

NICOLAS POUSSIN
AND THE SEVEN
SACRAMENTS.

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TEXT.

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SUMMARY

The two sets of the Seven Sacraments are the most important of Poussin's religious paintings. In the first two chapters the relation of the painter to his patrons for the two sets is discussed. The chronology of the associated drawings and the formal organisation of each set are discussed at length. Some new conclusions are reached about the attribution and dating of some of the drawings for the second set. Chapter three is concerned with the sources of Poussin's pictures in renaissance, antique and early Christian art. There is a special section on a hitherto unexplored topic, the relation of Poussin's religious art to sixteenth century book illustration. The first part of chapter four is concerned with interpretation of Poussin's use of the triclinium in Penitence and Eucharist of the two sets of Sacraments, with special emphasis on the role of Jesuit ideas in the propagation and interpretation of this motif. In the following sections the relation between Poussin's imagery and the religious writing of his contemporaries is further explored, with respect to liturgy and ceremonial, typology, symbolism and hieroglyphics. Some new conclusions are reached about Poussin's religious intentions in the Sacraments. These conclusions lead to a modified view of Poussin's neo-stoicism, which has been somewhat over-emphasised as a component of his thought.

INTRODUCTION

The two sets of the Seven Sacraments are unique among Poussin's religious paintings. They form two complete, coherent series. They occupy a place of special importance in his work, like a major series of frescoes in the work of a great decorative artist. For more than a century after his death their importance was widely recognised, but in the twentieth century they have been more neglected than any of his other works. This reversal of interest is due, in large part, to the creation of a new image of Poussin as a classicist concerned with formal order, an antiquarian seeking to recreate the glories of pagan antiquity, and a philosopher living according to stoic precepts. In this view of Poussin, in its more extreme forms, the importance of his religious paintings has been much diminished¹. It has seemed necessary to some writers to proclaim that Poussin's art is lacking in feeling and lacking in religious sincerity, in order to substantiate this view. As a result, commentary on the Seven Sacraments has been at variance with the most obvious character of the pictures. Their subject matter is the seven sacraments, which are of central doctrinal importance in Christian thought. Instead of considering them in this light, previous writers have evaded this issue, and in so doing have diverted attention onto Poussin's historical, rational and antiquarian activities. This has led to an incomplete and prejudiced treatment of the paintings, and to a consequent belittlement of his other religious paintings.

Recently there have been signs of a new attitude emerging to Poussin's

religious art, in the work of Prof. Sauerländer², Dr. Jane Costello³ and Dr. Charles Dempsey⁴. All three have shown that Poussin's religious pictures are very much more interesting than they have hitherto seemed. Nevertheless Dempsey in his excellent publications still treats Poussin as a "rationalist", albeit a "poetical" one⁵.

The ground for all the studies of the Sacraments was prepared by R. de Marignan⁶. He believed that Poussin, in Extreme Unction II, pl.53 and Confirmation II, pl.21 had done no more than paint two scenes from French history, thinly disguised as sacraments. The first, he believed, was the death of Louis XIII and the second a scene in the life of some early martyrs in Lyon. He made no attempt to treat them as sacraments. Preferring an obscure explanation to the simple one, he invented the idea that the pictures were primarily intended as histories. His justification was a letter written by Poussin to Paul Fréart de Chantelou⁷, who had commissioned the second set of Sacraments. The letter was written to console Chantelou on the death of a friend. Poussin says that he wishes, as a greater consolation, that the pictures of the Seven Sacraments might be converted into seven other histories, showing the buffets of Fortune, and how they are withstood by virtuous men.⁸ In Marignan's opinion, therefore, the pictures of the Sacraments were intended as stoic histories. There is one crucial difficulty: the letter of 22nd June, 1648, was written after the Sacraments had been completed and dispatched to Chantelou. The two pictures in question were painted in 1644 and 1645. Poussin could not possibly have guessed that he might be sending them to console Chantelou three or four years later. The letter has therefore no

bearing on Poussin's intentions in the Sacraments. Marignan did not pause to consider that there are two similar subjects for the first set, painted for Cassiano dal Pozzo in the 1630's, and that these are similar in many ways to the later pictures. When the first set was painted Louis XIII was still alive. The pictures are similar enough to expect Marignan to identify the first version as the Death of Louis XIII also. Nor did he take any note of the figures in the drawings for Confirmation. Several of these do not appear in the painting. If he wanted to identify the supposed historical event shown by Poussin, he should have identified the figures in the drawings as historical personages as well as those in the paintings.

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Marignan's most entertaining writing is the identification of the individual figures in his fanciful histories. In both cases he ran out of historical personages. In each case he had to pretend that one historical personage appeared as two quite different figures. Although Extreme Unction II was meant to be the death of Louis XIII, about which historical even Marignan supposed Poussin was very well informed, several of the figures identified by Marignan were recently dead, or were intruders from the Gospels: the Virgin and St. Joseph. He even believed that Poussin was content to mystify his contemporaries by painting Gaston d'Orleans in woman's clothes. How were they supposed to tell that the old woman behind the bed weeping in Extreme Unction II was a man in disguise? One example of Marignan's identifications in Confirmation should suffice to show how unconvincing he is. Marignan was working with a set of reduced copies, which he believed were original oil sketches⁹. There is a boy dressed in yellow, kneeling in the foreground of the picture. He is

drawn in such a way that his left leg conceals his right, except for the clearly visible sole of the foot. This was just visible in Marignan's copy also. Now, as it happens, one of the Lyon martyrs had a leg cut off by his persecutors. Marignan, ignoring the right foot, promptly identified the one-legged martyr with the 'one-legged' boy in the picture.

Löhneysen¹⁰ accepted Marignan's 'historical' fantasies, although he rejected the evidence of the letter of 22nd June, 1648. The idea that the pictures were histories, painted probably for political motives appealed to him. He found new reasons for this choice of historical scenes. For him, the two sets could be associated with the political-theological circumstances of their respective patrons. This sounds promising, but Löhneysen's treatment of this theme is padded out with the broadest generalisations. He thought that the first set was papistic, because it was painted for Cassiano dal Pozzo. He did not examine Cassiano's world very closely, but relied on the simple fact that he was closely associated with Cardinal Francesco Barberini, one of the nephews of Pope Urban VIII. The second set was, he decided, anti-Jansenist and inspired by the Jesuit notion of free-will. To support this view Löhneysen supplied much information about religious life in France, but was able to show only the most tenuous links between this and Poussin. In this respect he was not very convincing and added little to our knowledge of the Sacraments.

Löhneysen proposed new interpretations of the remaining five Sacraments of the second set to add to Marignan's two. The two scenes, the Lyon martyrs and the Death of Louis XIII, became, in his interpretation, the earliest and

the most recent events in French religious life. The remaining five, although they represent Gospel scenes, were also interpreted as having a special relationship with religion in France. The key to this, for Löhneysen, was the 'Catechisme Royale' of the French Jesuit Louis Richeôme¹¹. This was written for Louis XIII, when he was Dauphin of France, and in it the sacraments were closely linked with the perplexed relations between the French crown and the papacy. There are, however, no links between Poussin paintings of the 1640's and Richeôme's catechism, written some thirty years earlier. The book is therefore almost totally irrelevant to the subject of Poussin's pictures.

Löhneysen turned to other books by Richeôme. The most interesting from the point of view of Poussin's Sacraments, is the 'Peintures Spirituelles'¹²; which described pictures in the Jesuit Novitiate in Rome, as they were in the early years of the seventeenth century¹³. In the refectory were two paintings, one of the Feast in the House of Simon, the other of the Last Supper, both painted as feasts in the antique manner, with the persons lying on the couches of a triclinium. The Last Supper also had the unusual motif of Judas leaving the room. Poussin also used this motif in Eucharist II, pl.32, although he did not use it in Eucharist I, pl.30. Poussin made use of the triclinium in the Eucharist and Penitence of both sets, pls.36,39. Discussion of the triclinium is a common-place among writers, especially Jesuits, of the later sixteenth century onwards, and Poussin did not need to read Richeôme for this. The pictures in S.Andrea al Quirinale still existed when Poussin painted the second set of Sacraments, and he might have seen them. It is true that his interest

in them might have been stimulated by Richeôme's writings. There are, however, other possible reasons for the inclusion of the motif, which will be discussed in due course¹⁴, and it is possible that Richeôme is not an important source for Poussin.

Löhneysen rejected the strange idea of stoic Sacraments, but, like Marignan, he stressed the historicising element in them. For this he blamed the Counter-Reformation. According to Löhneysen, the mediaeval church had stressed the importance of the Church's administration of the sacraments and had made mystical statements about them (as in Rogier van der Weyden's Seven Sacraments altar-piece¹⁵). The counter-reformation, he affirmed, had proclaimed the power of the Pope in the administration of the Sacraments and had demanded literal, ('rationalistic') statements, like Poussin's. Nothing whatever in the Decrees of the Council of Trent confirms this view. The Decrees on the sacraments are largely based on those of the 'Decretum pro Armenis' of 1439¹⁶. Both sets of Decrees were firmly based on scholastic teaching and thus continued mediaeval doctrine on the sacraments. Jedin, in his study of the history of the Council of Trent, showed that the Trent Decrees were easy to formulate, because of the existence of the earlier Decrees, and because "the faith of the mediaeval Church, that God bestows his grace through the Sacraments administered by the Church, was a living unbroken faith"¹⁷. There is ample evidence also that the Counter-Reformation was responsible for a great revival of patristic learning, for the continuation of scholastic teaching and for the continuation of mediaeval typology into the seventeenth century. It will be seen later how much Poussin was affected by these revivals of the Counter-Reformation.

According to Löhneysen, Poussin's choice of subject, in one particular case, was highly indicative of his 'rationalist' attitude. For Ordination Poussin had painted the Handing of the Keys to St. Peter in both the sets of pictures 5.59b, 66. He had not, like Richeôme in the frontispiece of the Sacraments in his 'Tableaux Sacrées'¹⁸, taken the typological scene of the Levites crossing the river Jordan bearing the ark, nor had he taken a New Testament scene of ordination. Instead he had chosen a scene, which, according to Löhneysen is "keine Ordination, keine Weihe", but a proclamation of Papal power, "die Aushandigung der Mass Insignien an den Papst"¹⁹. He went on to point out that this was a rationalist history instead of a mystical statement. Löhneysen had a limited view of typology and mystical statements. Both are present in Poussin's Sacraments, as I shall show²⁰.

The third writer to deal with the Sacraments was Vanuxem²¹. He continued Löhneysen's search for a relation between Richeôme's writings and Poussin's pictures. Vanuxem was primarily interested in the triclinium motif. Since Poussin used this motif, it was apparent to Vanuxem that the antiquarian aspect, had interested him to the exclusion of religious meaning. He asserted this view, but offered very little proof. In passing he denied that Sauerländer's study²² of the Four Seasons was valid, because, he insisted, Poussin was not a religious artist. Sir Anthony Blunt had suggested, in an article on the use of the triclinium in art²³, that the motif was dear to antiquarians, but not generally accepted for use in devotional pictures in public places in the seventeenth century. Vanuxem seems to have assumed that antiquarianism excluded religious thought, that it denoted, in all probability a pagan attitude, or an attitude of indifference. Far from being pure disinterested scholars,

c/ most of the antiquarians concerned were deeply involved in the intense religious polemic of the period. The triclinium motif itself was propagated by Jesuits, in particular, in order to elucidate the actualities of the Last Supper, the Feast in the House of Simon and other feasts described in the Old and the New Testaments. Although this was an historical approach, it was not 'rationalist', rather it was theological and devotional in character. As Brémont pointed out humanism and religious thought were closely allied in this period.²⁴

nt After the Colloque Poussin of 1958, at which Vanuxem's paper was read,²⁵ it seems to have become fashionable to take it for granted that Poussin was not really a religious painter, in any serious sense. One year later, in 1959, Gaudibert published an article containing very similar sentiments to those implicit in Vanuxem's paper²⁶. He developed, with great skill, the relation between the views expressed in some of Poussin's letters and the neo-stoic movement in France. His view of Poussin's stoicism was very one-sided, and left no room for anything else in Poussin's 'philosophy'. In an interesting passage, he dismissed Poussin's religious paintings, being unable to find either religious pathos or a sense of sin or of grace in them. He thought that Poussin had replaced Charity with rationalism, and realism and human emotion with antiquarianism. In all, Poussin's pictures of religious subjects 'engendre / une froideur d'émotion' and 'les exemples chrétiens ne lui semblèrent pas toujours les plus convaincants'²⁷.

He contrasted Poussin's detached style with Baroque realism and immediacy. He recognised that the latter was an affecting style, while Poussin's was not. For him, this was the sole criterion by which religious art could be judged. This was not the view of Poussin's patrons, and his religious art needs to be

considered in the light of seventeenth century taste, not in that of twentieth century aesthetic dogma. Gaudibert's lack of response to a classical style in religious painting could have enlarged his narrow conception of the possibilities of religious art, but such an enlarged view would have upset Gaudibert's arguments.

Gaudibert's explanation of Poussin's art is very much a literary one, divorced from the paintings. It appears to carry conviction, because it provides a simple (far too simple) rationalisation of a deep-rooted and not altogether articulate feeling, current to-day, about 'classical' art. Stoicism and the vague idea of 'rationalism' only explain a limited aspect of Poussin's art, because these are only parts of his thinking.

Gaudibert's argument depended on the interpretation he put on Poussin's letters, primarily his letter of consolation to Chantelou. The stoicism, that Gaudibert saw in them is at best ambiguous, and by no means excludes the possibility that Poussin's stoicism was blended with Christianity. Even Pintard, the historian of French Libertinism in the seventeenth century, remarked that of all ancient doctrines, stoicism was the most easily and frequently combined with Christianity in the seventeenth century²⁸. I shall show that Poussin's stoicism was probably not simply a pagan attitude.

One further example of the tacit assumption that Poussin was not properly a religious artist appeared in Kauffmann's "Poussin-Studien"²⁹. His main interest was in formal aspects of Poussin's art: perspective, proportion, and pictorial structure. Faced with the choice of interpreting the symbolism of the diamond ring in Poussin's self-portrait (Louvre) as stoic or Christian,

he excluded the Christian interpretation on the grounds that this was extremely unlikely for Poussin, without any further argument³⁰. He was relying, presumably, on the general, and hardly challenged assumption, that this was so, as had Gaudibert and Vanuxem.

The present study is intended to provide some of the material on the basis of which this traditional assumption might be challenged, or, at least, modified. It is in two parts. The first part is concerned with the history and stylistic development of the pictures. In this there is some discussion of the drawings for the second set of Sacraments, in which the reader will find that some of the proposals for dating and attribution of the drawings differ from those in the monumental catalogue raisonné of the drawings, by Friedlaender, Blunt and others³¹. The second part is concerned with the sources of Poussin's imagery for the Sacraments and with their interpretation as religious pictures.

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CHAPTER I.

CASSIANO DAL POZZO AND THE FIRST SET OF SACRAMENTS.

1. Cassiano dal Pozzo, virtuoso and patron.

Poussin began the first set of the Seven Sacraments at some time in the middle of the 1630's. There is a little evidence by which the set can be dated more precisely¹. Nobody knows for certain why Cassiano dal Pozzo commissioned these unusual subjects from Poussin. Cassiano is still somewhat a figure of mystery. Too few of his letters have been published for us to know much about his opinions. He was at the centre of the very varied intellectual life of seventeenth century Rome. First, he was Cardinal Francesco Barberini's secretary and then his general factotum. He also had a large number of friends, many of whom held quite unorthodox religious views, albeit covertly. Because of these mixed intellectual associations, there has been some speculation about the piety of his motives in commissioning the Seven Sacraments. Haskell discussed his intellectual alliances in some detail and concluded that the Sacraments were the commission of a dispassionately enquiring mind, the mind of a Christian, probably "sincere, if not ardent".²

In Rome, Cassiano dal Pozzo became famous as a virtuoso.³ He collected antique coins and medals and all manner of 'curiosities', especially ornithological specimens. Many cultivated travellers from all over Europe visited his house, where they enjoyed the pleasures of Cassiano's cabinet, his courteous hospitality and his conversation. Cassiano's monument is not a great antiquarian publication, but a famous collection of drawings, his 'Museo

d) Cartaceo'. This collection was arranged according to subject and included nearly every object of importance in Rome and the surrounding district that survived from antiquity. It was primarily a collection of monuments rather than of philological material.⁴ There is no doubt that this rich mine of material together with the collections in his cabinet made Cassiano's house almost an institutional centre for antiquarian studies.

Cassiano corresponded with the learned of Europe: with antiquarians like Peiresc, bibliophiles like the libertin Naudé and the pious Holstenius, botanists like Pietro Castelli, astronomers and mathematicians, philosophers and historians. Lumbroso listed some forty-five distinguished correspondents. Cassiano was much interested in scientific investigation. He bought many of Cesi's books and instruments. He was an admirer of Galileo and asked for the portrait of the imprisoned astronomer.

Cassiano's connection with French libertins, like Naudé and Bourdelot, was a continuous one. It appears that he was in possession of the scandalous literary remains of the infamous Bouchard⁵, after the latter's death. It is these connections in particular that has led some to wonder whether Cassiano was not secretly libertin also. If he was, the secret was well-kept. The connections by themselves are not proof positive. No unambiguous evidence of scandalous behaviour, speech or writing has come to light, as yet. His interest in science and his admiration for Galileo are evidence of enlightenment, but not necessarily of impiety. He shared these interests and admirations with many other respectable persons. His interest in antiquarian matters is not evidence of impiety either. Many antiquarians, among them many Jesuits, used their learning in the combative religious controversy of their day. Barberini

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antiquarianism, in particular, was very far from being a worship of the idols of the ancients. In this circle the study of antique religious ritual and ceremony was not indulged for its own sake, nor, least of all, for the sake of making invidious comparisons with Christian ritual or belief. Cassiano dal Pozzo collected much material connected with ancient religious ceremony. To show that he did so from irreligious motives, it is necessary to show first that there are some other good reasons for suspecting him.

There is one fragment of evidence that has not been discussed in this context. It concerns a misunderstanding between Naudé and Cassiano. Pintard mentioned two letters from Naudé to Cassiano, written in 1638 (when Poussin was almost certainly at work on the Sacraments⁶). These letters concerned Cassiano's project of forming a 'congregation' to send missionaries to the near East. It is well-known that missionaries were an important source of information about the less well-explored pagan countries of the world. They collected sociological, anthropological and scientific material. This information could provide someone like the Jesuit Kircher, on the one hand, with evidence that there was some sort of partial Divine revelation to the pagans, obscured as it might be by false beliefs and practices, while to Naudé on the other hand, impartial scientific information and information about religious and political systems was all grist to his Pyrrhonist historicism. Naudé wrote to Cassiano, therefore, to encourage him in the project, emphasising the scientific benefits to be expected from it. Evidently Cassiano had replied that he was primarily interested in a quite different sort of result: conversions, whereupon Naudé lost interest. Such a misunderstanding could hardly have arisen, if Cassiano had been fundamentally in sympathy with Naudé's libertinism.

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Poussin was attached to Cassiano's household over a long period of years, and presumably he was admitted to Cassiano's highly intellectual circle. In Paris, Poussin joined with Naudé and Bourdelot in a dinner party at which the health of Cassiano was drunk. In Paris Bourdelot was a close companion of Poussin⁷. There is no evidence to show that Poussin shared their beliefs, or, more to the point, their disbeliefs. Even if Cassiano were a libertin, he would have had to conceal this behind a show of pious respectability, in order to remain safely in Rome, let alone in the confidence of Cardinal Francesco Barberini. For this reason alone it is exceptionally difficult to find any evidence of his libertinism. Showing the pictures of the Sacraments to his visitors would have constituted a species of publication. It would be most unlikely that he would have allowed them to contain any expression of unorthodoxy. This would have been far too dangerous for himself and for Poussin.

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Although Rome was rumoured (in France) to be full of impiety, the Barberini court was at the centre of the Counter-Reformation in the 1630's. Cardinal Francesco was particularly active in encouraging researches into all aspects of Christian antiquity. This was a great period for Christian archaeology, for Biblical commentary and for research into the early liturgy and ritual of the Church. Pintard's study of libertinism has attracted so much attention among Poussinistes, that the wealth of religious learning of the period has been largely overlooked and discounted, although this too was an important part of the intellectual environment in which Poussin's pictures were painted. At the end of the 1630's Cassiano's friend Holstenius published a short work on the sacrament of confirmation in the Greek Church⁸. In 1639 the congregation of theologians began an examination of the liturgy of the Greeks, in order to

compare it with that of the Roman Church. The first subject they discussed was the liturgy and ritual of the sacrament of ordination⁹. The sacraments held a very important place in religious controversy in the seventeenth century as they had in the sixteenth. It is not far from this theological activity to the idea of commissioning a set of pictures of the Sacraments, which should be treated in terms of early Christian antiquity. It is more plausible that the Sacraments, subjects at the heart of theology, should be commissioned for religious rather than irreligious reasons, and because of contemporary problems. They may have been Cassiano's contribution to discussion of the pristine ritual of the sacraments.

In matters of style it is very hard to see what influence Cassiano might have had. Poussin must have found Cassiano's interest in antiquity sympathetic, but his early ambition to reach Rome suggests that some sort of taste for the antique was already formed. From the early years of his Roman sojourn he is known to have studied the remains of Roman antiquity, measuring sculpture in company with Duquesnoy. His interest must have been stimulated and fostered by the ethos of his patron's household and entourage. He made some copies of antique works for Cassiano. A copy of the Barberinie vase and a Nova Nupta were among the pictures of Cassiano dal Pozzo's collection. The Nova Nupta was almost certainly a copy of the famous Aldobrandini Wedding¹⁰. In return he must have had access to the 'Museo Cartaceo', which would have been an invaluable source for the study of antique dress, ceremony and pictorial motifs. Later in his career, in the 1640's and 1650's, Poussin's art reflected some of Cassiano's other antique interests in the use of the Palestrina mosaic for the Rest on the Flight into Egypt (Hermitage) pl.108a, for instance¹¹. Poussin

confided his scorn for his French contemporaries, who he felt neglected this kind of classical culture, to Cassiano, implying that Cassiano shared his view.¹²

Whatever Cassiano's interest in classical antiquity, his collection of paintings does not show a taste for a 'classical' style. He had a marked preference for the neo-Venetian style of the 1620's and 1630's in Rome. He had pictures by Padovanino, Pietro da Cortona, Vouet, and, of course some of Poussin's early works.¹³ A very small number of objects reflect the new, emergent phase of what Wittkower called 'High Baroque Classicism'¹⁴: reliefs by Duguesnoy and a sketch for the St. Romuald by Andrea Sacchi. The subject matter of his pictures has little relation with a classicising aesthetic such as one might have expected from an antiquarian. There were two bambocciades, a 'Caravaggio', genre pictures by Vouet, and a number of marines, battles, perspectives, small landscapes, and a few Madonnas. Many of these were of the kind which Cassiano recommended as suitable furniture pictures to his Florentine friend Agnolo Galli.¹⁵ However much Poussin might have been indebted to the 'Museo Cartaceo' there is little to suggest that Cassiano had much influence on the aesthetic aspect of Poussin's development. The Sacraments were the only group of pictures in the style that we, in retrospect, call 'classicising'. Cassiano's patronage of Poussin coincided with the more Venetian aspects of his work and almost ceased with the development of the classical manner of the 1640's.

Poussin's work for Cassiano was very varied. Among the fifty-one pictures by Poussin in Cassiano's collection¹⁶, there were pictures of birds and animals. These can be accounted for by Cassiano's interest in ornithology. This must have been a kind of routine work carried out by painters attached to the

household. This kind of commission does not bear witness to any particular admiration for the special qualities of the artist's work. There were also a number of small landscapes, including a view of Grottaferrata. There were only fifteen pictures of figure subjects. There were five or possibly six Bacchanals. There were six religious subjects, nearly all of them painted at the beginning of Poussin's stay in Rome.¹⁷ The Sacraments were, therefore, an exceptional commission, in style and subject.

There is one other picture associated with the Sacraments: the St. John baptising the people, pl.3. The subject is a sacrament of the Law, and a contrast to the true sacraments of the New Dispensation. This is an indication of the religious intention of the commission. If Cassiano were only concerned with antique ceremonies, he would have been unlikely to ask for two Baptisms, which are superficially similar. This picture could not have been painted about 1635 or 6.

The evidence for dating this set of Sacraments is very slender. Only the date of completion of the Baptism is securely documented. There are very few surviving drawings, compared with the large number for the second set. They are:

- Plate 6 1. Baptism. Chantilly : 169. o.150 x 0.192. Pen and wash. CR 75(I,40).
- Plate 7a 2. Baptism. Paris, Ecole des Beaux Arts Masson : 1118. 0.181 x
0.280. Pen and wash. CR 76 (I, 40).
- Plate 176 3. Confirmation. Windsor 11896. 0.137 x 0.208. Wash over black
chalk. CR 85 (I,43). Verso : Holy Family. CR 40 (I,24).
- Plate 50a. 4. Extreme Unction. Windsor 11902 v. Mourning woman one of three

sketches. 0.142 x 0.208. Pen and wash. CR 188 (III, 24-25).

Recto: Christ healing the blind. CR 62 (I, 32).

Plate 81. 5. Marriage. Windsor 11894. 0.195 x 0.282. Pen and wash. CR 90
(I,44).

Two of these, nos. 3 and 4, provide slender clues for dating arguments for Extreme Unction and Confirmation. The two drawings for Baptism I do not show the development of Poussin's ideas, unlike the long series of drawings for Baptism II. The second of them is certainly for a Baptism of Christ, but it is not clear how it is related to the painting for Cassiano. Neither the general arrangement, nor the individual figures, correspond with those of the painting. Christ and St. John are well to the left of the composition, like the placing of St. John in the St. John Baptising the People, pl. 3. The seated man pulling off a stocking on the left of that picture appears in reverse on the right of the drawing. His complicated, twisted pose does not occur in any of the other pictures of Baptism in which Poussin included men taking off stockings (or putting them on). The important figure of the old man about to be baptised is absent from the drawing. This is possibly an early stage of the composition of the Baptism of Christ, in which Poussin did not wish, perhaps to repeat this particular figure from the Baptism of St. John. (Figures undressing or dressing were an essential part of the theme for Poussin.)

There is one other feature of these drawings that requires comment. In both there are figures holding new clothing for Christ. This is perhaps to illustrate the idea of the death of the old man and birth of the new in baptism. Pilgrims in the middle ages reported that the stone on which Christ's

clothes had been placed was preserved in the monastery on the bank of the Jordan near the place where the baptism had taken place¹⁸. Poussin's figures are often described as angels. He so described them himself¹⁹. In many other artists' representations of the scene such figures are clearly angels. In Poussin's drawings and the paintings these figures have no wings. What appear, at first sight, to be wings attached to the standing figure on the right of the Chantilly drawing are part of the dark foliage of the tree on the opposite bank. In the Ecole des Beaux Arts drawing there is a curved line above the shoulder of the corresponding figure on the left, but this may also be intended as part of the foliage at the side of the picture.

The Marriage drawing shows very few differences from the picture. In the drawing the priest bends over the Virgin and St. Joseph and there are additional pairs of figures in the background. Otherwise this is virtually the final stage of the composition. In this drawing and in the drawing for Confirmation the background architecture is lightly sketched in, as if it were an after-thought. Figures and architecture are not conceived together. The figure group is seen as an isolated high relief, within a long rectangle. These two drawings both show that Poussin did not conceive of figures and background together at this date.

2. The dates of the first set of Sacraments.

The last of the pictures to be finished represented the first sacrament, Baptism, pl.1. It is generally suspected that the picture was begun in Rome and taken to Paris to be finished. Poussin wrote on 18th April, 1641, to Cassiano from Paris²⁰ that he had finished sketching the picture on the canvas

since his arrival, and that he had also begun the picture for 'Gio. Stefano' (the Madonna²¹ for Roccatagliata, the Roman art dealer). The two pictures were complete side by side and finally dispatched together in the same case. It is just possible that Poussin meant that he had begun the Baptism in Paris and finished roughing it in and had only just begun the other picture. He had not been able to work on the Baptism very much, because of the flood of commissions he had received from the moment of his arrival in France. Poussin does not seem to have done much more until six months later. He mentions the 'Baptism of Christ in the Jordan' in a letter of 6th September, 1641²² and then a fortnight later he speaks of it, as if it were almost complete.²³ This was evidently because Cassiano was becoming impatient. He mentioned the picture again in October²⁴, but it was not until November that he really did much work on it. On 21st November, 1641, he wrote that the weather was so bad that he could only bring himself to work 'in little'.²⁵ He mentioned the picture in January, and then two months later in March, 1642.²⁶ By 27th March, 1642,²⁷ he could announce that only the figures of Christ and the two little angels remain to be completed. It seems possible that he was completing the figures beginning on the left of the canvas and working till he reached those on the right. The wingless figures on the extreme right were intended to be angels: we have Poussin's word for it. He says also that he hopes to finish it by the following week and that Roccatagliata's will be finished by Easter. By 4th April²⁸ the long process of finding the means of sending the pictures began, but it was not until 9th May, 1642²⁹, that Poussin announced that the Baptism was finished. By 13th June³⁰ the case with the two pictures was on its way to Lyon.

Throughout the long series of letters concerning the picture, Poussin refers to it as 'small'. This made Charles Sterling suspect that it was some other Baptism picture.³¹ However, Poussin refers to the Confirmation of the second set as 'small' also, in a letter to Chantelou³². The pictures of the second set were larger than those of the first. The term 'small' was used by Poussin, presumably, to describe pictures with figures of less than life-size. Finally, Poussin left no possibility of doubt, when he wrote to Cassiano to tell him that the picture was the same size as the others of the series.³³ Cassiano would recognise the case in which it was packed, since he could check the measurements against those of the other pictures.

It is hard to tell how far advanced the picture was when Poussin first arrived in Paris. He went to the trouble of taking the canvas with him to Paris. It must have been at least partly roughed out, otherwise there would have been little point in taking it. It is only in colouring that the style can be said to be "more advanced" than that of the other Sacraments.

Two other events of some importance were related to the first set of Sacraments. A set of Sacraments tapestries was envisaged, which were intended to be placed alongside the Francis I set of the Raphael tapestries of the Acts of the Apostles.³⁴ These were first mentioned to Cassiano in a letter of 6th January, 1641.³⁵ The subject was not specified, until 17th January, 1642.³⁶ Between these two dates Poussin had done some work on the Baptism for Cassiano dal Pozzo, as we have already seen. He seems to have done some detailed work, in November, probably completing some of the figures. The letter of 17th January, 1642, shows that Chantelou was a prime mover in the affair. He wanted Sublet de Noyers, his patron, to get copies of Cassiano's set of the Sacraments,

as cartoons for tapestries. It is quite evident from his later insistent desire to have copies made that he wanted these 'cartoons' for himself. In the beginning the two ideas, the tapestries and the copies for Chantelou were very closely related. Poussin was anxious to take some different subject, but Chantelou was very keen on the idea of a set of Sacraments. The stimulus for this desire could only have been the sight of the nearly completed Baptism. In the end Cassiano offered to send coloured drawings, for which Poussin thanked him on Chantelou's behalf on 27th March, 1642.³⁷ It seems unlikely that these drawings were ever made, since Chantelou went on pressing for copies after Poussin's return to Rome. Weigert noted³⁸ that the set of eight coloured drawings in the Louvre (32558-32565) had been identified by Fenaille, as the coloured drawings made for this occasion. The coloured drawings are, however, all by the same hand. Since the Baptism was dispatched in June, 1642, it could not have been copied with the others until some time in the autumn of that year. It would have been easier to have a copy of the Baptism made while it was still in Paris. These copies must have been made at some later date for some other purpose.

The Extreme Unction, pl.48a, cannot be dated with similar precision. The drawing (no:5) shows a standing mourning woman almost identical with the one on the left of the painting, pl.50a. It appears to have been drawn at the same time and with the same pen and ink as the other sketches on the sheet.³⁹ These other drawings are figure studies for the Triumph of Pan, which Poussin had completed by 19th May, 1636⁴⁰, for Cardinal Richelieu. The studies on this sheet were probably made in the autumn of 1635. That the verso of the drawing is a study for the Christ Healing the Blind,⁴¹ of 1650, does not affect

the dating of the Extreme Unction study. The latter is very close in style to those for the Triumph of Pan.

This provides a terminus post quem for the dating of Extreme Unction of 1635, or 1636 at the latest. This still leaves the question of the precise date open, for there is no way of knowing the length of the gap in time between the drawing, and the painting. Bellori⁴² states that the pictures were executed at various times, which suggests that they were not all executed within a short time and without interruption. During the years 1636 to 1640 Poussin seems to have been quite extensively employed with commissions for Richelieu, de la Vrillière and Chantelou. A number of other pictures seem to be of about the same period, the small Finding of Moses, The Saving of young Pyrrhus, a Rinaldo and Armida for Stella (Berlin), the two versions of Venus Arming Aeneas, the Dance in Honour of Priapus and its pendant, the two versions of the Nurture of Bacchus, the Judgment of Hercules, the Dance to the Music of Time, the Landscape with St. Jerome for Philip IV, The Adoration of the shepherds, (National Gallery, London) and the Capture of Jerusalem, that is, about fourteen known paintings in all.⁴³ These pictures seem to have been fairly evenly distributed over the period, with perhaps a lessening of activity between 1638 and 1640. This tends to confirm Bellori's statement, with the qualification that most of the Sacraments were probably executed when Poussin was less preoccupied with other commissions, that is, after 1638.

A date of about 1639 for Confirmation, pl.2, has been suggested⁴⁴, but without any discussion. It is possible to put forward an argument for this date. The evidence is complicated. It is based on two drawings of a Holy Family with St. John, Windsor 11896 and 11917, pls.20b, 19a. A third Holy

Family drawing was grouped with these, Windsor 11912, pl.19b, and said to be associated with the Madonna Roccatagliata, pl.20a, by Friedlaender and Blunt, in their catalogue of the drawings. The three drawings have drawings or other material on the versos, as follows:

Windsor 11896v. CR.40 Drawing for Confirmation (no:3).

Windsor 11917v. CR.41 Letter, dated to last weeks of 1638⁴⁵.

