 
in Paris in that year.

Ibid., p. 33.

Ibid., p. 34.

Blunt, "Témoignages sur Poussin," Lettres, p. 184 quotes Félibien, 
as saying the Transfiguration by these two artists was one of the most 
beautiful paintings in Rome (in Vol. 4 of his work, p. 477).

BNP I, 37, 39, 50.

BNP, I, 57.

BNP, p. 18, fig. 6. This sarcophagus is now in the Capitoline 
lists Poussin's favorite antique models as: the Antinous, the Salpion 
Vase, the Aldobrandini Wedding, the Sleeping Ariadne and the Farnese 
Seated Apollo. In JWCI (1944), p. 162, footnote 10, the same author notes 
Poussin's interest in the Palestrina mosaic of Nilotic scenes discovered 
1638, and much admired by Pozzo.

BNP, pp. 18-19. André Félibien's substantial biography of Poussin 
appeared in the Entretiens sur les Vies et sur les Ouvrages des plus 
Excellens Peintres Anciens et Modernes, avec la Vie des Architectes, 
first published Paris, 1666-1688 in 5 vols. (Catalogue, p. 185, item 44) 
Its author (1619-1695), an historian and art critic, was considered as an 
oracle of good taste in the most brilliant period of Louis XIV's century. 
He was in Rome 1647-1649 as secretary to Marquis de Fontenay-Mareuil who was 
ambassador to the Holy See. He met Poussin, Claude and other Romans on this 
visit. See Yves Delaporte, "André Félibien en Italie (1647-1649): Ses 
Visites à Poussin et Claude Lorrain," GBA, LI (April, 1958), 193-214. Félibien, 
Bellori, as well as Mancini and Sandart are the main contemporary witnesses 
on Poussin whom they knew well.


27 BNP, I, 55, 99.

28 Ibid., 100.

29 Ibid., 63 and BNP, color plate 4. The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus, 1628-1629, an altarpiece for St. Peter's Rome (now in the Vatican Pinacoteca), Poussin's only public picture in Rome was coolly received, says Sandrart according to Sir Anthony Blunt, Art and Architecture in France, 1500 to 1700, The Pelican History of Art, 24 (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1953), p. 160. BNP, I, 100 reports failure to obtain a second church commission in 1630.

30 BNP, I, 73, 77.

31 Ibid., 100-1. Poussin had received commissions from Pozzo from 1624 according to Sheila Somers-Rinehart, "Poussin et la Famille dal Pozzo," Vol. I, Actes, p. 29.

32 Francis Haskell, Patrons and Painters: a Study of the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque (New York: Knopf, 1963), p. 44. A biography of Pozzo appears at the end of my chapter I.

33 BNP, I, 328. A Dominican friar whose natural philosophy appears to be expressed particularly in Poussin's late landscapes. A biography of him appears at the end of my chapter I.

34 Ibid., 56, 302. A biography appears at the end of my chapter I. Ibid., 56, declares Félibrié's testimony of Poussin's admiration of the Salpion Vase, the Font at Gaeta Cathedral near Naples, suggests a Naples visit also indicated by Poussin's testimony in the 1631 trial of Valguarnera.

35 Blunt, "Témoignages sur Poussin," Lettres, p. 176 translating from Joachim von Sandrart's Teutsche Academie der edeln Bau-Bild-und Mahlerey Kunste, ed. Feltzer, p. 184. Blunt, ibid., p. 175 describes Sandrart as a mediocre German painter whose information is important as he knew Poussin in Rome 1628 to 1635 before other biographers, excluding Mancini; the Teutsche Academie was first published 1675.


37 BNP, I, 56.

38 Ibid., 55. One of Anne Marie's brothers, a landscapist, took Poussin's surname, calling himself Gaspard Poussin; the other, Jean Dughet, became Poussin's secretary. Poussin was fond of Anne-Marie. In a letter of 1642, Correspondance 71, he calls her his well-beloved spouse. Wills of 1643 and 1665, Correspondance 82, 212 respectively, suggest a childless union. I have seen no other mention of offspring.
Among the clients was Cardinal Richelieu for whom Poussin did four Bacchanals after 1636. I believe that Poussin was pressured into accepting the summons not only through being a subject of France, but also because Cardinal Francesco Barberini, related to Pope Urban VIII, 1623-1644, who was Pozzo's employer, wished it.

For example, in mythology, the Triumph of Flora, c.1627 (Paris, Louvre) BNP II, pl. 23, a version of the Kingdom of Flora, 1631 (Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen) BNP II, pl. 65, FNP, colorplate 17.

However, many pictures appear to be simple mythological illustrations, for example, The Nurture of Bacchus, between 1630 and 1635 (London, National Gallery) BNP II, pl. 60, which depicts the story told in Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, 3. 4. 3, according to BNP, I, 123, without extraneous elements.

Titian's subjects inspired Poussin, for example Poussin's Richelieu Bacchanals. But Poussin reinterpreted Titian's iconography as, for example, in the Andrians, c1632 (Paris, Louvre)(pl. 68), on the principle of Ut pictura poesig that invention consists of a new treatment of an already-used subject. The reinterpretation was also motivated by a different philosophy. To Poussin, the fertility of nature was important; he also wished to express antiquity accurately. So he used Philostratus' Imagines, 1. 25 (then available in a French edition) which relates how through the gift of Bacchus the Island of Andros became saturated with wine flowing forth from a river for the Andrians. In Titian's Bacchanal (fig. 57) the river god is in the right rear in miniature; in Poussin's painting he is a major figure, wreathed, carrying grapes, seemingly impersonating the divine Bacchus signifying fertile nature. Similarly Poussin treats Apollo the sun god as the source of life in nature, rather than as a symbol of beauty and truth, as Titian did. This idea is related to Titian's neo-Platonism, whereas Poussin may be expressing Campanellan Stoic natural philosophy. As in subject, so in manner, Poussin adopts elements of Titian's style—color, light, and natural background—but modifies these. The color is less broken, the golden light gives way to the clear noon of the Kingdom of Flora, and the landscape becomes an accessory to set the scene more clearly than in the "Marino" drawings. Compositionally, Poussin retained a simpler structure near classical relief, rather than the complex organization of Titian's Bacchanals. He told his biographers that the sensuous and colorful Venetian treatment seemed too superficial to him, so that he turned to classical models—antique, Renaissance and contemporary. The reaction away from Titian's style became pronounced after 1633 perhaps under the influence of Domenichino, who was in Rome 1634-5, although it had appeared firmly before he arrived.

Ovid, Metamorphoses and Ovid, Fasti, works of Augustan Rome; Torquato Tasso, Gerusalemme Liberata, editions published 1581 and after with an Allegoria prefixed (BNP I, 148) and Philostratus, Imagines, another antique classic, probably in the illustrated editions published 1609 on under title: Images ou Tableaux de Plate Peinture des Deux Philostrates Sophistes Grecs, trans. by Blaise de Vigenère, and provided by him with learned glosses as well
as references to other ancient authors, Ovid, Hyginus, Horace and Lucian. See BNP, I, 350 and Bardon, "Poussin et la Littérature Latine," p. 126.

46 BNP, I, 103.

47 Ibid., 115, 116, 152-3. Poussin's first patron Marino wrote a section entitled Musica in his Dicerie Sacre (Turin, 1614). It stated that the gods symbolize Christian figures somewhat imperfectly, for example: Hercules, the battle with the Devil; Deucalion, Noah; Orpheus, the descent into Hell. Marino called them falsehoods applicable to the truth. Likewise Pan, the Greek shepherd deity, was identified with Christ, the Good Shepherd by Rabelais and other sixteenth-century humanists. Bacchus was connected with Christianity in several ways. His death, and the source of new life in his member carried away in a basket were seen as symbolic of the idea of death and resurrection, a legend in the Vigenère translation notes on the Imagines. Vigenère also saw a parallel between Bacchic mysteries and the Christian Eucharist. Adonis was seen as a resurrection symbol in the seventeenth century through knowledge of On the Syrian Goddess ascribed then to Lucian.

48 Ibid., 148.

49 In the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden. Also FNP, colorplate 17.

50 The same series of transformations are described in Ovid's Fasti as connected with the Roman feast of the Floralia in May.

51 BNP, I, 328.

52 FNP, p. 126.

53 BNP, I, 117-118. Adonis, symbol of resurrection, is also in the painting, whereas Ovid, Metamorphoses, 10, 164, calls Hyacinthus immortal.

54 FNP, p. 126.

55 BNP, I, 152. "hymns of praise of the Bacchic mysteries, but they may contain an element of . . . syncretism," with Christian mysteries.