Windsor 11912v. CR.42 Drawing for Hercules and Deianira, c.1635.
CR.218⁴⁶.

All three drawings differ from the Madonna Roccatagliata. In the drawings St.Joseph is standing and there is a young St.John. In the painting St.Joseph is in the background and is seated and there is no St.John. The Christ child is much foreshortened as he turns to look at St.John in the drawings, in the painting he is in profile, blessing his mother. Windsor 11912, p.25, is by far the most remote from the painting. The type of the Virgin is close to that used by Poussin in earlier pictures⁴⁷. She is a pillow-like, bendy figure. The large child is not properly on her lap. This is more probably a study for some other Madonna painting, now lost⁴⁸, than for the Roccatagliata picture. The curvilinear style of the drawing suggests a date of about 1635, which is also the probable date of the Hercules drawing on the verso. The other two drawings are closer to the painting and in style they belong to the end of the 1630's. The form of the chair and the foot of the Virgin resting on a stool are both features of the picture. These two are almost certainly studies for the picture, made a year or so before it was painted, as if the picture had been commissioned shortly before Poussin's Paris journey, and that he had only had time to make a few preparatory drawings. When the picture was taken up

again in Paris, the arrangement was changed. This would fit Poussin's habit of continually varying the treatment of a theme over even a short period of time.

The drawing for Confirmation, pl.17b, is stylistically similar to the Holy Family drawing on Windsor 11917, pl.19a, with soft rounded forms. There are one or two features of the verso drawing to the Confirmation, which develop and clarify the Holy Family composition. It appears that Windsor 11896 was drawn first, at about the same time as the Confirmation drawing, and that Windsor 11917 followed it within a short time. In Windsor 11917 the extended leg of the Virgin is straighter. The drapery beneath her chair is omitted, giving a clearer and more rectilinear form to the chair. The volumes of the figure are concealed in bundles of drapery in Windsor 11896, while they are clarified in Windsor 11917 by a few lines, which indicate the repetition of the drapery folds.

There are similarities between the Madonna Roccatagliata and its associated drawings and Confirmation I. These tend to confirm the view that they were painted at only a short interval of time apart. The pointing woman on the left of Confirmation is very like the madonna in the Roccatagliata picture and is probably based on the same drawings.

The verso of Windsor 11917 contains part of a letter, which has been dated to the very end of 1638, and certainly no later. This suggests that Poussin may have made the Holy Family drawings at about the same time. The stylistically similar drawing for Confirmation would also have been made at this date. Hence it would seem that the painting was made in 1639, or perhaps

a little later. It would be very convenient if one could follow Salomon's⁴⁹ argument about the letter and the drawing, to establish this dating once and for all. He believed that Poussin had written the letter first and then cut the sheet and made the drawing on the other side. The drawing, by this argument, would have followed the writing of the letter. Unfortunately the argument is not well-founded.

Poussin very frequently drew a line round a composition sketch, after he had finished it, in order to make a 'frame' for it and, to establish clearly the proportions of the picture for which the drawing was made. Sometimes this kind of frame-line separates the sketch from blank surrounding paper or adjacent sketches. The Holy Family drawing has traces of just such a 'frame'. It was quite superfluous for Poussin to cut the paper, since his practice was to 'frame' his drawings independently of the shape of the paper.

There are only a small number of cases of sheets cut like those mentioned above, in which one side of a sheet bears a complete and thoroughly pictorial drawing (that is, a finished composition sketch), while the other side bears a much slighter sketch, which has been cut, and is therefore complete. The two Holy Family drawings at Windsor are among these. Many of the drawings in the Louvre collection have been pasted down and it is hard to detect drawings on the verso of these in most cases. Otherwise the short list that follows is virtually complete:

Complete, pictorial drawing.	Cut sketches.	Collection and number.	Catalogue Raisonné number.
Confirmation (no:3).	Holy Family.	Windsor 11896	85 & 40
Holy Family.	Letter of 1638.	Windsor 11917	41
Hercules and Deianira.	Holy Family.	Windsor 11912	218 & 42
Medea.	Madonna (fragment).	Windsor 11892	223 & 56
Christ healing the blind.	Triumph of Pan etc.	Windsor 11902	62 & 188
Venus, Cupid and Pan.	Centaur sketches.	Windsor 11915	209 & 239
Christ healing the blind.	Holy Family.	Bayonne 1678	63 & 51

It will be noticed that six of these are at Windsor. Most of them are from the Massimi collection. It is quite common practice, even now, for collectors and dealers to mount drawings with the ^{back} most pictorial side showing and to trim away any 'surplus' paper, even if this means cutting through less 'important' drawings on the verso. It is likely that this group of drawings was so treated at some time, possibly when they were put into albums.

The relation in time between the drawing on one side of Windsor 11917 and the letter on the other side is not quite so simple to determine, as Salomon wished.

Drafts of letters were probably more expendable in Poussin's studio than drawings. Some drawings, like Windsor 11902, must have been preserved in his studio for many years, and he must have attached some importance to them. It so happens that drafts of letters have been preserved when they are on the same sheets as drawings, but very few drafts have survived independently of drawings.

There is one notable case of a letter draft and two letters overlapping on the same sheet (British Museum 1937-12-11-1), pl.108b. Poussin wrote the letter over a slight and unfinished drawing of a Holy Family and then made a much more complete drawing of the same subject on the remaining part of the paper, drawing a line above it, to separate it from the letter. The relation between letter draft and drawing depended, therefore on the degree of importance and finish of the drawing. He could only write over a feeble sketch, a mere doodle. He cancelled the weak sketch even further by drawing over it again. It will be observed that Poussin did not cut the sheet of paper to make the firm final sketch. The paper was cut, presumably when the landscape drawing on the verso was mounted. The uncertainties are very great. It is only safe to say: that in the majority of cases recto and verso were used by Poussin within a short time of one another; that there are stylistic similarities between one of the Holy Family drawings and the Confirmation drawing; and that this seems to have been made some time between the end of 1638 and the beginning of 1639. The Confirmation itself may be a little later, since its verso shows a more advanced version of the Holy Family. On these grounds, then, the Confirmation seems to have reached a highly developed stage of planning by the beginning of 1639 and must have been executed between that time and the autumn of 1640, when Poussin left Rome for Paris.

There are therefore three dates more or less fixed for the first set of Sacraments. The Extreme Unction cannot have been begun until 1636. It may not have been worked on until the Bacchanals for Richelieu were dispatched in May 1636. The picture may have been executed, however, at any time before the Autumn of 1640. Confirmation was painted, probably, between 1639 and 1640.

Baptism was begun by autumn 1640 and finished in two or perhaps three periods of work in 1641 and the spring of 1642.

The remaining pictures of the series can be grouped around either the Extreme Unction or the Confirmation. Penitence, destroyed in the fire at Belvoir Castle in Leicestershire in 1816, is only known ^{from} by a copy, pl.36, in a private collection in New York 50, by engravings, and by the two drawings in the Louvre, one of which is in black and white and the other in colour⁵¹. The picture must have been quite bright and luminous, with the architecture of the background opening up into a landscape, like a rather chastened Veronese feast scene. This picture has to be largely left out of account as far as its colouring goes, in these circumstances. It shared with Ordination and Extreme Unction rather small, crumpled drapery folds, and may have been painted at some time nearer to these than to the other pictures. Marriage is another picture that seems to belong to this group. The remaining three pictures, Eucharist, Confirmation and Baptism, are much darker and richer in chiaroscuro. There is then a group like Extreme Unction of light-toned pictures with very varied local colour, delicate in Extreme Unction, with its whites and pale colours, intense in Ordination, and in Marriage something of both kinds. There is also a group like Confirmation, in which chiaroscuro is more important, and local colour more subordinate to tone.

Even if Poussin, at this early date, had formulated the theory of the modes⁵², he probably did not apply it in any simple way to his paintings. The colouring in this set of pictures is most unlikely to have been affected by theoretical considerations of this kind. Extreme Unction is a subject, it might be thought, which would lend itself to gloomy and sombre tones. Poussin

gives the scene a luminous interior setting, a light mushroom colour, with figures in delicate, pale colours. Confirmation on the other hand, not a particularly gloomy subject, is a dark Church interior. The character of the scenes is shown, not by the colour, but by the affetti of the figures and the decorum of the scene. Even the forms of the figures in Extreme Unction have no air of severity. The drawing is soft and graceful. Further, there is no evidence of Poussin holding a theory of the modes before the very end of the 1630's at the earliest.

Many dating arguments depend too exclusively on Poussin's manner of colouring⁵³. This aspect of Poussin's painting varied so frequently that it cannot always be treated as an infallible guide by itself. Within the first set of Sacraments there appear to be two distinct groups, all of which Mahon wished to date within the short period 1638 to 1640⁵⁴. In terms of colour only, it might seem that there is an 'earlier' group of Extreme Unction and the three related pictures and a 'later' group of Confirmation and its associated pictures. With a painter like Poussin, whose manner of colouring does not seem to have developed in an entirely regular way, it is a little rash to automatically apply the terms 'earlier' and 'later' without taking other factors into account. Poussin began to use a dark, cool colouring only in a few pictures in the late 1630's. In these, the drapery colours tend to be primary colours of a high degree of saturation, as in the Manna, pl.93^b and the Confirmation. In others the general tonality is light, and cool, with a great variety of light, pale, mixed colours for the draperies, as in the 1638 Finding of Moses, pl.95, Extreme Unction I and others. There is also another manner at this time, in which the paint is dense and 'like clay'⁵⁵, as in Ordination I

and the Saving of young Pyrrhus, pl.60a.

The pictures mentioned were probably all painted within a period of about three years, yet there are several distinct kinds of colouring. It is difficult to place these pictures very precisely for a number of reasons. Poussin tended to work on several commissions at once and the delivery date is no indication of the date of the commission or of the date at which the picture was begun. The Baptism is a perfect instance of the way in which a picture might be worked on over a long period. It has been suggested⁵⁶ also that the Manna, finished by 19th March, 1639, may have been begun a year or two earlier. In view of the uncertainty that this engenders, it is dangerous to assert that any particular manner of colouring represents Poussin's style at a particular date. Further, the Manna is unlike most of the other paintings that are generally dated in the period 1637 to 1640. The majority of those are luminous, delicately coloured pictures. The subject matter may have determined the colouring to some slight extent in this case. The scene is intended to be a misty early morning, with the sky somewhat darkened by the manna falling. This is a matter of 'decorum' rather than of 'modes' or of style in a purely aesthetic sense.

There is a practical factor which might have affected the colouring of the first set of Sacraments, nothing whatever to do with Poussin's personal stylistic development. The pictures were all hung together in one room⁵⁷. The Sacraments also had a quite specific order in the seventeenth century in Roman Catholic thought, although this has been largely forgotten now.⁵⁸ The order goes back to scholastic teaching. The first five sacraments were those which applied to all kinds of person, as they might be received in the course

of human life from cradle to grave: baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penitence, extreme unction. The remaining two could not both apply to the same person and their order was dependent on the view that the priesthood was superior to the laity and celibacy superior to the state of matrimony. Thus the last two were ordination and marriage. The sacraments were invariably listed in this order in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Bellori⁵⁹ described the first set of pictures in this order, suggesting thereby that this was the order in which they were to have been hung. De Cotte mentioned that the Marriage (the last of the series) was the first picture on the right as one entered the room, tending to confirm the view that this was the order in which they were hung.⁶⁰ It is impossible to be certain in which room they were hung, when de Cotte and Tessin's descriptions are compared with the plan published by Letarouilly⁶¹.

It is possible that the 'earlier' group of pictures, those like Extreme Unction, were all intended to be hung facing the 'later' group, those like Confirmation. The 'earlier' ones with their light tonality, even lighting and clear colours would have been visible even if hung on a window wall, while the darker pictures would have been hard to see in such a position. The darker pictures might have been intended for a well-lit wall. The light would have given these pictures depth and richness, while it would have 'killed' the 'light' pictures. It will not have escaped notice that the 'dark' pictures represent the first three sacraments in the list, and it is more than likely that they were hung in proximity to one another, in a well-lit position.

It would have been far more convenient for Cassiano dal Pozzo, if the pictures had been painted in an order in which he could hang them as they were delivered, during their long period of execution, than in some random way. If

they were delivered in some haphazard sequence he would have been forced to leave gaps on the walls in odd places ready for those still to be painted, or change them round continually. Since the last to be painted was Baptism, it is worth examining the hypothesis that the pictures were executed in the usual order of the Sacraments, but, for some obscure reason, in reverse.

Baptism is accounted for by the documentary evidence. Confirmation as we have already seen, was very probably painted in 1639, or even 1640, probably after Poussin had finished the Manna.Eucharist was conceived as an interior with artificial lighting. The picture is very dark, and even Poussin's normally saturated drapery colours are muted by the deep shadow. There is no reason why such a picture should not have immediately preceded the Confirmation.

At the other end of the series Extreme Unction is often assumed to have been the first of the series to be painted. It is easy to see why it should have been felt that it was painted around 1638. It has much in common with the small Finding of Moses of 1638, pl.95: smooth, curvilinear drawing of great simplicity, simple, rounded volumes and a colour range of pale mixed tints. It is probable that the series has been fitted in between 1638 and 1640 for this reason. It is, however, quite possible that Ordination is earlier. Its colouring is so close to that of the Saving of young Pyrrhus that it is reasonably safe to suppose in this case that they were painted at about the same date. The Saving of young Pyrrhus is generally supposed to be of about 1637. Its red ground links it with pictures like the Golden Calf⁶². Poussin uses, against both the green landscape settings, one very strange colour, a tomato red: in one among the draperies of Pyrrhus' female attendant and in other one of the Apostles, in the Ordination. The thick, heavy pastosity of

the paint is another feature that occurs in both these pictures, giving a very individual heavy surface. There is no great difficulty in placing the Ordination in 1637 or thereabouts, while there is no real reason for supposing that the Extreme Unction was painted in any other year than 1638.

Marriage has very few affinities with Poussin's other paintings, apart from the elegant simplicity of pictures like Extreme Unction. It is very strange in its colouring. The background of architecture is a light mushroom colour, like that of Extreme Unction. The draperies of the figures are picked out in a wide range of local colours. These are hardly modified by light and shade, the colours being of nearly uniform intensity within each clearly defined area. This is at the furthest possible extreme from the chiaroscuro of the later pictures. The foreground figures are set off from the background and established in space by colour effect. The drapery of the man on the right of centre, nearest to the front of the picture, has touches of vermilion which vibrates with the surrounding colours. Something like the same separation of one figure from another occurs in the Rape of the Sabines (New York). I believe, with Blunt, that this is the later of the two versions of the subject and should be dated around 1637.⁶³ The vibrating colour effects, in this Sacrament are exceptional. They are used as a substitute for light and shade to define the spatial position of figures. The degree of colour separation and spatial effect is much more developed than in other pictures of about 1637 to 1638, in which this kind of method appears. In Extreme Unction, for instance, Poussin makes more allowance for light and shade, and he does not use saturated local colours. By 1639 to 1640 chiaroscuro is the dominant principle in the definition of the volumes of figures, while the draperies in light are allowed a high degree of saturation, so that they stand out mainly

by colour contrast with the surrounding areas. The Marriage could well be a preliminary experiment in this kind of colouring, after which Poussin began to give light and shade its due. Finally a system like that of Confirmation was worked out. The fruits of this development are to be found in the rich light and shade method of the second set of Sacraments.

Marriage and Extreme Unction are unusual for Poussin in that they have shallow interior settings. It might be supposed that Poussin, tried out the colour system of Marriage in an interior setting, in which chiaroscuro could be treated as virtually negligible in a very diffused lighting. He then used something like it in the Ordination. This picture, like the majority of Poussin's works has a landscape setting. Here the whole figure group has the appearance of a cut-out. The figures have strong local colours in their draperies, with very little chiaroscuro. This conflicts with the necessities of light and shade in the representation of landscape. The strange tomato colour among the draperies has a particularly disturbing effect among the strong green colours of the landscape. In the Saving of young Pyrrhus the same colour is less violently upsetting, because the ground colour is red-brown and shows through the paint with some force muting the contrast. In the Ordination it is difficult to tell what the original ground tone of the canvas might have been, perhaps grey. Poussin was apparently experiencing some difficulty in reforming his palette as he changed from the characteristic warm grounds of pictures like the Pyrrhus or the Crossing of the Red Sea of the middle of the 1630's to the cool grounds of the later part of the decade, but this was only a short-lived period of difficulty. The problem was largely resolved in pictures like the Extreme Unction and the Finding of Moses of 1638,

by reducing the saturation of the colours and allowing modelling to appear again. Later, in the 1640's the dark tonality of pictures like Extreme Unction II appears as a further development of the same process. By the time Poussin painted Extreme Unction I he had shed the palette which he had used with the red grounds, and thus made a final break with the last remnant of his earlier Venetian colourism.

I would propose the following dating for the first set of Sacraments, bearing in mind that many of the arguments advanced are necessarily speculative in character: the Baptism of St. John, about 1636; Marriage, about 1637; next Ordination, about 1637 also; Extreme Unction, about 1638; Penitence, possibly 1638 also; Eucharist, probably finished by early 1639; Confirmation, between mid-1639 and autumn, 1640; and Baptism, begun in 1640, worked on in late spring, 1641, and November, 1641, and finished in the spring of 1642.

3. A note on the subsequent history of the first set of Sacraments.

The history of the set is given in detail by Sir Anthony Blunt in his *Catalogue Raisonné* of Poussin's paintings and hardly needs repetition in detail here.⁶³

They were described in the seventeenth century by Bellori, with his usual admiration for Poussin's disposition and affetti.⁶⁴ Two accounts of Cassiano dal Pozzo's collection give more than the customary list of his antiquities and curiosities. Both of these were written after Cassiano's death, when the collection was in the hands of his younger brother, Carlo Antonio. Tessin⁶⁵ saw thirty-one pictures by Poussin in one room, and nineteen in another, among which were the Sacraments. He particularly admired these.

He noticed especially the Extreme Unction, and the Marriage. Both of which, he says, had had their frames damaged by lightning, although the paintings had escaped unharmed. This story also occurs in the other description of the same period, that among the de Cotte manuscripts⁶⁶. It has something of the air of a guide's tale, emphasising a feature quite irrelevant to the quality of the pictures. It also suggests that these pictures were opposite windows, confirming what has been said about their probable arrangement. De Cotte only remarked on the Marriage having been struck by lightning. Otherwise he noticed only that the pictures were famous and that they were in the sixth room, whichever that may have been. The two Baptisms created some confusion, even at this date. Tessin remarked that Baptism was represented twice, although he made no other comment. De Cotte says: "il y en a un huitieme qui est un batesme qu'il envoya a rome dans le temps quil estoit a paris". There were, of course, seven Sacraments and the eighth picture was the St. John baptising the people, which is not properly a sacrament of the Church. It was not this picture, but the Baptism of Christ that was painted in Paris. The presence of the two Baptisms nearly always perplexed later writers also.

In the eighteenth century there was some difference of opinion about the merits of the two sets. Most writers preferred the first. Richardson, on the whole disliked their colouring, but preferred them to the second set for the 'Expression' and the 'Airs of the Heads'.⁶⁷ He singled out Confirmation as being better coloured than the rest. This is one of the few pictures of the set in which the relief is achieved by light and shade. It is interesting to compare this opinion with Reynolds' discussion of Poussin's style, where it appears that Reynolds did not like Poussin's later attempt to create a

softer unity of figure and ground.⁶⁸ Wleughels, trying to persuade the French crown to buy the first set, overplayed their merits a little. He preferred them for their better state of preservation, their firmness of handling, and the fact that they were the "originals".⁶⁹ De Brosses saw pictures which he thought were the Sacraments in the Palazzo Pamphili, in 1733. He described them in uncomplimentary terms and one is entitled to believe that they might well have been a set of copies. He thought the second set, in the Orleans collection, were much better and dismissed the second set as "copies sans importances".⁷⁰ He did not have the two sets side by side to compare them, but he must have had a rather poor memory, if he thought they were copies of the second set. They were copied later in the century when the originals were bought by the Duke of Rutland and had to be smuggled out of Rome by the dealer Byres.

Wleughels' letters show that in the 1720's the set had been pledged to the Marchese del Buffalo for a debt of six thousand crowns, accumulated by Carlo Antonio's grandson, Cosimo Antonio, who was something of a gambler. He paid off the debt by the early months of 1730.⁷¹ They then passed to the Boccapaduli family through Maria Laura dal Pozzo's marriage with a member of that family. They were recorded there in subsequent Roman guide-books.⁷² Titi mentioned, once more, the peculiarity of there being two Baptisms.⁷³

There were various attempts to buy the set in the later eighteenth century. Wleughels was afraid that the King of Poland might try to buy them, since he had heard that Le Plat acting for Poland, would be returning to Rome to buy pictures.⁷⁴ Sir Robert Walpole actually purchased them, but their export was forbidden.⁷⁵ Later Agar refused to buy them at £1,500. In 1784 or 1785

the negotiations for their sale to the Duke of Rutland were begun in earnest. The Roman agent was Byres, with Reynolds acting as the Duke's artistic adviser in London. By this time there may have been sets of copies in various places. As the Marquis of Granby, the Duke was interested in the pictures as early as 1777. Alleyne Fitzherbert wrote to the Marquis of Granby in March of that year about Reynolds' enraptured reaction to the news from Byres that the pictures might be bought⁷⁶. The Marquis evidently commissioned Byres to purchase them, since Byres wrote on 1st August, 1777, to say that the purchase had not been possible⁷⁷. Lord Manners wrote to him in August to say that two of his officers had been on leave ashore and had been to Florence. He omitted to say that they had also been as far as Rome, but this is very likely from what follows. They had seen "the same subject not in the Palazzo del Paduli but in one of the Palazii di Colonna, which were very fine"⁷⁸. In 1785 the pictures were copied for Byres one by one and put up in the place of the originals.⁷⁹ They were reported by Byres to be in good condition, and he provides further evidence that some of them had been copied at an earlier date. He says: "Their apparent huskiness principally proceeding from the quantity of white of egg that was upon them, which I have washed off with a sponge and water. As far as I can perceive they have never been cleaned; three of them, I imagined from the difficulty in taking the water ... have been rubbed with nut oil by somebody that has copied them, but do not seem to have suffered by it."⁸⁰ It is highly likely that only the three darker pictures would have needed rubbing with oil to make them visible. Later there was some uncertainty about whether the Duke wanted the "eighth picture".⁸¹ He did. There is no real question of Byres selling copies to the Duke of Rutland. Reynolds defended Byres' integrity in a letter of 5th July, 1785: "I have not the least scruple

about sending copies for originals, not only from the character of Byres, but if that trick had been intended, he would not have mentioned a word about his having copies made."⁸² Penitence was burnt in the fire at Belvoir of 1816. The Baptism of Christ was sold to the National Gallery in Washington in 1939 and the other Baptism to the Bührle collection, Zurich, in 1958. It is most regrettable that it is no longer possible to see the set together. Even of the pictures that survive two are hung in the Chapel and three in the picture gallery at Belvoir Castle.

CHAPTER II.

PAUL FRÉART DE CHANTELLOU AND THE SECOND SET OF SACRAMENTS.

1. Chantelou's patronage and the commission for the second set of Sacraments.

Unlike the first set of Sacraments, the pictures of the second set are all apparently documented within fairly precise limits by Poussin's letters to his patron, Paul Fréart de Chantelou. Nevertheless, a number of dating problems are raised by the many drawings for this set. In addition, several of them show that Poussin considered alternative arrangements for Ordination, Penitence and perhaps Marriage. They are nearly all similar in style and may have been made in a very short period, probably less than the four years in which the paintings were executed. The drawings also make it possible to trace the development of the ideas for several of the pictures. This is not possible for the pictures of the first set. One can see how Poussin gradually transformed the designs he had used for the first set, working towards a more complete and coherent narrative and a more classically structured composition.

Chantelou¹ was the youngest of three brothers who were all associated with the ministry of their cousin, Sublet de Noyers. Sublet was Richelieu's secretary of State for War and, among other things, his Surintendant des Bâtiments from 13th September, 1638 onwards. During his ministry the three brothers enjoyed a degree of political power which they never reached again after Sublet's disgrace, which followed shortly after the death of Richelieu. Paul Fréart de Chantelou later became Maître d'Hôtel to Louis XIV. He lived in the Rue St. Thomas du Louvre, in one of the ordinary houses built in the sixteenth century. He was Voiture's landlord² and an near neighbour of Mme. de Rambouillet. The

house was pulled down when the Louvre was disengaged from the small streets of houses that surrounded it.

Chantelou's patronage of Poussin began in the later 1630's. The first traces of French patronage of Poussin appear since the early 1620's at about the middle of the 1630's. Chantelou's first recorded commission was the Manna, finished by 19th March, 1639.³ He had been a generous friend to Poussin from the moment of their earliest known acquaintance, when Chantelou and Chambray were sent to Rome in the summer of 1640 to bring the reluctant Poussin back to Paris. The brothers had entertained him diplomatically and sumptuously. In Paris Chantelou had showered him with gifts. He had helped to prepare Poussin's position as premier peintre and thus ensured his many employments. These were too numerous and not to Poussin's taste, but his fortune must have depended on them to a great extent. They can have met no more than once after Poussin's final return to Rome in 1642. Chantelou was sent to Italy on a mission for Louis XIII in 1643, but nothing is known of the meeting between Poussin and Chantelou which took place on this occasion.

Chantelou corresponded with Poussin over a period of nearly thirty years, up to Poussin's death in 1665. Poussin's letters record various aspects of their association. Poussin was made responsible for the purchase of various luxury items in Rome, and for the superintendence of extensive copying of pictures in Roman collections. These tasks occupied a great deal of his time. In return Poussin hoped for the continued patronage and protection of Chantelou, especially in the continuation of his pension as premier peintre and the retention of the house, with which he had been presented on his arrival in Paris. These perquisites were virtually lost from the moment of Poussin's return to

Rome. The death of Louis XIII, the death of Richelieu and the disgrace of Sublet de Noyers made it certain that his claims would be disregarded. He was replaced in his post effectively by Louis XIV's reliance on Charles Lebrun, who held the title of premier peintre officially in 1664, the year before Poussin's death.⁴

The letters show that Poussin also acted as comforter. About the time of the execution of the Sacraments there are two letters of consolation written on the death of Chantelou's friends.⁵ Chantelou must have shared in the admiration for the stoics that was current in France in the middle of the seventeenth century. Poussin must have known this, since his letters to Chantelou often contain stoic sentiments. On the other hand, Chantelou was the cousin of Sublet, who had been an assiduous protector of the Jesuits while in office. Poussin also had his connections with the Jesuits⁶, painting the gouache decorations for the celebration of the canonisation of the Jesuit saints of 1622, and painting the Miracle of St. Francis Xavier for the Jesuit Novitiate while he was in Paris, a commission of de Noyers. Although Poussin does not seem to have had much in common with the Jesuits, their influence extended into humanist studies, and it is there that contacts could have been most fruitful for him.

Chantelou's collection was not as extensive as that of Cassiano. When Bernini visited him in 1665, he owned copies of the Richelieu Bacchanals, the second set of Sacraments, a Hercules and Deianira, and the self-portrait now in the Louvre. He also had an Ecstasy of St. Paul, and, at one time, the Manna.⁷ Their relationship was a little unusual in that Poussin was the dominant partner in matters of taste. Some of his letters contain important theoretical

statements, which were offered to Chantelou as instruction in the art. Poussin was often left to his own devices for subject matter and he was the sole arbiter of the style he employed in his pictures for Chantelou. Few artists before Poussin had been so bold in expressing their views and in attempting to impose them on a patron.

The second set of Sacraments was originally connected with the idea of a set of tapestries to accompany the Francis I set of Raphael's tapestries, as related above. At some time Chantelou had a trial piece woven by Souciani from one of the pictures of the set. Chantelou raised the issue with Colbert in 1665⁸, long after the pictures were painted. Colbert did not think architecture would make a good effect in tapestry. When Chantelou pursued the subject, Colbert went to sleep, or affected to. Colbert's lack of interest would not have been the only difficulty. The Raphael set contained a Pasce Oves Meas, which was closely similar in subject to Poussin's Ordination (the Handing of the Keys to St. Peter). If a set had been woven, it was long after the painting of the second set of Sacraments.

The affair of the Tapestries goes some way to explain how the commission for the second set of Sacraments came into being. Throughout the long period in which Chantelou asked for copies of the first set, 1641 to 1644, he must have had the projected tapestries in mind. No doubt, he hoped to score an immense political success, by obtaining a set of cartoons for the Crown, through his personal contact with Poussin. This peculiar aspect of the commission may explain, in part, how Poussin came to make such sweeping changes from the designs while he was in Paris. The fact that these were for tapestries may have prompted him to try the compositions of the first set in reverse, since

his cartoons would be reversed in the weaving process. None of the surviving drawings can be directly associated with tapestry designs, however, since none of the figures perform an important action, like blessing, with the left hand. This is a sure indication that none of these designs were intended to be reversed. Nevertheless, there is a marked tendency in the second set to reverse the general compositions of many of the paintings of the first set. On 4th April, 1642, Poussin wrote to Cassiano dal Pozzo. He said he did not like repeating what he had already done, referring to the subjects of the Sacraments, which were being imposed on him by de Noyers and Chantelou. Since he was forced to submit, he may have set out to make alternative designs. This is what he did ultimately for Chantelou, when he painted the second set. He never repeated a design exactly, but preferred, throughout his career, to make new compositions of subjects previously treated.

The issue of the copies remained an important one for Poussin on his return to Rome. The first mention in the letters occurs in August, 1643.¹⁰ An undated letter of that month shows that Poussin picked out Errard as a possible copyist. Poussin pointed out to Chantelou that he might do it "plus pour l'amour de vous que pour l'oeuvre". Errard was obviously not very keen to do this sort of work. By 23rd September, 1643, Errard had left Rome.¹¹ By this time a certain François le Napolitain or "Cique, Napolitain"¹² had promised to copy Extreme Unction and Confirmation. Subsequently, these were the first two of the new set to be painted by Poussin himself. Poussin was worried by Cique's "longueur". Poussin's letter of 5th October, 1643¹³, shows that there was, as might be expected, no progress. On 27th October he reported having given this painter twenty scudi as an advance.¹⁴ Francesco was also responsible for

executing a copy of a picture in the Farnese collection, one of many that Chantelou ordered at this period. In the preceding letter Poussin said that Cique had not finished this and refers to him as "ce menteur de Napolitain". In the letter of 27th October, Poussin said that he expected the copies of the Sacraments to cost fifty scudi each.¹⁵ By 7th January, 1644, he had been promised copies by Ciche and Claude le Rieux.¹⁶ Only five days later, on 12th January, negotiations with the copyists must have suddenly seemed unfavourable to him, since Poussin offered to copy them himself "ou de tous les sept ou d'une partie ou bien les faire d'une autre disposition". In a long preamble he tried to persuade Chantelou of the evils of copyists and that new paintings "vauront mieux que des copies ne couteront guère plus, et ne tarderont pas plus à être faits". At the top of the letter Chantelou noted all this and added: "Il fait un grand préambule pour me persuader ce que je devrais désirer avec passion."¹⁷ On the 25th February Poussin was waiting for a reply to this letter.¹⁸ On the 8th March he was still waiting, impatiently.¹⁹ He was having to keep the copyists in suspense this time. In the end, two of Chantelou's letters arrived together, with the news that Chantelou agreed to his plan. Poussin declared that he had only two commissions on hand that must be finished first, and that the other subjects he had thought of for Chantelou would be put on one side. Chantelou left everything, including the disposition and the scale of the figures to Poussin's discretion.²⁰ The pictures of the second set measure 117 x 178 cm., as opposed to 95.5 x 121 cm. for the first set. The proportions are therefore different: those of the first set are 1:1.27 and those of the second 1:1.52 (roughly 4 : 5 as opposed to 2:3).

In the second set the figures are two foot high and occupy a larger proportion of the picture.

2. The chronology of the second set of Sacraments.

The following is an attempt to derive the maximum of information from the letters written by Poussin to Chantelou while he was executing the pictures of the second set of Sacraments.²¹ The evidence that Poussin provides is often a little obscure and sometimes not absolutely conclusive. He did not always name the pictures to which he was referring. Sometimes he said he had begun or finished a picture and then said the same thing a little while later. It is clear that he did not work on the pictures to the exclusion of all other commissions and several of his letters show that he made the most of his other excuses for not delivering the earlier pictures of the series promptly. There were two reasons for delay, apart from work on other commissions. Poussin was ill once or twice and the heat in the summer in Rome prevented him from any sort of work in 1644 and 1645, and delayed work in 1646. The documentation provided by the letters is not complete enough to provide precise dates for periods of work on the pictures. Nor does it provide a very clear idea of the kind of work being done at any one time, nor of the time taken for the drying out of successive layers of paint. It is not clear either how much time was taken up with final retouching.

Summary of the information on the Sacraments.

1644 Spring.

1. 1644 15.iv. Began work the day before on the first picture. He did not name the picture, but it was presumably Extreme Unction, the first to be delivered. (84.pp.150-2)
2. 25.iv. Working towards the laying-in (ébauche) of Extreme Unction. (85.pp.152-4)
3. by 14.v. Laying-in of Extreme Unction complete. While waiting for this to dry, he intends to begin a second picture, not named. (86.pp.154-6)
4. 1644 30.v. Intends to begin Penitence, with a Sigma Triclinium. (87.p.157)

N.B. The "ébauche" of Extreme Unction was complete within a month. The "ébauche" of Ordination took not much more than a week, see 32, below. When Poussin says he began Extreme Unction he may have meant drawings rather than painting. References to a "second picture" discussed below, see 31 and 32. The time for the proper drying out of a picture must have been about a week.

1644, Summer.

5. 20.vi. Warns Chantelou that summer heat nearly always delays work. (88.pp.159-163)
6. 7.viii. Delay because of heat about one month already. (90.pp.165-6)

1644, Autumn.

7. 11.ix. Had begun work again "some time ago". Forecasts finish of Extreme Unction by end of month. (91.pp.167-8)

N.B. Poussin seems to have made every effort to finish the picture in good time. When had he begun work again (7)? Perhaps a month or more earlier.