57 A copy of this exists in the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Kansas City.

58 In the Morrison Collection, England.


60 BNP, I, 137. The sixteenth-century mythographer Cartari also describes it.

61 Ibid, 136. fig. 126 in the Royal Library, Windsor; fig. 127 in the

62Charles Dempsey, "The Classical Perception of Nature in Poussin's Earlier Works," JWCI, XXIX (1966), 219-249 gives a thought-provoking analysis of this allegory. The trinitarian aspect of Apollo is discussed on p. 230, and the Triumph of Bacchus, pp. 241-244. Because Poussin included four seasons in a painting of this period as well as in his last finished masterpiece, I feel that Mr. Dempsey is mistaken in believing Poussin's suggesting three seasons are indicated in this painting. The author's work is connected to his 1963 dissertation on Nicolas Poussin and the Natural Order, in the University Library at Princeton, N.J., available on microfilm, according to Dissertation Abstracts, XXVI (1966), 974.

63See footnote 47 on the association between Bacchic and Christian mysteries in the seventeenth century.


65BNF, I, 122.

66In the Worsley Collection, Hovingham Hall, Yorkshire.

67In the Staatliche Museen, West Berlin.

68BNF, I, 141 and fig. 132 illustrates a sheet in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, containing notes and drawings by Poussin from Guillaume du Choul, Discours sur la Religion des Anciens Romains (1556) available in French and Latin editions.

69Because the education given to any European student whatever his nationality was classical. For an illuminating discussion of this, see Douglas Bush, Classical Influences in Renaissance Literature, Martin Classical Lectures, Vol. XIII (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952)

70Blunt, Art and Architecture, p. 162.

71In the Louvre, Paris; BNF, I, index lists other versions. Painted 1637 for Phelypeaux de la Vrillière, BNF I, 150-151. Correspondance, p. 4, footnote 3 identifies him as the French Secretary of State, born 1599, died 1681, an amateur of painting. Its presence in Paris must have enhanced Poussin's reputation there, and perhaps had some influence on his royal summons of 1639.

72Poussin's Stoicism is discussed in Chapter IV of this thesis; the biography of Campanella at the end of this chapter discusses Stoicism in all its aspects.

73BNF, I, 154. A sheet of studies for the Richelieu Triumph of Pan has on it a study for a mourning figure in the Extreme Unction, CR,III, pp. 24ff., no. 188. This dates the planning of the first series to 1636.
The first series is scattered and incomplete. Confirmation, Eucharist, Extreme Unction, Ordination and Marriage are in the collection of the Duke of Rutland, Belvoir Castle, Grantham, Leicestershire; Baptism is in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. The original of Penance is lost, but a copy exists in the Lew Sonn Collection, New York. The second series is all in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, on loan from the Duke of Sutherland. Biographies of Pozzo and Chantelou appear at the end of this chapter of the thesis.

Thuillier, "Poussin, Nicolas," 552.

Ibid.; Correspondance 21 to Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo, Cassiano's brother, speaks of this residence as "a little palace ... in the middle of the Tuilleries Gardens." Holt, Michelangelo and the Mannerists: the Baroque and the Eighteenth Century, translates most of this letter, p. 147. Correspondance 30 to Chantelou thanks him for the surprise gift of a hogshead of wine.

BNP, I, 208-13. The primary document for these meetings is the letter written to Cassiano dal Pozzo in May, 1642, by Abbé Bourdelot, recording Poussin's attendance at a recent dinner party given by Bourdelot in Pozzo's honor, together with MM. Naudé, Patin, Richer, doctors and learned men, Gassendi, a philosopher, and the painters Lemaire and Rémy Vuibert.

Ibid., 208. Jean Lemaire who had known Poussin in Rome worked with him as a principal assistant on the Louvre Long Gallery. A separate biography of Stella appears at the end of this chapter of the thesis.

BNP, I, 213-215 and Correspondance, pp. 268-269, footnote. These were: Paul Fréart de Chantelou and his wife of 1656, Mme. Montmort; Jean Fréart de Chantelou, Paul's younger brother; Pointel, a Parisian banker from Lyons; Cerisier, a Lyons silk merchant; Reynon, another Lyons silk merchant; Lumagne (or Lumague) a Parisian banker from Switzerland; Mercier, Lyons Treasurer; Jacques-Auguste II de Thou, first President of the Chamber of Enquiries; Melchior de Gillier, King's Councillor; Hennequin de Fresne, Master of the Royal Hunt. Besides these middle-class men of reasonable means, Poussin was also patronized by three rich financiers—Louis Phelypeaux de la Vrillière, Nicolas Fouquet, Cardinal Mazarin—and four aristocrats—the Duc de Richelieu (great nephew of the Cardinal), and the three French Ambassadors to the Vatican.

Lettres, pp. 58-9, contains one from Gabriel Naudé to Cassiano dal Pozzo of April 18, 1642, explaining the difficulties under which Poussin was working and his intention to return to Rome.

Pierre-du Colombier, "Poussin et Claude Lorrain," Vol. I, Actes, pp. 41-56, tells the pension was re-instated but not the date when it was.

BNP, I, 158; biography of Noyers, Correspondance, p. 5, footnote 4.


BNP, I, 186.


Whitney, Reformation, p. 183; Kidd, Counter-reformation, p. 67.

BNP, I, 189.

Ibid., 188: and Correspondance 109 to Chantelou. "I am on the point of beginning a second picture for you, that of Penitence where there will be something new; especially the lunar triclinium which they call Sigma will be accurately depicted there." Correspondances, p. 272, footnote 11, explains that the triclinium was an assemblage of three couches used for eating in a reclining position in ancient times.

BNP, I, 155 says the color of the first series is cool; FNP colorplates 29 and 30 of the second series Extreme Unction and Eucharist respectively show the color warmth I describe.

BNP, I, 155. At this time Poussin was helping to illustrate the Treatise for Pozzo. It was published early 1650's.


BNP, I, 204-5 says Poussin's source for such archeological accuracy could have been illustrations in books reporting pilgrimages to the Holy Land, for example, Giovanni Zuallardo, Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme (Rome, 1587)

This is orthodox Roman Catholicism according to the Council of Trent, 1545-1563, which set forth the beliefs of Roman Catholics as distinct from Protestants. The Eucharist was defined as an act of consecration of bread and wine so that the body and blood of Christ are substantially and wholly present permanently in either element. The Mass, of which it is the core, is thus a perpetuation of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. Kidd, Counter-reformation, pp. 70-71 and Whitney, Reformation, p. 196 explain these doctrines.

BNP, p. 188 and colorplate 44, in the National Gallery, London. The especially cool color of this late religious composition may relate to
its possible use as part of a monument to Cassiano dal Pozzo who died 1657 and was buried in S. Maria Sopra Minerva, a Roman church also above the ancient sanctuary of Isis. It has been suggested by J. Costello, in Studies in Honor of Walter Friedlaender (1965) that St. Mary, whose pose resembles Bernini's St. Theresa is intended to represent also Minerva and Isis. Perhaps this would account for the yellow and dull red predominating in her garb, unlike other Poussin pictures of the Madonna. If J. Costello is right, this painting is an excellent example of the syncretism so discreetly present in Ordination, and also used in the Four Seasons.


In the Louvre, Paris. FNP colorplate 33, p. 164 relates Bellori says Poussin considered this his best work. It was done for Pointel. Its symmetrical disposition of action, reaction and emotion is enriched by vivid local reds, golds, blues, and greens in varied tones, a development following Raphael's Roman period oil paintings, according to BNP, I, 257.

In the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University. FNP, p. 170 and colorplate 36 shows the same emphasis on vivid color in the red, white and blue of the Madonna with the gold on St. Elizabeth. There is a warm interreaction between the Virgin, the frightened Christ-child and the amused St. Joseph. Although the Holy Family are seated against a stone wall, to the left and right are a lake beyond which appears mixed trees and architecture, possibly Rome on the left, the Campagna on the right.

In the Hôtel de Ville, Les Andelys.

In the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

BNP, I, 176, citing Seneca, De Consolatione ad Helviam 8, translates "Wherever we stir, the two resources which are the fairest of all attend us nature, which is universal, and virtue, which is our own. Such was the design, believe me, of whatever force fashioned the universe, whether an omnipotent god, or impersonal Reason as artificer of vast creations, or divine Spirit permeating all things great and small with uniform tension, or Fate with its immutable nexus of interrelated causes... This world, than which Nature has wrought nothing greater or handsomer, and the human mind, its most magnificent portion, which contemplates the world and admires it, are our own forever."

Ibid., 211-212. Naude, Bourdelot, Patin and Gassendi, those admirers of Pozzo who kept in touch with Poussin in Paris conducted their affair on the Stoic principles of philosophy in Plutarch, Cicero and Seneca. They were also aware of the ideas of Neo-Stoic French writers of the sixteenth century, for example, Montaigne.

Ibid., 167-168. Poussin expresses both Stoic and Neo-Stoic ideas in his letters. He stresses resignation in misfortune, a Stoic commonplace, for example when Chantelou suffers through the disgrace of Noyers, Poussin writes, Correspondance III, that it is necessary to accept the will of God who orders things thus, and fate wills they should happen this way. He is probably referring to Montaigne in the Correspondance 162 letter to Chantelou.
when he says that only great wisdom or great simplicity can exempt a man from the storms of fortune, which afflict the ordinary person. He reflects both the Stoic Seneca and the Neo-Stoic du Vair in his opinion upon the stupidity and inconstancy of the masses of people expressed in Correspondance 174 to Chantelou, 1649, and quoted BNP, I, 170, the theme of his Phocion landscapes.