8. 2.x. In poor health. Picture is "finished". Will retouch it to-morrow in a few places. (92.p.169)

9. 30.x. Promises to send Extreme Unction. (93.pp.171-2)

N.B. He was not so ill that he had to stop work completely. He used the word "finished", even though the picture had still to be retouched. The retouchings were probably the alterations visible in the infra-red photographs, pls. 29,30. ^{sb 57a} A letter of 6.xi. confirms 30.x. as the finishing date.

1645, Spring.

10. 1645 30.iv. Has begun Confirmation. (97.p.179)

N.B. Evidently the plan to begin Penitence was in abeyance, see 4, above.

1645, Summer

11. 18.vi. Confirmation is still as it was. The summer heat had arrived suddenly and early. (100.p.184)

12. 3.vii. Still very hot weather. (101. pp.188-190)
13. 29.vii Proposes to leave Confirmation until the autumn, because of the heat. (102. pp.191-2)
14. 20.viii Heat continues. Has not worked since the beginning of June. Mention of 24 figures in Confirmation. (103.pp.193 - 5)

N.B. He had probably worked on Confirmation between 30.iv and the end of May, a little over four weeks. For the number of figures in the picture, see 16 below.

1645, Autumn and Winter.

15. 15.x. Daily work on Confirmation. Hopes to finish by end of December. (104.p.196)

N.B. It is not clear how long Poussin had been working on the picture. Perhaps four to six weeks.

16. 12.x. Forecasts finishing Confirmation by mid-December. Mentions 22 figures. (106. pp.198-9)

N.B. The numbers of the figures mentioned do not correspond with those in the picture. No radical changes are visible in infra-red photographs. Work had obviously gone well, since he could advance the finishing date by a fortnight. Crucifixion begun.

17. 1645 10.xii. Confirmation finished. (107. pp.200-201)
18. 1646 2.ii. About to begin a "triclinium". (108.p.205. to Jean de Chantelou)



19. 1646 4.ii. About to begin a "triclinium". (109.pp.206-7)
20. 25.ii. A "pensée" complete for Penitence. He is going to begin this next, then Baptism (110.pp.209-210)

N.B. The references in 18 and 19 do not exclude the possibility that he was working on Eucharist. See comments on drawings, p.83ff. below. Document 20 shows that he had prepared a complete drawing for Penitence. He no longer mentions a sigma triclinium. He must have abandoned the scheme mentioned in 1644, see 3, above. The references to beginning in 18 and 19, above, imply that he would begin after making drawings.

21. 8.iv. He is about to begin the third pictures, not named. (111.p.210-1)

N.B. There is no evidence here of what Poussin did in the previous five weeks. Did he start work on Penitence? Was he working on the Crucifixion? This was probably the beginning of work on Baptism.

1646, Summer.

22. 3.vi. Crucifixion finished. (112.p.212 - 3)

N.B. This picture must have required about two months for finishing. It is unlikely that he had worked on the Sacraments since early April.

23. 29.vii. The heat is slowing him down, but not compelling him to stop. The Sacraments are progressing well. (113.p.214)

1646

N.B. Poussin uses the plural: "Sacraments", as if he was working on more than one. He had perhaps begun the Penitence, see 21, and was working simultaneously on the next to be finished, Baptism. He might have been at work at one of them, at least, for about seven weeks at this date.

1646, Autumn.

- | | | |
|-----|--------|---|
| 24. | 23.ix. | Had been ill for 35 days. (114.pp.215-6) |
| 25. | 7.x. | Still not well. About to re-start work. (115.pp.216-7) |
| 26. | 21.x. | Daily work. (116.p.218) |
| 27. | 18.xi. | Picture finished now. About to begin another straight away. (117.p.219) |

N.B. The "picture" proved to be Baptism. If he did start another it was probably Penitence (just possibly Ordination), finished at great speed in the next year, see 31-33, below).

1647, Spring.

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------|--|
| 28. | <u>1647</u> | 4.ii. | At work on the fourth picture, not named. Promises to complete the rest "sans intermission". (118.pp. 220-2) |
|-----|-------------|-------|--|

N.B. There can be little doubt that Poussin means by the "fourth" picture, Penitence. He was at work on this in the next month. He may have been working on it

1647

intermittently since 4.ii.1646, see 9. In effect Poussin appears to have kept his promise about completing the rest "sans intermission", except that he finished the Finding of Moses for Pointel by 19.viii.1647, when it was dispatched with Ordination. This picture was probably finished concurrently with the execution of Penitence and Ordination. It could have been begun in 1645 or 1646, since Pointel was in Rome from 1645 onwards for a while and probably ordered the picture at that time.¹ Ordination was executed, apparently, very rapidly and there is no reason to suppose that Poussin did very much work on Pointel's picture at that time.

29. 24.iii. At work on Penitence. (119.pp.223-4)
30. 7.iv. Hopes to finish Penitence by mid-May. (120.pp.224-6)
1647, Summer.
31. 3.vi. Penitence finished by this date. Has begun
Ordination, "l'ordre de prêtrise". (121.pp.226-8)

N.B. He does not say when he began Ordination. He had finished the "ébauche" a week later, see 32 below. This makes it probable that he had done one or two week's work on the picture already by 3.vi.

32. 10.vi. "Ebauche" of Ordination complete. (122.p.230)

33. 1647 19.viii. Ordination dispatched by this date, with the Finding of Moses.

N.B. Both of them must have been finished for about a week, since they would have had to dry out before being packed for dispatch. The time for completing this picture seems excessively short. The addition of buildings over the landscape would have taken extra time. It is almost a necessity to suppose that the picture had been begun at some time that is not clearly specified in the letters. (125.p.231)

1647, Autumn to 1648, Spring.

34. 1.ix. Eucharist begun by this date. Hopes to finish it by the end of October. (126.p.234)

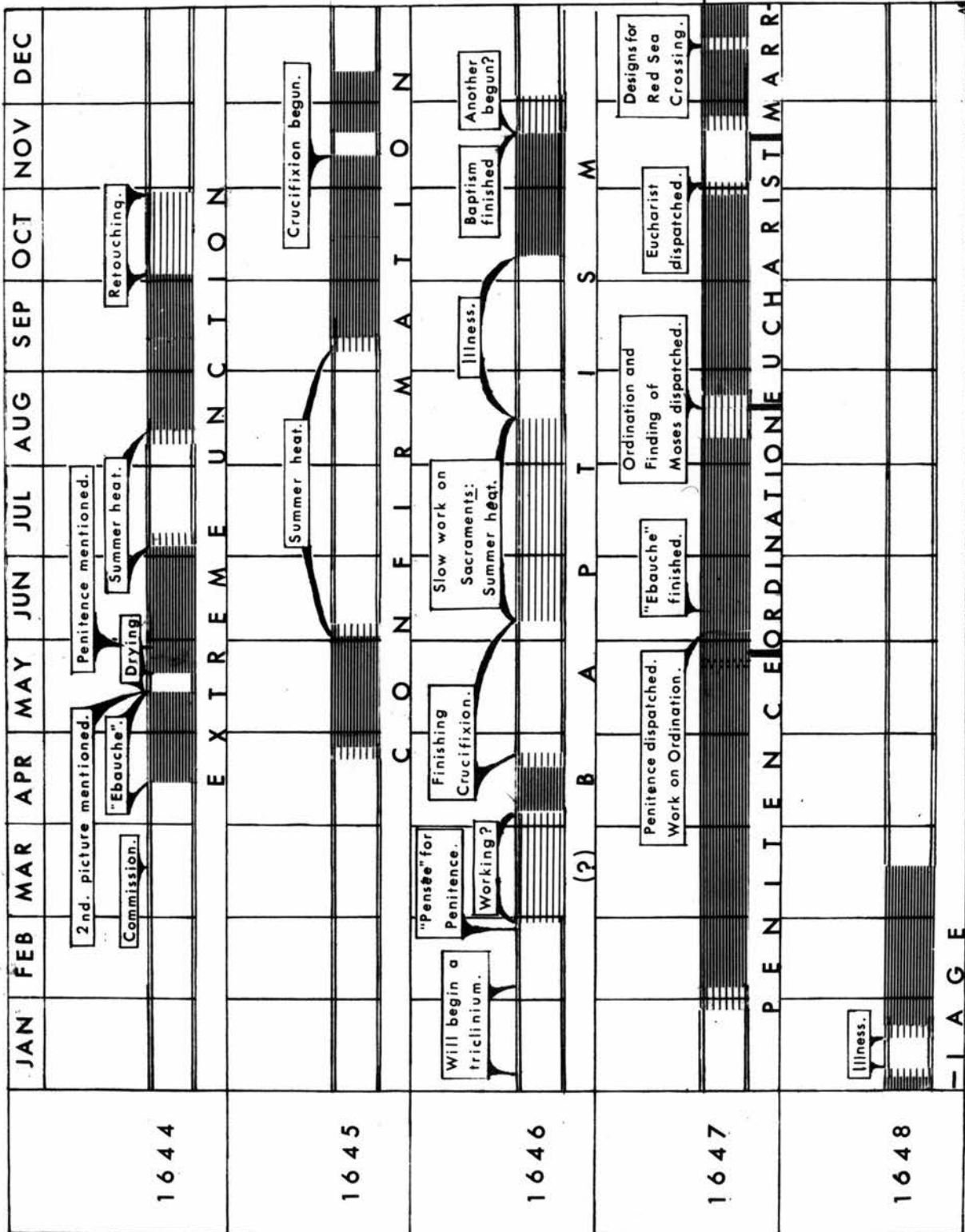
N.B. The picture was probably reasonably well advanced towards the completion of the "ébauche" by this date, for Poussin to make a forecast of the completion date. It is likely that he had begun to work on it about the middle of August, when he had completed Ordination.

35. 1647 3.xi. Eucharist dispatched. (127. pp.235-8)
N.B. This implies that it had been finished about a week earlier. Cf.31 above.
36. 24.xi. Marriage was on the easel. (128.pp.238-9)
N.B. It must have been begun near this date.
37. 1648 12.i. Temporary ill-health. (130.pp.245-6)
38. 23.iii. Marriage finished by this date. (131.pp.246-7)

A Schematic diagram, Figure 1, is appended (p.57) to clarify the above analysis of the documentation. The heavily shaded areas indicate the periods at which Poussin was certainly or almost certainly at work on the Sacraments. Lighter shading indicates periods in which he was working slowly, or in which one can guess that he was working on the Sacraments. The causes of delays and interruptions are inserted above the shaded areas. The documents reveal some of the reasons for the delay in delivery of the pictures. There is good reason to believe that Poussin's letters do not provide a complete idea of his activity. The period from 1646 to the spring of 1647 is particularly obscure. A complete reliance on the letters produces results that are in some cases absurd. Figures 2 and 3 (p.58) are based on the evidence of the letters. It is easy to see from these that there are quite considerable gaps in our knowledge.

It is reasonable to suppose that Poussin worked in a systematic way and that he produced about the same amount in each working day.²² The pictures

Figure 1. Chronological table: Sacraments II.



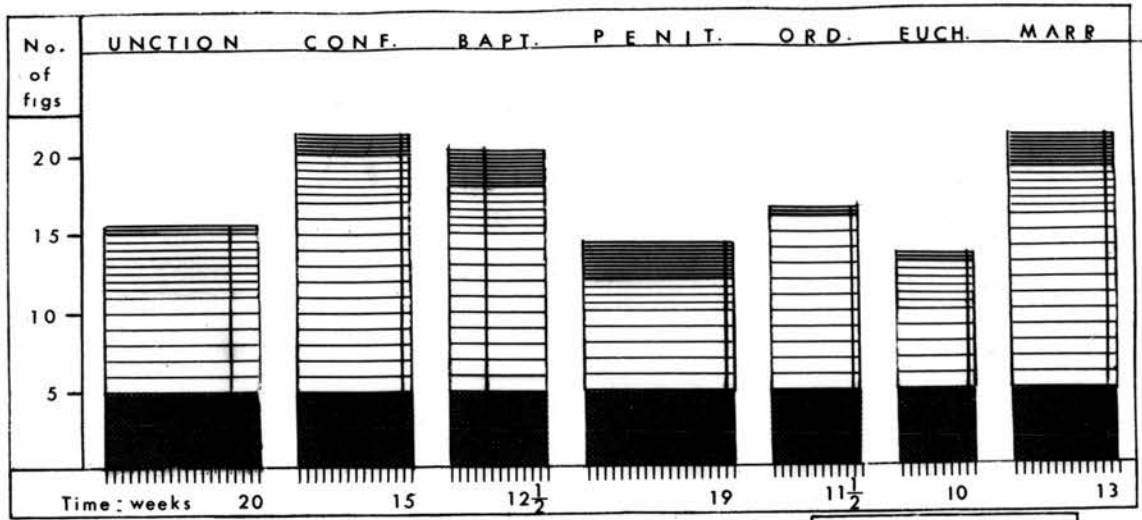


Figure 2. Number of figures & time taken. Sacraments II.

Key:
 ■ Heads
 ▨ Half figures
 ▩ Whole
 ■ Background

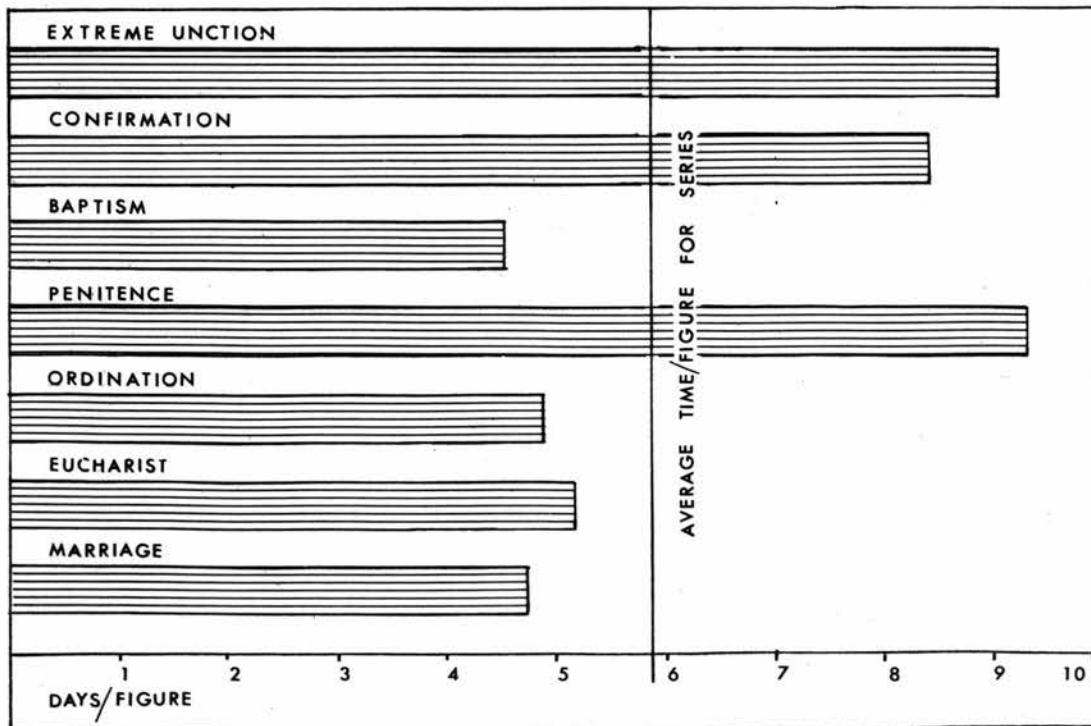


Figure 3. Apparent speed of execution. Sacraments II.

of the second set of Sacraments are all the same size, but there is a different number of figures in each. Poussin evidently thought of the number of figures as an index of the time he needed to paint a picture. On this basis he was able to forecast with a reasonable degree of accuracy when a picture would be finished. He made several such forecasts about the Sacraments (see Documents: 7, 15, 16, 30, 34). The ratio of the amount of work to the number of working days should have been about the same for each of the pictures.

I have made a deliberately ingenuous assessment of the evidence of the letters in the two diagrams that follow. The first (figure 2) shows the amount of work in each picture, assuming that a half-figure required half, and a head a quarter of the work needed for a complete figure. I have also assumed that the time needed for the execution of the background of each picture was a constant, equal, roughly, to the work needed for five complete figures. The number of working days is that shown in Figure 1 (p.57), where the documented working periods are allowed full measure and those periods in which it can only be surmised that Poussin was working are taken as half-working days. In Figure 2 these are shown on the left and right respectively of a vertical line. The speed at which Poussin worked was similarly calculated and the results tabulated in diagrammatic form in Figure 3. For diagrammatic convenience the "speed" is shown in terms of days per figure. The average "speed" for the series is included for comparison.

Figure 3 shows that on the evidence of the letters taken alone, Extreme Unction and Penitence appear to have been painted very slowly, while Baptism appears to have been painted with excessive haste. There were clearly some reasons for delay in the painting of Extreme Unction and Penitence not mentioned

in the letters, probably commissions from other patrons. Poussin would not reveal the full extent of these to Chantelou, since he was anxious to allay Chantelou's impatience for the delivery of his Sacraments. It is very likely that the Finding of Moses for Pointel was executed concurrently with Penitence, although it was only dispatched after Ordination was complete. It is possible also that Ordination had been begun much earlier than its first mention on 3.vi.1647 (Document 31). This picture would have been sketched out extraordinarily quickly, if the evidence of the letters can be trusted. The documents appear to indicate that it was executed very rapidly. Since the buildings were added over a complete landscape background and the figures retouched in places, it is very hard to believe the simple evidence of the letters. It is almost inconceivable that Poussin could have done all the work, including alterations, on Ordination in the short time that the documents appear to indicate. He could not have been working extensively on the Finding of Moses. He could have done no more than retouch it a little.

One cannot be quite so certain about the reason for the apparent slowness with which Poussin painted Extreme Unction. It is possible that he was working on other commissions at this time. He mentioned two, but did not say what they were. It is also possible that he did some work on one or other of the other Sacraments. On two occasions Poussin mentioned his intention to begin something else. He only named the picture he had in mind, Penitence, on the second occasion. It is quite possible that he may have had some other picture in mind on the first occasion, perhaps Confirmation or even Baptism.

Poussin quite evidently worked on more than one picture at a time and there is no reason to suppose that the first mention of any particular picture

in his letters indicates that he had not done any previous work on it. It is very likely that he could only have finished Baptism in mid-November 1646 if he worked on it before it was first mentioned in April 1646. I may have allowed too much time for the finishing of the Crucifixion. If I have then it is possible that I have allowed too much time for Confirmation to be painted, but it will be noted that this picture was not executed with any apparent slowness. When the number of figures in Marriage is taken into account it probably required more time than the letters suggest. It could well have been begun while Eucharist was drying, or perhaps while the "ébauche" of Eucharist was drying. The hints and suggestions that Poussin worked on more than one picture at a time are so numerous that it would be unwise to suppose he only began a picture when he had completed the previous one.

It is not certain, either, that Poussin made the drawings for each of the Sacraments only after completing the previous picture. The pictures are remarkably unified in style, yet Poussin never saw two complete together in his studio. This is a remarkable technical feat. It is hard to believe that he did not make a general plan for the whole series from the very first. It is more likely that many of the drawings were made at roughly the same time. Many of the drawings for Confirmation, Baptism and Ordination are very similar in style to one another. Many appear to be on the same paper and some of them were originally in Chantelou's possession, so that it is likely that they were all kept together in one portfolio or possibly in a sketch-book. This will be discussed in greater detail in the following sections on the development of each of the pictures of the set.

3. The development of Extreme Unction. (pl.53)

The drawings for Extreme Unction must have been made between 25th March and 14th April, 1644, that is, between the date on which the Sacraments were commissioned and the date on which Extreme Unction was begun. There are three drawings, as follows:

plate 50b 6. Paris, Giraudoux collection. 0.153 x 0.280. Pen.
CR.102 (I,49).

plate 52b 7. Louvre, 32.429. 0.218 x 0.332. Pen and wash. Squared.
Coll: Crozat, Mariette. CR.103. (I,49).

plate 51 A. Lost drawing. CR.A22. (I,49). Copy of this in Coll:

11 () G. Ofrescu, Bucharest. Inv.371. 0.135 x 0.242. Inscribed
"Death of Germanicus". The inscription said to be in
Horace Walpole's hand. From Walpole collection, Strawberry
Hill. Illustrated here.

Drawing A represents a death bed-scene, but the figure attitudes are very different from those of either of the paintings of Extreme Unction. This drawing is too remote from the Sacraments to be anything more than a study for some other subject not recorded.

Drawing no:6 (pl. 50b) is on a torn piece of paper. It repeats some of the motifs of Extreme Unction I: the kneeling boy; a priest, who anoints the eyes of the dying man; the doctor behind the bed. There are one or two features that appear not in the paintings of Extreme Unction, but in the Miracle of St. Francis Xavier (pl.47): the type, drapery and pose of the girl supporting the dying man's head, in particular, and, in a more general way, a standing figure and a figure leaning over the bed. There is a girl supporting the dying man's head in Extreme Unction I, (pl.48a), but she is far less prominent than in this drawing or in the St. Francis Xavier picture. She is different in detail also. In Extreme Unction she is standing partly concealed by a man holding a candle. In the drawing she is kneeling and is much more prominent. This drawing is therefore closer to the St. Francis Xavier picture than to Extreme Unction I, but it is clearly a study for an Extreme Unction. In character, it is unlike most of the drawings for the other Sacraments of the second set. It is in pen alone, whereas most of the others are predominantly in wash. The pen line is like that of drawings of the early 1640's. The resemblances to the St. Francis Xavier picture also suggest the same date.

The distance from Extreme Unction II is still very great. Some of the motifs newly introduced in the drawing are not present in the picture: the woman in the foreground with a child, who is given a different function in the picture; the female servant taking away the medicines, changed to a young man in the picture; the figure leaning over the foot of the bed; and the man standing in the centre. Two of the new features are preserved, however: the gesture of the 'doctor' and the kneeling figure with the candles. The girl supporting the dying man's head was omitted from Extreme Unction II, but made

her final appearance in this drawing. She is very much like the Magdalen in Penitence II (pl.39). The drawing could well be an early preliminary sketch for Extreme Unction II, perhaps the earliest. The only other drawing to have survived is the squared up final drawing, no:7. There must have been several between the two, in which Poussin would have made the transition from one to the other.

Drawing no: 7 (pl.52b) is very close to the finished picture. It is almost exclusively in wash with a few, barely visible pen lines. These are not outlines, but accents, used to clarify some of the details of the figures. This is a technique which Poussin used for the majority of the drawings for the second set of Sacraments. There are traces of squaring up for transfer. This was, therefore the last drawing made for the picture. Some of the details do not correspond with the painting as we now have it. The infra-red photographs show that the correspondence was closer, until Poussin decided on some alterations on the canvas (pls.56, 57a). These alterations were probably made between 2nd and 30th November, 1644.²³

The setting is not completely worked out. In the painting the wall behind the bed extends further across the background. The beams and their supports do not appear in the drawing and the architecture of the right-hand side was altered. The figures on the far right were replaced by the seated mourning figure (the daughter of the dying man, according to Bellori²⁴). In the drawing the priest anoints the chest, in the painting he anoints the hand of the dying man.

The changes in some of the details of the drapery can be seen in the infra-

red photographs. The original forms were very close to those in the drawing. The 'daughter' had drapery falling across her knees and a turban wound round her head in the drawing (pl.57a). There is no trace of the turban at any stage of the painting, but the original form of the drapery round the legs can be seen. The mourner holding drapery to her weeping eyes, had no drapery over her head originally. The heavy paint of the addition shows that this was clearly an afterthought. In Confirmation II, in contrast, there are one or two changes in the drapery, which show Poussin adding final details of collars only after he had established the general form (pl.22a). In this figure in Extreme Unction, the alterations are nothing to do with that sort of technical device. They are radical changes of mind. Poussin had already established the form of the mourner's head and hair style before he decided to obliterate them by the addition of drapery. If he had wanted the drapery from the start, he could have worked it out in drawings, but he did not. The priest's cloak did not cover his shoulders quite so much, nor did it hang heavily over his arm, forming an infolded point (pl.56). His drapery covered the foot that is on the ground and curved down towards the other, which rests on the stool by the bed. In the drawing and in Extreme Unction I (pl.48a), his left foot was on the stool and his right foot on the floor. In Extreme Unction II his legs are interchanged. The alterations to the drapery were probably connected with this change. There were one or two other minor changes, but these are of no great importance.

The first picture of Extreme Unction is very different from the second. The first has an even light tonality. The figures are broken up into small parts by the play of light. In the light areas there are numerous sharp drapery folds and, in some of the flesh painting, sharp divisions of the

musculature. The light areas are scattered about the picture surface, with a consequent dispersal of interest. There is no strong effect of grouping in the figure arrangement. Nearly all the figures are isolated from one another by the small, sharp contrasts of light and shade and by the contrasts of local colour. Not only are the figures smaller in relation to the size of the picture surface than in the second picture, they are also made to seem even smaller by the delicate treatment of detail and by the deep space of the room setting, which is about twice as deep as it is broad. On the other hand, the first picture has great simplicity in the drawing and modelling. The forms of the limbs of the 'daughters' are gracefully rounded and every feature of the picture has a meditated clarity. The feelings of the mourners are subdued. There are only two mourners whose faces are in light and whose facial expressions can be seen. Neither of them is weeping. Both are in prayer. The most grief-stricken have their hands over their faces.

An effect akin to the dispersal of the lights in the picture is due to the peculiar nature of the composition. The main emphasis is on the left of the picture, not in its customary and expected place on the right. Attempts to 'read' the composition in the customary manner from left to right are therefore frustrated. The subordinate mourners at the foot of the bed are in the place which should be occupied by the dominant accent. The group at the bed-head is closed by the three vertical figures on the extreme left on one side and by the priest, who is to the left of centre. There does not appear to be any continuity in the flow of movement from this group to those at the foot of the bed. Within this group there is some movement to the right, in the gesture of the doctor, his servant and the servant girl leaving the room.

This is secondary to the feeling that most of these figures oppose the 'normal' direction, by leaning in towards the left. For those, who, like the present writer, find it difficult to 'read' this picture, a photograph of the composition in reverse is included (pl.48b). Continuity and coherence are at once restored, by reversing the composition. The subordinate group at the foot of the bed now makes a strong flowing movement towards the main accent, which is given its full dominance on the right.

The second picture is also a composition with its main accent to the right. Poussin placed the priest nearly in the centre this time. He still thought of having him anoint the eyes of the dying man in his last drawing for the composition (pl.52b). This was impractical, because of the greater distance between priest and dying man, but Poussin only found this out, when he came to work on the larger scale of the canvas. The groups on either side of the priest now both lean in towards the centre, thus removing much of the sense of discomfort of the earlier composition. The figures appear to be packed closer together. They are slightly larger in relation to the size of the canvas and the space behind them is closed by the heavily draped screen.

The most important change is in the lighting. The tone of the picture is very low, since the scene is artificially lit by the candles held by the two men on the left. The largest area of light is the drapery of the priest and there are two or three smaller light areas on either side of him. The effect is far more unified. The figure grouping seems to be co-ordinated with the orthogonals of the perspective, so that figures and spatial setting are linked. The new composition has a greater degree of compression and a new expressive intensity in the faces and attitudes of the figures accompanies the new

concentration of perspective and chiaroscuro. Poussin does not conceal the faces of the grief-stricken mourners. None of the figures stand by calmly, as in the first version. Every motif appears to have been calculated for its effect of pathos. Poussin introduced one new motif to this end: a woman brings a small child to the side of the dying man, emphasising the contrast between living and dying flesh. Even the priest has lost much of his neutral expression of the first version. While anointing the hand, he appears to be looking at the face of the dying man with an expression of human concern.²⁵

4. A drawing for a Feast in the House of Simon, (pl.38a).

Friedlaender and Blunt thought that this drawing (pl.33) derived from a Poussinesque conception. They also suggest that it may have been made as a sketch for the use of Poussin's friends, since a drawing by A.B. Stella in Stockholm and a painting by Philippe de Champaigne have similar compositions. The drawing is:

Plate 38a. 8.Louvre.M.I. 991. 0.133 x 0.186. Pen. Coll: Lawrence, Cunningham, His de la Salle. CR. B20. (I,41).

Verso: The drawing is pasted down, but a drawing is visible on the verso by strong illumination. It is for a decorative design, with herms and quadri riportati.

Attribution to Poussin uncertain.

It differs from both paintings of Penitence (pls.36, 39), in that the triclinium is not made up of rectangular beds, but of one continuous curved bed, nearly a full circle. On 30th May, 1644, Poussin wrote to Chantelou to tell him that he was thinking of beginning work on Penitence. He said that there would be something

new in this picture: "particulièrement le tricline lunaire qu'ils appelaient Sigma y sera observé ponctuellement"²⁶. The shape of the triclinium in the drawing corresponds to the kind mentioned in the letter. In all the paintings of Eucharist and Penitence Poussin painted rectangular beds. This would, therefore, have been a new arrangement indeed. When Poussin started thinking about triclinia again in the early months of 1646, he did not mention what form he had in mind and it is likely that he had abandoned the Sigma triclinium by this date. The drawing shows what an awkward arrangement it would have made.

The authorship of the drawing is in doubt. Friedlaender and Blunt thought that it was weak in execution. In style it is not very far from the drawings for the Madonna Roccatagliata (pls.19a,b,20b) already discussed. No strictly comparable drawing for the second set of Sacraments exists. If one could remove the wash from a drawing like that in the Uffizi for Baptism II (no:25) the line would have a similar loose appearance, the heads would appear similarly abbreviated and the limbs similarly simplified (pl.8b). On the other hand it is not so clear and incisive as the drawing for Extreme Unction II (no:6) discussed above (pl.50b). It is just possible that this drawing on the recto of the sheet is by Poussin, although the drawing on the verso is probably not by him. As far as can be seen²⁷ the figures seem rather too 'svelte' for Poussin, although it could perhaps be a design made in Paris for the Orangerie of the Luxembourg Palace.²⁸ The style of neither side of the sheet is so dissimilar from Poussin's that it must be dismissed out of hand. The paper on which the drawing was made is not unlike that used for many of the drawings for the second set of Sacraments. The iconography corresponds with that mentioned in the letter. If it is not an original by Poussin, it is probably closely

related to a lost original and was probably made by someone in Poussin's immediate circle. Although the attribution is difficult to determine this drawing appears to record the project that Poussin mentioned for a Feast in the House of Simon with a sigma triclinium, on 30th May, 1644.

The relation of the drawing to the two versions of Penitence, is just like that of the Giraudoux drawing (no.6) to the two versions of Extreme Unction. There are features that depend on the first and features that foreshadow the second version.

In the case of Penitence II a fragmentary drawing for the picture survives between this stage and the final drawing at Montpellier. This drawing could be an early preliminary sketch, like that for Extreme Unction II. The style would not be impossible at this date, 1644, although it would be out of place among the series of heavy chiaroscuro drawings for Confirmation, Baptism and Ordination of the second set.

The poses of Christ and the Magdalen are similar to those in Penitence I (pl.36), only they are more foreshortened in the drawing. Simon the Pharisee gestures towards them in much the same way, though with his left arm instead of his right. He too is much more foreshortened, so much so that he resembles the Apostle who lies at the right of Eucharist I (pl.30). On the left hand side of the drawing there are two servants talking together, whose poses are almost the same as those on the right of Penitence II (pl.39). The figures of the participants at the feast are connected with those in Penitence II. The guest on the far side of the table, on the right, is unlike any figure in Penitence I. His pose is like that of Simon the Pharisee in Penitence II: leaning on one hand,

body turned to the right, head turned to the left. The guest on the far side of the table, in the centre, could have been the point of departure for the man drinking in the centre of Penitence II. The background also suggests the architecture of Penitence II, rather than the landscape opening out into architecture of Penitence I.

There are two further drawings for Penitence II, both of which are much more like the picture than is this drawing. They will be discussed below in section 7, since they were probably made much nearer to the date of the picture itself.

5. The evolution of the composition of Confirmation II, (pl.21)

There are two main differences between the two pictures of Confirmation. The proportions of the second picture are those established in the painting of Extreme Unction II, and the new picture is in the reverse sense from the first version. These two differences created the major problems, to solve which Poussin made an extensive series of drawings. This group of drawings shows the development of a chiaroscuro method, which is continued in many of the subsequent drawings for this set of Sacraments. There are two kinds of drawings for this picture, complete composition studies and studies for the groups of figures only.

Plate 23a 9. Windsor.11897. 0.182 x 0.254. Pen and wash. CR.86. (I,43).

Complete composition. Verso: a woman's head. Not connected with the Sacraments.

Plate 24a 10. Louvre. M.I.994. 0.131 x 0.254. Pen and wash. Coll:

Chantelou, Lawrence, His de la Salle. CR.88.(I,43).

Figures only. Verso: Possibly a drawing. The drawing is pasted down and traces of what is possibly a sketch are faintly visible by strong illumination. See note²⁶.

Plate 24b. 11.Louvre.M.I.995. 0.124 x 0.246. Pen and wash. Coll:

Mariette, Lawrence, His de la Salle. CR.87 (I,43).

Figures only.

Plate 24c. 12.Louvre M.I.996. 0.126 x 0.254. Pen and wash. Coll.:

Chantelou, Lawrence, His de la Salle. CR.89. (I,44).

Figures only. Verso: Visible by strong illumination, fragment of a letter. See note²⁶.

Plate 23b. 13.Windsor 11898. 0.186 x 0.287. Pen and wash. Squared.

Coll.: Massimi 62. CR.A20 (I,44). Complete composition.

In their catalogue raisonné, Friedlaender and Blunt say that no:13 was "probably executed with the help of studio hands". In his recent catalogue of the paintings Blunt says that it is "certainly original". It shows the figures of the painting with a number of small variations and with differences in the lighting. Most of the figures appear to be lit from the left and have shadows that fall horizontally across the drawing. The shadows of two kneeling figures in the foreground are supposed to have been cast by the lamps hanging in the space behind them. These shadows are confused. The main shadows for each figure should have been determined by the light from the nearer lamp, but in the drawing they are determined by the further lamp in each case. This kind of mistake is far from characteristic of Poussin, who handled artificial illumination with great precision in Extreme Unction II (pl.32), both paintings

of Eucharist (pls.30, 32) and the Institution of the Eucharist (pl.35a). The dry quality of the wash is quite unlike the soft fluidity of the wash in the other drawings of this group. There is only one comparable drawing with wash of this kind among the Sacraments drawings, one of the later drawings for Ordination II (no:32)(pl.65). Both drawings are at Windsor and both come from the Massimi collection. Both drawings are nearly final for the two pictures, both are strangely hard and dry, and both were classed as "studio" by Friedlaender and Blunt. It will be remembered that there is strong probability that some Poussin drawings in the Massimi collection were cut for mounting, the more pictorial side of the sheet being selected for display. It seems equally likely that these two drawings have been "improved" at some time for a similar purpose. The Ordination drawing (no:32) has two layers of wash. One is smooth and fairly free, while the second is hard and dry. The second layer stops abruptly just before the right hand edge, as if the second layer had been added while the drawing was in a mount. In both cases forgery can be ruled out, since the motifs in the drawings are slightly different from those in the paintings, and quite different from those in the other drawings for the pictures. Both drawings record with some authority the figure and background arrangements just before work was begun on the paintings, but like other apparently final drawings for the second set of Sacraments, they were not absolutely definitive. The drawing for Confirmation can be accepted in part as a nearly final drawing for the picture, but with the reservation that the wash may have been worked up after the drawing was made. It is not possible to rely on this drawing as evidence that Poussin considered alternative lighting for the picture.

There are three closely related studies for the righthand side of the picture in the Louvre, M.I.994,995 and 996 (my numbers 10,11 and 12). In the

catalogue raisonné Friedlaender and Blunt gave these drawings a different sequence, where Louvre M.I.995 (my no:11) was supposed to have preceded M.I.994 (my no:10). Their reasons for the sequence are far from conclusive. The slight changes in the figures that they mentioned could have occurred in either sequence. There are other differences between these two drawings that make it more probable that the catalogue raisonné sequence is incorrect. Poussin does not indicate the stole, hanging loosely at the neck of the priest in no:10 (pl.24a). He adds this only in no:11 (pl24b) and retains it in the subsequent drawings. The figure of an old man leaning on a stick appears in no:9 (pl23a) and in no:10. In no:10 he is the third figure from the right. Poussin was uncertain about the figures in this part of his picture and there are signs that he tried out at least two different arrangements in this drawing. This figure does not appear in the later drawings and it is clear that this drawing must therefore precede MI.995 (no:11) (pl.24c), not vice-versa. No:10 is much looser in the pen-lines and consequently much less clear in the definition of the volumes of the figures, the extremities of which are only very vaguely indicated. The wash is also very loosely applied and the shadows of the figures are indeterminate. In many of his drawings Poussin used cast shadows to define the position of his figures in space. In no:11 the pen and the wash are much more explicit. The volumes of the figures are more simple, the extremities are clearer. The overall effect of chiaroscuro is not present, but the spatial positions of the figures are sharply defined by horizontal bands of shadow or short horizontal pen lines at their feet. The irregular angles made by the arms of the figures in the first drawing are changed to horizontals in the second. This drawing is clearly the product of reflection, in which Poussin carefully tidied up his first thought. Some details in the

second drawing show this very clearly. The priest no longer appears to rest his arm in the dish offered to him by the young deacon in the foreground and the hand of the pointing woman on the right is disentangled from the drapery of the figures behind her.

The first drawing for the composition of Confirmation II is no:9, Windsor 11897 (pl.23a). The whole composition is in the reverse sense from Confirmation I (pl.17a). Only the priests remain of the figures in the earlier picture. The others are new inventions. The most fundamental change is in the age of the persons being confirmed. In the first picture they are all children, in this drawing there are two men kneeling before the Bishop. On the right of the drawing a young woman is urged forward by an older one. Only in the secondary scene the age of the boy having a fillet bound round his forehead remains unchanged. Poussin still retains the theme of women and children. On the right there is a child clinging to his mother, while she points to the confirmation ceremony. Poussin adds a new group of secondary spectators in the furthest plane of the figure composition. Two of these are vague and indeterminate in character, but the third is clearly an old man leaning on a stick.

Poussin retains the architectural setting of the church that he had used in Confirmation I with a massive pier on the left.²⁹ There is no indication as yet of the symmetrical arrangement of Confirmation II. The figures within the space are not yet on the new, larger scale of the second set of Sacraments. Poussin does not seem to have been quite sure how to dispose of the new length of canvas. He arranged the confirmation ceremony across more than half the width, spacing a series of standing figures at equal intervals. Then there is a sharp break between the group on the left and the densely packed wedge of

spectators on the right. Only the pointing woman links the two parts of the composition. This is merely an extended version of Confirmation I. The main difference is that the linking figure between the two groups of the picture, the kneeling woman in yellow, is omitted from the drawing. The break in the composition evidently did not worry Poussin, since he did nothing to change it in the two following drawings. The short flickering line and the pale wash suggest that this drawing was not executed in the same session of work as the following drawings, which are very different in character. It is more like the Sigma triclinium drawing and the early project for Extreme Unction (nos:6 and 8). Possibly these three were all drawn at a very early date.

The main features to be changed in the next two drawings are the placing of the deacon next to the Bishop, who is further back in the space. The figures at the altar are still to be filled out and given some significant action. The indeterminate characters of the group on the right are still to be resolved into separate individuals.

In the next drawing, no:10 (pl.24a), the deacon is moved to the most forward plane. The density of the figure distribution is more even. The group on the right now forms a wedge, which almost meets the wedge of figures on the left, nearly eliminating the break in the composition. The figures are now arranged on a 'V'. At this stage Poussin appears to be trying to create a symmetrical kind of grouping, as he had already done in Extreme Unction II. When this drawing was resolved and clarified in no:11 (pl.24b) the break in the composition was still present although the diagonal arrangement of the right hand group can still be seen. On the extreme left Poussin invented the

two figures with the candles at the altar, thus filling out the group on that side. The group on the right begins to be more distinct. The idea of a woman urging a young woman forward in the first drawing, is given a new variation. The older woman, now much nearer the centre, has her hands on the shoulders of two young persons. Her place was now empty and Poussin made at least two attempts to fill it with standing figures, one of whom is the old man with the stick. The woman pointing remains as she was, but her child now turns his head, looking over his shoulder at the Bishop, while sucking his thumb.

The clarification that took place in the next drawing, no:11 has already been noticed. There are no major changes in the composition as a whole.

Like no:10, the next drawing no:12 (pl.24c) must have been a design in rough to be amended and clarified in a neater, more finished drawing. Perhaps the Windsor drawing no:13, originally served this purpose (pl.23b). The last of the Louvre drawings, no:12 represents a more advanced stage of the design. The compositional problem of the earlier drawings is nearing solution. There is no longer a gap, since the figures stretch continuously across the width of the whole picture. The figures are arranged roughly in three planes, the second of which provides the continuity. The centre is now filled with the figures of the kneeling girl in prayer and the kneeling boy. Both of these appear to be new inventions, although they must have stemmed from the same train of thought as that by which Poussin had introduced mothers and children in the earlier stages. The boy is very like the woman in yellow of Confirmation I in pose and in function. The horizontal stresses of gestures in no:11 are no longer necessary, since the figure group itself is continuous across the

whole picture. The figures are much more restrained in their movement. There is a sense of the figures standing like a row of columns. In nos:10 and 11 Poussin began to make the deacon in the foreground bend lower, so that the Bishop would be given more prominence. In no:12 the deacon is kneeling, mirroring the new kneeling figures on the right. The pointing woman points with her right hand instead of her left, bringing her pointing arm nearer to the main continuous group and thus diminishing the sense of a wedge in space of the right hand group. The change also removes the suggestion in her gesture of evil connotations.

At this stage Poussin introduced a new and important idea. The kneeling figures form a progression representing increasing faith with increasing age, from right to left across the picture. The small child (nude in this drawing and still sucking his thumb) clings to the pointing woman and looks apprehensively towards the Bishop. The kneeling boy, somewhat older, is in prayer, but he too turns his head, towards the group of women on the right. In the next plane back in space a young girl kneels calmly in prayer, a contrast to the two boys. The man being confirmed and the youth kneeling beside him express the devotion of maturity. This idea is closely bound up with the new organization into a continuous lateral procession. The calm effect of this drawing, with its strong horizontal and vertical emphases is in marked contrast to the dynamic movement within the Extreme Unction. Poussin introduced new motifs in this drawing which help to increase this effect. The tall upright static figure of the vestal-like woman in pale yellow is one. Even the Bishop's faldistorium is given a more rectilinear form.

The character of this drawing is typical of many for this set of

Sacraments. Heavy, loosely applied wash obscures the forms of extremities, as in no:10. The lines are not always very explicit. Sometimes they are doubled and sometimes scratchily applied to indicate drapery folds. The wash is just as important as the line. Chiaroscuro had become an important feature of Poussin's art by this period.

In the second Windsor drawing (11898, my no:13 (pl.23b), Poussin made two important changes on the right. He replaced the contemplative figures at the side with more active figures who admire the devotion of the others. He also added the young deacon, who is waving a branch of what is probably hyssop. There are one or two other alterations, none of them very important. Only one other detail is still to be given its final form: the height of the young man in the furthest part of the Confirmation scene, having his head bound with a fillet. In no:13 he is taller than in the other drawings. In the painting he is shorter again. Poussin remained somewhat undecided about this detail, even when he worked on the canvas. The infra-red photograph of this area (pl.22b) shows that the priest's arms were originally a little higher, and that Poussin altered them to correspond with the reduction in height of the young man. This confirms the idea that no:13 was a drawing for the picture, and not a copy made after it. The slight alterations to the edges of drapery are not so much signs of changes of intention as part of Poussin's technique of blocking in the main forms first, and then adding details.

The first version of Confirmation dealt almost exclusively with the confirmation of young children, contrasting their acceptance of faith with the timidity of the young child with his mother on the left. There is no great cohesion in the grouping, between the priests on the right and the spectator

figures on the left. The spectators are bunched together, while the confirmation rite has few figures and is set against a deep, dark space. The figures appear to be very small. They occupy only a small proportion of the canvas. Their drapery is crumpled and often has small, bunched up folds.

The second version has a much more carefully co-ordinated action, larger figures and a magnificent simplicity in the heavy folds of the draperies. The figures being or about to be confirmed vary considerably in age, and there is great variety in the feelings of the figures. The main action stretches across the picture from right to left, but there is also a symmetry in the setting and in the two wedges of the figures on the right and on the left. The setting has a solemnity absent from the first version, with its enormous stone tombs on either side and the stone font in the centre. In the first version there is an altar in the background with a picture of a standing Madonna and Child on it. In the second version the altar is the table in the foreground behind the Bishop, and the background opens up into a series of receding rectangular spaces.

The preparation for this picture was so thorough that Poussin had little occasion to make any significant changes in the execution. The majority of the figures are smoothly executed. In one or two places the handling is much freer and spontaneous as if the figures in question had been improvised on the canvas. The three heads of spectators on the right show this clearly in an infra-red photograph (pl.22a). The body-colour is less thick and the brush-strokes are less blended than in the other figures. These figures have different form in drawing no:13. Poussin seems to have decided to change them at a late moment in the execution of the picture and had not prepared them

completely in the "ébauche".

This is not the only passage of technical improvisation. There are several dark lines in the hair of the kneeling boy in yellow in the foreground. They were made by scratching through the lighter body colour with the handle of the brush or some similar instrument, revealing the darker paint beneath.

6. Some drawings for a Marriage of the Virgin and Ordination.

The last four pictures of the set were all begun in 1647, and executed almost "sans intermission" in one year. We have already seen with what elaboration Poussin prepared his pictures in his drawings for Confirmation II. There was hardly any time in 1647 when Poussin could have paused between paintings to make drawings for the last four pictures, except perhaps for Marriage. It is highly likely that the drawings for these pictures were already made by the beginning of 1647, and no doubt well before that.

Not only in 1644 did Poussin think of beginning Penitence II, but he announced in March 1646 that he had worked out the "pensée" for the picture. He still did not execute it until 1647. It was his habit to work on two or more projects simultaneously and to begin pictures at one time only to complete

them much later. It would have been very much in character for Poussin to execute many of the drawings for the later Sacraments well before he executed the paintings.

In style many of the drawings for the Sacraments are very closely similar. This too suggests that many of them were executed at about the same time. All the Baptism drawings must have been executed by April 1646, at the very latest, and the drawings for Confirmation by the end of April 1645. These groups of drawings have similarities, especially in the predominance and freedom of the wash. Poussin did not develop the chiaroscuro technique so far in the Confirmation drawings as in those for Baptism II, as will be seen later. He still used a very delicate line in no:11 (pl.24b), and the wash is usually well within the contours of the figures.

The next group of drawings, for Ordination II and a Marriage of the Virgin, is as follows:

- Plate 61a. 14.Louvre.M.I.993. 0.137 x 0.213. Pen and wash. Coll:
Mariette, (112), Lawrence, His de la Salle. CR.95 (I,46).
An Ordination.
- Plate 64a. 15.Formerly Blumenreich Coll. Berlin. Pen. CR.97 (I,46).
Left hand group for Ordination.
- Plate 62a. 16.Louvre. 32.436. 0.133 x 0.246. Pen and wash. Coll:
Paraph. CR.96 (I,46). An Ordination. Christ holding a
Scroll.
- Plate 82. 17.Turin. Bibl.Reale.Cart.46(60)D.C. 16301. 0.078 x 0.103.
Pen and wash. Coll:Denon. CR.92. (I,45). A Marriage of

the Virgin.

Plates 83,

- 61b. 18. Louvre.R.F.18. 0.132 x 0.200. Pen and wash. Coll: His de la Salle. Watermark part of an oval at top 0.040 x 0.036. C.R.93. (I,45), where the number is given incorrectly as R.F.17. A Marriage of the Virgin.

Plates 84,

- 62b. 19. Louvre.R.F.17. 0.170 x 0.248. Pen and wash. Coll: Mariette, (110), Lawrence, His de la Salle. CR.94 (I,45), where the vertical measurement is given incorrectly as 0.180 and the number incorrectly as R.F.18. A Marriage of the Virgin.

Friedlaender and Blunt did not think that the three Marriage of the Virgin drawings were for Marriage II, but that they were "a separate attempt to depict the 'Sposalizio'." They saw that there was some sort of compositional and stylistic link with the two Ordination drawings (nos:14 and 16) and placed them between the two series of Sacraments. They dated nos:14 and 16 to "about 1645". They did not say how they arrived at this date, but the relation to the smaller drawings for Confirmation II (nos:11 and 12, pls.24b and c) make it seem likely that this is correct for nos:14, 16 and 18, but not for no:19 which is possibly later. It is strange that they could classify the Ordination drawings as studies for the Sacraments, but not the Marriage drawings.³⁰ In both cases, the figure arrangements, settings and iconography are somewhat remote from the paintings, and the same classification argument could apply equally well to both groups. Since the majority of these drawings were probably executed in 1645, some two years before the pictures were painted,

they could well be early variant projects. Furthermore, there are drawings nearer to both pictures, which are probably later in date.

The Turin drawing for the Marriage of the Virgin, no:1 (pl.82), is very small and very rough in handling. There are no strictly comparable drawings. On the other hand, the remaining Marriage drawings, nos:18 and 19, are close to the two Ordination drawings, nos:14 and 15, and all of them are related to the smaller Confirmation drawings, especially nos:11 and 12.

The handling of the architecture in the Ordination drawing, no:14, and in Marriage drawing no:18, is almost the same (pl.61a, b). Poussin uses the same running curved lines for horizontals and produces almost exactly the same degree of clarity in the architectural forms with soft layers of wash. In the figure drawing the drapery folds are altered in places with a series of scribbly strokes, making an effect that looks like overlapping transparent planes. The figure drawing in these is extremely close to that in Confirmation drawing, no:12 (pl.24c). All three drawings are at the same stage of nearly complete definition. The following Marriage drawing, no:19 (pl.84), is typical of Poussin's tidying up style and is like that in the equivalent stage for Confirmation, no:11 (pl.24b). It is at least as close to one of the later groups of drawings for Ordination, no:32 (pl.65). The very thin pen lines for contours and for drapery folds are similar in all three drawings. In all three, the facial features are indicated to much the same degree. No:16 (pl.62a) is badly rubbed and is now rather faint, but it must have shown something like the same degree of finish as Confirmation drawing no:11 did originally. The wash is heavier and the pen line less prominent, but what

line there is has a similar character to that in the last two drawings mentioned.

The relation of nos:14 and 16 (pls.61a, 62a) to the picture of Ordination (pl.66) is fairly obvious. The idea of a line of Apostles strung out across the picture derives from Ordination I (pl.59b), but in both drawings the arrangement is reversed. Christ and St.Peter are on the right and the Apostles on the left. Many of the figures are entirely new inventions, many of which are gradually modified in later drawings, but remain more or less recognisable in Ordination II.

The earlier painting is filled with a loosely organised chain of Apostles, from the right to the left, where St.Peter kneels in front of Christ. St. Peter is in the act of taking the keys from Christ's right hand, while Christ's left hand points to heaven. The emotion of each figure is stressed at the expense of simplicity of grouping. None of the Apostles are quite vertical, their heads are bent at various angles, and the small folds of their draperies make broken and varied patterns. They are not massed together with any sort of cohesive planning. This is in marked contrast to Ordination II, with its symmetry, its simplicity of drawing and its well-co-ordinated groups, set against a lucid architectural background.

Louvre M.I. 993 (my no.14, pl.61a) is very probably the earlier of the two Ordination drawings, nearer the Confirmation drawings in style. Poussin replaced the wild landscape of Ordination I with a setting dominated by a large architectural mass, which appears to be the ruins of a temple complex. This is so designed that its main horizontals and verticals frame the main

groups of Apostles. To left and right of the ruins there is a city-scape, and behind that a few mountain peaks. These are indications of the setting specified in the Gospels.³¹ The city is Caesarea Philippi and the mountain peaks Mount Lebanon. Poussin indicates this setting in different ways in all the other drawings for this picture.

The Apostles are divided into three clear groups. On the left, framed by a low wall are two disputing Apostles, with a third figure in different dress from the Twelve and Christ. He wears a cloak over his left shoulder, and a short tunic, which comes only to his knees. The other figures all wear a long garment, probably intended to be the pallio, and long cloak. This figure on the far left is some anonymous spectator, who appears in some of the other drawings, but not in the picture. The central group of six Apostles is arranged against the main vertical structure of the ruin. They form a diagonal into space and their backs and shoulders make a broad mass of light against the half-shade of the architecture. In contrast to this more or less uniform group, Poussin introduced a figure with his back turned to us, pointing to Christ and turning his head to the Apostle behind him. The third group of Apostles, three in number, are further back in the space, facing us. Against the city-scape on the extreme right, Christ stands with St. Peter kneeling before him. Compared to Ordination I, there are distinct new features about the poses of both of them. Christ is no longer in profile, nor does he hand the keys to St. Peter. He is turned more to face us. His right hand is raised, while his left points away from St. Peter. The latter kneels in profile, his right arm extended in front of him. There are several places where Poussin had not quite decided on the form of the draperies.

The lost drawing from the Blumenreich collection, no:15 (pl.64a) is a very rough sketch of the left hand side of the composition. It has the compressed grouping of Louvre 32, 436 (my no:16) and all except the nearest figure are virtually the same. This was almost certainly the rough sketch that preceded no:16. It is almost exclusively a line drawing, with an unusual degree of roughness in the handling. It seems to go beyond the restraint of the Confirmation drawings to the almost violent treatment in some of the Baptism drawings. The draperies are not yet distinct, but they are near to those in the next drawing.

The proportions of the next drawing, Louvre 32, 436 (my no:16), are almost exactly the same as those of the pictures of the second set of Sacraments. The figures are about two fifths of the height of the drawing, smaller than the figures in the pictures, but the drawing has almost certainly been cut at the top and on both sides. If the drawing were the same proportions as the pictures of the second set and perhaps a little longer, the figures would be roughly half the height of the picture, which is much closer to the figure scale of the second set. There are drawings for both Marriage and Baptism (pl.61a,b) in which Poussin began with figures that would have been too small, or the same as in the first set, and then corrected the scale in later drawings. Poussin evidently took some time to adjust his designs to his new scale.

In no:16 the groups are less dispersed, the figures heavier, the movements more restricted, and the lines more clearly vertical (pl.62a). The background architecture is not a ruin, but a massive block with two heavy columns. Beyond, a city-scape stretches across most of the picture, with its accompanying mountains. The two left hand groups are amalgamated in this drawing, into one

large wedge of figures, receding to the anonymous stranger on the far left. The man with his back turned to us is brought further to the front and makes a link between this large group on the left and Christ and St. Peter on the right. The most striking new feature of the drawing is a matter of iconography. Christ is holding a scroll, instead of keys, as he does in several early Christian sarcophagi, while St. Peter holds the end of it in his hands and looks up to read from it. The rectilinearity of the style of this drawing is like that in the final stages of the Confirmation drawings and perhaps even more like that of the last drawing for Baptism, no:29 (pl.11). The wash in this drawing also is not unlike that which Poussin used in the landscape of drawings for Baptism, like no:26, though it is not so refined. This drawing should perhaps be dated nearer to the Baptism drawings, perhaps later in 1645.

The compositions of these two Ordination drawings are both very different from the symmetrical composition of Ordination II. These show a decidedly left to right arrangement. In the Marriage drawings the setting is different but the figures are arranged in a similar way to those in both the paintings. Some of the figures are recognisably the same as those used in the paintings. Thus there is strong reason for supposing that the Marriage drawings are for the Sacraments.

The little drawing in Turin, no:17 (pl.82), is hard to read. The basic arrangement, though, is clear enough. The central group of Marriage I can be seen (pl.80) but set in a Temple porch, raised on a stylobate. The main group is enclosed by rows of columns on either side. Below the stylobate, the figures at each side are very like the figures in the foreground of Marriage I. This is virtually the same scene, only in a new extended setting on two levels. Even

the niches beside the central doorway of the first version appear on the wall on either side of the columns. The variety of figure action is much increased in this new arrangement. Poussin introduced figures ascending the steps on the left and descending on the right, a figure clinging to a column, one reclining on the ground and a boy looking over the edge of the stylobate. The motifs so roughly drawn in this sketch are worked out in the next two drawings, nos:18 and 19, with increasing precision.

In the next drawing, no:18 (pl.83), the main accent is definitely to the right with a flow of figures up the steps from the left. The figure scale is still rather small for the second set of Sacraments. Both the direction and scale are like the corresponding drawing for Ordination II, no:14 (pl.61a). The two drawings look as if they were made as pendants. In this drawing the setting is changed slightly. Instead of a closing wall with niches, Poussin drew part of a triumphal arch on the left. The figures are altered slightly. Instead of kneeling before the seated priest, St. Joseph and the Virgin are standing, while the priest, also standing, places a hand on the shoulder of each of them. The accessory figures were also altered. In the foreground the figures from Marriage I are replaced by a seated woman with a child, two struggling children, a man leaning on the edge of the stylobate, and a dog. There are now two women ascending the steps, one of them with two children. Behind them in the newly extended space two men stand looking on. The figure leaning against the column on the left begins to look like the equivalent figure in Marriage II (pl.86).

In no:19 (pl.84) the figures are larger and drawn clearly. Once more there are a few variations in the figures. Joseph, the Virgin and the priest

are standing in this drawing too, though in Marriage II they are kneeling. In a few details this drawing is nearer to Marriage II. The head of the Virgin is covered with drapery. Figures, who might be Joachim and Anna on the left of the main group, are near to their final form. The perspective is indicated by the fragment of column on the ground. The vanishing point is to the left of the central group. It is quite clear that Poussin had to do away with the stylobate and make the figures kneel, in order to make the vanishing point and the hands of Mary and Joseph coincide. It is reasonable to suppose that these were early inventions for Marriage II. Like the earlier designs for Ordination and Penitence these projects were later abandoned.

The precision of line is like that for a later drawing for Ordination, no:32. Both these drawings are highly finished, although the Ordination drawing has possibly been tidied up by another hand. The two would have made plausible pendants. Subsequently Poussin changed the settings for both, but in the case of Marriage the change appears to be more radical. In reality it is not. Nevertheless Poussin had to make a new drawing for Marriage II, probably in 1647, because he decided to revert to the scheme of Marriage I. It is possible that drawing no:12 was not made around 1645 like nos:17 and 18, but after the Baptism drawings. There is one drawing for Baptism, no:28, with faint figures in the upper right of women ascending steps, like those for this version of Marriage. As if the design of the picture was still continuing during the preparatory work on Baptism. The final drawing for Marriage, no:33, was probably made at a very late stage, in the gap between the finishing of Eucharist and the beginning of Marriage.

Poussin does not seem to have been idle about work on the Sacraments in

1644 to 1646, rather he was hard at work making drawings, which enabled him to go ahead with the later paintings at great speedⁱⁿ 1647. As will be seen in the succeeding sections, some of the drawings for Penitence and possibly Eucharist were probably made in the early months of 1636 and some of the drawings for Baptism were probably made at some time not too distant from those I have just discussed. It seems as if the majority of the drawings were, therefore, executed between the early months of 1644 and the early months of 1646.

5/ For some unknown reason many of the drawings for the second set of Sacraments were preserved together for a long time, until the great majority of them came together in the collection of His de la Salle and thence to the Cabinet de Dessins of the Louvre. Five of them belonged to the man who commissioned them, Chantelou. It is not known how he came to have them. He was not, evidently, a collector of drawings. He owned two drawings for Confirmation, nos:10 and 12, two for Baptism, nos:21 and 29, and one for Eucharist, no:22. Many of the drawings have been trimmed and Chantelou's hand-written monogram may have been removed from some of them, along with a tattered edge. It is quite possible that he owned more than the five that still bear his mark.

There is more than a stylistic similarity between the drawings for the second set. The majority of them are on paper that is superficially the same. The characteristics of this paper are not always possible to determine with precision, since those of the large collection in the Louvre are nearly all pasted down. As far as it is possible to be certain the following drawings are all on paper, the chain lines of which vary between 2.5 cm. and 2.7 cm.

apart on each sheet and the laid lines are invariably 9 per cem. apart. A watermark is visible on three of them. This is an oval 4 cm. by 3.6 cm. within which is an anchor. This is probably a Venetian watermark of the late 1630's.³² This is found near the middle of one of the drawings for Baptism, no:27, and cut in half at the top of another Baptism drawing, no:26. It is also present, cut in half again at the top of one of the drawings for Marriage, no:18. Poussin also used another paper with the same chain line and laid line measurements at about this time, but with a different water-mark, a circle, 4 cm. in diameter, containing some kind of indecipherable animal. This occurs on the drawing for Moses and Aaron before Pharoah of the mid-1640's (Louvre. R.F.750) and on a drawing for an unknown version of the Finding of Moses (Louvre.R.F.749). The two papers are superficially so similar, that it is impossible to tell one from the other in the absence of watermarks. It is possible that Poussin mixed the two together in the drawings for the Sacraments. The exceptions are the drawings on a large scale, more or less finished drawings for pictures, like that for Marriage, no:33, that for Penitence, no: 21, and that for Ordination, no:32. Chantelou owned none of these, though he did own the last drawings for two pictures, that for Baptism, no:29 and that for Eucharist, no:22. Neither of these is particularly large and both are on the paper mentioned above. The other big ones eluded him.

From the above it seems likely that Poussin made most of the composition drawings for the Sacraments on one kind of paper, which were kept together, at least for a while. They could well have been in a sketch book, which was later dismembered. Chantelou was unlikely to dismember a sketchbook like this, but it will be recalled that his heirs, whoever they might have been, did not

keep the pairings, and it was probably they who would be more likely to dispose of drawings in a haphazard fashion.

Many of the more or less complete sheets are of about the same dimensions, roughly the same length as these. This would correspond to their having been part of a sketch-book, since drawings kept together in a portfolio could be of any size. It is even more likely that Poussin should proceed in this way, since so many of the designs were made about the same date, as if he planned the series as a whole.

The similarities between drawings like those for Ordination and Marriage seem more comprehensible, if one imagines them made in the same sketch-book, on, perhaps, consecutive pages (pls.61, 62). It will be noted that one of the Marriage drawings, no:18, is one of the few with a watermark and this appears to be the same as that on two drawings for Baptism, while drawings for pictures not among the Sacraments were usually made on a different paper.

In the eighteenth century there seem to have been two groups of drawings, one in the collection of Mariette. Later Sir Thomas Lawrence owned a great many of them, including all those which bear Chantelou's mark. There is a likelihood that he had acquired them all at the same time. Subsequently both the Mariette group and the Lawrence group were reunited in the collection of His de la Salle, now in the Louvre.

7. Later drawings for Penitence II and Eucharist II.

Some of the other drawings for the Sacraments were also made probably before Poussin began Baptism. It will be recalled that Poussin twice mentioned that he was going to begin a "triclinium" in the first weeks of 1646 (see Documents 18 and 19), and announced a little later that he had made the "pensée" for the Penitence (see Document 20). The Sigma triclinium sketch has already been discussed. This time he was probably working on the drawings for Penitence, one of which contains sketches for Eucharist. It may well be that he was working out both triclinium pictures at the same time, just as he probably worked out Ordination and Marriage as pendants in 1645.

There are three drawings for Penitence II and Eucharist II, which I have not yet discussed; they are as follows:

Plate 34a 20.Louvre.R.F.757. 0.0184 x 0.254. Coll: Lawrence, His de la Salle. Verso: pen. CR.101. (I,48). Studies for Eucharist and Penitence. Recto: Rinaldo and Armida. CR.146. (II,23).

Plate 40a 21.Montpellier, Musée Fabre. 0.210 x 0.310. Pen and wash. Squared. CR.99.(I,47). Final drawing for Penitence II.

Plate 34b 22.Louvre.M.I.992. 0.157 x 0.256. Pen and wash. Coll: Chantelou, Lawrence, His de la Salle. CR.100.(I,48). Composition study for Eucharist.

The first of these drawings, no:20, contains studies for Eucharist and

Penitence. If Poussin was ready to begin Penitence in February, 1646, the drawings must be before that date. The Eucharist drawings both show an arrangement of rectangular beds for the triclinium and it can be reasonably assumed that the triclinium for Penitence was intended to be of a similar form at this date, since Poussin does not mention a Sigma triclinium in the letters of this period. The Eucharist studies were made first. The head of one of the Pharisees for Penitence on the upper border of the sheet, obscures one of the figures in the left hand drawing for Eucharist. Poussin had therefore made some preliminary compositional studies for Eucharist. by the beginning of 1646. The verso of the sheet is a Rinaldo and Armida scene, in which the figures are much larger than those for the Sacraments.³³ This drawing is about a year later. It belongs to a group of drawings with a rather 'scratchy' pen-line, like drawings for the Judgment of Solomon and the 1649 Moses striking the Rock.³⁴ The scratchiness is due in part to the rough surface of the paper, which is different from that used for the figure compositions of the Sacraments. (the chain lines are 3 cm. apart.) The heads for Penitence are firmer and clearer in their line, than in the hatching and drapery folds on the recto. The extremely thin hatching on one of the heads for Penitence is in clear repeated lines. The verso almost certainly precedes the recto drawing. Another Rinaldo and Armida drawing, R.F.758³⁵, slightly rougher than the last mentioned, and also in the scratchy manner of about 1647 to 1650, has a drawing on the verso which is almost certainly connected with Ordination (no:30,pl.63). The verso is a symmetrical version of Ordination, with many mountain peaks in the background. It is probable that these Rinaldo and Armida sketches were made on the other side of the two Sacraments sketches, when the latter became redundant when the pictures had been painted in 1647. None of these Sacraments

drawings are like the figure studies for the other pictures. The Eucharist studies are almost diagrams of perspective systems and the Penitence sketches are of somewhat grotesque heads. It was only the more fully worked out figure studies that were generally preserved. The Ordination study is virtually a little pen doodle. It is most unlikely that even Poussin would have preserved them for their own sake. They have survived only because of the more finished and complete Rinaldo and Armida studies on the recto of each.

The right hand sketch for Eucharist shows a scheme like that of Eucharist I (pl.30). There are three beds, on three sides of a long rectangular table. In Eucharist I, Christ and the majority of the Apostles are reclining at the long table, with three Apostles on couches at either end. The drawing shows three figures reclining on the couch on the left, three figures to the left of Christ. The drawing is cut through a figure in the pose that Poussin gave to Christ in the painting.

The disposition of the figures must have been very like that in Eucharist I. The left hand sketch shows the new disposition of Eucharist II in its earliest phase. There is an Apostle on a couch placed at the near side of the table, while there are three Apostles at the left hand couch. The drawing is incompletely worked out, but these few figures show that the arrangement was to be of four couches at a square table, with three figures on each side. This makes it impossible to place thirteen figures at the table as in Eucharist I and the right hand sketch, and carries with it the necessity of making one figure, Judas, leave the room. This drawing was made, therefore, at the moment when Poussin made the important decision to use the motif of Judas' departure.

As in the Marriage drawing, no:19 (pl.84), Poussin shows a perspective construction, a feature of his drawings at this period of his career, about 1645-6. The recession in this drawing is rapid and the view-point quite high. There is rather more space above the head of the foreground figure than Poussin allowed in the painting.

There are almost certainly lost drawings between this initial phase and the next drawing for Eucharist, no:21 (pl.34b). Most of the main composition problems are resolved in this drawing, and there are traces of squaring, which suggest that Poussin thought of it as complete enough for transfer to the canvas. On both sides of the drawing, Poussin created a movement of heads and bodies towards Christ. There are now three figures on each side of a square table, the arrangement suggested in no:20. The motif of Judas leaving the room implied by the arrangement of the figures at the table, appears here for the first time. The Apostles are nearly all concerned with Christ's actions and words. There is only a hint of their noticing Judas' departure. One turns his head to look at him, while another gestures in his direction.