106 The clientele listed footnote 70 as French bourgeoisie favored the "peace, order and good government" principle of Stoicism which would permit the businesses in which they were involved to run smoothly. Popular revolt, condemned by Stoicism, was also condemned by them as well as by Poussin.

107 A full discussion of Poussin's landscapes appears in Chapter II of this thesis.

108 BNP, I, 171 from Bellori.

109 Ibid., I, 171-2; translating Bellori, Le Vite, pp. 435ff.

110 Ibid., 172-173, also Correspondance 168 to Chantelou of 1649 expresses the Senecan Stoic attitude of withdrawal from public life in the words "Meanwhile it is a great pleasure to live in a century like this where so many great things happen, provided one can take cover in some little corner to see the comedy at one's ease."

111 Haskell, Patrons, pp. 112-113. Few Pozzo commissions to Poussin date after 1644.

112 Ibid., p. 117

113 BNP, I, 248.

114 Ibid.

115 Haskell, Patrons, p. 113: Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe.

116 BNP, I, 302; and Thuillier, "Poussin, Nicolas," 553.

117 Colombier, "Poussin et Claude Lorrain," pp. 52-3. A comparison of inventories of their possessions after death shows this.


119 Correspondance 211 to Chantelou, March 1665. Ibid., p. 465, footnote 1 citing Passeri, Le Vite de' Pittori, 1772, translated, reads: "In the spring of 1665, there came to Rome a close nephew motivated, as much as he let it seem, by the greedy desire to be the inheritor of what his uncle had acquired, and who acted so indiscreetly and impertinently that he Poussin receiving little satisfaction, sent him back to Andelys in September of the same year." The last will was made September 21, 1665. The nephew was

120 Correspondance 208, November, 1664 to Chantelou.

121 Correspondance 209; and p. 456, footnote 4, which identifies the Abbé Nicaise, who may be the N referred to, as a particular friend of Poussin's.

122 Lettres, p. 166.

123 Thuillier, "Poussin, Nicolas," 553.

124 BNP, I, p. 339, fig. 262 for example.

125 BNP, p. 193 "Certainly one sees in these four paintings still the form and the genius of Poussin, but one also remarks the weakness of his hand." From the Entretiens. See Appendix I to this thesis.

126 Thuillier, "Poussin, Nicolas," 553.

127 Correspondance 202.

128 Correspondance, pp. 465-466, footnote 2, citing Passeri. The Will is Correspondance 212; evidence of the funeral location is cited ibid., pp. 480-481, footnote 1.

129 BNP, I, 161. Generosity conquers physical desire.

130 In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

131 Haskell, Patrons, pp. 112-113.

132 BNP, p. 193 suggests one of the learned French clerics who frequented Poussin's house during his last years." I do not know of any other than Nicaise.

133 Holt, Michelangelo and the Mannerists: the Baroque and the Eighteenth Century, p. 124. Holt speaks of Chantelou and Noyers remaining in Rome 1640-1643. This is not evident from the Correspondance. BNP, I, 157 says "the two friends arrived in Paris in the middle of December 1640."

134 Hunt, Art and Architecture, p. 165; Correspondance, p. 336, footnote 1. I wonder about Chantelou's intelligence. Poussin evidently thought him capable of understanding the Seven Sacraments. Moreover, Poussin's early letters are repetitive. On Correspondance 56 there is a Chantelou comment "this letter is worth being looked at."

Correspondance 56. Chantelou summarizes on the letter "he makes a neat comparison as to why he does not write to M. de Noyers at all."

Ibid., pp. 5-6, footnote 4; Bonnaffe, Dictionnaire, p. 54; Many letters in the Correspondance address him as "commis" or clerk.

Ibid., 17, the dispatch of Chantelou by royal command via Noyers; 19, mentioning Cortona as a substitute for Duquesnoy, the Flemish sculptor invited to Paris with Poussin.

BNF, I, 157.

Correspondance, pp. 5-6, footnote 4.

Ibid., 125 and p. 310, footnote 2; Blunt, Lettres, p. 106.

Ibid., p. 350, footnote 2.

Ibid., p. 26, footnote 1.

Holt, Michelangelo and the Mannerists: the Baroque and the Eighteenth Century, p. 124. The Journal was first published in GBA, XV-XXXI (1877-1885).

Correspondance 56: of 1642 comments on this visit.

His Stoicism is suggested by Poussin's letters advising him constantly to behave stoically, for example, Correspondance 162: from Poussin on the loss of a friend of Chantelou's. It may be argued that this reflects Poussin's philosophy, not Chantelou's, but I doubt if that patient civil servant would have put up with so much of such advice unless he approved of the principles behind it. Chantelou's religious beliefs are suggested by his commission of the seven sacraments. He seems to have shared Poussin's scepticism about the church hierarchy even if he accepted its basic doctrines. He seems not to have been Jesuit-minded like Noyers, or pious like Bernini.

Blunt, Lettres, p. 106, footnote 61. Mazarin had disgraced Noyers; Condé was against Mazarin.

Correspondance 157, 1647, "you swear I have served Mr Pointel with more love and diligence than you."

Bonnaffe, Dictionnaire, pp. 54-55.


BNF, I, 213-214.

Correspondance, p. 454, footnote 2: Idée de la Perfection de la
Peinture . . . (Mans: Jacques Ysembart, 1662)

153. Ibid., 137, for example.


155. Bonnaffé, Dictionnaire, p. 171.

156. Ibid., pp. 171-172.

157. BNP, I, 176.

158. Catalogue 208 reports Félibien as saying Lebrun got a landscape in 1659.

159. BNP, I, 357.

160. Ibid., 230.

161. Haskell, Patrons, pp. 115, 118.

162. Ibid., p. 116.

163. BNP, I, 302.


165. Ibid., p. 115.


168. BNP, I, 243. These were: Moses Trampling on Pharoah's Crown (2nd version) (pl. 166) and its companion Moses Changing Aaron's Rod into a Serpent (pl. 167). Both are now in the Louvre. Haskell, Patrons, pp. 114-115 describes them as learned, severe with harsh colors and stiff rhetorical formulae in the depiction of the drama of the events. Pl. 166 depicts an incident never commissioned by Fozzo. According to BNP, I, 180, footnote 13, the scene was depicted in the Speculum Humanae Salvationis, as well as being in Josephus, of which Massimi had a copy. The transformation of Aaron's rod is also connected with salvation because it symbolizes Baptism, according to Ambrose, De Sacramentis 4. 1.1, as referred to by BNP, I, 180, footnote 14. Such commissions suggest Massimi's taste for the erudite and unusual. In the late 1640's he also commissioned unusual mythological subjects from Claude, for example, A Coast View with Apollo and the Cumaean Sybil, according to Haskell, Patrons, p. 116.
171


170 Haskell, *Patrons*, p. 117.

171 Ibid.; The Arcadian Shepherds is the one in the Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth; the Midas Washing at the Source of the Pactolus is that in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, according to Catalogue 165.

172 BNP, I, 326.

173 Ibid., 171.

174 Haskell, *Patrons*, p. 117.


177 Ibid., 326 reflects the artist's and patron's interest in fertility and sterility as appears in one level of the allegory in the *Apollo and Daphne*. Such drawings and paintings were done for close friends.


180 Correspondance, p. 456, footnote 4, citing from the *Entretiens*.


183 Correspondance 209 (Jouanny notes the work on the Deluge finished 1664, now in the Louvre).

184 Ibid., 207.

185 *Lettres*, p. 166.
Correspondance, p. 75, footnote 1, also letter 37 and Bonnaffe, Dictionnaire, p. 242.

Ibid., p. 75, footnote 1 citing Bellori.

Ibid., pp. 75-6, footnote 1.

BNP, I, 216, footnote 22. The exception is the 1630's Camillus.

Now in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen. Dated by Blunt on stylistic grounds to the period 1654-1665.

The painted versions date late 1630's. They are in the Louvre, Paris and in a private collection in the same city. The drawing of the first version is in the British Museum, London; the painting is lost.

In the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa; Ernst H. Gombrich, "The Subject of Poussin's Orion," RM, LXXXIV (February, 1944), 37-41 states Bellori reports two landscapes painted by Poussin for Passart. This may be the one, besides the Orion which is recorded by Félibien.

Bonnaffe, Dictionnaire, pp. 242-3; BNP, I, 334, footnote 8.


No source gives his first name or dates.

BNP, I, 214.

Bonnaffe, Dictionnaire, p. 257. The second visit is dated 1665 by BNP, I, 215, footnote 20.

BNP, I, 216, footnote 22: says although the letters are now lost (the Demasso family had some in the late eighteenth century) references in Poussin's letters to Chantelou confirm regular contact.

BNP, I, 294.

Correspondance, p. 358, footnote 1, quoting from the Entretiens, p. 342 by Félibien.

I suggest that the Landscape with Polyphemus, said by Félibien to have been painted 1649 was actually commissioned 1655. The evidence is Bonnaffe's dating of the second trip, coupled with the manner and meaning of the painting. See Chapter III of this thesis.
Ibid., 293, footnote 5, a suggestion from Sterling in *Exposition Poussin (Louvre)* that this is the fourth landscape Bonnaffe' records. He uses Félibien who calls this item *Landscape with Three Monks, Entretiens*, IV, p. 150.

Correspondance, 148 of 3 June, 1647 to Chantelou, "You will very soon see at Paris one of your intimates who returns from here. He is one of those heretics who believes that your Servant Poussin has some talent in painting that is not common." Chantelou's summary on this letter reads in part: "he speaks of the return of M. Pointel, one of the heretics who loves his work . . . ." On Correspondance 172 of 20 June, 1649, Chantelou notes "that he has finished one of his portraits and that he begins the other and he will send me the one which comes out best." In Correspondance 157 of December 22, 1647 Poussin wrote to Chantelou, "You swear I have served M^r^ Pointel with more love and diligence than you."

BNP, I, 286-8, 293-4.


Correspondance 22 is an example of Poussin's form of address; ibid. 21 to Carlo A. dal Pozzo is Poussin's first report of his Paris reception, including the remark made by a courtier, "Now Vouet has met his match." Ibid. 22 is Poussin's more formal report to Cassiano. Ibid. 82 is Poussin's 1643 Will. Ibid. 199 of December 24, 1657 says "Our good friend M^r^ le Chevallier du Puis dal Pozzo is dead and we work on his sepulchre." Ibid., p. 445, footnote 2 reports Pozzo died October 22, 1657. Sheila Somers-Rinehart, "Poussin et la Famille dal Pozzo," Vol. I, *Actes*, pp. 22-3, discusses the pestering of Poussin by Pozzo in Paris. She also gives a discussion of the letters, paintings and drawings done for Pozzo by Poussin.

Haskell, *Patrons*, p. 98.

BNP, I, 100.


Ibid., p. 100. He liked the careful rendering of plant life in the *Leda and the Swan*.

Ibid.


Somers-Rinehart, "Poussin et la Famille dal Pozzo," p. 20 speaks of Carlo's interest in birds; *BNP*, I, 117, footnote 28 says Pozzo also had a villa at Nervi for the cultivation of fruits and flowers.

Haskell, *Patrons*, pp. 101-2. The classification of the paper museum was described by Baldinucci in a 1728 publication. Carlo Dati reported twenty-three volumes in 1664, but Carlo Antonio dal Pozzo claimed there were more. Those extant are in the British Museum, London, and in the British royal collections. It has been found difficult to attribute any drawings in them to Poussin; further investigations may reveal some. The coin collection may also have contained Greek as well as Roman items, says *BNP*, I, 343, footnote 36.

Haskell, *Patrons*, p. 98 says Pozzo probably met Galileo in Florence, renewing friendship with him in Rome. *BNP*, I, 101, gives data on Pozzo's position in the Lincei group to which Galileo belonged while the latter was being tried for heresy.


Haskell, *Patrons*, p. 98.

Ibid., pp. 112-113.


Ibid., 109.

*BNP*, I, 117.

*BNP*, p. 188. The Virgin also signifies Isis and Minerva.

*BNP*, I, 173, footnote 56.

Haskell, *Patrons*, p. 104. "Poussin ... was Cassiano's closest
He probably met the painter through Marcello Sacchetti, to whom Marino had introduced Poussin, or through an introduction by Sacchetti to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, Pozzo's employer, BNP, I, 54.

Haskell, Patrons, pp. 103-4; Rubens, Letters, p. 407 states: his admiration of antiquity. Studies of architecture show that both Baroque and Classical artists turned to the antique for their inspiration, according to Sir Anthony Blunt, "Introduction," International, p. 11. Pozzo's preference for Classicist art was for its rational quality.

Ibid., p. 106. Poussin's illustrations were embellished with backgrounds in architecture and landscape by Charles Errard. Perhaps this is why the manuscript was delivered straight to Chantelou, as it seems the changes were only known to Poussin after the 1651 publication, when he wrote a complaining letter to Abraham Bosse, Correspondance 185. Blunt, Lettres, p. 46, footnote 38 reports Chambray's oversight of the 1651 publication; Correspondance, p. 34, footnote 1 says he was Chantelou's brother.

Correspondance 188.


BNP, I, 207-8, 123 (footnote 50), 315, 317. In Rome through Pozzo, Poussin also had access to the Barberini library and its learned librarian Lucas Hoste (Holstenius). Pozzo was the connection between Pousin and the learned libertins he met in Paris, for example, Bourdelot, as a letter from the latter to Pozzo shows. Pozzo was also the means whereby Poussin could have met Tommaso Campanella in Rome under the protection of Pozzo's employer, Cardinal Francesco Barberini. It was Pozzo's patronage that Cardinal Massimi continued in 1658. BNP, I, 325 connects the two patrons.

Bonnaffe, Dictionnaire, p. 274.

BNP, I, 215.

Paris, S. Martin.

Bonnaffe, Dictionnaire, p. 274-6; Claude Ferraton, "La Collection du Duc de Richelieu au Musee du Louvre," GPA, XXXV (June, 1949), 437-448; BNP, I, 92, records Bernini's admiration of the Virgin Appearing to St. James (pl. 48) when he saw it in the Duc's collection before the sale, probably because this 1629 work now in the Louvre, Paris, was one of Poussin's most Baroque experiments nearest Bernini's style.

*BNP*, I, 326.


*BNP*, I, 36.


*BNP*, I, 36, 56.


Ibid., 324 and footnote 24.

Examples are cited in the paragraph.

Correspondance, p. 3, footnote 2. All originals of Foussin letters to Stella have been lost. Fragments preserved in the 1706 edition of the *Entretiens* by Félibien.

*BNP*, I, 36.

Correspondance 60 to Pozzo, 1642.

Ibid., 155 to Chantelou, 1647.

Correspondance, p. 3, footnote 5.

Ibid.


Ibid. The Crucifixion was painted for President Thou; Moses Striking the Rock is in England, a different version from M. de Gillier's one. St. Peter and St. John Healing a Lame Man was painted for Mercier of Lyons. The Hercules and Deianiera had been purchased by Chantelou; M. de Boisfranc had bought the Birth of Bacchus, the Ecstasy of St. Paul and Rinaldo and Armida, President Tambonneau, the Apollo and Daphne. The information here cited should be verified with the 1966 *Catalogue* if further inquiry into
Stella's collection is desired.


265 BNP, I, 328.

266 Tommaso Campanella, "The City of the Sun," in Famous Utopias of the Renaissance, p. 203.


269 Ibid., pp. 184-186.

270 Armstrong, Ancient Philosophy, p. 123; and Arnold, Roman Stoicism, p. 185.

271 Arnold, Roman Stoicism, p. 185.


274 Armstrong, Ancient Philosophy, pp. 125-6.

275 Arnold, Roman Stoicism, pp. 286, 306-8, 312, 316.

276 Armstrong, Ancient Philosophy, pp. 116-117, 128.

277 Ibid., pp. 127-8.

278 Ibid., p. 128.

279 Bush, Classical Influences, pp. 29, 21-22.


282. BNP, I, 330 and footnote 4 quoting in translation from Campanella's Metaphysica, Bk. XVI, ch. 2, art. iii, Pt. iii.


288. Ibid., p. xxxvi.

289. Ibid., p. xxxvii.


291. These works, written in Latin, are listed by White, "Tommaso Campanella," p. 156, except the Metaphysica.


293. BNP, I, 327.


296. BNP, I, 327-8.

297. Ibid.

298. Naudé, according to BNP, I, 328.


300. The "City of the Sun." does not say that the paintings used myths. However, allegory was a part of the thought of his century, as his book shows. Secondly, Stoicism, to which part of his philosophy is related, saw myths as concealing kernels of truth about the natural world. Mythology was for Stoics allegory.

301. Probably also in his earlier mythological allegory as I have suggested.
CHAPTER II

POUSSIN AS A LANDSCAPE PAINTER


3 Ibid., I, figs. 220, 229. The former contains a rock arch which Poussin may have adapted for the left rock in the Israelites Gathering the Manna, finished 1639. The Golden House of Nero also had frescoes with landscape in them.

4 Ibid., I, figs. 227-8, two frescoes by Polidoro in San Silvestro al Quirinale, Rome. Tiny figures, for example, St. Catherine, appear in these two religious landscapes.