The figures are not draped in this drawing. Poussin was probably very much concerned with the difficult foreshortenings, and felt it was necessary to establish the poses of the figures, before trying to drape them. There is one other drawing for the Sacraments in which the figures are nude, the large finished study for Penitence, no:22 (pl.40a). This is more clearly squared up for transfer and is a large sheet of paper, amounting almost to a small cartoon. It is quite unlike the squared drawing for Eucharist, no:21, or any of the final drawings for the other pictures of the series. It is almost exclusively

a wash drawing, but is remarkably lucid. Architecture is indicated with great precision. The planes of the nude and hairless figures are indicated by means of simple blocks of wash. Technically, it is quite different from the Eucharist drawing, which is in loosely applied wash and rough pen indications. It is similar to the drawings for Baptism to be discussed in the following section, in its emphasis on unifying chiaroscuro, which largely obscures the figure forms and makes precise indications of them irrelevant. The changes from the drawing for Penitence to the picture are very slight, except of course, that in the picture the figures are draped. The Eucharist drawing, however, is very like the drawings of 1645 and 1646. It is not a highly diagrammatic drawing, like the drawing for Penitence. It is on the paper used for the group of drawings made around 1645 to 1646. It was probably made during the planning of the triclinium pictures in the early months of 1646. The squaring may not have been made in order to transfer it to the canvas, but to a larger sheet of paper, so that a drawing similar to that for Penitence could be executed. There are a number of differences between the drawing and the painting, suggesting that this drawing was less final than the squaring suggests. There were almost certainly other drawings, now lost, for Penitence, before Poussin could arrive at the complete stage seen in no:22, and there was also probably a similar drawing to this last one for Eucharist.

Both paintings were completed in 1647. The date at which they were begun is not absolutely clear from the documents. There is a possibility that both were begun as early as 1646. In the summer of that year (see Document 23), Poussin referred to Chantelou's Sacraments progressing well. The plural is

most unusual in Poussin's letters about the pictures for Chantelou, and may well be an indication that the triclinium pictures were under way beside the Baptism, which was finished before them.

The last drawing for Eucharist, no:21 (pl.34b), is not quite like the picture. Poussin made a few decisions at a later stage. He hardly made any changes in the course of executing the canvas (pl.32). Some of the objects in the room are different from those in the drawing. The table on the right in the drawing is absent from the painting. Some jars are put in on the left. Poussin decided to put a towel next to the great basin in the foreground on the right. At the far side of the table, the figures beside Christ are lowered slightly so that he is more prominent. As will be seen later Poussin made the same sort of change to the figures in Baptism. The infra-red photograph of this area is particularly interesting, since it shows that Poussin had decided on this from the very beginning of work on the canvas (pl.33a). The figure, who, in the drawing, gestured towards Judas, no longer does so. There is just one figure in the painting who looks towards the departing traitor.

Judas departs with his finger to his lips. This figure is the only one to be altered during the painting of the picture. Even with the naked eye it is possible to see that his left hand was changed once or perhaps twice. This is quite clear in the infra-red photograph. Originally the left hand was higher up and further to the left. Corresponding to the original position of the hand there still remain two dark lines below Judas' cloak. These are probably purse strings. Poussin altered the position of the hand, so that it now appears to be clasping drapery, not a purse, but he forgot, perhaps, to paint out the purse-strings. Judas' departure is an apparently novel motif

for the Last Supper, but the purse in his hand is not. Among examples close to Poussin's picture in time, is the Institution of the Eucharist by Barocci³⁶.

Poussin could not have used the long straggling composition of Eucharist I for this picture, because of the new figure scale of the new set. He managed to create a compact group out of the Apostles by using the square table arrangement. The Apostles at either side converge on the figure of Christ, who is to the right of centre. All of them are contained within a narrow long rectangle as in the other pictures of this set. Poussin achieved this by the choice of a low perspective view-point, at some distance from the picture, thus compressing the foreshortened forms. The square table arrangement is not the traditional Italian motif for this subject. It is, however, common in Flemish art, as in the central panel of Boutts' Mystic Meals Altar-piece³⁷ of the fifteenth century, or Rubens' Last Supper.³⁸ Poussin's rectilinear setting, however, is quite unlike Rubens' diagonal setting. This picture is a tour-de-force of lighting as well as of perspective and foreshortening. The scene has a new drama. Poussin not only introduced the figure of the departing Judas, but that of a thoroughly wakeful St. John. All the expressions are finely differentiated. The Apostles place the bread in their mouths, or show their fear of betraying Christ, or a wide variety of feelings from simple trust to agonised self-doubt.

The differences between the final drawing, no:22, (pl.40a) and the picture of Penitence (pl.39) are very slight. Poussin made a change in the order of columns in the background. They are ionic, instead of doric. The vessels in the foreground are without their decoration in the painting. The figures are draped, but only one of the draperies did not satisfy Poussin, that of Simon

the Pharisee. The alteration is partly visible with the naked eye, but is very clearly shown in the infra-red photograph (pl.41a). Simon's drapery originally fell in a diagonal across his chest from his left shoulder. This would have concealed the complex turn of his body and would also have made him into an obvious mirror image of the figure of Christ on the other side. Poussin therefore changed the movement of his drapery. One of the main points of the picture is the contrast between the foot-washing of Simon on the right and the Magdalen's extraordinary washing of Christ's feet on the left. The change helps to strengthen the formal difference between the two groups.

There is one other strange feature of the painting. There is no trace of the ointment pot of the Magdalen. There are some marks on the left hand side of the drawing, one of which may represent the ointment pot, and there are others which probably represent Christ's discarded sandals. Simon's sandals are on the floor on the right. All these objects were omitted from the painting (pl.39). Some accounts emphasise the anointing³⁹, but the moment of the anointing has passed and the Magdalen is drying Christ's feet with her hair.

8. The evolution of the composition of Baptism II.

Between the drawings for Eucharist and Penitence and their completion, Poussin probably made all the drawings for Baptism and finished the picture. Much of the work on the painting must have been done slowly in the summer of 1646, during the summer heat. Poussin also had the Crucifixion for de Thou

on hand at the same time. It is not absolutely clear how much time was spent on finishing the Crucifixion.

Poussin created an entirely new arrangement for Baptism II. He had already painted three Baptisms: The Baptism of the People by St. John, twice, once for Cassiano dal Pozzo (pl.3), and once for an unknown patron (pl.4) and the Baptism of Christ for the first set of Sacraments (pl.1) for Cassiano dal Pozzo.⁴⁰ The main figure groups in these three earlier pictures consist of men undressing for baptism, women with children, figures meditating on the scene, and St. John baptising either Christ or an anonymous man. In each there is great diagonal recession of the river Jordan. Many of the figures of the earlier pictures are varied and re-used in Baptism II, still remaining recognisable in many cases.

Poussin repeatedly uses a figure from Michelangelo's cartoon for the Battle of Cascina (pl.12), in his Baptism pictures. Poussin treats him differently in all of them, according to the compositional necessities that arose. In all the earlier pictures he is pulling his stocking off. In Baptism II he is pulling it on. Poussin also used the idea of an old man being baptised in the two pictures for Cassiano dal Pozzo. The actual figures are varied in each case. In Baptism II the old man and his two supporting youths are in reverse from the similar group in the Cassiano Baptism of St. John. The group of meditative men occur in all the pictures. They are probably intended to be Pharisees. The women and children in Baptism II are related in a general way to those in the Louvre Baptism of St. John (pl.4). Poussin invents some new figures for Baptism II (pl.5); most of the men dressing themselves on the left, and the group of young men pointing upwards on the

right. In the earlier Baptisms there had been men undressing, but very few of these could be adapted to a group of figures dressing themselves. The group of young men are related to several similar groups of three figures in other paintings by Poussin, like the three women on the left of the Triumph of David (Dulwich)⁴¹ or the three in the late lost version of Moses and the Daughters of Jethro (pl.88b).⁴² Poussin was quite content to recombine motifs and figures from other paintings. The result in Baptism II is both structurally more effective and iconographically richer than any of the earlier Baptism pictures. One or two figures from earlier paintings made their appearance in the drawings for this picture, although they did not always survive the many changes in the design.

In his drawings for this picture Poussin tried alternative groups and motifs as he worked towards the enlargement of the crowded right hand group and the reduction in size of that on the left. He shifted the accent on Christ and St. John gradually towards a position left of centre. In Baptism I (pl.1) Christ and St. John are on the right of the picture. There is a strong left to right movement in the left hand group. In Baptism II (pl.5), Poussin created instead two wedges of figures that nearly meet in the centre. Just as in Confirmation II, he reversed the general sense of his first version, giving it an overall right to left movement. Those waiting to be baptised are on the right, Christ is being baptised in the centre, those who have already been baptised are on the left. Those who had already been baptised were omitted from Baptism I. This baptism, before that of Christ, was regarded as a Ceremony of the Law, which was not a sacrament, since it did not confer grace. In the first set this ceremony of the Law appeared in a separate picture, St.

John Baptising the People, the "eighth" picture of the set. There was no "eighth" picture to accompany the second set, and the Legal ceremony was included in the Baptism of Christ. In Baptism I the men on the right are evidently undressing. One is pulling his shirt over his head and the figure from the Battle of Cascina cartoon is pushing, not pulling, judging from the curve of his back. He is therefore taking off his sock. In Baptism II the Michelangelo figure, leans back, pulling on his sock.

The drawings for Baptism II are very numerous. They are as follows:

- Plate 7b 23. Dijon, Museum. 870. Verso: Pen. Coll.: His de la Salle.
CR.77 (I,41). Outline sketch of Christ and St. John.
Recto: Holy Family. CR.45. (I,25).
- Plate 8a 24. Hermitage. 5081. 0.164 x 0.255. Pen and wash. Coll:
Cobenzl. CR.78 (I,41). Complete composition.
- Plate 8b 25. Uffizi. 903 e. 0.123 x 0.191. Pen and wash. CR.79 (I,41).
Complete composition.
- Plate 9a 26. Louvre. M.I. 990. 0.069 x 0.160. Pen and wash. Coll:
Chantelou, Lawrence, His de la Salle. Watermark: part of
an oval with an anchor (?) at top of drawing. 0.040 x 0.036.
CR.80. (I,41). Right hand group.
- Plate 10a 27. Louvre. M.I. 987. 0.157 x 0.255. Pen and wash. Coll:
Dimsdale, Lawrence, His de la Salle. Watermark: Oval, with
an anchor (?), 0.040 x 0.036. CR.81. (I,41). Complete
composition.
- Plate 9b 28. Louvre. M.I. 989. 0.085 x 0.127. Pen and wash. Coll: Lagoy,
His de la Salle. CR.82. (I,42). Right hand group. Traces

of a figure in upper right corner: appears to be ascending steps, with one leg bent. Not clearly visible in photograph.

Plate 11 29.Louvre.M.I.988. 0.165 x 0.254. Pen and wash over black chalk. Coll: Chantelou, Lawrence, His de la Salle. Traces of squaring. CR.83. (I,42). Complete composition.

Plate 3c B. Chantilly.G.D.XVI.191. Verso: A very bad shake in the line indicates a much later date than that of the second set of Sacraments, say c.1655. The recto is a classical subject, also probably a late drawing. See CR.84. (I,42) where the verso was classed as a drawing for Baptism II.

The sketch at Dijon is very slight and in broken pen outline only (pl.7b). All the rest are very loose brush drawings with a minimum of pen line. In only one drawing, no:25, is there any trace of a shake in the pen line. This is very slight, whereas the shake in the drawing at Chantilly, 'B', is very prominent.⁴⁴ Poussin was mainly concerned in these drawings with the overall grouping and the chiaroscuro pattern of figures and landscape together. Even the small studies in the Louvre, nos:26 and 28 (pls.9a, b), are essentially studies of chiaroscuro. Poussin makes no attempt to clarify the poses, the details of drapery, facial expressions or extremities. In this respect, they are quite different from the studies for Confirmation II, discussed above.

The little sketch at Dijon, no:23 shows St.John baptising Christ. St. John has begun to empty the bowl, in a direction away from himself. Christ is a standing but submissive figure. In all the other drawings the bowl is horizontal, or nearly so, in St.John's hand. In the painting St.John tips it slightly towards himself, so that the water just begins to spill out of it.

In the later stages Christ is much more bent, and in the painting he kneels. This drawing is outside the main group of surviving drawings and must have been a preliminary study, before the main group was begun.

The first of the main group is the Hermitage drawing, no:24 (pl.8a). The forms of the figures are very precise, distinct from one another and from their background. There are none of the hesitations visible in what are clearly Poussin's first sketches, like nos:10 and 11 for Confirmation II. This drawing could hardly have come into being without some rougher preliminary sketches. There might well have been several, but if there were, they remain to be discovered. Unlike the Confirmation II drawings, in which Poussin continually changed the details of the figures, in the Baptism drawings he shuffled a pack of figures, which he did not alter in detail very much. Sometimes he changed their positions, sometimes he reversed them, sometimes omitted them from one design, only to reincorporate them in the next. A model stage would not have been much use to him for the design process of Confirmation II, but he might well have used such a device for Baptism II.

For convenience of reference, the figures in the Hermitage drawing are shown below in diagrammatic form, figure 4, divided into groups and numbered. There are a number of other figures that Poussin used in the other drawings. These are shown in a further diagram, figure 5, also below. The pictures from which the various figures derive are shown in a chart at the top of figure 6. The arrangement of the figures in the six compositional sketches are indicated in the lower part of the same figure.

In the Hermitage drawing, no:24 (pl.8a) each group of figures is very

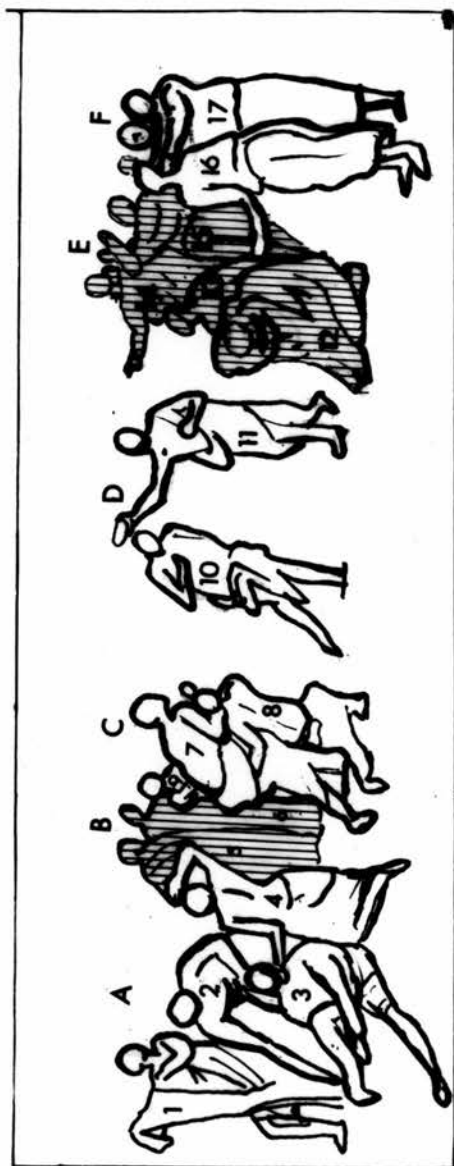


Figure 4. The figures in Baptism drawing, no:24 (Hermitage, 5081).

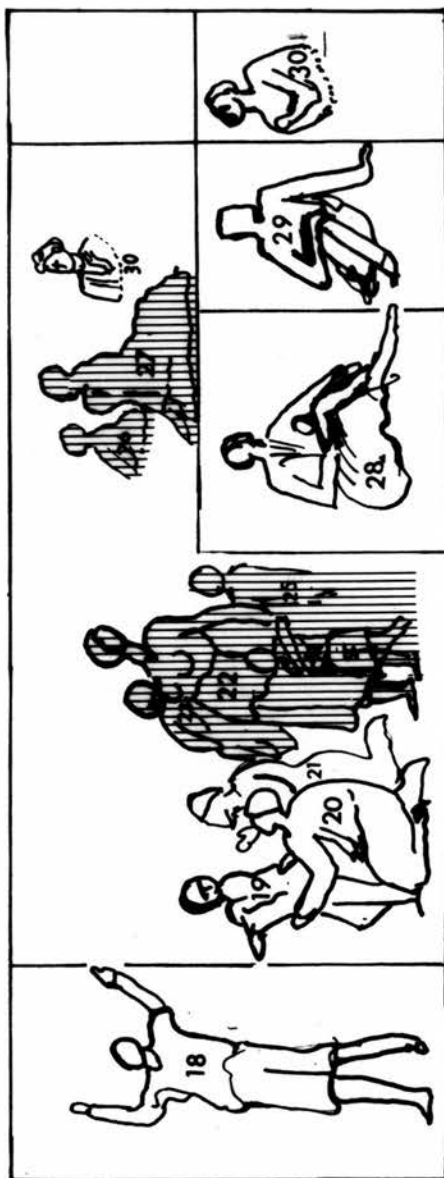


Figure 5. Other figures for Baptism.

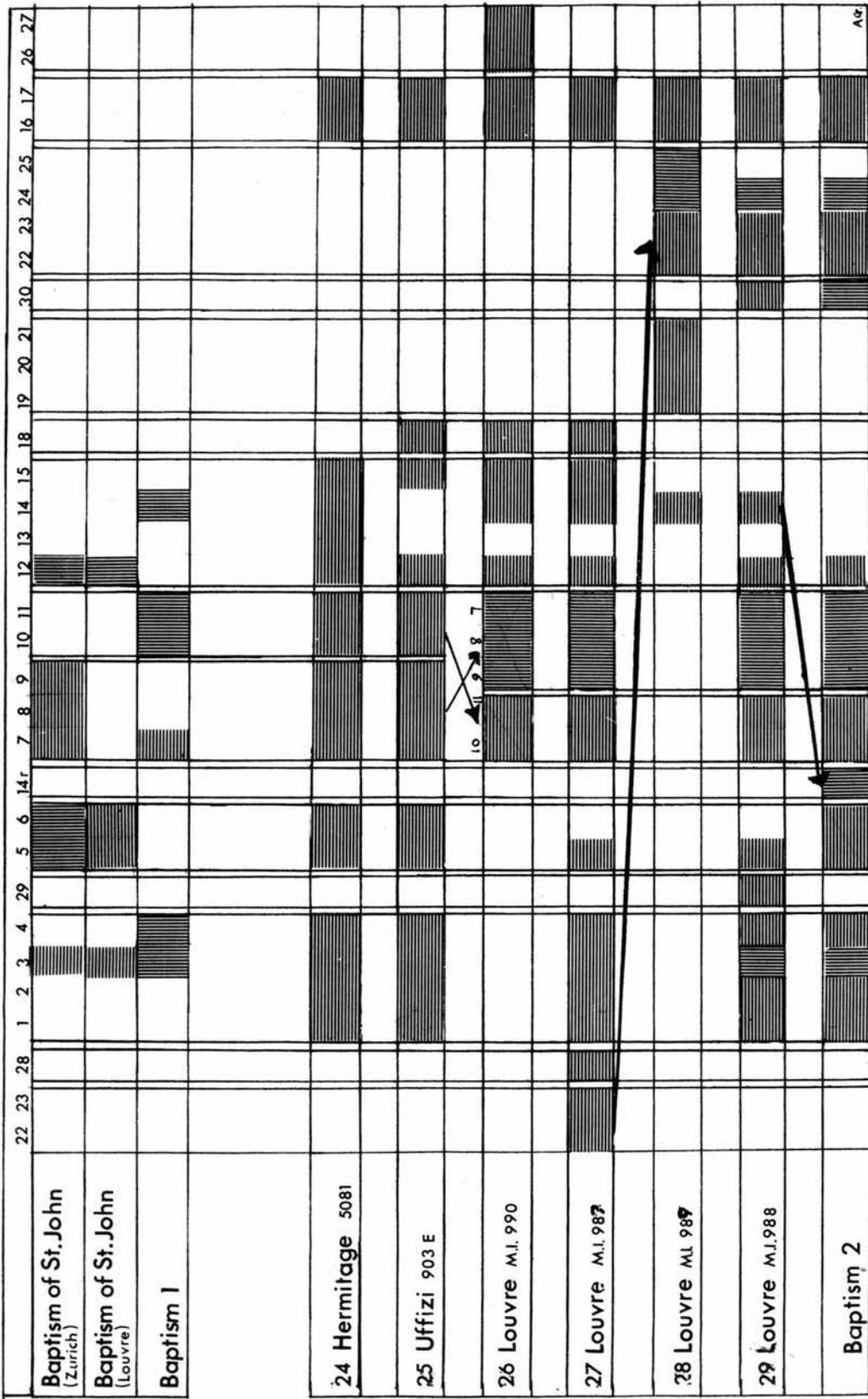


Figure 6. Varying figures for Baptisms.

compact. Poussin left plenty of space between the groups on the left, but crowded the right hand groups together. He gave each group a strong diagonal impetus towards the centre of the picture. Even the figure of Christ is leaning towards St. John. There is a sense of a complicated triangulated composition. The flow of movement, strongest on the left, is contrasted by the diagonal of the rocky inlet in which the action takes place. The background landscape is made up of diagonal patches of light and dark, representing rocky river-bank and mountain. This pictorial drawing is almost as complete as the painting of Baptism I, but the drawing is even richer in figures. It is also more spacious. Poussin left ample room for the figures and extended the landscape into a greater number of 'distances'. He did not accentuate the horizontal level of the further bank of the river Jordan and did not make the heads of the figures project above its line. There is one isolated fragment of ruin in the centre, but it does not quite correspond with the main group, Christ and St. John who are to the left of the central axis. This drawing shows the earliest surviving phase of work on this composition. It is still close to Baptism I, in that it is a predominantly left to right composition.

The technique of no:24 is neat and legible. Poussin described the volumes of the figures and the forms of the landscape with great clarity. In a few places in the landscape he used a second layer of wash laid on in a series of tidy parallel brushstrokes. The second drawing, no:25, is, in contrast, surprisingly rough (pl.8b). The wash is dark, heavy and loosely applied. There is much less pen drawing, so that the forms of the individual figures are not very distinct. Poussin made one or two changes in the figures, which he adopted in later drawings. If this were not so, one would suspect that this

rough sketch might have been a preliminary to the Hermitage study.

The effect of the few changes is that the groups on the left are closer together, so that there is room for Christ and St. John to be moved towards them. The central axis of the composition falls in between these two figures. There are twin accents near the centre, shown by the two verticals of the architecture above the heads of the two main figures. Poussin filled up the lower half of the composition completely, by adding a shadowy boat on the river. The bank of the river is now strictly horizontal. The groups on the right are smaller and less active. The figure changes on the right created a certain amount of confusion. There appears to be a forest of raised arms. Poussin later made two attempts to deal with the right hand side alone.

In the present drawing there is only one figure undressing. The rest of the right hand side is given over to figures who nearly all express surprise at the miraculous events which accompanied the baptism of Christ. The miraculous is stressed in this drawing also by the appearance of the Dove in a burst of light amid the dark wash which represents the sky. The spectators are evidently pointing to the Dove. Poussin has also indicated a burst of light in the heavens above Christ's head. This is one of several examples of Poussin's thoroughly seventeenth century interest in the fusion of natural and Divine light. His experiments with artificial light in Extreme Unction II and Eucharist II show the same tendency. The chiaroscuro technique, which Poussin adopts in the drawings for Baptism II and some of the other drawings for this set, is an appropriate style for this purpose.

Poussin took up the problem of the right hand side in two little sketches,

both in the Louvre (my nos:26 and 28) (pls.9a,b). Each of the sketches for the complete composition in the Louvre (nos:27 and 29) (pls.10a,11) derives from one or other of these. The two little drawings were either made alternately with the large ones, or they were made in rapid succession. They represent possibilities that were then worked out, in turn, in two separate composition sketches. It is not absolutely certain in what order Poussin executed these drawings.

In no:26 (pl.9a) Poussin made one fundamental change. He increased the extent of the figure group on the right. He did this by reversing Group C, with the old man, and moving it from the left to the right of Christ and St. John. He seems to have planned to make the figure group longer than it had been and added two reclining men on the far right. This could only have had the effect of reducing the scale of the figures in the landscape. This is precisely what happened in the next large composition study, no:27. No:26 shows the figure group of the right hand side, including Christ and St. John.

The much smaller sketch, no:28 (pl.9b), only shows Group F, the pointing men, and figure 14 of those who appeared in the earlier sketches. The rest of the drawing is completely filled up with women and children, groups H and I (see figure 5, p.107). In a long extended row of figures there would have been room on the left of these groups of figures for the whole of the left hand side as Poussin had indicated it in drawing no:25, including Group C.

The two little sketches look extremely similar in style. In one place the modelling of the figures of Group F, the pointing men, Poussin seems to have produced exactly the same effect with almost exactly similar brush-strokes.

For this reason it seems likely that they were executed in rapid succession. Indeed they may have formed part of the same sheet of paper at one time. Both seem equally viable alternatives, but Poussin in the event did not use either drawing as it stood in either the big composition drawings or the painting. He omitted figures 12 and 18 of the first little sketch, no:26 and the whole of Group H of the second sketch, no:28, but he retained some features of both. Group C was to remain on the right hand side and Group I appears in the last of the drawings and in the painting.

There is one difficulty. The next drawing in the sequence was quite definitely no:28 (pl.9b), in which Poussin clarified many of the new ideas he had tried out in the little drawing, no:27 (pl.10a). In no.28 Poussin incorporated every feature of this little sketch, including figure 18, which is notably absent from drawings nos:27, 29 and from the painting, as if this was the moment at which he abandoned that figure. He made no use of drawing 28 in the large composition of no:27, as if no:28 did not exist at that time. He did, however, include a new collection of women and children on the far left in no:28. One can therefore be sure that the idea of including such figures had occurred by the time this drawing was made. It certainly seems as if Poussin might have first made drawing no:26, incorporated its new elements in no:27, then worked out a more elaborate mother and child motif for the right of the picture in no:28, having first thought of the possibility of placing such a group on the far left in no:27. This sounds logical but presupposes that Poussin never reverted to earlier ideas. This presupposition is not well founded. Poussin used several motifs and figures for this picture from his earlier pictures of Baptism, (see upper part of Figure 6, page 108).

It is also clear from the lower part of Figure 6 that he dropped several motifs at one time or another while making the drawings and then reverted to them in the last drawing of all or in the painting. Poussin continually varied his ideas for any subject and one cannot assume that his creative process conformed to any superficial logic. The last four Baptism drawings are closely related to one another and the sequence of their creation remains open to some speculation.

The two little sketches, nos:26 and 28, are both in Poussin's richest chiaroscuro style. In spite of the lack of clear pen-line, the figures are full of nuances of expression, created by fluent wash.

The significance of moving Group C to the right of centre in drawing no:26 is fully revealed in the next drawing, no:27 (pl.10a). Poussin had decided to make the picture a right to left composition, thus reversing the direction of Baptism I. Christ and St.John are now much more to the left of centre than they were in the earlier studies. The figures are much smaller in scale and are stretched out across the space in a long line. Poussin even made room for reclining figures on the right and mothers and children on the left of the main groups of figures. There would have been some danger of upsetting the unity of the set, if he had painted the picture like this, since the figures in the first two pictures were larger. This was the first of the pictures of the life of Christ and Poussin might have thought of executing the remaining pictures with figures on this scale.

The two little sketches show the full brilliance of Poussin's control of figure expression, in rapid and rough wash drawings. No:27 is much more

elaborately executed and shows a very fine wash technique. The landscape is drawn exclusively with the brush. It is made up of complex striations combined with a few darker, heavier areas of brush-work. The movement of the ground is revealed as broken and varied, as the shade areas eat into it. The trees and clouds have a delicacy of form, that is in complete contrast to the simplified, hurried treatment of the little sketches. Here, Poussin even indicates fine drapery folds and subtle variations in the contours of his figures with the brush.

The landscape is more open and the distant scene occupies a greater area. Poussin lowered the level of the far bank of the river, so that the heads of Christ and the group of standing figures on the right project above it. The land recedes to the left in a fine panorama of hilly country. The most elaborate of all the figure groups for Baptism is embedded in this landscape. The chiaroscuro treatment binds figures and landscape together in a way that Poussin had hardly thought of in the 1630's.

In the last drawing of the series for Baptism II no:29 (pl.11), Poussin went to the opposite extreme. Chiaroscuro is still a vitally important feature of the style, but the character of the composition changes completely. The landscape is closed up again by the rocks on the left, omitted from no:27. The level of the river bank is raised once more and the figures are on a larger scale, that of the other pictures of the set. The sense of variety and delicacy in the landscape forms have gone. Most of the landscape is blocked out in heavy masses of shadow, with only a small central area fully illuminated. Poussin seems to have tried to give the drawing the character of the artificial light pictures of this set of Sacraments, with one dominant light and a few

subordinate ones. The figures are calmer. The diagonal movements of the first composition sketch, no:24, have completely vanished. The figure groups are almost in their definitive form. The tangle of pointing arms has gone and there is much less emphasis on mere astonishment, since the figure content has now become richer and more varied with the addition of more and more thematic material. The figure movement is stilled by the strong horizontal and vertical emphasis in the blocks of shadow.

In the centre Christ and St. John are given a dominant effect by the chiaroscuro. Christ's body is in shadow and his head in light. This is joined with the larger area of light reflected on the water behind him. St. John stands out against the adjoining area of shade. The adjacent figures and shady bank make a varied frame around them.

The Baptism seems to have passed through a phase of lively movement, in no:24, followed by one of naturalism, in no:27, before Poussin arrived at a strong, classical design, worked out not in sculptural masses, but in light and shade.

This drawing (no:29) seems to imply a perspective view-point close to the picture-surface, so that the figures framing Christ and St. John are rather too large. The old man on the right, in particular, seems to dwarf the central figures. Poussin adjusted the view-point in the painting so that the figures are nearer to being the same size.

This group of drawings shows that the possibilities of fully seventeenth century chiaroscuro were by no means exhausted in Poussin's 'neo-Venetian' paintings of the 1620's and early 1630's. In these drawings he returned to a

new exploration of light and shade as compositional elements, in a manner slightly reminiscent of paintings like the Waters of Marah of the 1620's (pl.91a). He even tried out the dramatic movement of his earlier style in the earlier drawings of the group. In the end clarity prevailed, as it had in Confirmation II and Extreme Unction II. The painting shows this in the many areas of smooth handling, the clarity of the parts of the figures, and the clarity of the spatial effects of figures and landscape.

The naturalism implicit in some of the drawings is also present in the painting (pl.5). There is a liveliness and delicacy in the handling of the flesh painting, that could only have proceeded from the same concern with 'nature' apparent in the drawings. The figures of Christ and the semi-nude figures are treated with great refinement and subtlety of tone. There is also some delicacy in the variety of soft colours used for the draperies of the figures in the centre, to harmonise with the extensive nude areas.

Turning from the last drawing to the painting is like moving from a shadowy moonlit scene to broad day-light. This is after all, as Chantelou told Bernini, a scene at day-break.⁴⁵ The chiaroscuro pattern of the drawing provides the light and shade scheme for the painting, but there are no dense areas of shadow in the painting. The tonality might have appeared more brilliant originally, since Poussin painted thinly over a bolus ground which now shows through due to the increased transparency of the body colour with age. The colour balance is also upset a little by this effect. The meditative figure on the left is draped in blue, probably ultramarine painted thinly with a minimum of white in the lighter parts. This has probably become muted and appears darker than it should. The drapery of the young man on the right,

figure 16, is intense vermillion. This is supported by quite heavy body colour and it cannot therefore have changed very much over the years. The same intense colour occurs in several of the other pictures of the set, with similar startling effect. These vermillions seem to have been stressed deliberately as part of a carefully worked out series of colour accents in the set.

In this picture the colouring is important in creating the spatial effect of the figures. The whole group of figures appears at first sight to be contained within a rectangle in the lower half of the picture, as if this was a high relief sculpture, but in fact the figure groups are widely separated in space. There must be something like twenty feet in depth between the nearest and the furthest figures on the near bank of the river. The groups are linked on the surface of the picture by the direction of their pointing gestures and by the diagonals of legs and arms. The spatial differences are shown by the colour. The groups in the centre are painted in softly muted colours, while the furthest group of meditative figures is set back by the intense dark blue of the drapery of the figure with his hand to his chin. On the right the group of pointing youths is brought forward by the intensity of its drapery colours, from the much more distant group of women and children.

The landscape is closely related to the figure construction. The central axis is marked by the fragment of ruin and the wall of the well on the further bank. These are placed immediately above the head of St. John. There is no architectural emphasis for the figure of Christ, but the Dove flutters above his head, near the peak of the distant dark mountain. The triangulation of the landscape, which is very prominent, is organised around the main figure accents,

providing at one and the same time a 'geometrical' and a tonal foil to the figures. The direction of the finger of the boy pointing to the Dove is continued in a path in the landscape and the right hand slope of the distant mountain. The right to left direction in the figure group is taken up in the foreground by a path, beginning on the right and leading to the figure of Christ. In the background the landscape is closed on the right by the dark mass of low cliff. On the left, the landscape opens up into a series of hill slopes which recede into the light of the sky.

The heavenly light, which is so prominent in drawing no:29 is still present in the painting though not quite so obviously. A patch of intense reflection falls at the feet of St.John.

Form and meaning merge in this painting. Poussin manipulated the figure groups in the compositional studies to express two themes: wonder at the miraculous signs which marked out the special importance of this particular baptism, and the progression from those who are about to be baptised under the new dispensation, to those who have been baptised according to the Legal ceremony. The most important change therefore was that of Group C, with the old man, from the left to the right of Christ and St.John. This group was originally among those who had been baptised and there was no sense of a progression, as there is in the later drawings and in the picture.

In Baptism I (pl.1) there were no women and children. Like the baptised Pharisees, these were in the Baptism of St.John (pl.3). In Baptism II (pl.5) both groups were introduced into the scene of the Baptism of Christ. The women and children may have been put in, from drawings, nos:27 and 28 onwards to stress the availability of Christian baptism for children as well as for adults (pls.

10a, 9b). The woman with the children in the picture is not bringing them forward to be baptised, but only indicates the baptism of Christ with her pointing finger, while her companion looks up in wonder at the Dove.