6 Ibid., I, 274, footnote 7 says 242 engravings of Carracci work were found in Poussin's possession on his death. Some were probably landscapes. For Poussin used the Carracci elements of landscape as well as their method of organizing these, as can be seen by comparing the lunette of the Flight into Egypt (fig. 223) with Poussin's Phocion landscape (pl. 176). In both the natural elements are trees, rocks, water and mountains. To these are added much architecture and few figures, quite small. The pictures are arranged in planes parallel to their surfaces; this means of obtaining recession is assisted by diagonals, for example, calm water. The figures are placed upon the first and second planes. Behind them the combination of natural forms with architecture gives a firm horizontal-vertical structure, and almost encloses the composition. Glimpses of distant mountains appear behind this enclosure. Light, cool and even, defines rather than dissolves form. Little sky is visible above the landscape elements described.

7 Ibid., I, 57, 127. Poussin drew in Domenichino's studio till 1631. This master returned to Rome for the winter of 1634/35. A comparison of Poussin's Phocion landscapes with Domenichino's Hercules and Achelous (fig. 221) would show how Poussin was also influenced by this follower of the Carracci. Poussin makes good use of the water-fall in his Winter (pl. 245).

237. Poussin's drawing of the Tiber Valley is said to have been the basis for the panorama in the background of his Landscape with a Boy Drinking from a Stream (pl. 147). There are no whole paintings by Poussin which are of an existing place.


10. The second Seven Sacraments series finished 1648 show this well. Ordination (pl. 158) is a good example of the fusion of an outdoor setting featuring architecture with the theme.


20. *Ibid.*, I, 155 and footnote 105. Leonardo influenced Poussin in three ways 1635 to 1640: Poussin learnt about light and shadow as seen in the Eucharist (pl. 131); movements described by Leonardo appear in the Pyrrhus (pl. 112) and the Israelites (pl. 128) is Poussin's first attempt to use Leonardesque gesture to express emotion. It is not until 1651 that Poussin applied the Treatise to the Pyramus and Thisbe landscape for Pozzo. But Leonardo's empirical views together with his relation between nature and God may have influenced Poussin's late treatment of landscape. See Chapter III of this thesis under Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe for a discussion of this point.


24. *Correspondance* 120.
181

25  BNP, I, 272. These were: Landscape with Travellers Resting; Landscape with a Boy Drinking from a Stream; Landscape with a Man Pursued by a Snake (pls. 146-148)


27  Ibid.

28  BNP I, 280.


33  See Chapter III of this thesis.

34  Blunt, Lettres, p. 148, footnote 45 mentions Apelles described by Pliny as painting what was unpaintable, for example, storms, thunder, lightning.

35  Blunt, "The Heroic and the Ideal Landscape in the Work of Nicolas Poussin," p. 168, states that Poussin "in his old age moves into an untrodden world, where the myths of Ovid take on new meaning as symbols of natural laws, a world outside time and space, a world perhaps more nearly ideal in the Platonic sense than in any other paintings of inanimate nature."

36  BNP, I, 119 and footnote 34. Perseus and Andromeda, called by Bellori The Coloring of Coral was a subject drawn by Poussin in the 1630's and painted by Claude for Cardinal Camillo Massimi in 1673.

37  Ibid., I, 296, 314. Besides the article by Michael Kitson already mentioned, another by Pierre Colombier listed in the Bibliography of this thesis discusses the relationship between Claude and Poussin.
CHAPTER III

Aim of this Chapter


3 Catalogue, 175.

4 Ibid. 158


6 Ibid.

Landscape with Polyphemus

Edmond Bonnaffe, *Dictionnaire des Amateurs Français au XVIIe Siècle* (Paris: A Quantin, 1884), p. 257. BNP, I, 215, footnote 20 dates this as 1665. According to Catalogue 150, the arguments for late date are: 1) more luscious treatment of nature 2) the same green tonality of the late work 3) occasional inaccuracy of Félibien; the arguments for his dating are: 1) not the same earthy heaviness in treating nature as in the late work 2) considerable variation in the treatment of nature 1648-1651 3) likeness to the c1650 Diogenes in subject and by a drawing known to be a work of that period 4) Félibien was usually accurate.

2BNP, I, 341.
3, 4 See Catalogue 175 for details
5BNP, I, 294.
6See p. 27 of this thesis.
7Exposition Poussin (Louvre) no 89.
10Theocritus was the poet chiefly connected with extolling pastoral Sicily, according to Professor James Russell, Classics Department, University of British Columbia, private interview, June, 1969.
13BNP, I, 343, note 36 suggests Greek as well as Roman coins could have been in Pozzo's collection; it is more possible that Poussin could have seen the coin I later refer to in Hendrik Goltzius' *Numismata Graeciae Universae* (Antwerp, 1644) cited in BNP, I, 343, footnote 26 as a work certainly known in Rome.
17BNP., p. 182.
18 BNP, I, 299.
19 Ovid. Metamorphoses. 13. 789.
20 BNP, pp. 182, 184-5.
24 Ovid. Metamorphoses. 5. 409-18.
25 Ibid. 5. line 642 calls Ceres goddess of fertility.
26 Ibid. 5. 407-8.
27 Ibid. 5. 412.
29 BNP, p. 184; Ovid. Metamorphoses. 5. 417-18.
32 Vergil. Georgics. 4. 420-1.
34 Harold N. Moldenke and Alma L. Moldenke, Plants of the Bible (Waltham, Mass.: Chronica Botanica, 1952), pp. 142, 144.
35 Ovid. Metamorphoses. 5. 336-340 and passim.
36 Ibid. 5. 340-5.


40. Ovid. Metamorphoses, l. 125-128.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.


45. Appian. Roman History. II. 2.

46. Pointel was from Lyons.
Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice


2. BNF, I, 296. The idea of the Modes is discussed in Chapter V of this thesis. It was a manner of varying the treatment of all the elements of a painting in order to express the emotion suited to the subject.


4. BNF, I, 372.


7. Ovid. Metamorphoses, 10, 11, and passim; Vergil. Georgics, 4 presents a version of the story in which a huge serpent bites Eurydice in tall grass as she flees Aristæus. Aristæus obtains this story from a seer in his cave, as the unfortunate death of Eurydice has affected his bee-keeping. I do not think Vergil's version was used by Poussin.

8. Mary Hamilton Swindler, Ancient Painting from the Earliest Times: to the Present Period of Christian Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929), pp. 329-30, says that the fresco appears to represent the moment in the Roman wedding ceremony before the bridegroom enters. The bride is the veiled figure in the centre. Beside her, the partly-draped, wreathed figure is Peitho (that is, Persuasion) or Aphrodite. Hymen is the figure on the right of the nuptual couch, wreathed and partly robed in dark red. However, this figure has often been interpreted as the bridegroom.

9. BNF, I, 141, mentions Poussin made notes and drawings from Guillaume du Choul's Discours sur la Religion des Anciens Romains (1556) available in French or Latin. These are in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, fig. 132 of BNF, I.

10. Scherer, Marvels, p. 128 and pl. 204.

11. Ibid. The engraving was dated 1579.


13. Scherer, Marvels, pp. 51, 390, pl. 4.


16. E. Bickerman, "The Orphic Blessing," *JWI*, II (1938-9), 368. Orphism was connected with metempsychosis; *BNF*, I, 118 says this idea is also in the last book of the *Metamorphoses*.


22. Mary Johnston, *Roman Life* (Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1957), pp. 132-137 gives an account of their wedding customs. Great holidays were not considered auspicious days for weddings. All of May and the first half of June were also unlucky.


28. Scherer, *Marvels*, p. 128. It was so-called because of the pinwheels of fireworks, some of which Michelangelo is said to have designed.

29. *Ibid.*, 37. Poussin would be taking artistic license with the 168-foot high hill. Moreover the temples would have been on the other side.

Landscape with Pyramus and Thisbe

1. See Chapter I of this thesis for a biography of Cassiano dal Pozzo as well as of Campanella. BNP, I, 122, footnote 40 contains the reference made by Pozzo on the hyacinth.


3. Roger Fry, "Pyramus and Thisbe by Nicolas Poussin," BM, XLIII (1923), 53 claims the figures of Pyramus and Thisbe are heavily handled, while the sizes of the cattle in the second plane are out of proportion. This over-emphasis on the size of natural forms is characteristic of Poussin's late work, in which he is trying to stress the grandeur of nature.

4. BNP, I, 296.


7. Sir Anthony Blunt, Lettres, p. 148, footnote 45, from Fliny, Naturalis Historiae. 35.


9. BNP, I, 236.

10. Ibid., 205, footnote 77 and fig. 171. Possibly the book was Giovanni Zuallardo's Il Devotissimo Viaggio di Gerusalemme (Rome, 1587)

11. See Chapter I of this thesis for a discussion of this topic.


15. Ovid, Metamorphoses. 4. 55-166.

16. Ibid. 4. 162-166.

17. BNP, I, 236.
The term "heroic" has been used by Blunt to describe landscapes like that of 1648, containing the Stoic hero Phocion, in which the landscape seems to be built up around the key figure of a virtuous man; the word "ideal" he applies in an almost Platonic sense to classify the depiction of natural forms supplemented by mythological ones in which Poussin attempts to express the idea of a natural law ever-present behind changing phenomena.
The Birth of Bacchus

1BNP, I, 318, footnote 15.