In the earliest drawings Poussin was more intent on expressing the theme of wonder at the Divine events than any other theme. He only abandoned the tangle of upraised arms of the figures on the right after drawing no:27. The light on the water and the Dove are the only visible Divine manifestations. There was a third manifestation in the Gospels, which was not visible, the Voice of God. This was strictly speaking unpaintable in the naturalistic terms of seventeenth century painting, and especially those of Poussin's art. Yet Poussin, famously, was at great pains to express this third manifestation.⁴⁶ He used for this purpose the psychological reactions of his accessory figures. The three pointing youths on the right express a complex of wonder, awe and astonishment. They point to the Dove, and are plainly struck by what is immediately visible in front of them. In Baptism I the two figures who look up are facing the direction from which the Dove appears. There is therefore no indication that they have heard a voice. One of them shades his eyes from the intensity of the light in the heavens. The same gesture is given to one of the baptised figures on the left of Baptism II, but he is in reverse, from the figure in Baptism I. He, like the other figures of this group, with the exception of the Michelangelo figure, pulling on a stocking, are preoccupied with their clothes and were all turned away from the centre where the Dove appears. They cannot, therefore, have been attracted by anything silent but visible behind them. They can only have been disturbed through the sense of hearing, and have turned their heads round to see what is happening. The Michelangelo figure was turned to the left in the earlier drawings. His action

would have been incompatible with a turn of the head. Poussin decided to reverse him, so that he too is in a position in which he can see the Dove.

Baptism II was enriched by the addition of two themes from the Baptism of St. John pictures, the baptism of the Pharisees and women and children. Poussin also enlarged the expressive features of the new painting, by the rich variety of feeling given to his figures. The drawings for this picture leave one in no doubt that Poussin's expressive variety was founded on much more than mere rules. His little figures, even with their abbreviated notation, are drawn with remarkable understanding and observation of human actions. Poussin includes detail after detail that shows this.

9. Ordination II: the later drawings and the painting.

Poussin began Ordination by 3rd June, 1647. Even if he had done some work on it slightly earlier, it was executed at great speed for it was complete by 19th July, 1647.

I have already discussed the earlier drawings for this picture. There are three drawings that are more closely related to the finished work, as follows:

Plate 63. 30.Louvre.R.F.758. 0.90 x 0.130. Verso: Pen. A rough sketch with what appears to be a symmetrical version of Ordination.
Recto: Rinaldo and Armida. Coll:Desperet, His de la Salle.
CR.145. (II,23).

Plate 64b. 31.New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library. 0.187 x 0.255. Pen and wash. Coll.:Marchetti, Robinson, Fairfax Murray.

CR.98. (I,46). Whole composition.

Plate 65. 32.Windsor.11899. 0.198 x 0.327. Pen and wash. Coll:

Massimi 60. CR.A 21. (I,47). Whole composition.

If no:30 is really what it seems to be, a drawing for Ordination, then the new symmetrical version probably dates from the early part of 1646, and follows on quite closely in time from the earlier drawings for Ordination. The other drawing for this version of Rinaldo and Armida is on the other side of a sheet containing equally slight sketches for Eucharist and Penitence, no:20, as already stated above. Both the Sacraments drawings were probably made at much the same time, and were perhaps close together in a portfolio or sketch-book when Poussin came to use their versos to make the Rinaldo and Armida drawings.

The Pierpoint Morgan drawing, no:31 (pl.64b), was treated with some caution by Friedlaender and Blunt in the catalogue raisonné. It seemed to them in 1939 that it could possibly have been a studio drawing. Blunt in his catalogue of the paintings says that he now believes it is original.⁴⁷ The roughnesses which it contains are much more typical of Poussin's drawings in the 1640's than Friedlaender and Blunt would allow at first. The line is rough, a little unsteady and full of corrections. It must certainly be the first fully worked out composition with the new symmetrical arrangement of the figures. There is a new rigidity in the figure drawing. The outlines are hard and angular. The landscape has a new sharpness and clarity, due to the outlining of the forms with thin penlines. The chiaroscuro freedom of the Baptism drawings and the earlier drawings for Ordination has gone completely. The new clarity is akin in the figures to the final drawing for Penitence, no:22 (pl.40a), and in the landscape to the heroic landscape paintings of about 1643.

The figures of the left hand side are like those in the last two of the preceding phase of the composition. The drawing is cut at the left, but the wedge of figures can still be seen to be derived from the earlier drawings. The group on the right is quite new, and very hard to decipher. Poussin made numerous changes as he worked. Christ and St. Peter are reversed from the earlier drawings, so that St. Peter now approaches from the right instead of the left. The groups on either side of Christ are arranged like rows of columns set diagonally in space making a corridor through the foreground from the front right to the back left. This is essentially the same as the arrangement of the picture, though as usual at this early stage Poussin had not worked out the way to connect the groups by gesture and glance.

The landscape background is not entirely new, some of the elements of it had appeared in the earlier drawings, a city-scape with mountains in the distance. Poussin eliminated the framework of architecture from the foreground, and by opening up the space and reducing the density of the chiaroscuro, placed a new emphasis on the horizontal band of walled city. He introduced at this stage the winding path along the bank of the Jordan from the foreground figures to the distant city. The winding path is a feature of his landscape constructions of the 1640's. This motif survives to appear in the painting. The wooded hill with a temple on the left is the starting point for another motif of the painting. Two architectural features on the right are of some importance. In the background there is a two storey structure with a pediment, which is also just visible on the left of drawing no:14 (pl.61a), between the columns of the temple. It also appears in the Windsor drawing, no:32 (pl.65), where the upper part is a pyramid. Perhaps this is intended as one of the marg

pyramidal tombs of the Holy Land, reported by travellers. The tomb of Job was sometimes said to be in the vicinity of Caesarea Philippi.⁴⁸ On the right in the foreground is a stone object, standing like a sign-post at the side of the path. This is the mysterious pillar with the 'E' of the picture. This was omitted from the drawing at Windsor and even from the picture until Poussin decided to overpaint the landscape background with architecture.

In the Windsor drawing, no:32 (pl.65), the figure grouping and the gestures are almost those of the picture. The figures on the right have not yet been given their final form, although they are much clearer in this highly finished drawing. The drawing was called "studio" by Friedlaender and Blunt. It has all the marks of being a carefully worked out final drawing. It has squaring and was probably used for transfer to the canvas. In the process Poussin altered the figures on the right slightly, and made a few modifications to the landscape. The original state of the landscape background of the picture was not unlike that in this drawing, but Poussin added architecture over it later, obscuring much of it, and hence obscuring the similarity between drawing and painting. The line is needle sharp and angular as in the preceding drawing. It is even neater than the extremely similar style of the line in the Marriage drawing, no:19 (pl.84). The wash in this Ordination drawing is smoother than in the Marriage drawing. In places it is very dry and I have already suggested that it was worked up later by another hand.

The landscape is much more orderly in no:32. The path runs horizontally across the picture in the foreground to provide a platform for Christ and the Apostles. The coulisses are more prominent and break up the space and the surface of the picture more coherently. In the background smoke rises from

behind a little hill to the left of the picture. This is a recurrent feature in Poussin's landscapes, that has not been fully explained.

The infra-red photographs (pls. 74, 75) show the landscape beneath the architecture of the painting. The palatial building on the left and the buildings on the right of the pyramid are probably features of the original landscape. The buildings in the centre, except perhaps the small ones visible through the arches of the bridge were added later.

There are one or two places where the rapidity with which the picture was painted is apparent. Some of the heads, like that of the Apostle immediately to the left of Christ, were painted with the same sort of improvisatory freedom that Poussin had used for a few of the figures of Confirmation. The original outlining of the figures was not completely covered in some of the figures. It is bold and clear, as in the laying in of Eucharist. The green drapery of the figure to the right of St. Peter, presumably that of St. John, was left unpainted in the shadow areas, so that the reddish ground is apparently uncovered. There are no traces of alterations to the figures, as there are in some of the earlier paintings. Only the raised hand of Christ shows traces of uncertainty. This effect may be due to restoration, since there are signs of damage and repainting in this area. Just possibly, the forefinger may have been more vertical, and conceivably the marks round the hand may be traces of the presence of a second key in this hand.

The symmetry of this picture is unusual even for this set of Sacraments. Christ is on the central axis, not to the left of it. He points to the left with one hand, and St. Peter points with one hand in the same direction. There

is still the diagonal corridor, as in the drawings, between the groups of figures on either side, like that in Baptism. There is the same sort of indication of a path in the foreground, and the light on the water just behind Christ is like that in Baptism.

The Apostles appear to be discussing the meaning of Christ's words, among themselves. The mystery to which they seem to propound their answers is summed up in the 'E' on the pillar, the meaning of which is central to the understanding of the picture. This will be discussed later.

10. The last drawing for Marriage II.

Of all the finished drawings for the second set of Sacraments, that for Marriage is the closest to the finished painting. The drawing is

Plate 85. 33.Louvre.R.F.2359. 0.172 x 0.230. Pen and wash. Coll:
Mariette, Lawrence, His de la Salle. CR.91. (I,45).

The drawing is in heavy chiaroscuro with a few pen accents, in a manner not unlike that of the drawings for the Judgement of Solomon. It seems to be on grounds of style later than all the other drawings for the Sacraments. As has already been suggested, it was probably created at the last moment, before the execution of the painting in 1647. There are very few differences between drawing and painting. It is likely that Poussin would have made more changes if there was much time between the two.

The drawing reverts to the setting of the first version of the Marriage, pl.7, while the figure group is like that in the three earlier drawings. The

background in the drawing is completely closed up, whereas in the painting Poussin introduced windows opening on to a view beyond. The change to the open view coincides with the change in the lighting. In the drawing the light comes from the side, in the painting slightly from the rear, forming diagonal shadows from upper left to lower right. This is like the diagonal paths in Baptism and Ordination. Poussin may have introduced it to bring a slight degree of right to left movement into an otherwise more or less symmetrical arrangement. The porch is dressed with hanging garlands. There are other festive touches in the wreaths of flowers round the heads of Bride and Groom. In the same spirit, Poussin much enlarged St. Joseph's flowering rod.

There is a slight shift in the main group from that of the first version. The priest is seated in profile to the right in the new version. The Virgin kneels in front of him and St. Joseph, facing us, kneels between them. In the painting Poussin introduced a new figure, the young acolyte behind the priest with vessels in his hands, presumably for lustration. The spectator groups are similar in the paintings, with women and children on the left and men on the right. Poussin creates a greater sense of illusion in the second version by placing some of the figures partly behind columns, derived from the figure clinging to a column and the figure behind a column in the earlier drawings. The figures are nearly all vertical. There is none of the movement of the first version. Another feature that has disappeared is the Dove, which graces the first version and one of the drawings, no:19, with his presence. Poussin, in all the Sacraments, restricted supernatural manifestations to those which were specifically mentioned in his sources. None of the figures have haloes. The light round the head of Christ in the last drawing for Eucharist, no:21

(pl.34b), was not included in the painting and in the Baptism, where the Dove appears above the head of Christ, other manifestations are rendered in naturalistic terms.

11. Unity in the second set of Sacraments.

We have seen that Poussin probably planned the pictures of this set between the spring of 1644 and the middle of 1646. Sometimes he appears to have worked on several designs at about the same time. It is also likely that he had more than one canvas on the easel in 1646. It is likely that Poussin planned the pictures as a group. The colouring, drapery style, symmetry and perspective are strikingly of one kind. The pictures can only be seen as cohesively unified. Yet after the pictures were all complete, Chantelou wrote to Poussin to tell him that he was thinking of hanging curtains in front of them. This is only known from Poussin's reply. Poussin thought that the idea was a good one. He said that seeing all the pictures together would cause confusion.⁴⁹ He must have thought of the curtains as limiting the spectator's view to one picture at a time. It is clear from this that he had never thought of the pictures as having any kind of illusionist unity. Nevertheless the formal similarities between the pictures are so strong that he must have had some kind of unity in mind. The figure scale, for instance, is the same in each. If figure scale had been of no account, there would have been no need to change the figure scale of some of the earlier schemes for Baptism, Ordination and Marriage.

If Poussin intentionally unified the set, he probably had good reasons for doing so. In this context a remark of Fréart de Chambray, has been passed

over in silence by writers on the Sacraments. His 'Idée de la perfection de la Peinture'⁵⁰ was probably sent to Poussin for his approval. He did not see fit to contradict any of Chambray's comments. He himself was the hero of the book, and Chantelou's pictures, especially the Sacraments, the central work, in Chambray's argument. Not only was the book approved by Poussin, but Poussin's patron, Chantelou, was Chambray's brother. His comments on the Sacraments have, therefore a high degree of authority. He remarked that each of the pictures is subordinated to the whole work, but each is also complete in itself. More important still is his statement that Poussin's principal intention was to make of the Sacraments a mystical body, composed of its seven sacred members.⁵¹ Not only was there a deliberate unity in the set in the formal sense, but this was intended to serve the religious content. Chambray's evidence suggests that Poussin was not inspired merely by a desire for classical perfection of form, but by a specifically religious intention. The way in which the content is unified will be discussed later. A discussion of the formal relations among the pictures will be found in the following paragraphs.

The colouring of the pictures is remarkable. They have strongly accentuated local colours in the draperies of the figures. Among these, figures dressed in draperies of saturated reds and yellows stand out. These colours are intensified by the reddish-brown bolus ground on which the pictures are painted. Their very striking effect is not entirely due to the effects of time on the paintings. Each of these strong areas of colour is supported by an adequately thick layer of body colour, which cannot have become completely transparent with time. The colour effect has not therefore changed to any considerable extent in these colours, though the ground certainly shows through some of the

thinner areas of paint, and has muted the blues and greens to some extent. The red and yellow draperies are distributed about the paintings, as if they were deliberately intended as accents. Each of these two dominant colours, the red and the yellow, is nearly always accompanied by its group of subsidiary colours in the surrounding or adjacent draperies. The accompanying colours are modified from picture to picture, according to the degree of light falling on them.

The kind of colour groups and the way in which they appear to correspond in the pictures can be seen in Ordination (tr.F) and Baptism (tr.A). In Ordination there are two groups of Apostles, one on either side of Christ and St.Peter. The nearest Apostle of the right hand group is draped in the characteristic strong vermillion colour. To the left of him there is an Apostle in white and another, probably St.John, in green. On the right there is a figure in dull gold and a few touches of green and light blue. Placed in almost exactly the same way on the right of the picture, the same group of colours occurs in Baptism. The nearest of the pointing men is dressed in vermillion, a white and a dark green drapery lie close by on the left at his feet. The subordinate colours, dull gold, light blue and green appear on his right, though the size of the areas of colour is not the same as in Ordination. Poussin uses mid-blue, light blue, gold and vermillion for the central group of Ordination, Christ and St.Peter. These are their usual colours. He also uses the same group of totally anonymous figures, in roughly the same part of the picture in Baptism, in the group of women and children. The correspondence ends here, since the left hand side of Baptism consists mostly of semi-nude figures in light coloured draperies.

The subordinate group of colours associated with vermillion in Baptism and

Ordination occurs with the other vermillions of the set: in Marriage (tr.G) on the right; in Confirmation (tr.B) in the centre; in Penitence (tr.D) on the left; in Extreme Unction (tr.E) on the left and the right; in Eucharist (tr.C) in the centre. The white and green colours do not occur in the first four of these, but they do occur in Eucharist, where they are dimly discernible.

On the left of Ordination there is a second group of colours that recurs with variations in several of the other pictures. The Apostles on the left, from left to right, are dressed in deep rose, mid-blue, a very strong yellow, mid-green and orange, with a few touches of other colours in small areas. The same group of colours appears together on the right of Confirmation, on the left of Marriage, around the Magdalen on the left of Penitence, in muted and sour variation in the figures behind the bed in Extreme Unction, and in further muted variation in the figures on the right of Eucharist.

These repetitions of colour groups bind the set together, in much the same way as variations over a ground bass. In some cases there seem to be more specific similarities between some of the pictures. Baptism and Ordination are very much alike on the right hand side in colour, in the light on the water near the centre, and in the simple fact that they alone have landscape settings. These two pictures were possibly intended as pendants. The relation between Marriage and Ordination that Poussin may have planned in the drawings, is still visible to some degree in the paintings. Both pictures are more symmetrical in arrangement than the others. The strong yellow and red appear in each picture to right and left of the central axis respectively. Marriage and Confirmation also appear to be related. The group of colours on the right of Confirmation is almost identical to that on the left of Marriage.

Eucharist (pl.32) and Penitence (pl.30) were almost certainly planned together. They are both scenes with triclinia, but there are no other striking similarities in formal arrangement between them. They seem rather to be contrasted. Eucharist and Extreme Unction are both pictures with artificial illumination. The colours are muted in both pictures. Extreme Unction (tr.E) is dominated in colour by the yellow of the priest's draperies, whereas the reds of the draperies of Christ, Judas and an Apostle in the foreground dominate that of Eucharist (tr.C). The connections between these pictures are not obvious like those between the other four, and the key to their formal relation lies in the way in which the pictures could reasonably be arranged.

There are some obvious and striking peculiarities about the design of the second set of Sacraments which suggest that Poussin had a specific location in mind for each of the pictures. It will be recalled that the sacraments had an order that became traditional in the seventeenth century. To arrange the pictures around a room in this order would have seemed natural. It would have been equally natural for Poussin to imply some sort of continuity from one to the next, to assist the spectator to 'read' the pictures in sequence. This is not the same thing as creating a set that can only be viewed as a whole, with an illusionist kind of unity. It implies only that there should be some sense of movement in a particular direction and some degree of openness at one end of each picture. Even with curtains over the remaining pictures nearly every picture gives a clear indication of which way to go to see the next in sequence.

Nevertheless the pictures are, as Chambray suggested, complete in themselves. This is true not only of their content but also of their formal arrangement. Superficially all the pictures seem to be symmetrical. In all the interior

scenes, except Extreme Unction, the background is made up of symmetrically disposed parts. In Baptism (pl.5), St. John is on the central axis, in Ordination (pl.66) Christ is on the central axis, and in Extreme Unction (pl.53) the priest is in the centre. The vanishing point of the perspective in each picture is on the central axis and the grouping was clearly devised to converge towards the centre to a greater or smaller degree in all the pictures.

Complete as they are there are features of the paintings both of content and form that suggest that the pictures are meant to be 'read' from right to left. Such a directional stress, already remarked on in the discussion of the drawings is unusual in Western art. The 'normal' form of narrative pictures, in which there is no special stress on the central axis, is that in which the main accent is on the right and there is some degree of movement in the figure grouping across the picture from left to right. There are a surprisingly large number of pictures in which Poussin placed the main emphasis on the left and created a right to left movement in the figures.⁵²

While the 'reading' of a picture from left to right may be 'normal', because that is the direction in which we are used to reading and writing, it is more likely that there is an independent pictorial tradition.⁵³ It is usual in the decoration of churches to begin a cycle on the right and finish on the left of the altar. It is necessary in these circumstances to make the pictures of a cycle lead round the church from left to right. This direction was very frequently adopted in easel pictures also, with the exception of scenes of the Adoration of the Magi. Poussin's pictures are nearly all easel pictures and he seems to have felt completely free to choose whatever direction he pleased for them. In so doing he sometimes created a little bewilderment among later critics.⁵⁴

It will be remembered that three of the first set of Sacraments have a right to left direction, Extreme Unction, Ordination and Penitence (pls.30,59b,36). The difficulty of reading the composition of Extreme Unction has already been remarked on. That Ordination is a right to left composition is clear from the earlier drawings for Ordination II (pls.61a,62a), where the arrangement of the first version can be seen in reverse, as unequivocally left to right. In Penitence I, there is a more or less symmetrical arrangement, but Christ and the Magdalen are on the left hand side of the picture. These three pictures are the fourth, fifth and sixth of the Sacraments. The first two are clearly left to right compositions, while the third is symmetrical. This suggests that their position on the walls may have determined their direction, just as it may also have affected their colouring. The first two pictures would have led up to Eucharist from its left and the three immediately after Eucharist would have led up to it from its right. Marriage is symmetrical. Perhaps it was hung opposite Eucharist. The Baptism of St.John is also a picture with an accent on the left and figure groups building up from the right. This was probably to contrast it with the Baptism of Christ.

It will by now be fairly clear what is meant by 'direction' in Poussin's pictures. However passive a pictorial field may be, if it contains the representation of figures, it induces us to follow what 'they' are doing. Even if the truth of this is open to dispute in the twentieth century, it was apparently taken for granted when Poussin painted his pictures. If such a method has no foundation in psychological fact, and is a mere convention, then it was a convention in the seventeenth century, which was fostered by Poussin himself. His notion of description of pictures is that borrowed by Bellori in

the numerous descriptions in the 'Vite'. These descriptions are invariably of the actions performed by the individual figures, above all, what they express, secondly and more rarely how they are drawn or coloured. It is evident from Chantelou's recollections of Bernini's visit to him to see his pictures in 1665, that Bernini looked at Poussin's pictures in this kind of way. Bernini's companions are reported to have looked at the figures one by one. Bernini looked at them at close quarters for a long time, although he also commented on their general appearance. When he did so it was in rather broad and subjective generalities. "Che divotione, che silenzio", he said of Confirmation. As far as the individual figures are concerned, he was chiefly interested in their character and action.⁵⁵

Although Poussin must have known Chantelou's house and would also probably have known where his pictures were to hang, we are not so fortunate. There is no record of the plan of the house, and only a glimpse of the room in which the pictures were hung, in Chantelou's account of Bernini's visit.

The organisation of the pictures themselves suggests how they might have been hung. There must have been some reason for Poussin to reverse the compositions of Baptism I and Confirmation I of the first set, and to change the arrangement of Ordination I for the second set. The first two are clearly right to left compositions in the second set. We have already seen how there is progression in the content in this direction in both pictures. Ordination II was at first going to be a left to right composition leading round the room in the opposite direction, as it had in the first set. Marriage was to do the same. Poussin may have forgotten that he had not reversed Extreme Unction also. In the end both Ordination and Marriage were painted as symmetrical compositions,

with a slight tendency to a right to left emphasis, in the diagonal path between the figures in the one and the diagonal shadows in the other. Ordination and Marriage were the last two sacraments. If the pictures were to be hung side by side there would be no continuity between them, either from right to left or from left to right. If, however, they were to be hung with Ordination above Marriage, then they would both close the right to left sequence of the other pictures, since neither has a very strong directional stress. Baptism is very like Ordination in colouring and makes a kind of symmetry with it. It is quite likely that it was meant to be hung near Ordination and at the same level. Confirmation would probably have been below Baptism and thus next to Marriage.

The colour groups of Confirmation (tr.B) and Marriage (tr.G) are very similar, and they have other features which link them. In both pictures blue, orange-yellows and orange-reds play a much greater part than in the other Sacraments. These colours make much softer transitions between the strong reds and yellows and the other colours. Poussin placed three blues at regular intervals across Marriage; the drapery of the woman behind the column, that of the Virgin and that of the young acolyte behind the priest. There are similarly spaced blues in Confirmation, mirroring those in Marriage: the drapery of the little boy on the left, the kneeling girl, and a young assistant in the middle ground. In Marriage the dominant colours are those of the orange, blue and white of the draperies of the central group. These are framed by a red and a yellow on either side. In Confirmation the central colours are red and yellow and the softer colours are on either side, thus inverting the arrangement in Marriage. Marriage and Confirmation are connected in such a way that they would have hung very neatly side by side.

The strong directional effect of Baptism and Confirmation at the beginning of the set is very different from the static symmetry of the last two pictures, Ordination and Marriage. The only way in which these pictures could have been arranged in proximity would have been on either side of the entrance to the room. The first two would have begun the set starting from the door, leading round the room to the left, and the last two would have completed the set on the other side of the door.

The curious new feature in Eucharist (pl.32), Judas' departure, brought a new directional sense into the arrangement. He departs to the left, while in compensation, Christ is moved to the right of centre. In Eucharist I (pl.30) a servant leaves the room, but further back in the space and much less interesting from a dramatic point of view. It suggests that Poussin wanted to suggest that the set continued to the left. The colour arrangement is very simple. The majority of the Apostles are in heavy shade, against which the vermillion of Christ's drapery is also vermillion, making a pair of strong red accents to the right of centre and to the far left. There is a sense of tension between these two colour areas, partly because of the drama which they accentuate. There are two Apostles in dull yellow between these two.

A similar pair of colour accents occurs in Extreme Unction (tr.E): the drapery of the man with the candle leaning over the bed, the patch of red on the drapery of the old woman at the bed-head on the left, and on the right of that of the 'daughter' at the foot of the bed and the 'doctor', immediately 'above' her. Between these two red accents is the much stronger accent of the yellow drapery of the priest. This is an inversion of the colouring of Eucharist.

The red of Judas' drapery on the left of Eucharist (tr.C), would seem to be taken up in Penitence, if they were hung side by side, Eucharist on the right and Penitence on the left. Two of the servants are dressed in blue, but the drapery of the rest of them makes a series of reds through the picture. Three of the servants are spaced at regular intervals. The fourth red is the very strong vermilion of Christ's drapery. The colour is taken even further by another servant in the background on the far left. On either side of the startling red accent of Christ's drapery Poussin placed a pair of yellows, that of the drapery of the Magdalen and that of the boy pouring wine. This is another inversion of the colouring of Eucharist and Extreme Unction.

Of these three pictures only Extreme Unction is closed on the left. In Eucharist, Judas departs to the left, while none of the Apostles look or gesture out to the right. In Penitence (tr.D) the major colour accent is on the left and there is a movement of the servants across the picture to this side. Those on the far left appear to be on the point of leaving the room. In Extreme Unction there is a doorway on the right and the main action is towards the left, closed by the group on that side. The three pictures make a group that could well have been hung together, but slightly isolated from the others. There is an area of shadow to the left of Penitence which suggests that it might have been hung near to a window, on a wall at right angles to a window-wall. There is some reason to think that Extreme Unction was not close to a window and perhaps high up, perhaps opposite Eucharist. The reasons for this suggestion are in Chantelou's account of Bernini's visit.

Bernini visited Chantelou's house on 25th July, 1665.⁵⁵ It was half past eight and Bernini stayed to look at Chantelou's pictures for over an hour,

perhaps leaving about ten o'clock. In a later part of the entry for the same day Chantelou remarked that they went for a walk that evening. The visit must have taken place, therefore in the morning. Ten o'clock at night in Paris in July is hardly evening, and in the seventeenth century not a good time to take a walk. Furthermore, Chantelou speaks of taking the Baptism down from the wall, and taking it to the window so that Bernini could see it better. This implies that there was adequate day-light and that Baptism was far from the window, and that there was only one window in the room. Earlier he had had Extreme Unction taken down and brought "près de la lumière". He can only mean that he took this to the window also. If there had been a need for artificial light in the room, it would have been much easier to take the light to the picture, than remove the picture from the wall and carry it to the light.

The Sacraments seem to have been in Chantelou's main room. He described the room with the Raphael copies as a "petite salle" and the next room as a "petite chambre". There is no qualifying adjective for the room with the Sacraments, he simply calls it "la salle".

Evidently Chantelou did not keep all the Sacraments covered all the time. He had left Confirmation with the curtain drawn back. One can imagine the party, Chantelou, Bernini and his two companions, coming in to the room and standing on the right of the doorway looking at Confirmation. All the other pictures were curtained. It is easy to see why Chantelou drew back the curtain on Marriage next. It was near at hand, only on the other side of the doorway and in the lower register of the pictures.

The next to be unveiled was Penitence. This was perhaps the only other

picture within easy reach. Eucharist may have been high up and Extreme Unction also.

Chantelou was in no hurry to show Bernini the Sacraments and even when Bernini asked if he had all seven, he simply replied "oui" and showed him the Vision of Ezekiel, attributed at that time to Raphael, before showing him any more Sacraments. Bernini had by now seen all the more accessible pictures. Chantelou had someone bring in the 'Raphael' and then he had two pictures, at least, taken down from the walls and taken to the window. Whether they were hung high up or not is uncertain, but they were clearly difficult to see, since Chantelou mentioned bringing them to the light in each case. Finally, Bernini was shown Ordination and Eucharist. Chantelou did not say whether he had them taken down or not, but considering the close attention Bernini paid to them, remarking on the building on the right in the background of Ordination, he must have seen them at close quarters.

On the basis of this evidence it is possible to reconstruct tentatively the arrangement of the pictures in the room, with the four pictures by the door, Penitence in the lower register, Eucharist above it, or perhaps in the dark corner to its right. Extreme Unction equally far from the window, and opposite Eucharist.

The internal evidence and the evidence of Chantelou's journal suggest together this arrangement, with a sequence of pictures round the room from right to left. There may have been some bulky obstruction on one of the walls adjacent to the wall with the door which made it impossible to create a 'normal' left to right sequence. The argument is not intended to be conclusive, the evidence is hardly strong, but it cannot be stressed enough that the pictures

have a right to left tendency, that they have many common features in their colouring and that there is a sense of a very thorough stylistic unity in the set.

This kind of unity must have depended on the hanging. It was revealed neither in the great Poussin exhibition of 1960 at the Louvre, nor is it clear in the present situation of the pictures in the National Gallery of Scotland. In the exhibition they were rather dark within the well-lit galleries of the Louvre and a little lost in the large spaces. They were hung in the order in which they were executed, which is different from that of the conventional order of the Sacraments. Poussin painted the two 'antique genre' scenes first and then the scenes from the life of Christ in Gospel sequence, and the 'Sposalizio' last of all. This arrangement showed nothing of the colour grouping and none of the iconographical relations between them, to be discussed later. They were also hung in left to right sequence, and a number of connections, already pointed out were also lost in this way.

The hanging in the National Gallery of Scotland is also very awkward, and all the suggestions above have had to be made without the advantage of rearranging them. They are hung in a small octagon room, one side of which is a doorway. This provides them with a diffused top-lighting and a suitable scale. Unfortunately they are arranged in a left to right sequence round the walls and in a chaotic order, which is neither that of the sacraments, nor that in which they were painted. This reflects the way in which they were catalogued soon after their arrival in Britain. Anything resembling a Roman Catholic idea of their sequence disappeared at once. Even in France in the eighteenth century Dubois de St.Gelais had already transposed Penitence and Eucharist.⁵⁷ Smith

listed them in a strange new order of his own. For the first set he lists them with some moderation. He transposed Penitence and Eucharist and changed the order of the last three to Marriage, Ordination and Extreme Unction.⁵⁸ This makes a pretty sequence of the Sacraments in the course of human life, from cradle to grave, provided that the clergy are not expected to be celibate. In the catalogue of the Bridgewater house pictures and in the cataloguing of the second set by Smith new and inexplicable disorders appear, thus: Baptism, and Confirmation, then Marriage followed by Penitence, Ordination, Eucharist and Extreme Unction. There is no principle in all this, except perhaps for the third and fourth in the old adage, 'marry in haste, repent at leisure'. In the National Gallery of Scotland they are arranged as follows: Baptism, Confirmation, Ordination, Eucharist, Penitence, Marriage and Extreme Unction. It is impossible to see any of the relationships between the pictures in this arrangement. Judas 'walks out' of Eucharist as if into Ordination. Considering how frequently Poussin plays on the ambiguity between the name of a Sacrament and the name of a picture of a Sacrament, in his letters to Chantelou, what would he have made of this extraordinary action?

The pictures are on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland. They belong to the Duke of Sutherland, (by direct descent from the Duke of Bridgewater). The Duke of Bridgewater acquired them, with many of the best Italian pictures from the Orleans collection, which had been sold to Walkuers in 1792. In the eighteenth century they were well-known, since they were to be seen in the then easily accessible Palais Royal. They were bought in 1716, by the Abbé Dubois, artistic agent for the Regent of France, Philippe Duke of Orleans. Their whereabouts between 1716 and Chantelou's death are uncertain. They were at

some time in the hands of a Rotterdam merchant, identified as possibly J. van Meijer.⁵⁹ They were highly valued in the Orleans collection: at 56,000 livres in 1724 and 1752 and at 70,000 livres in 1785.⁵⁹

CHAPTER III

POUSSIN'S SOURCES FOR THE SACRAMENTS

1. Introduction

No one can deny that the two sets of Sacraments are intimately bound up with Poussin's most classical stylistic phase. The first set is the prelude and the second is part of the fulfilment. In the first set Poussin broke with his earlier Venetian colourism. He created a new style, similar to that of Domenichino before the 1620's. There is a new delicate, pure, curvilinearity and a moderation in the use of colour. In some of the later pictures of the set the figure style is bolder and the chiaroscuro richer. The style of these is a foretaste of the 'maniera magnifica' of the second set. We have seen in the second set the return of chiaroscuro to Poussin's art, but in a new, modified role. In the early pictures of the 1620's, it is a device for the dynamic organisation of the canvas, to which figure structure is secondary. In the second set of Sacraments it is subordinate to the static figure structure. The figure groups appear to be part of the geometrical and perspectival system of each picture. The strong diagonal movement of many of the preparatory drawings is always stilled in the paintings. Even the colours are used to measure out the space and the surface of the pictures, and to make a coherent pattern of the whole set. Poussin's brushwork is smooth and regular, except in a few places, which are not even apparent to the naked eye. Poussin subordinated personal mood to the necessities of pictorial and narrative requirements. The emotions of the figures are quite separate from those of the artist. Within this cool atmosphere, and this severe architectonic style, the pathos of the Magdalen in Penitence or that of the mourners in Extreme Unction stand out

most movingly. Although the scenes are separated from seventeenth century contemporary life, by the recreation of an antique world and the prominence of an ideal structure, yet they are based on an intimate observation of human life and of its environment. The drawings for Baptism II show this most clearly.

The term 'classical' for this style is not of the seventeenth century, but an invention of the late nineteenth century. As a term it can be misleading, because it can imply that Poussin's style belongs with the art of pagan antiquity and of the High Renaissance. All three belong to a group of similar aesthetic experiences. The art of antiquity depends on pre-Christian thought. The High Renaissance and Poussin's art depend on this. These are part of a continuous or a recurrent pattern. It matters not which, since it can be supposed that the sources of Poussin's style lie in antiquity and the High Renaissance. There is apparently a paradox here. Poussin's pictures of a central Christian theme would seem to belong to a non-Christian category of aesthetic experience, the 'classical'. We have already seen how recent writers have tried to resolve this paradox sometimes by denying the existence of Christian meaning sometimes in the Sacraments and sometimes in all of Poussin's religious paintings. It is also inferred that Poussin's sources were in classical antiquity and the High Renaissance, exclusively.

The 'loci classici' for the use of such sources in the Sacraments are the Extreme Unction paintings (pls. 48a, 53), one of the figures in Confirmation II (pl. 21) (the woman in yellow on the right), the Marriage (pls. 80, 86) and the Ordination (pls. 59b, 66) pictures, and the figure taking off or putting on his stocking in the Baptism (pls. 1, 3, 4, 5) pictures. In nearly every case the resemblance between Poussin's pictures and their supposed sources in antiquity, Raphael's Tapestries and

Michelangelo, is superficial, as we shall see.

There are borrowings from Raphael's paintings, to be sure, but these point to Poussin's involvement in a Christian tradition of iconography rather than to an aesthetic idealism of form. There are many other indications in the Sacraments that Poussin used early Christian imagery and even popular wood-cuts. These show that the apparent paradox of Poussin's classical style and Christian subject matter can be resolved in a new way.

2. High Renaissance and antique sources for the Sacraments

Bernini's comments on the second set of Sacraments agree with the opinion common in France by 1665 that Poussin was at least the equal of Raphael. Throughout Chantelou's journal the theme returns again and again¹. Bernini makes the familiar comparison between Poussin's two manners: the earlier with the colouring of Titian and the later with the colouring of Raphael. This is of no great significance, it is merely a critical commonplace. Much more important, he put Raphael and Poussin in direct comparison. In Chantelou's house he declared that he could not decide which he preferred, the Poussin Sacraments or the Vision of Ezekiel, then believed to be by Raphael. Four days later in conversation with Colbert, Chantelou remarked that Bernini had praised his Sacraments "avec exagération". Bernini seems to have made the most of what appears to have been a genuine admiration for Poussin's work of the period before 1650. Chantelou for his part continually responded to Bernini's praise of Poussin's imitation of Raphael by reference to Poussin's principal study: antiquity. This conversation between Bernini and Chantelou is a reflection of the polemic in Chambray's 'Idée de la perfection de la peinture'². An echo of the same book occurs in Monconys comment on Poussin's fame in his journal of his visit to Italy in the summer

of 1664: "le plus illustre qui ait esté jamais pour la peinture, esgalant Raphael dans le dessein, et le surpassant dans l'histoire et l'ordonnance"³. This exceeds the praise accorded to Poussin by Bernini. Chambray had argued that Poussin had shown himself to be greater than Raphael in the two branches of the art mentioned by Monconys. He was also superior to Leonardo da Vinci who was, for a long time, revered as the founder of painting in France. Chambray remarked in particular on Poussin's use of the triclinium in the Sacraments, accurate in terms of antique 'costume', but, more important, vital to the accurate expression of the Gospel narrative. By this means Poussin could show the Magdalen at Christ's feet, standing behind him, washing his feet with her tears. He could also show St. John, leaning against Christ, but alert instead of asleep. In this, Chambray maintained, Poussin showed his superiority to all previous painters⁴.

Chambray's comments show the importance of his brother's pictures, a reflection on the prestige of his family in taste and Virtù. They were also intended to show the degree to which French taste and thereby French national prestige had grown by the middle of the seventeenth century. This was part of a national polemic, with which the name of Poussin had long been associated. The comparison with Raphael had been intended by Sublet de Noyers and Chantelou during Poussin's Paris visit. The Madonna, commissioned by Sublet, but not executed, and the Ecstasy of St. Paul were both intended to paragon the work of Poussin with that of his universally admired Italian predecessor, to Poussin's embarrassment. It was part of Richelieu's policy to create great works of art in France, for which purpose Poussin was brought back to France. Not only was he to work in France, he was to become the Head of the School, the great French decorative painter, and later the possible founder of a French Academy in Rome. If Poussin

had been the right kind of person to accept this public position, the results could have been a vindication of French pretensions to have inherited the great taste of Italy, which would have reflected on the Glory of the French Monarchy. These ambitions were not to be pursued by Poussin himself, far from it. His patrons in France, especially Chantelou and his brothers made sure that the most was made of his work. One of the means to this end was Chambray's book. Such was the intention, but the fulfilment came only in the next generation, that of Colbert and Lebrun.

There is no doubt that Raphael's painting influenced the general direction of Poussin's style. He is known to have admired Raphael's Transfiguration and the fresco paintings in the Stanzas of the Vatican. He must also have known the Psyche frescoes and the Galatea in the Farnesina. He could also have seen the Sibylls and Prophets in S. Maria della Pace. It is difficult to know which of the many oil paintings of Raphael he did not know either in the original, in copies or in engravings.

He could only have seen Raphael's Vatican tapestries on rare occasions. They were not on permanent display in the Vatican. He might have had the opportunity to study the Francis I set, when he was a young man in Paris. He is more likely to have paid some attention to them while he was in Paris in 1640 to 1642, since his own tapestries were intended to be placed alongside them. There were also engravings available and he might have owned these. He had not seen the cartoons, since these were in Flanders, until they were acquired by Charles I.

Probably more important than any of these for the imagery of Poussin's paintings of religious subjects were the little frescoes in the vaults of the second Loggia of the Cortile di San Damaso of the Vatican. In figure

style they were not necessarily of far-reaching importance, but their iconography had already been a widespread source for Biblical illustration for a century. The paintings were, as is well-known, painted by Raphael's assistants. For this reason alone they have been somewhat neglected in the last century, and have not achieved the same degree of fame as the Stanzas, the Madonna paintings, the paintings in the Farnesina and the Tapestries. In the seventeenth century they were still studied with avidity by painters. Lanfranco and Sisto Badalocchi made a complete set of very free etchings of them as a birthday present for Annibale Carracci at the beginning of the century. As a possible source of Poussin's religious iconography they have been almost ignored, perhaps because it is believed that a classical artist could only have had stylistically pure sources. The direct influence of the Raphael Tapestries on the imagery of the Sacraments is in contrast virtually negligible.

Some slight resemblance between Poussin's Ordination I (pl. 59b) and Raphael's Tapestry of the Pasce meas oves (pl. 59a) has been noted⁵. The subjects are different. The Raphael is sometimes called, incorrectly, the Handing of the Keys to St. Peter. St. Peter holds the keys, but the incident is not that recorded in St. Matthew, XVI, 16, the handing of the keys. It is quite clearly the Pasce Meas Oves, in St. John, XXI, 15-17. A flock of sheep is grazing behind the resurrected Christ, dressed in white, with the Wounds clearly visible on ^{his} hands and feet. The background landscape does not show a city, but the sea of Tiberias. The confusion about the subject of the Tapestry may have been caused by the large number of figures in the scene. According to the Gospel there were only seven disciples present on this occasion, while there were presumably twelve at the handing of the keys to St. Peter. In Raphael's Tapestry there are

eleven, all with haloes. The only implication is that Judas is not present. To some degree Raphael seems to have combined the two events into a scene that is no longer strictly historical. The subject of Poussin's paintings is unequivocally the Handing of the Keys. In the first version there is a landscape with no buildings. The river Jordan flows behind the Apostles. On the other side of the river there is wild, mountainous country. This is probably intended to represent the countryside near Caesarea Philippi at the foot of Mount Lebanon. In the second version the setting is the outskirts of the city itself. In Poussin's paintings there are twelve figures besides that of Christ. The action of Poussin's Christ is quite unlike that of Raphael's, because of the difference in subject matter.

The attitudes of the Apostles in Raphael's tapestries are intended to convey their astonishment and reverence at their encounter with the resurrected Christ. Poussin might easily have borrowed them for his subject. The figures in Raphael's Tapestry occupy about two-thirds of the height; in Poussin's first version they occupy only about one-third. Adapted without alteration, the massive compressed group of the Raphael would have occupied only a small part of the width of Poussin's canvas. His grouping is therefore quite different. There is not a trace of a borrowing from the Raphael in either the attitudes of the individual figures or in the structure of the group. Even the drapery style is different. In spite of the movement of the figures in the Raphael the draperies tend to fall vertically or in long parallel folds, in Poussin's painting there are many more 'V'-shaped and broken folds. There is a sense of unanimity in the action of Raphael's closely packed, clear ranks

of figures. In Poussin's painting the attitudes of the figures are all disparate and they are spread out through the picture in a long irregular 'V'. Curiously, the one traceable borrowing from Raphael's tapestry in the Sacraments is not in Ordination I but in Confirmation I. The fifth Apostle from the right is very similar to the standing figure on the extreme left of the Confirmation.

The second version of Ordination (pl. 66) is even less like Raphael's design. Even the superficial resemblance, the long line of Apostles with Christ at one end, has gone, abandoned in the last group of drawings. There is still not a single borrowing for the figures of the Apostles. Their grouping is also unlike that in the Raphael, though the more orderly ranks of figures may have been inspired by a general study of Raphael's methods. The figures of Christ and St. Peter are more like Raphael's in this second version, with St. Peter turned slightly in to the space of the picture, and Christ pointing downwards with his right hand. This, however, seems to have been arrived at independently, by a number of adjustments to these two figures in the drawings, in which they were quite differently conceived. Only the greater weight and simplicity of the draperies points to a general study of Raphael's drapery style. The broken folds and diagonal movements still pervade Poussin's picture, instead of the predominant verticals of Raphael's Tapestry. The greater angularity and breadth of Poussin's draperies in the second version can be seen in the fourth figure from the left, the Apostle in yellow. He is clearly derived from the figure of Christ in the first version. The movement and the gesture of the right arm is very similar in these two figures. There is much smoother linear flow in the second figure. The folds are heavier, sharper and full of simple repetitions. They are divided into masses by

two bold lines.

There is a Renaissance ancestor for Poussin's symmetrical arrangement of the Handing of the Keys, that of Perugino in his wall fresco in the Sistine chapel (pl. 76), but there is no obvious relation between Poussin's picture and Perugino's⁶. The Perugino is placed opposite scenes from the Life of Moses, including the Giving of the Law⁷ (pl. 77). Such a typological parallel was far from unlikely even in the seventeenth century, and as we shall see later very likely a regular feature of Poussin's religious painting. The scene of Moses with the Law is quite rare in Renaissance art, but it occurs in Raphael's Loggias, in the ninth arch, the last of the Moses cycle (pl. 67). In Raphael's picture Moses stands on the left before the Israelites. In the tapestry Christ stands on the right. It is only in the (reversed) cartoon which Poussin could not have seen that Christ is on the left.

It is worth looking a little further at the iconography of the Moses scene. There is an early Christian example of the scene that Raphael could hardly have ignored in the important Roman basilica, S. Maria Maggiore. The nave mosaic cycle is one of the few survivors to the twentieth century of the Roman Basilical cycles. Raphael could also have seen the cycle in old St. Peter's, but these are lost to us.

The S. Maria Maggiore mosaic has the same basic components as Raphael's picture, Moses with the second tablets of the Law on the left and the Israelites on the right. In the mosaic there is also the figure of the dying Moses on the right. The scene below in the same frame is that of the crossing of the Jordan with the priests bearing the Ark (pl. 68). This is the next scene in the Raphael cycle. There is one important feature of the mosaic: it provides an example for this scene of a figure with his

back turned to us. Raphael may have used the early and therefore venerable Christian mosaic as the starting point for his design. The figure with his back to us is like that in the mosaic. He is in reverse in the Raphael. The gestures of the Israelites nearest to Moses in the mosaic probably suggested the gestures of acclamation of the Israelites in Raphael's picture, but there are no very clear resemblances here. Poussin does not include the figure of the dying Moses and makes some notably elegant additions to the group, in the kneeling young men in the foreground. These might have been suggested by the nearby mosaic of the Waters of Marah (pl. 89), where there is a marked similarity between the figure of the half-kneeling Moses and the half-kneeling youth in Raphael's picture.

The only relation between Poussin and Raphael in this instance is that both seem to have used the mosaic. Poussin seems to have conceived the Handing of the Keys in the first version like a Moses with the Second Law, substituting Christ for Moses and the Apostles for the twelve tribes. Raphael seems to have seen some sort of relationship between the Moses scene and Christ's charge to St. Peter. The loggia design is partly a variant of that in the tapestry. The kneeling and partly kneeling youths in the Moses picture seem to follow the figures of St. Peter and the figure behind him (perhaps St. John) in the tapestry. There is also a figure at each end of the group of Apostles that resemble those in the front of the group in the mosaic, though they are not important figures in the tapestry design. 51

Poussin's design was therefore made within a tradition in which the two scenes were based on the same design components. In Poussin's first version the relation to the mosaic is in important respects nearer to the mosaic than is Raphael's loggia picture.

Poussin's figure of Christ looks like a clarification of the Moses in the mosaic. From the feet upwards their poses are almost the same. Poussin follows the drapery pattern extremely closely, apart from the variation due to the change of medium and to his current preoccupation with elegant but complex line. The drapery at Christ's chest is divided from that over His left, raised arm by a sharp tonal change. At this point Poussin appears to have added on the gesture that is essential to this scene, but which is unnecessary in the Moses scene. The prominent foreground figure of the mosaic seem to have been the starting point for the two figures nearest to the spectator to the right of St. Peter. Poussin seems to have created a new version of the mosaic group in the five standing figures on the right. The only trace of a figure like those in Raphael's Moses picture is the man on the extreme right, probably Judas who slightly resembles Moses, but is in reverse. There is one other remarkable detail in Poussin's painting. On the right he inserted reclining figures on the far bank of the Jordan, at the top of a steep and rather rectangular hillock terminated by precipitous rock on the right. They are placed in much the same part of the picture as the dying Moses in the mosaic. Moses rock is full of vertical striations also. This motif of the dying Moses could well have had some significance on Poussin's interpretation of this scene.

There is only one of the Tapestries from which Poussin derived any figures for the Sacraments, that is Raphael's Healing at the Gate of the Temple (pl. 79). On the right of the Tapestry there is a child pulling at the hand of a man. Omitting the child's right arm Poussin adapted the child for the first version of Marriage and gave him a new function. He

is holding the waist of one of the women on the left. The young man pointing to Joseph's flowering rod may be an echo of the figure of the young St. John in the same Tapestry. The women and children may also have been suggested by the right-hand part of a sarcophagus illustrated in Bosio, of the Crossing of the Red Sea (pl. 14b)

The drawings for Marriage II that were not used for the Sacraments (nos. 18 and 19) (pls. 83, 84) show a man clinging to the columns on the left. This is the only clear reference in the Sacraments to the Stanzas, to the figures in Raphael's Heliodorus. In Marriage II Poussin did not use the Heliodorus figure after all. He did, however, repeat the child from the Healing, with slight differences.

These very slight references are trivial in comparison with the frequent use of motifs from the Loggias⁸. Baptism I (pl. 1) is evidently indebted to the Baptism (pl. 2) in the thirteenth arch of the Loggias in the general compositional pattern, the figures being strung out across the picture. The man pulling his shirt over his head is similarly placed in both pictures and Poussin's figure almost certainly derives from Raphael's. The poses of Christ and St. John are not the same as in Raphael's picture. There is another scene in the Loggias, from which they seem to derive, the Samuel anointing David (pl. 15) in the eleventh arch. Poussin's Christ and Raphael's David are almost exactly the same. Samuel only differs from St. John in the position of feet and his hand behind his back, holding up his robes. Poussin may have borrowed the figures from this scene, because he recognised that it was typologically related to the Baptism of Christ. Raphael had, after all, transferred the iconography of a Baptism to his anointing scene.

In Confirmation I (pl. 17a) the woman in yellow, kneeling, her right

hand on the shoulder of a child, is a cousin of the beautiful kneeling woman in Raphael's Transfiguration (pl. 26). If one looks at the relationship between them attentively, it is not quite as close as might be imagined. The head and feet in Poussin's picture turn the same way, the hair is tied in a soft kerchief and the dress is tied at the waist and has a curved neck line. None of these features belong to the Raphael figure. There is another figure by Raphael, a sister of the first, which is much more closely related to Poussin's. She is in the right foreground of the Adoration of the Golden Calf (pl. 25), in the ninth arch of the Loggias. Poussin reversed this figure, changed the position of the arm, showed more of the head in profile and gave the sleeve a more elaborate treatment. Only the 'profil perdu' is more like the figure in the Transfiguration and only there is she in full profile. Although Poussin knew and admired the Transfiguration very much, he appears to have turned to the Loggias for his borrowing from Raphael. In Confirmation II (pl. 21), the same figure provided the pose of the boy in yellow, who is still very like the Raphael figure.

A further source for Confirmation I is nearer in date to Poussin and another picture which he admired, Domenichino's Communion of St. Jerome (pl. 18). The profile poses of the priest and the acolyte seem to have suggested the poses of the two standing priests in Poussin's picture. There are turbaned men in both pictures on the left.

Raphael's picture also provided a suggestion for Confirmation I, the standing woman with the child who points to the confirmation ceremony. The source seems to be the kneeling woman with a child in the centre of the Raphael Adoration of the Golden Calf. In Confirmation I it is only a germ

of an idea, in Confirmation II, Poussin used a similar pair of figures on the right. This time the woman is kneeling and has a closer resemblance to the Raphael figure. Poussin had borrowed this figure already at a much earlier date in his Adoration of the Golden Calf of 1626. The use of the figures in the same subject as Raphael's confirms that Poussin was dependent on this specific scene by Raphael for this figure in his later pictures also.

Although Extreme Unction I and II (pls. 48a, 53) are both related to antique Meleager reliefs, the reliefs do not fully account for the figures in the pictures. The mourning 'daughter' at the foot of the bed does not appear in this form in the antique designs (pls. 54b, c). The 'doctor' and his young servant are not in the reliefs either. The source of the 'daughter' seems to be a figure from Raphael's Loggias, who expresses feelings of a different kind of loss. She is seated on the edge of an antique couch, Potiphar's wife in the Joseph story in the seventh arch (pl. 55). The turn of the body, the drapery and the hair style are very similar in the two figures. Poussin decided to conceal the grief of his figure in this version, so the arms are not stretched out horizontally. The figure is in reverse. The relationship to Raphael's figure is in some ways closer and in some ways less close in the second version. Her arm is stretched out along the couch, but she has one hand to her face, unlike the Raphael figure. In the first version the young servant is singularly like Jacob in the Jacob reproaching Laban (pl. 49) in the sixth arch of the Loggias. The position of the legs is not quite the same and the characteristic gesture of the arms is given a new purpose. The mourning woman at the head of the bed with her hands to her face is part of a long

tradition of such figures. The origin of which in the Renaissance is the famous Adam of the Expulsion from Paradise of Masaccio in the Brancacci chapel. Needless to say the Masaccio figure is the basis of Raphael's in the same scene in the Loggias⁹ in the second arch. In the second version the praying girl on the left is probably related to the praying women on the left of Raphael's Adoration of the Golden Calf (pl. 25). This is another reminiscence of what appears to have been a favourite source for Poussin.

The Loggias provided Poussin with a vast repertory of ideas for his biblical subjects. There seem to be echoes of the Loggias in the pictures of the Finding of Moses, some of the drawings for the Red Sea Crossing and perhaps Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh⁹. There are a few more resemblances in the Sacraments, which are a little more remote than the examples already cited. The three pointing youths on the right of Baptism II (pl. 1) are reminiscent of the three brothers of Joseph in Joseph's dream (pl. 16) in the Loggias and the Virgin in Marriage II (pl. 86) is very like the type of the Virgin in Raphael's Adoration of the Shepherds (pl. 98). Poussin had already adapted the Adoration of the Magi (pl. 96) for his own picture of that subject painted in 1633 (pl. 97).

In view of Poussin's use of ancient reliefs, it is very noticeable that Raphael's Loggias^e are full of references to many of the same models. The Magi on the left of the Adoration of the Magi in Raphael's picture is clearly an adaptation of the pedagogue from a Melager relief (pls. 54b, c). There are a number of borrowings from sacrificial reliefs and from the repertory of antique furniture, for instance, the circular table with animal legs, or the vases and the couches that appear here and there in the cycle (pl. 15). Even the hair-styles of the women are similar to those used by Poussin in

pictures like the Golden Calf (pl. 101a) in the National Gallery, London.

There is just one reference to a Michelangelo figure in the Sacraments, the turbaned man pulling on his stocking in Baptism II (pl. 5) and his variants in earlier Baptisms. Although the figure originated in the cartoon for the Battle of Cascina (pl. 12), Poussin probably borrowed it from some secondary source. The cartoon was extensively studied and copied in the sixteenth century. The dressing figures had already appeared by the end of the century in Baptisms. The Baptism by Paris Bordone (Brera, Milan) (pl. 13) includes a group of dressing figures on the bank of the river, on the left of the picture and at least one of the same group can be seen in the Baptism by Lambert Sustris (versions at Caen and Copenhagen) (pl. 14a). The whole of Poussin's repertory of such figures is present, including the man pulling on his stocking.

The most obvious reminiscence of Michelangelo's picture in Bordone's is the figure pulling on his stocking. The man taking off his shirt is an independent variant on a traditional figure. He kneels as do similar figures in Poussin's Baptism of the People (both versions, pls. 3, 4). It is interesting to see the old man supported by a younger one in Bordone's picture, since this is an idea that Poussin has in all his Baptisms. The folded arms of Christ being baptised, instead of hands clasped in prayer as in the Raphael, is another feature of Bordone's picture that appears in the Chantilly drawings for Baptism I (pl. 6) and some of the drawings for Baptism II (pls. 8a, 6). Paris Bordone's Baptism or a similar picture could have suggested the use of these figures for Baptism. There is therefore no need to suppose that Poussin suddenly showed an interest in Michelangelo. It is certainly not true that he invented the use of this figure for Baptism scenes.

The influence of Raphael was a very important one for Poussin. In style to a considerable degree, but even more in narrative method. The Loggias show much the same kind of blend of antique motifs, classical style and Christian content as that of Poussin's religious pictures. The pictures presented a large repertory of Biblical subjects, in a simple and easily imitated style. Unlike the major decorations in the Stanzas they were on the same sort of scale as the easel pictures which Poussin painted from about 1630 onwards. They also contained rich suggestions of landscape background, a fact not lost on sixteenth and seventeenth century artists, although it is often ignored by historians of landscape nowadays. This, Raphael's 'Bible', was one of the two major sources for sixteenth century illustration of Bibles, the other being Durer's series of prints of the Passion. There is some evidence to suppose that this was a familiar tradition to Poussin, which he continued in his own particular way in the larger format of his pictures. Poussin was not merely a follower of Raphael's ideal style. He shared with Raphael the same problem of creating Christian imagery within a classical style.

It is outside the scope of this thesis to discuss Poussin's Madonnas in any detail, but they seem to depend on Raphael's imagery in content as much as in style. Neither Raphael's nor Poussin's Madonnas ought to be considered as abstract, ideal constructions.

There are one or two traces of figures from antique sculpture in the Sacraments¹¹. In the earlier drawings for Baptism II (pls. *8a and b*) there is an echo of the Laocoon in the man struggling, not with a serpent, but with the shirt that he is trying to remove¹². The figures of the Virgin and St. Joseph are kneeling or nearly kneeling in the Marriage pictures and are therefore unlike the standing figures of antique Marriage reliefs. Only

in the drawings for Marriage with the alternative setting are the figures standing. In Confirmation II the standing woman in pale gold on the right is evidently derived from the antique Pudicitia type of statue, probably from the example in the Vatican¹³. There is nothing particularly remarkable about these small number of examples.

One or two motifs are probably derived from coins, especially those illustrated in du Choul's 'Discours de la Religion des anciens Romains'¹⁴. Poussin certainly knew and used this book. There are a group of large sheets of drawings with notes from du Choul at Chantilly and elsewhere¹⁵. This drawing at Chantilly (XVI.230) (pl. 78) has a sketch of a pyramidal temple with columns inserted in it, which is certainly borrowed from du Choul's illustration of coins showing the Temple of Jupiter Ultor. This is somewhat similar to the strange pyramidal building in the right foreground of Ordination II. On the same sheet there is a drawing of a mourning woman who appears on coins and gems of the Jewish captivity also illustrated by du Choul (pl. 54a). This figure appears in some Renaissance paintings, for instance in the lower border of Raphael's tapestry of the Pasce Meas Oves¹⁶. She also appears in a death-bed scene by Rubens, that must have been very well-known to Poussin, the Tapestry of the Death of Constantine, which arrived at the Palazzo Barberini in Rome the year before Poussin painted the Death of Germanicus (pl. 46) for Cardinal Francesco Barberini. Poussin used her for the mourning Agrippina in this picture. Later, he used her for the seated mourner in the middle ground of Extreme Unction II on the far right. It is also possible that Poussin had a relief in mind, later engraved in the 'Admiranda'¹⁷, for the mourning figure in Extreme Unction II. This is a Nova Nupta relief, with a mourning figure, drapery to her face, and her legs curved, one foot stretched forward for an attendant to wash it (pl. 44b).

Other features of the second set of Sacraments might also be reflections of the same illustrations of coins. The man waving a branch of hyssop on the right of Confirmation II (pl. 21) may be related to the figure on a bronze coin in du Choul with the inscription 'Pax. August' (pl. 29a). In the same picture the priest with the amice over his head in background near the tripod is closely similar to a figure on a silver coin of Severus, also at tripod altar, extending one arm and with drapery over his head (pl. 29b). The woman carrying a child on the right of Baptism II (pl. 5) who appears in various forms in the drawings, may be related to the bronze coin of Antoninus Pius with the inscription 'Pietat. Aug. Cos. IIII.' with the figure of a woman carrying children (p. 14c).

There are other references to antiquity in the Sacraments, but they are of a literary character, rather than borrowings from specific sculptures. The settings, the triclinia and the symbolism, like that of the 'E' on the pillar in Ordination II will be discussed later.

The Extreme Unction pictures are the most famous examples in the Sacraments of Poussin's use of an antique source for his compositions. The source is one of the death of Meleager reliefs (pls. 54b, c) on antique sarcophagi. Poussin made two drawings of this type of sarcophagus. One is in the Pierpoint Morgan library and the other at Chantilly¹⁸. Poussin probably used the Albani and the Capitolone versions of the relief.

Poussin used the composition of this type of relief in several pictures. It must be remembered that the reliefs had been known for a long time. Giotto uses one of them for the Deposition in the Arena Chapel at Padua, in the figure of St. John, with his arms stretched out, like one of the mourners from the antique group. It formed one of the fundamental patterns for death-bed scenes in European art. The alternative was the foreshortened bed

scheme, used in fifteenth century painting in the Netherlands and adopted by some illustrators of books in the sixteenth century. Poussin was not doing anything fundamentally new in using the antique scheme. Rubens used both the type of the bed and some details from the relief in the Death of Constantine Tapestry mentioned before (pl. 52a). This is nearer to the antique than Poussin's Death of Germanicus (pl. 46), which is the first instance of Poussin's use of the motif. The general arrangement is similar to the relief, with the bed parallel to the picture plane, but there is hardly a detail that comes from the relief¹⁹. The Agrippina is more like the coin figure than the mourning Atalanta. Her gesture, with her hand covering her face, comes from a literary rather than a visual source. It is a reminiscence of the effect of inexpressible grief, famous from the accounts of Timanthes' Sacrifice of Iphigeneia. Poussin uses this again in Extreme Unction I. The dying Germanicus on the bed is given a complicated diagonal pose, quite unlike that of Meleager.

In Extreme Unction I (pl. 48a), Poussin approaches in some ways closer to the relief, although he still uses it with great freedom. He follows the general movement of the relief, but in reverse. He uses the figure of the old pedagogue for the priest, in type and in pose, but he interchanges the feet, which makes him appear a little unstable. The woman supporting the dying man's head is like the figure in the relief, although she is not very prominent. The dying man is stretched out in profile. The gestures of the mourning men may have suggested the gesture of the 'doctor'. The turned legs of the bed are a direct borrowing from the relief. The general pose of the 'daughter' has already been traced to Raphael's Potiphar's wife, but her gesture derives from Poussin's earlier Agrippina in the Death of Germanicus.

The third picture with a death bed scene is the Miracle of St. Francis Xavier (pl. 47). The density and massiveness of this picture make it similar to that of Extreme Unction II. The woman holding the dead girl's head is more prominent in this picture. The form of the bed is even closer to the antique. The other figures are Poussin's own inventions or borrowings from other sources. It is only in general terms that Poussin can be said to have used the antique relief. More important is his invention of suitable mourning and praying figures. The latter do not have antique precedents.

In Extreme Unction II (pl. 53) Poussin came closest to the relief, although he still used the repertory of praying and mourning figures he had evolved earlier. He seems to be much more interested in the expression of his theme than in an imitation of antique forms for their own sake. The bed and the dying man are both nearer to the antique, while Poussin also includes the drapery behind the bed as in the antique relief. He had already done this in the Death of Germanicus. Poussin also adjusted the feet of the pedagogue, so that he is more like his counterpart in the relief. The other figures are nearly all further variations on those in Extreme Unction I or the Miracle of St. Francis Xavier. If there is any special sense in which this picture is more like the antique, it is probably because the figures are arranged in a compact relief-like group, not because of specific borrowings. As we shall see some of the material in this picture is probably derived from later derivatives of the Meleager reliefs, than directly from the antique itself.

All the second set of Sacraments are arranged to look somewhat like reliefs. The figure groups are all densely packed and contained within a long rectangle in the lower part of the pictures. The advantages of this

system when translated into painting are manifest in the greater use of space that is possible in the paintings. There are not many specific borrowings from Roman antiquities, but the compositional system, the figure style, the draperies and the settings convey an impression of the remote past. The only possible exception to the relative lack of pagan antique sources in the Sacraments is in the numerous triclinium reliefs available to Poussin. Among these is the Bacchic relief then in the Montalto collection (later engraved in the 'Admiranda' (pl. 40b). The thin-legged table appears in paintings by Raphael, as already stated, and in Penitence II. The boy bending to remove "Trimalcio's" sandal, may have suggested the boy bending in the foreground of the same picture. The gesture of Christ could have many sources associated with a figure at a triclinium. Perhaps a relief like that in the Vatican (pl. 44a) provided the vital source. There are no traces of contemporary realities, nothing familiar, and no means of identification for the spectator with the figures in the pictures. The allusions to antique figures and groups must have intensified this impression for seventeenth and eighteenth century spectators. The imitation of antiquity certainly has an aesthetic aspect, but it is much more important that Poussin used it to create a sense of difference and distance of the spectator from the scenes before him. If these scenes are filled with an ideal it is not that of pagan, but, as we shall see, of Christian antiquity.

3. Poussin and Christian antiquities in the Sacraments

One of the drawings for Ordination II, no. 16 (Louvre 32.436, (pl. 62a)), shows Christ holding out a scroll instead of keys to St. Peter. This is the 'traditio legis' iconography of many early Christian sarcophagi. The iconography of the drawing is one of several examples of Poussin's revival of early patterns and motifs that had been out of use for centuries. This revival must have been due in large part to the interest of Poussin and the circle of Cardinal Francesco Barberini in the new Christian archaeology of their day.

Many of the early sarcophagi had been excavated in the previous three-quarters of a century. The excavations during the building of the new St. Peter's had brought many to light and there were others scattered among the gardens of Roman villas. A great collection of them was published in fine engravings by Sebastiano Fulda in Antonio Bosio's 'Roma Sotterranea', the greatest book on Christian antiquities of its day. Bosio was famous as the "antiquario-ecclesiastico singolare de' suoi tempi". He died in 1629 and the book was published in 1632, with a text put together from Bosio's notes and some additional material by the Oratorian Giovanni Severani. The book was dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who had arranged for Severani to complete it. The expenses of the publication were paid by Carlo Aldobrandini, Ambassador of the Knights of St. John, the Gerosolomitani. These connections are of some interest, as they show the links between several aspects of intellectual life in Rome.

Antonio Bosio had lived in Rome for about twenty years with his uncle, the equally famous Giacomo, who had contrived to become the historian of the Gerosolomitani²¹. During this time Antonio had shared his uncle's interests and may well have assisted him with his History. Giacomo had been trying

to fulfil his clerical ambitions, with little success. More important he had connections with the Oratorians, and, like their founder, St. Filippo Neri, peregrinated around the circuit of the ancient Roman Basilicas. Giacomo had a special devotion to the Cross. He also had a number of interests in early Christian antiquities, which he pursued with the same kind of fervour that was apparent in his devotions. It was in this atmosphere that Antonio Bosio came to maturity and, no doubt with the encouragement of his uncle, pursued his antiquarian studies²². The uncle and nephew possessed a considerable library and a museum that was well-known to Roman antiquarians of the early years of the century. They possessed several works concerned with the early history of the Cross, which was Giacomo's obsessive interest, and among the historical works, two editions of Baronio's history of the Church, the 'Annales'²³. First Giacomo and then after his death, Antonio were agents of the Gerosolomitani in Rome and they made the Order their heirs and Carlo Aldobrandini their executor.

Giacomo certainly had connections with the Oratory of S. Filippo Neri. S. Filippo believed firmly in the instructional value of the history of the Church and used it in his Congregation for devotional purposes. This is closely akin to Giacomo's combination of history and devotion. In Baronio's evidence for the 'processo' that preceded the canonisation of Filippo, he stated that the writing of his vast history was not his idea but Filippo's²⁴. Baronio had wanted to devote himself to theological writing, but Filippo had cast him in the role of historian. Baronio was made to lecture to the Congregation for some fifteen years, by the end of which time Baronio found that his history was virtually written. The Congregation was presented with the history of the Church as an aid to devotion. They

were presented with the moral and spiritual examples of the great actions of the early Church and of the martyrs in particular. For Filippo, Baronio and others at this period, the early Church represented a romantic vision of pristine purity and heroism.

In the same period the exploration of the Roman catacombs was begun by Panvinio and his circle. The work was continued and considerably extended by Antonio Bosio, who spent much of his twenty years in Rome visiting the catacombs known to his predecessors and discovering many more by his own persistent efforts. This was not only archaeology, it was also an act of devotion. The catacombs were not merely interesting historical monuments, they were places filled with the highest degree of sanctity. They were of the greatest interest to the Oratorians as well as to Antonio Bosio. Not only did S. Filippo's friends explore them, they treated them with the reverence due to relics. S. Filippo, we are told by Bosio (or perhaps Severano), was in the habit of spending the night in the catacomb beneath S. Sebastiano in prayerful vigil²⁵. Some of the other catacombs were probably familiar to him also. His friend Abbate Giacomo Crescenzi was another explorer of the catacombs. In his evidence at the 'processo' of Filippo, he related how he and his companions got lost in a catacomb one day²⁶. Their candles burnt out. They did not despair, but prayed to S. Filippo for help. Miraculously, within a short time they found their way to the wall of the chamber in which they were standing and from there retraced their way to the entrance.