2For a biography of Stella, see Chapter I of this thesis.

3Ovid. Metamorphoses. 3. 286-319.

4Dora Panofsky, "Narcissus and Echo: Notes on Poussin's Birth of Bacchus" in the Fogg Museum of Art," AB, XXXI (1949), 118: probably in the French ed. trans. by Blaise de Vigenère, published in numerous editions from 1609 on under title: Images ou Tableaux de Platte Peinture des Deux Philostrates Sophistes Grecs; illustrated and furnished with references to Ovid, Hyginus, Horace and Lucian according to Henry Bardon, "Poussin et la Littérature Latine," Vol. I, Actes, p. 126. BNP I, 350 says there were also learned glosses, for example, Vigenère emphasized the parallel between Bacchic mysteries and the Eucharist, according to BNP, I, 152-3. Another translation into French of the Imagines of Philostratus was made 1587, says Panofsky.

5Natales Comes, Mythologia (1612) as cited in translation by Sir Anthony Blunt, "The Heroic and the Ideal Landscape in the Work of Nicolas Poussin," JWCJ, VII (1944), p. 166. But Panofsky, "Narcissus and Echo: Notes on Poussin's Birth of Bacchus" in the Fogg Museum of Art," p. 117, declares that it is not necessary to suppose Poussin knew this handbook because "nymphs are recognized as goddesses of fertility, charitable helpers of man, beast and hero, and fostermothers of young gods in distress from time immemorial." Moreover, the section on the Nymphs and the section on Bacchus are in quite different parts of that book.

6BNP, I, 319, footnote 17, Macrobius. Saturnalia, 1. 22. 7 offers a reason why Pan looks at Echo with whom he fell in love, symbolic of the love of the Sun (Pan) with the Harmony of the Spheres (Echo).

7BNP, I, 316, footnote 10.

8Ibid., 56 and footnote 15.

9Ibid., 146-147.

10See Chapter I of this thesis for Poussin's education in Paris before he came to Rome.

11BNP, p. 190.


13Charles Mills Gayley, The Classic Myths in English Literature and Art, based originally on Bulfinch's "Age of Fable" (1855) accompanied by an interpretative and illustrative commentary (New ed., rev. and enl.; New
New York: Blaisdell, 1911), p. 482, says Dionysus, the Greek name for Bacchus is a combination of the Greek for God, Dios and Nysa, an imaginary Thracian vale.


15 In the drawing, Bacchus looks like the Christ Child. I do not know if their births were connected but according to seventeenth-century syncretism based on a tradition beginning with early Christian writers the legend of Bacchus killed, but with his member carried away in a basket symbolized the idea of death and resurrection, BNP, I, 152-153.


17 Philostratus. *Imagines*, 1. 23.

18 BNP, p. 86.


20 BNP, p. 197.


23 Ibid., p. 167.


25 Gayley, *Classic Myths*, p. 506. This is reinforced by Poussin's connection of morning light with Spring in the *Four Seasons* of 1660-4.
Landscape with Orion

1 For a biography of Passart, see Chapter I of this thesis.


4 Exposition Poussin (Louvre), no. 113. "In speaking of the City of the Sun, Campanella described the pictures ornamenting the seven ramparts which surround the town. The subjects of the second level all belong to the element of water, and among them are found compositions which symbolize the origin of rain, hail . . . ."

5 Poussin could have learnt of this concept from friends or patrons. *BNP*, I, 330, footnote 44, which cites Tommaso Campanella, *Metaphysica*, bk. XVI, ch. 2, art. III, pt. III, in translation.

6 *BNP*, I, 330, footnote 7; Ernst H. Gombrich, "The Subject of Poussin's *Orion*," *BM*, LXXXIV (February, 1944), 37-42.

7 See footnote 4.

8 Exposition Poussin (Louvre), no. 113.

9 *Ibid.*, This is a free translation.

10 See footnote 3.

11 Charles Mills Gayley, *The Classic Myths in English Literature and in Art*, based originally on Bulfinch's "Age of Fable" (1855), accompanied by an interpretative and illustrative commentary (New ed., rev. and enl.; New York, Blaisdell, 1911), p. 24. Vulcan was god of earthly fire, son of Juno and Jupiter. The use of Vulcan as a guide to the heavenly source of such heat is poetically suitable.

12 *BNP*, I, 316, footnote 9 says Comes changes Meropi to Aeropoe to make the identification with air easier.


Landscape with Hercules and Cacus

1. The glow may be the red ground of the canvas showing through, though no one mentions this. The color-scheme, attuned to the subject, is an example of Poussin's theory of the Modes, discussed in Chapter V of this thesis.


5. Ovid. **Fasti**. 1. 53.


10. Ibid.


14. Livy, Ibid.


16. Ibid.


20. Scherer, Marvels, pp. 137, 139, pls. 216, 222.


27. Exposition Poussin (Louvre), no. 108.


Landscape with Two Nymphs and a Snake

1 For a biography of Lebrun, see chapter II of this thesis.

2 BNF, I, 314. Kirchner was "a learned German Jesuit who lived at the Collegio Romano and was known in the circle of Cassiano dal Pozzo and Francesco Barberini."

3 Ibid.
The Four Seasons

1 See Chapter I of this thesis for biographies of the Duc de Richelieu, Cardinal Camillo Massimi and the Abbé Nicaise. I would like to amend my reference to Massimi as assisting Poussin in his last years. No doubt he did. But the specialist in the early Church Fathers was Holstenius (Lucas Holste) the Barberini Librarian; if Poussin had access to this library and the help of Holste, it must have been invaluable to him in the painting of Winter especially.


4 Catalogue 3-5.

5 Not in the order of books as it appears in the Revised Standard Version; but perhaps other versions include the same books in a different order. Likely Poussin was selecting what he needed rather than worry about its location in this Book.

6 Especially for Winter. Ovid incorporates an account of the Deluge in Bk. I of the Metamorphoses.

7 Tertullian. De Baptismo, for example. See: my analysis of Winter.

8 For details, see section on Summer.

9 BNP, I, 332, footnote 1 says Antonio Bosio, Roma Sotterranea (Rome, 1651) had engravings upon pp. 231 and 309 of Vol. II of the Four Seasons in the Cemetery of St. Calixstus.

10 Ibid., 333, footnote 3.

11 See Spring for details.

12 Ibid.

13 See Summer for details.

14 See Winter for details.

15 Published Rome, 1587.

16 Harold N. Moldenke and Alma L. Moldenke, Plants of the Bible (Waltham, Mass.: Chronica Botanica, 1932), p. 238 gives an illustration of this mark.
Discussed under the section on the Commissioner of the *Four Seasons* and in Chapter I of this thesis.

BNP, I, 207, says Holstenius (Lucas Holste) was a specialist in the Early Fathers, and the Byzantine historians as well as an editor of twenty classical works.

See Chapter I conclusion for these.

BNP, I, 332-4.


BNP, I, 333.


The basic decipherment of this allegory in the *Four Seasons* was made by Willibald Sauerländer, "Die Jahreszeiten: Ein Beitrag zur Allegorischen Landschaft beim Späten Poussin, " *MJBK*, 3te. Folge, VII (1956), 169ff. cited by Blunt in his Catalogue, 3-6. In his evaluation of Sauerländer's article in BNP, I, 332-4, Blunt feels Sauerländer makes too much of Jesuit influence on Poussin. It is probable that Sauerländer explains why the picture of man under the Mosaic Law follows that of him under Grace. Did Catholic doctrine and/or early Christian representations cause this pattern?

To me this is one of the most remarkable expressions of Campanellan Stoic-Christian thought in Poussin's work. For in it the Stoic and Christian Logos are united, for example, John 1:1-5 (R. S. V.) where "Word" is a translation of the Greek Logos. It reads: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God; all things were made through him, and without him was not anything made that was made. And in him was life, and the life was the light of men. The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it." The last part of this statement is applicable to the ideas behind *Winter*.


*Genesis 8. 1* (R. S. V.)


31. Genesis 1:25 (R. S. V.)

32. Ibid. 3:7 (R. S. V.)

33. Ibid., 2:9 & 3:3 (R. S. V.)

34. Ibid., 2:9 (R. S. V.)

35. Pomegranates were symbols of eternal life.

36. John 1:1-5 (R. S. V.)


39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. BNF, I, 332-334; see my note 24.

42. See Appendix I for a translation of Félibien's description of the commission, iconography (not including the allegory, which he missed) and style of the *Four Seasons*.

43. Ruth 1:16-17 (R. S. V.) "Entreat me not to leave you or to return from following you; for where you go I will go and where you lodge I will lodge; you shall be my people, and your God, my God, where you die; I will die, and there will I be buried. May the Lord do so to me and more also if even death parts me from you." This was a Stoic virtue, as Poussin's Testament of Eudamidas (plate 224) proves.

44. Ruth 2:2 (R. S. V.) "Let me go to the field, and glean among the ears of grain after him in whose sight I shall find favor."

45. The Eleusinian Mysteries by which one gained immortality.

46. John 6:48, 51 (R. S. V.)


48. BNF, I, 332 says the tree has been suggested as a representation of the Church.

49. Longinus and Ruth both seem to be adapted from sculptures by Bernini.
Numbers 13 and 14 (R. S. V.)

Ibid. 14:8 (R. S. V.)

BNF, I, 152-153 and footnote 90.

BNF, p. 193. I cannot make so rigid an identification of the trees as does Friedlaender.

BNF, I, 334, footnote 5.


Genesis 1:8 (R. S. V.)

Ovid, Metamorphoses 1. 430-444 illustrated in Lehrner, Symbols, p. 85, no. 438.

Matthew 24:27, 29, 37 (R. S. V.)

Whittick, Symbols, p. 262 in De Baptismo.

BNF, I, 333, footnote 2, according to the early Christian writer Mincius Felix in his Octavius 6-8.

Whittick, Symbols, p. 160.

Gayley, Classic Myths, p. 23.

Arnold, Roman Stoicism, p. 306.

Whittick, Symbols, p. 158 making it rich in associations with salvation.

Eliade, Images, p. 152.

Ibid., p. 155.

BNF, I, 334, footnote 6.

Eliade, Images, 208.

Apollo and Daphne

1 For a biography of Massimi, see Chapter I of this thesis.

2 Ovid, Metamorphoses, l. 452-552 et passim.

3 BNF, I, 347 and footnote 43. Pausanias, Description of Greece. 9. 10. 5.

4 Ibid., 347.

5 Probably in Blaise de Vigenère's French translation because these contain references to Heracleitan Stoic physics, which appear to explain the fertility aspect of this allegory best, as well as relating a little to the spiritual allegory.

6 BNF, I, 373-379, citing and translating Gabriele Zinano, Il Sogno Ovvero della Poesia (Reggio Emilia, 1590), pp. 31-41.

7 Ibid., 347, footnote 26: Hendrick Goltzius, Numismata Graeciae Universae (Antwerp, 1644).

8 Ibid., 336, from Bellori's Vite, p. 444.

9 Ibid., 351-2. Philostratus. Imagines, l. 26 on Hermes' birth reads as follows: "Hermes "takes his stand behind Apollo, and leaping lightly on his back, he quietly unfastens Apollo's bow and pilfers it unnoticed, but after he has pilfered it, he does not escape detection. Therein lies the cleverness of the painter; for he melts the wrath of Apollo and represents him as delighted. But his laughter is restrained, hovering as it were over his face, as amusement conquers wrath." Was this the source in the back of Bellori's mind when he described the painting? It is also possible that Poussin used one of the engravings on this subject in the Vigenère translation of Philostratus. Or he may have known of an ambiguous reference in Horace, Odes, Bk. 1, X to Mercury, perhaps through the references in Vigenère to this author which accompanied the translation, according to Henry Bardon, "Poussin et la Littérature Latine," Vol. I, Actes, p. 120. It is Blunt who in BNF, I, 350, connects Bellori's "joke" with Philostratus' story, and relates the connection of Apollo's arrows to the sun's rays by Zinano.

10 Charles Mills Gayley, The Classic Myths in English Literature and in Art, based originally on Bulfinch's "Age of Fable" (1855), accompanied by an interpretative and illustrative commentary (New ed., rev. and enl.; New York: Blaisdell, 1911), pp. 11, 112.

11 BNF, I, 343, 344, 347 and footnotes; also Ovid, Metamorphoses, l. 1.

12 Ibid., 1. 441-444.

13 Ovid, Metamorphoses, l. 441-444.

14 Ibid., 1. 452.
Ibid., I, 347, especially footnote 44.

Ibid., I, 347 citing Plutarch’s Life of C. Marcius 3.
Arnold Whittick, Symbols, Signs and their Meaning (London: Leonard Hill, 1960), p. 199, gives other reasons why this tree is so prominent in the composition, as does Ovid, Metamorphoses 1 445-451; 452-455.
According to Whittick, sacred to Ceres, goddess of fertility, and the traditional home of tree nymphs or dryads, it was considered by the Greeks to have its roots in Hades, and by the Christians to be the tree of Mary, Mother of Christ, with its branches uplifted in prayer. It cured all diseases, human and animal, and was especially connected to Jupiter, as by Ovid, Metamorphoses, I, 106 "and acorns fallen from the spreading tree of Jove.”
It was also connected with Apollo, because after he slew the Python, before he met Daphne, he instituted the Pythian games in honor of his victory over the serpent. The victors were crowned with oaken garlands.


Ovid, Metamorphoses. I, 463-474.

He adds Apollodorus and Macrobius as connecting Apollo’s service to Admetus with fertility. Callimachus says the cows and goats were especially fertile. The drawings include butting goats and bulls, probably with this in mind.


Blunt believes that in Apollo and Daphne this gesture is associated with the power of the sun to dry up dampness as well. The fertility symbol is from its use in other Poussin paintings and on amulets of the seventeenth century.


Ibid.

See Chapter I for a biography of Campanella comparing his views with Stoicism.

Ibid.


Ibid. I. 474-6, 483-8, 545-7.

Ovid. Metamorphoses. I. 379.

Ovid. Metamorphoses. I. 568-70.
Erwin Panofsky, "Poussin's Apollo and Daphne in the Louvre," BSP, 3re Cahier (Mai, 1960), 38. Panofsky sees it as a picture of the unhappy loves of Apollo, but there seems to be a more complex meaning evident in the form as well as in the content. The parallel between the unhappy loves of Apollo is also drawn in the Vignere translation of Philostratus.

See Chapter I for a biography of Campanella discussing Stoic physics.

In the section on Scamander there are references to Heracleitus' comparison of cosmic tensions attuned as are the bow and the lyre, which in Poussin's painting are a major key to the allegory, for Apollo holds the lyre, out of all the instruments he could have been associated with, while the action of Cupid with the bow represents the Cosmic harmony as Heracleitus saw it analogous to human love.
CHAPTER IV

1BNP, I, 55; Correspondance, p. 479, footnote 3.

2Correspondance, p. 469 in the last will summarizes Roman Catholic beliefs at the beginning.

3Ibid., pp. 465-6, footnote 2 cites Passeri "Il rendit l'âme à son créateur après s'être conforté de tous les sacrements de l'Église comme parfait chrétien et catholique."

4Correspondance 101.

5Ibid. 105; in footnote 2, p. 262 Jouanny notes that Pope Urban VIII was favorable to France and a patron of the arts. Sir Anthony Blunt, Lettres, p. 29, footnote 92, says that his nephews were the ones who governed particularly poorly.

6Ibid. 113.

7Ibid. 171 and p. 400, footnote 7.

8Ibid. 180; Blunt, Lettres, p. 144, footnote 35. This was Poussin's only written comment, but the fireworks celebration which likely took place at that time on the Castel Sant' Angelo appear to be used in the Landscape with Orpheus and Eurydice.

9Ibid. 119.

10BNP, I, 177. He was, however, aware of the ideas of various movements. It is possible that the 1646? letter to Stella, Lettres, pp. 113-14, which says "I could not resist the serious and afflicting thoughts with which it is necessary to fill the mind and the heart to succeed in these subjects;" the subjects were the Crucifixion and the Carrying of the Cross. Most likely this represents Poussin's usual thorough approach to his subject; however, it may also suggest he had tried the Jesuit exercises, or knew of them.

11BNP, I, 179. I do not think the few Biblical references in Poussin's letters signify his lack of sympathy with the Roman Catholicism of his day because there are very few Biblical quotations in Rubens' letters (he was a pious believer). Both men reflect the spirit of their century in references to classical writers, since antiquity offered a link between Europeans because of the common classical education.


14 Kidd, The Counter-reformation, p. 64.

15 Ibid., pp. 70-71; Whitney, The Reformation, p. 196.


17 See Chapter I of this thesis for a discussion of Campanellian philosophy.

18 The meaning of délectation is discussed in Chapter V of this thesis.


21 Bush, Classical Influences, pp. 48-49.


23 Ibid., p. 260.

24 Bush, Classical Influences, p. 58.


27 BNP, I, 212.

28 Ibid., 211-12.


30 Correspondance 105 of 1644.

31 Ibid. 84 of 1643.

32 Ibid. 176 of 1649.

33 See Chapter I of this thesis, p. 17.

34 Arnold, Roman Stoicism, pp. 113, 114, 116. Seneca advocated it, but did not practice it enough so that he was obliged to commit suicide A. D. 65, after being charged with treason.
Correspondance 168 of 1649; Blunt, *Lettres*, p. 134, footnote 8 says this idea is similar to that of Guillaume du Vair.

Ibid. 174 of 1649.

CHAPTER V

1 BNP, I, 361-6, reprinted in translation as well as the in Italian from G. P. Bellori, Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori et Architetti Moderni (Rome, 1672), pp. 460-462. Blunt also gives the sources from which Poussin took the notes, as far as these are known. Bellori entitled them Poussin's Observations on Painting, perhaps not realizing they were notes from other works. The notes were made under eleven headings: On the Example of Good Masters; Definition of Painting and of the Imitation Proper to It; How Art Surpasses Nature; How the Impossible Constitutes the Perfection of Painting and Poetry; On the Bounding Lines of Drawing and Color; On Certain Forms of the Grand Manner; On Subject Matter. On the Conceit, On Composition, and On Style; On the Idea of Beauty; Of Novelty; How to Make up for the Poverty of a Subject; Of the Forms of Things; Of the Charms of Color. Tasso, Quintilian, and Lomazzo are some of the authors from whose works Poussin made notes. Bellori claims he saw them in Poussin's writing in the library of Cardinal Massimi, and obtained them from the Cardinal via Pierre Le Maire. Poussin was not an intellectual genius, says Blunt, so that the notes that are simple and direct, for example, that on color, probably do represent his own views, rather than a view with which he concurred by making a note of it from someone else's book. Blunt also believes that Poussin made such notes in order to fulfill the intellectual expectations of his century. See Sir Anthony Blunt, Poussin's Notes on Painting, JWI, I (1937-1938), 344-350.

2 BNP, I, 361.

3 Ibid. The saying from Aristotle in the same paragraph as this reference will be discussed later in this chapter.

4 Catalogue.

5 BNP, I, 371.

6 Ibid., 354.

7 See the end of Chapter I of this thesis for a biography of Campanella.

8 See my footnote 1 above for the reasons.

9 BNP, I, 372. Blunt says on p. 355, footnote 74, that he has made a free translation of a somewhat obscure letter, in which the underlined words are difficult.

10 BNP, I, 355.

11 Ibid., 362.

12 Correspondance 61.

13 BNP, I, 363-4.

Ibid. 214.

Poussin begins the letter, "After such a long silence must at last try to arouse oneself while the pulse still faintly beats." He died November, 1665. The book he received was Freart de Chambray's Idee de la Perfection de la Peinture. Poussin says in the letter "I have dared to set down here briefly what I have learned about this beautiful art—apparently his own ideas, neither a commentary on de Chambray's book, nor on Junius' De Pictura Veterum (Amsterdam, 1637) which he also mentions.

Rensselaer Wright Lee, Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting (New York: Norton, 1967) is the source for the succeeding discussion unless otherwise noted.


Wittkower, "The Role of Classical Models in Bernini's and Poussin's Preparatory Work, ibid.

Ibid.


Baldinucci, Life of Bernini, p. 78.


Ibid., p. 10.

Ibid., p. 11.

BNP, I, 365.
31 For Bellori's testimony, see BNP, I, 172; Correspondance 40 to Chantelou of 1641.


33 Correspondance 11.

34 Bush, Classical Influences, p. 44.


36 Pliny. The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art, trans. by K. Jex-Blake, The Argonaut Library of Antiquities (Chicago: Argonaut, 1968). The following sections say: 79. Apelles of Kos exceeded all painters who came before or after him. 96. He also painted the unpaintable, for example, lightning, thunder and thunderbolts. 118. No fresco was to be seen in the house of Apelles.

37 Correspondance, p. 373, footnote 1, citing Félibien, Entretiens, t. II, p. 351.

38 BNP, I, 226.

39 Ibid, 369-70 from Correspondance 156 to Chantelou, 1647. Sir Anthony Blunt, Lettres, p. 124, footnote 91 says Poussin somewhat inaccurately—and in a muddled fashion—cited part of Gioseffe Zarlino's Istizioni Harmoniche (Venice, 1553) a celebrated treatise on music often reprinted. BNP, I, 226, gives approximately the same information. Perhaps this treatise had come to Poussin's attention through Domenichino or Pozzo who knew G. B. Doni, another celebrated musician.

40 Holt, Michelangelo and the Mannerists: the Baroque and the Eighteenth Century, pp. 154-156, translating Correspondance 156 of 1647 to Chantelou, also translated in BNP, I, pp. 367-370. All quotations from the "Modes" letter are taken from Holt.

41 BNP, I, 232-233. Poussin "wholeheartedly supported the Greeks." This is seen in his selection of Neo-Attic models, for example, Antinous; and in Passeri's life of Duquesnoy, a Flemish sculptor with whom Poussin lived and worked before his marriage, (BNP, I, 54). Passeri says that Duquesnoy admired the grandeur, nobility, majesty and beauty of Greek work, and that Poussin encouraged this admiration because he wanted to vilify the Latin manner.

42 Correspondance 146 of 1647. Poussin states "I am not at all one of those who in singing takes the same tone all the time, and I know how to vary when I wish." Similarly, Correspondance, p. 352, footnote 1 cites Félibien, Entretiens II, p. 328, "He took great pains to treat differently all the subjects he represented; not only by different expressions but even by diverse
ways of painting, one more delicate, the other stronger; it is why he was 
very contented when the care he had taken in his work was recognized."

43 BNP, I, 366.

44 Ibid., 161, footnote 13, a quote from Bellori's Le Vite, p. 438, 
trans. by me as "Having read Greek and Latin history, he noted down the 
subjects and then made use of them when the need arose." Also Ibid., 172.

45 Ibid., 224. "He was always studying wherever he might be. When he 
walked in the streets he observed the actions of all those he met, and if 
he saw one which seemed to him of interest, he noted it in a book which he 
always carried with him for this purpose," from Entretiens, IV, 14.

46 BNP, I, 242.

47 Correspondance 56.

48 Blunt, "Témoignages sur Poussin," Lettres, p. 188.

49 Correspondance 147, pp. 448f., as cited in BNP, I, 312.
CHAPTER VI

1 BNP, I, 371-2.

2 Chapter II. of this thesis discusses this topic.

3 BNP, I, 372.

4 Walter Friedlaender, "Poussin's Old Age," GBA, LX (1962), 249-263; Erwin Panofsky, "Poussin's Apollo and Daphne in the Louvre," BSP, 3re Cahier, (Mai, 1950), 27-41 contain discussion of the problem of an "old-age" style in any artist, including Poussin.

5 Correspondance, p. 447, footnote 1.

6 FNP, p. 193. "Certainly one sees in these four paintings, Four Seasons, still the form and the genius of Poussin, but one also remarks the weakness of his hand."

7 Chapter V of this thesis discusses Poussin's theory of the Modes.


This article is upon the form rather than upon the iconography of this painting, according to Professor Leslie Miller of the Department of German, University of British Columbia, who kindly scanned it for me, June, 1969.


I believe that the relevant section is IX, *makadevelka ili upukrin*, that is, On Macedonia and Illyricum.


First published Florence, 1682.


This short collection of primary source material is of inestimable assistance in compiling a biography of Poussin, or in studying his method of work.


First published 1622.


An invaluable help in translating the letters of Poussin not included in the 1964 selection by Sir Anthony Blunt.


Nicolas Poussin and the Natural Order. Princeton, N. J.


Vol. I is a series of papers about Poussin problems; Vol. II contains a compilation of primary source material on him. The main articles I have found useful in Vol. I are separately listed in this bibliography. In the footnotes, the citation appears as Actes.


This fragment proves the authenticity of Poussin's letter of 1650 stating he plans a treatise on esthetics.


Unfortunately this article was not available to me; I include it as an item for reference on the last period of Poussin.


Licht, Fred Stephen. Die Entwicklungen der Landschaft in den Werken von Nicolas Poussin. Baale and Stuttgart, 1954. This work, unavailable to me, contains comment on almost all the late landscapes.


This is the classic article on the allegory in the Four Seasons. Unfortunately, I have not been able to see it, but have used the explanation in Sir Anthony Blunt's 1967 work on Poussin, listed elsewhere in this Bibliography.


In 1664, however, he finished for the Duc de Richelieu four landscapes, which he had begun as early as the year 1660. They represent the four seasons, and in each there is a subject taken from Holy Scripture. For Spring, it is Adam and Eve in the terrestrial Paradise. For Summer, Ruth, who, having arrived at Bethlehem with her mother-in-law Naomi at the time of the harvest, collects ears of corn in the field of Boaz. For Autumn, there are two of the Israelites whom Moses had sent to spy out the land of Canaan, and to bring back fruits, who return laden with a bunch of grapes of extraordinary size. And for Winter, he painted the Deluge. Although this last is a subject which does not provide anything agreeable, because it is only water, and people who swim in it, he treated it nevertheless with such art and science that there is nothing better expressed. The sky, the air and the earth are only of the same color. The men and the animals appear all drenched with rain. The light does not permit one to see through the density of the water which falls with such abundance that it deprives all the objects of the brightness of day. It is true that if one sees still in these four pictures the force and the beauty of the genius of the painter, one notices there also the weakness of his hand.