It was no accident surely that Cardinal Francesco Barberini commissioned an Oratorian to finish Bosio's work. The order was renowned for its interest in the early history of the Church. Cardinal Francesco himself was also

interested in this devout Christian archaeology. Not only was he connected with the publication of 'Roma Sotterranea', he was responsible for another important project, the recording of the pictorial cycles in many of the ancient Roman Basilicas. These were copied in drawings by an anonymous artist in the mid-1630's, and are preserved in a series of manuscripts in the Vatican library. Among other things, they provide a record of the lost cycle in S. Paolo fuori le Mura, and Poussin can hardly have failed to know of this copying activity. We have already seen that he was interested in the mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore and he was therefore probably interested in the other basilical cycles also.

Cardinal Francesco was also involved in the activity of the Congregation of theologians in the late 1630's, when they were examining the differences between Roman and Greek ritual. It was he who encouraged Holstenius, then his librarian, to write his opusculum on the Greek rite of confirmation²⁸. He also encouraged Jean Morin in the study of the ancient rite and liturgy of ordination²⁹. This may well have been a contributory factor in Cassiano dal Pozzo's commissioning of the first set of Sacraments from Poussin. Holstenius was a close friend of Cassiano and Cassiano must have been aware of the current interest in ancient ritual, one of his own preoccupations. It is of some significance therefore that Poussin set his pictures in Christian antiquity and that he turned to the engravings of sarcophagi and possibly of catacomb paintings in Bosio's book. He must have looked hard at some of the paintings and mosaics of the Basilicas. We shall also see later that he paid careful attention to the current interpretation of the ritual of the sacraments.

The iconography of the drawing for Ordination, no. 16 (pl. 62a) is undoubtedly taken from the sarcophagi illustrated in Bosio's 'Roma

Sotterranea'. There are few close resemblances between the sarcophagi and the drawing in the details of the figures. Poussin simply reversed the composition of the first version of Ordination and added the scroll in place of the keys. The composition of Ordination derives, it will be recalled, from the early Christian mosaic in S. Maria Maggiore, and as we shall see the composition of Ordination II is related to another pictorial image from the basilicas, not to a sculptural relief formula. Nevertheless there are a few resemblances between the details of Ordination II and some of the sarcophagi.

The pattern of the sarcophagi representations of the 'Traditio legis' is repeated from one sarcophagus to another with slight variations in style and disposition. Christ is placed between St. Peter and St. Paul. In most cases Christ is standing with St. Peter and St. Paul on either side of him. He is holding a scroll in many cases. St. Peter holds the other end of it with one hand, while carrying a Cross with the other. In two of the sarcophagi Christ is seated³⁰. In six of these³¹ all the Apostles stand beside Christ, six on each side. In all except one, those on the left are turned into profile positions, while those on the right are arranged frontally³². In nearly every case one of the Apostles on the left turns his head to face away from the centre. The arrangement of the Apostles has a general similarity to the Apostles in Ordination II, where those on the left are nearly all in profile, those on the right more frontal. Within the sculptural relief system there is no extension of space as in Poussin's painting, and therefore no precise parallel to his grouping. None of the figures have their backs turned to us in the reliefs, while one with his back turned is a feature of Poussin's painting and drawings of the subject and must derive from pictorial not sculptural examples. The only

concession to a more pictorial effect of space occurs in one of the sarcophagi³³ (pl. 70a). The Apostles are arranged in a double rank, so that only the heads of those in the second rank are visible. In another sarcophagus³⁴ (pl. 70b) there are a number of scenes besides the 'Traditio legis'. In this the figures are also arranged in two ranks and there is much overlapping of columns and figures, similar to Poussin's use of the columns in Marriage II (pl. 86).

7/ There are one or two details of Ordination II (pl. 66) that seem to depend on motifs in the sarcophagi. St. Peter is on Christ's left as in many of the reliefs, but kneeling instead of half-standing. Christ's drapery hangs like that of the sarcophagi figures, the cloak falling from the left shoulder. The nearest parallel is perhaps that of the drapery of Christ on the Probus sarcophagus³⁵ (pl. 41). The figure of Christ Himself, but with the arms changed so that the left is raised instead of the right, seems to be very close to a figure of Christ on one of the 'city-gates' sarcophagi³⁶ (pl. 72a). Several of the sarcophagi show St. Paul with his elbow caught tightly up in his cloak³⁷. This type of figure (pl. 72b) seems to be reflected in the Apostle on the extreme left of Ordination II. In two of the sarcophagi there are small kneeling figures at Christ's feet but neither of these corresponds very closely to St. Peter in Ordination³⁸.

Poussin is not absolutely consistent in his designs of draperies. The Apostles on the right have their cloaks hanging from their left shoulders in the antique manner. Those on the left have cloaks falling from the right shoulder. The Apostles in Poussin's pictures are all barefooted, whereas in the majority of the sarcophagi scenes the Apostles wear sandals, as they do also in Raphael's Pasce Meas Oves. There are only two sarcophagi in

which the Apostles are barefooted³⁹.

Most of the sarcophagi are divided up by columns. One of them has turreted niches⁴⁰ and another has the turreted city-gates⁴¹ (pl. 72a). These could have suggested a city-scape setting for Ordination. More interesting are the reliefs on the end of a sarcophagus which contains a 'Traditio legis' among a variety of other scenes⁴² (pl. 69b). Both right and left ends have city-scape backgrounds in low relief. They show combinations of round and rectangular buildings, not unlike the combination of forms on the left of Ordination II. The right end of the sarcophagus contains two scenes: Moses striking the Rock and Christ healing the Woman with the Haemorrhage.

The second scene appears very frequently on the sarcophagi, in this form, with Christ blessing a woman who kneels at his feet and who touches in most cases the hem of his garment. The healing of this woman took place at Caesarea Philippi, the setting for the Handing of the Keys to St. Peter. That these two events took place in the same place was a very familiar fact to sixteenth and seventeenth century writers. Poussin could easily have identified this view as a representation of the city he intended to include in Ordination II.

There was at Caesarea Philippi a famous statue, which was believed to represent Christ and the woman with the haemorrhage. The statue in bronze was supposed to have been erected by the woman herself in gratitude for her cure. The statue was described by Eusebius, who claimed to have seen it. His description became a commonplace in the many sixteenth and seventeenth century discussions of the propriety of images in Christian churches. It was an important instance of their use in early Christian times. Poussin

would have had to look no further than the text added by Severani to 'Roma Sotterranea' to find such a reference⁴⁴. The miraculous power of this statue made it even more important. Eusebius remarked that there was a herb growing at the feet of the statue of Christ, which had acquired miraculous powers of healing from the moment that it had grown tall enough to touch the legs of the figure. This statue must have been famous throughout the Christian world. In more recent times it has been suggested that the group was really an Asclepius Soter or a Restitutor Provinciae, which was mistakenly assumed to have a Christian significance⁴⁵. The form of the group could well have been adopted, whatever its significance, pagan or Christian, for the Christ and the Woman with the Haemorrhage on the sarcophagi.

The general scheme of the sarcophagi groups for the Traditio Legis was given a pictorial form in one of the frescoes of the ancient cycle in S. Paolo fuori le mura. These still survived in the seventeenth century and we have already seen that there was some interest in them in the Barberini circle, since they were copied in about 1635 for Cardinal Francesco. The cycle was in part reworked by Cavallini at the end of the thirteenth century. It appears that he painted some of the Old Testament themes anew, although he may have had some remnants of the old compositions to guide him. His work on the New Testament cycle was largely a matter of restoration and the form of the pictures recorded in the Barberini copy must be quite close to the early Christian originals⁴⁶. In any case, paintings of the thirteenth century would have been accepted as part of an early tradition, and would therefore have been just as interesting as genuinely early Christian pictures, in our sense of the term⁴⁷. The scene that resembles

the pattern of the Traditio Legis sarcophagi scenes is the Preaching of St. Paul (pl. 69a). The figures are given more space than in the sarcophagi and one of them has his back turned to the spectator. Behind the group is a view of a city with cubic buildings arranged more or less symmetrically about the central axis. In the foreground, at St. Paul's feet, there is the small kneeling figure of the Abbott of S. Paolo. This is strikingly similar to the small kneeling figures at the feet of Christ in the sarcophagi, suggesting that Cavallini was restoring a fragmentary early Christian fresco.

This fresco seems to have been Poussin's model for the second version of Ordination (pl. 66) in its final form. He knew the sarcophagi illustrated in Bosio's 'Roma Sotterranea' and could have recognised with little difficulty that the fresco was based on them. Here was a ready made pictorial composition adapted from the Traditio Legis scenes. All Poussin had to do was to restore the image to its original function, by changing St. Paul into Christ and the Levite into St. Peter. The figures in the fresco are extremely similar to Poussin's in gesture and attitude. The city-scape in the fresco and some of the backgrounds to reliefs in Bosio's book ^{were} ~~was~~ all that he needed to prompt him to complete his picture with the city-scape background of Caesarea Philippi. The actual forms of the buildings, even to the emphasised mortar joints recall the buildings in the background of the sculptured relief mentioned above (pl. 69b).

In the process of borrowing from the sarcophagi the artist who painted the picture in S. Paolo fuori le Mura had taken over the figure kneeling at Christ's feet, as in the groups of Christ and the Woman with the Haemorrhage. Poussin retained this in his picture and thus, probably inadvertently, recreated the antique bronze at Caesarea Philippi, her pose

being given to St. Peter. He emphasises thus Christ's role as healer and thus as redeemer.

It has already been remarked that Poussin's Moses and Aaron before Pharoah bears a general resemblance to Raphael's picture of this subject in the Loggias. Both probably derive from the same source. Just as Poussin's borrowing from the Moses with the Law is closer to the original than Raphael's, so in this case Poussin seems to be more directly indebted to the picture in S. Paolo fuori le Mura (pl. 73a). The gestures of Moses and Aaron are almost exactly the same. The writhing serpents appear in both pictures in the same place⁴⁸. In this case Poussin seems to have been quite content to follow a picture that is almost certainly Cavallini's thirteenth century addition to the cycle. Poussin's picture is identical in subject with the basilical fresco, the rods of Aaron and Moses being changed into serpents. The serpents are not present in the Raphael picture. This is a rare subject in painting in the Renaissance and is a further example of the peculiar character of Poussin's repertory. Like many other of his more unusual subjects, it appears frequently in Biblical illustration in the sixteenth century, but none of the examples I have seen are as closely related to Poussin's picture as is the S. Paolo fuori le Mura fresco.

Throughout the second set of Sacraments there are hints, sometimes a little more than that, that of the types of the heads, the hair styles and the drapery derive from the monuments illustrated in 'Roma Sotterranea'. In particular, Poussin seems to have borrowed motifs from the 'city-gates' sarcophagus referred to above⁴⁹. One of the last figures to be added to Marriage II (pl. 86) was the young acolyte, with the salver and the jug, standing behind the priest. There is also a man with his hand on his

companion's arm standing near the priest. The acolyte is very like the young man with the bowl and jug standing next to Pilate on the right of the sarcophagus (pl. 87). They are of the same type, with the head bent and long flowing hair. The jugs are nearly identical. The antiquarians of the period illustrated vessels and other small objects profusely, but there is none in their illustrations so close to that used by Poussin. In a figure further to the left in the sarcophagus there is drapery of exactly the same type that Poussin used for his acolyte, hanging in folds across the chest. The man with his hand on his companion's arm may have been suggested by the immediately adjacent figure in the sarcophagus, with his hand on Christ's arm. The scene in the sarcophagus is Pilate washing his hands, but there is no reason why Poussin should not have adapted the figures from one illustration for use in another.

It will be recalled that Poussin altered the drapery of a standing mourning woman on the right of Extreme Unction II, at the last moment (pls. 53, 57a). In making this change Poussin seems to have had in mind another figure from a sarcophagus (Bosio, p. 65) (pl. 57b). Once more, it is a scene of the Christ and the Woman with the Haemorrhage. She stands in this case and appears to be kissing Christ's hand, which is placed over hers. She has heavy drapery over ^{her} head and the general form of both her hands is perceptible through the drapery over them. Poussin's figure is almost identical in every detail, only in reverse.

Bosio illustrates a great many of the paintings found in the catacombs. Among these there are a number of 'Agape' banquets. These all have the Sigma form which Poussin had first intended for Penitence II. This was recognised by Severano (and presumably Bosio) in the comments on these scenes, although the precise function of these scenes was not perhaps

perfectly understood by them. The most famous of these is that in the catacomb of S. Marcellinus and Petrus, as it is called by Bosio (pl. 37b). He says it is on the first arcuated monument in this catacomb⁵⁰. This scene bears the inscription: 'Irene da calda i agape misce mi'. The note below the scene reads: "Uno di quelli conviti funerali, co'l Triclinio Lunare, altrimenti detto Sigma; nel quale vi sono espressi i nomi de'convivanti, che sono IRENE & AGAPE; nomi Greci". Later 'Agape' scenes are simply called "Il Triclinio Lunare, chiamato Sigma", except for one on p. 447, an illustration of one of the monuments from the catacomb in the Via Nomentana. Here the note is a little more explicit. It is now clear that Bosio and Severani thought of these scenes not only as funeral banquets but as memorial banquets on the anniversaries of the dead. "Agape, ò Convito, che si faceva nelli natalitii de 'Martiri; ò funerali, & anniversarii di defonti:se pure non vogliamo, che dinotino le Nozze in Cana di Galilea". The phrase repeatedly used is "Il Triclinio lunare, chiamato Sigma". This is strikingly like the phrase used by Poussin: "le tricline lunaire, qu'ils appelaient sigma"⁵¹. In his early enthusiasm Poussin may have overlooked the function attributed to these banquets and only later realised that they do not occur in Gospel narrative scenes in the catacombs, and therefore abandoned his first impulsive scheme.

One of these 'Agape' feasts may have provided Poussin with the figure of Simon the Pharisee in Penitence II (pl. 39), who turns round to look in the direction of Christ. The 'Agape' feast (pl. 38b) provides a figure on the left who has all the features of Simon's pose⁵². In this case this is probably Christ at the Marriage at Cana, although Bosio and Severani did not identify it as such. In several of them, for instance that on p. 391, there is a smaller table in front of the main one, used for wine (pl. 37b). In

this particular one copied by Poussin there is a small servant also, a feature of Penitence I (pl. 36). The drinking and eating figures are common to many banquet scenes in Renaissance art.

There is one other feature of Bosio's illustration of the catacomb paintings that seems to have caught Poussin's attention. This is the head of Christ, found by Bosio himself in a chamber in the catacomb of Pontianus⁵³, which he had been the first to explore in 1618 (pl. 109). This head of Christ was praised by Bosio for its masterly handling and the veneration which it provoked: "vedesi nel mezo della volta, fatta con tal maestria, che rende molta divotione, e veneratione à chi la riguarda . . ." ⁵⁴ It may have been the engraving or Bosio's admiration, or both, that interested Poussin in this image. There is little doubt that it is the model for the head of Christ in Ordination II. The features correspond very closely, except perhaps for the line of the eyebrow, and the turn of the head in Poussin's Christ (pl. 66).

Poussin not only created Christ and St. Peter in Ordination II in the form of a famous Christian statue of the earliest period, but he gave Christ the features that he could have seen in an impressive painting of a similarly early date. These and the other borrowings from the Basilicas and 'Roma Sotterranea' point more precisely than has hitherto seemed possible to the antique character of Poussin's Sacraments. It is not pagan antiquity but Christian antiquity in which his scenes belong, not only by their general Christian content, but in the sources of their imagery. Poussin's borrowings are most obvious in the second set of Sacraments, as if his understanding of the iconographical tradition only arrived at maturity in the 1640's. As will be seen later, several of the changes that he made from his earlier versions were connected with an enrichment of his knowledge of his subject.

Thus it was not for the Roman virtuoso Cassiano dal Pozzo that Poussin produced his most learned versions, but for his French friend and patron Chantelou.

Poussin's new imagery had little to do with cold antiquarianism. The relics of the martyrs were excavated with wonder, reverence and awe. One has only to recall the terms of Bosio's praise of the head of Christ in the catacomb of Pontianus, or the many epigrams addressed to Bosio on his book, of which two lines from that of Scipio de Grammont sum up the general tone:

"Hic variata piis emblemata multa figuris
Hic priscae fidei clara trophaea patent"

4. The Sacraments and illustrated books

Poussin painted many unusual subjects. There are few prototypes in Renaissance painting for Moses and Jethro's daughters, the Waters of Marah, Moses and Aaron before Pharoah, and Moses trampling on Pharoah's Crown. There are even fewer examples of the Seven Sacraments in Western painting and sculpture. There are paintings of the Sacraments in Naples by Roberto Oderisi, a pulpit in Vienna, reliefs on the Campanile of the Cathedral in Florence and Rogier van der Weyden's Seven Sacraments altar⁵⁵. None of these has even a remote resemblance to Poussin's sets of paintings. Even the separate prints of the sixteenth century are very remote ancestors of Poussin's paintings. Both the rare Biblical subjects and the Sacraments are, however, illustrated frequently in sixteenth century printed books. Many of the Bibles of the sixteenth century also contain long sequences of illustrations, especially of the Pentateuch, with many Moses subjects of the kind that Poussin painted frequently throughout his career. The Sacraments

are illustrated in a number of Catechisms, along with many other devotional subjects. One can assume that Poussin owned a Bible, and it is not improbable that it was illustrated. Such illustrated Bibles were extremely popular in the sixteenth century, as can be seen from the large number of editions through which many of them passed. The religious education of many people in the late sixteenth and earlier seventeenth century probably began with a Catechism that consisted almost exclusively of pictures, with a text that consisted virtually of captions to the wood-cuts or engravings. Several of these were sponsored by the Jesuits, who believed very firmly in the didactic value of the visual arts. Some of these were bound up with Latin Grammars and were clearly intended for young children. Some were combined with books of Hours and prayers, and some were published in isolation from any other text. St. François de Sales remarks on having distributed hundreds of copies of St. Peter Canisius 'Catechism' on his preaching tours⁵⁶. Since the majority of his congregations must have been more or less illiterate, it must have been one of these illustrated versions that he distributed. They were translated into many languages by the beginning of the seventeenth century, so that they were accessible to those who did not know Latin. Perhaps Poussin had been taught the elements of the Faith with the aid of one of these little volumes. Even if he was not, he showed an interest in book illustration throughout his career, in his not infrequent borrowings from illustrations and in the execution of designs for books.

The tradition of book illustration had no obvious effect on the Gospel scenes or the Marriage of the Virgin among the Sacraments. There are two, however, Extreme Unction and Confirmation, which Poussin did not treat as Gospel narratives. Instead he made them into scenes of ritual set in the context of the daily life of early Christian times. They are, in a manner

of speaking, 'antique genre' scenes. It is almost exclusively in these two that there is a perceptible relation to the book illustrations of the preceding century. All previous images of the Sacraments had taken the form of genre scenes, rituals in contemporary settings. The relationship between Poussin's paintings and book illustrations of this popular and often crude kind is not at first sight obvious. Poussin's method for adapting such material can be seen more clearly, however, in some of his other ^biblical subjects, and in the drawings that he made for Marino on Ovid subjects.

Dr. Jane Costello demonstrated that Poussin's Ovid drawings for Marino were based on tradition of Ovid illustration⁵⁷ current in the late sixteenth century. Not only did Poussin draw subjects connected with Ovid's text, but some of the episodes from Virgil that had been incorporated by earlier illustrators. Poussin did not follow the details of earlier illustrations or even their style. He adopted only the general iconographical patterns and certain 'constellations' of figures, as Dr. Costello calls them⁵⁸. He ignored the landscape backgrounds and invented his own. He eliminated Mannerist elements, such as the appearance of deities on clouds, separated from the human beings, and brought humans and divine beings together in one rational space, in a new realistic manner. His main change is in the direction of greater physical actuality in the movement of his figures and in their varied psychological expression. His new richly expressive narrative style is the style that is familiar from his later paintings. An artist of the seventeenth century, he increased the dramatic immediacy of his drawings by concentration on the moment of time immediately before the crisis of the action.

These Ovid drawings, made in Paris in the early 1620's, might well have been intended by Marino for an edition of Ovid. There are other

signs of similar activity in Poussin's later work. He made designs for three frontispieces in Paris between 1640 and 1642, for the Imprimerie Royale and another for a plate for Ferrari's 'Hesperides'. Recently, Sir Anthony Blunt has commented on two drawings in the Louvre, both of which appear to be illustrations of Aesop subjects⁵⁹. It is not inconceivable that Poussin had been approached for designs for an edition of the 'Fables'.

The Ovid drawings appear to depend on a particular set of illustrations, those published by the Veuve Langelier, in 1619. These are closely related to two other versions, those of Bernard Salomon, the great wood-cut artist of the mid-sixteenth century in Lyon, and the etchings of Tempesta. The Veuve Langelier edition might well be called 'Poussin's Ovid'. In much the same way there is one particular illustrated Bible that might be called 'Poussin's Bible'. It is not as modern as 'Poussin's Ovid', but belongs to a very similar tradition. It is closely related to the Bible illustrations of Bernard Salomon published for Jean de Tournes in Lyon. This was the fundamental corpus of illustrations borrowed or reproduced in numerous illustrated Bibles in France, in Piedmont and Venice in the later sixteenth century. Poussin's borrowings are not from Salomon's illustrations, but from those attributed to Pierre Eskrich (alias Cruche, alias Vase)⁶⁰. Eskrich's Old Testament illustrations were first published in Lyon by Rouvilly in 1562 in an edition of the Vulgate⁶¹. The blocks were then re-used for a verse abridgement of the Bible by Gabrieli Symeoni in 1564⁶². They were subsequently re-published in one or the other of these two forms more than a dozen times in the later sixteenth century. Rouvilly added a set of New Testament scenes by the same artist in editions from 1569 onwards.

The artist to whom they are attributed, Eskrich, came from Freiburg. He worked for various Lyon publishers in the 1550's and 1560's. He, like

Salomon, introduced a new elegant style into Lyon book illustration, not unrelated to the style stemming from Fontainebleau. Eskrich's Bible illustrations have much smaller figures in relation to their landscape backgrounds than in other Bible illustrations of the period. These landscapes are in a fine, elegant, linear style. Atmospheric effects occur quite frequently. The clouds are shaded and in one or two the setting sun appears in the sky. They prefigure the general movement of seventeenth century artists who tended to extend their landscape settings in which they incorporated their figures, by effects of unified tone⁶³. Both figures and landscapes in these illustrations are linear and decorative. The figures lack mass and dynamic effect. They are not disposed in the landscape, but stand on little platforms of ground in the front, while the landscapes stretch behind them in irregular coulisses of insubstantial spatial effect. The figures are long and thin with small extremities and small heads, in the Fontainebleau manner. Their costume is something like antique dress. In their Mannerist features both figures and landscapes differ considerably from Poussin's. There is, in particular, no trace of dramatic effect, and no interest in the 'affetti' of the figures. Poussin's borrowings from them have the same character as his borrowings from the Ovid illustrators.

The most striking relationship between Poussin's art and that of Eskrich is in the Moses and Jethro's daughters. This is a rare subject in painting. It occurs, among other scenes, in Botticelli's Youth of Moses fresco in the Sistine chapel. Poussin's drawings are not related to this picture, but they have very close affinities with Eskrich's illustration. There are three drawings of the 1630's for this subject by Poussin, and it is in these that the relationship with the source appears. The later drawings are far removed from this source. The earlier drawings are at

Windsor. They are:

- (a) Windsor.11890. 0.145 x 0.212. Recto (called verso in CR.) Pen. CR.12.(I,9). Plate 99b.
- (b) Windsor.11890. Verso (called recto in CR.) Pen and wash. CR.11 (I,9). Plate 100a.
- (c) Windsor.11889. 0.192 x 0.317. Pen and wash. CR.A3. (I,8). Plate 100b.

Friedlaender and Blunt catalogued these drawings in precisely the opposite sequence. The reasons for my reversing their arrangement will appear below.

Drawings 'a' and 'b' show Jethro's seven daughters only. Poussin rejected the scheme of drawing 'a'. There are still faint traces of black chalk scribbled over its surface. The drawing is under the chalk scribble, as can be seen with a strong magnifying glass⁶⁴. This shows that drawing 'a' was redundant and that Poussin had decided to transfer the drawing on its verso, drawing 'b', to a new sheet which was to contain the whole composition for the painting. This can be checked. The figures of Jethro's daughters in drawing 'b' have identical measurements with those in drawing 'c'. Drawing 'c' is a hard dry drawing, possibly executed in part by an assistant, showing the complete composition. This was no doubt what Poussin originally intended to execute. It is clear, therefore, that 'a' was made first, and 'b' second. The second drawing was preferred and transferred to 'c' by drawing with a stylus. The transfer partly cancelled the first drawing 'a'.

The first consequence of this argument is that Poussin did not work from the more violent action to the more restrained in this group of drawings, as Friedlaender and Blunt suggested. Instead, he started with a static, undramatic scheme and gradually made it more dynamic and violent. Only in

the later group of drawings, probably of the later 1640's, did Poussin return to a less violent scheme. The two groups of drawings are not properly continuous.

The second consequence is that the relationship with his source in Eskrich's print is now apparent (pl. 99a). It conforms closely to that of Poussin's adaptation of Ovid illustrations. The first drawing, 'a', is the closest to the source. Eskrich chose a moment in the story when Moses had driven away the hostile shepherds, leaving the well clear for the daughters of Jethro to water their sheep. Poussin chose the same moment, which is lacking in any of the possibilities of Baroque dramatic presentation. This is shown very clearly by the arrangement of Jethro's daughters, with one of them leaning on the well.

The pattern of Eskrich's scene is as follows. In the centre there is a circular well, with a trough in front of it, from which three animals are drinking. The seven daughters are on the right of the well, with their sheep. Moses is on the left, pointing with his right hand to the departing shepherds, who are running away in a more distant plane. He points with his left hand to the well. The landscape is full of rolling hills, with buildings of a rural character on the extreme left in the distance. Behind them there is a fortified town, clearly the city of the Midianites. Behind the well there is an heroic oak-tree.

There is no record of the appearance of the Moses and shepherds part of Poussin's composition at this stage. He reversed the pattern of his source and adopted Eskrich's 'constellation' of daughters to his own composition, and, more important, his own figure style. There are two groups of girls, one of four figures on the far right, and another of three nearer the well. Poussin took the group of four and placed them on the

far left of his composition, without reversing them and with little real alteration. There are some odd results. One of the figures in Poussin's drawing now seems to be addressing another girl on her left, who is invisible, since the sheet ends at that point. Another, from the extreme right of the print, who was originally merely looking at the sheep, now turns in the same direction, but has become an apprehensive figure in Poussin's drawing, cowering from the onslaught of the shepherds. The Eskrich group leans in towards the centre and has very little sense of feeling anything in particular. In Poussin's drawing they recoil from the centre and suggest various shades of apprehension and fear. The group of three girls is adapted differently. The two nearest the well are very like their counterparts in the print, only in reverse and with their figures drawn in a more correct and classical style. Indeed, the girl leaning on the well is probably a reminiscence of a muse from an antique sarcophagus. The sheep, present in the print, are faintly visible also. Poussin invented one new figure, who clearly indicates the direction of his thought. She kneels on the ground, where she had perhaps fallen in the preceding struggle.

In the second drawing the fear motif is increased in strength. Poussin decided to show the battle continuing and introduced a shepherd at the well threatening the girls and driving them back. The figure composition is now a little more remote from its source as Poussin increases the violence of the action. In the third drawing the landscape is shown, with rolling hills, and a fortified town, another adaptation from the print. On the right, Moses struggles with the shepherds. He has pinned one to the ground and is about to hit him. While the defeated shepherd resembles Raphael's Heliodorus, the complete group, Moses and the shepherd, closely follows

Bible illustrations of Cain killing Abel.

The three drawings provide a unique opportunity for seeing the actual process of transformation. In speculating upon other possible borrowings from similar sources, it must be born in mind that the transformation process is concealed to a great extent in the finished work. In many cases it seems likely that Poussin's pictures belong in the same tradition as the Bible illustrations, although it is difficult to locate specific borrowings. For example, the Adoration of the Golden Calf (National Gallery, London) (pl. 101a) has certain compositional features in common with the Eskrich print of this subject (pl. 102b). In common with one or two of the Bible illustrations of this period, there is a line of dancing figures on the left, who occupy a large amount of the available space. In Raphael's Loggia version, the dancers are crammed into a small space on the right and take no prominent part in the action (pl. 25). Poussin's dancers have been traced to antique reliefs of a kind used by Giulio Romano. Nevertheless they occupy the same part of the composition as in Eskrich's print. The figure arrangement on the left is strikingly similar also. The worshipping figures are arranged in a neat closing triangle in the corner. Behind them the tents recede into the distance. Poussin's group of women and children is probably a derivative from the woman and the child in Eskrich's wood-cut, and the gestures of the little group of men are similar also. Poussin's picture does not include the banquet in the middle ground, which is perhaps a reminiscence of the banquet of the senses motif, which underlines the moral significance of the event.

This scene was often used to illustrate the third of the Ten Commandments forbidding idolatry, as in a Catechism published at Antwerp in 1576⁶⁵ and a

cycle of prints illustrating the Ten Commandments in the British museum⁶⁶. There is also a woodcut of the Golden Calf in the 'Ship of Fools' of Sebastian Brant (pl. 102a) to accompany a satirical attack on dancers and dancing.

On the left of Eskrich's print there is a hill with Moses receiving the Law. In Poussin's picture, Moses has descended and is about to break the Tablets on which the first Law was inscribed. Poussin's motif is like that in Raphael's Loggia picture of the Golden Calf, as is the image of the Golden Calf on a podium instead of the column that appears in Eskrich's print and in several others of this tradition. This is the tradition on which Poussin appears to have drawn for the general design, while he uses types, and details from Raphael and Giulio Romano.

Poussin's pictures of Moses Striking the Rock show an even more complex combination of ideas from various sources. The first picture of a subject of this type is the closely related Waters of Marsh (pl. 91a) of the late 1620's. This is a subject that occurs in one of the S. Maria Maggiore frescoes. It is a subject that was omitted from Western painting for several centuries, but it occurs regularly among sixteenth century Bible illustrations of Moses' miracles in the Wilderness. The others are all shown in one or other of the Bibles: the Manna, the Quails, the Palms and Fountains, and the Striking of the Rock. The only feature that might be related to an identifiable source is the gesticulation of the group of men on the right of Moses. These are reminiscent of Raphael's Moses Striking the Rock (pl. 90) in the Loggias. A similar motif recurs in the Bridgewater collection Moses Striking the Rock (pl. 91b) and in the late lost version of the composition⁶⁷. The little group of three crouching figures drinking at the stream is another pictorial derivative from early Christian monuments.

They appear on a sarcophagus scene illustrated by Bosio (p. 103, pl. 92a), and reappear in the Waters of Marah in S. Maria Maggiore (pl. 89). None of these sources contain any more than the bare elements of the story. The illustrations in Bibles of the Waters of Marah (pl. 93a) and Moses Striking the Rock (pl. 92b) both have a large number of subsidiary figures, drinking water, filling jars, carrying jars, and offering water to one another. One of Eskrich's motifs, at least, found its way into the Bridgewater and the Hermitage pictures. On the left in the print, there is a woman at the stream turning back to offer another woman and a child a drink of water. In Poussin's pictures there are similar groups in reverse, men instead of women, while the presence of charitable women in the print may well have induced Poussin to insert women and children in his own pictures of the subject. There is also a figure lying down to drink from the stream, borrowed by Poussin for the lost picture.

Sauerländer connected a number of Flemish devotional prints with Poussin's late picture, the Four Seasons⁶⁸. These show a number of motifs connected with the mystical character of the iconography, but in one or two formal details Poussin is, perhaps, closer to Eskrich's prints of the Miraculous Grapes (pl. 104a) and the Ruth and Boaz (pl. 103a) in his Autumn (pl. 104b) and Summer (pl. 104a). The gestures and attitudes of the two Israelites carrying the Grapes, are almost identical with those in Poussin's picture, in reverse. This is a subject that appears extremely rarely in painting and could only have been formulated on the iconographical basis of prints. It is not even illustrated in Raphael's Loggias. Nor is Ruth and Boaz. Eskrich's wood-cut includes some of the subsidiary figures in Poussin's painting, like the figure drinking and the figure binding sheaves of wheat. In Poussin's picture there is a musette-player, while in Eskrich's

print there is a musette lying by the rock in the foreground.

This kind of source, book illustration, may help to explain one or two other peculiarities of Poussin's highly individual religious painting. Sir Anthony Blunt described Poussin's Flight into Egypt (Gowing Collection (pl. 106b)) thus: "La composition en bas-relief souligne le classicisme de Poussin, même a cette époque, mais la tension entre le mouvement des personnages vers la droite et leurs regards tourné vers gauche est d'une originalité frappante"⁶⁹. In illustrations to Books of Hours, this subject is almost invariably connected with the Massacre of the Innocents, as it is the Gospels. In one example, published by Tory in Paris in 1531 (pl. 111) the two scenes are included in the same frame. In another example, the two subjects are side by side on consecutive pages. The 'Flight' follows the 'Massacre'. Poussin's composition may have been dependent on this fairly common tradition. In his picture, St. Joseph and the Virgin turn their heads to the left to look back, as if in fear. This picture should perhaps be completed by a pendant, a Massacre of the Innocents, hanging on its left. The Paris version of the Massacre (pl. 106a) would be very suitable. It too has a similar relief of figures rushing to the right, arranged in a shallow relief plane. The Paris picture is bigger than the Gowing Flight, being two centimetres higher and five centimetres longer. The Gowing picture has evidently been cut at both sides, since the Angel at the right is very close to the edge and St. Joseph is not quite complete. Nothing is known of either picture until the Massacre was recorded in the Altieri Palace in 1686. There is nothing in their history to make their pairing impossible.

In the Agony in the Garden (CRB.L.30) Poussin showed Christ prostrate, an early Christian motif, which also appears in Dürer's prints, but very

rarely in painting. Dürer's tradition was continued by sixteenth century illustrators, as can be seen in the version illustrated here (pl. 105c) and thus not altogether an unfamiliar motif in Renaissance times. The illustration is taken from a missal published in Paris in 1555 (pl. 104a). This also contains a typical Betrayal of Christ (pl. 35c) in which Judas is seen in left profile, clutching the purse, which is fundamentally the pose of Judas in Eucharist II. It appears that Poussin's Judas is transferred bodily from one scene of the Passion to another.

It is likely, therefore, that Poussin was acquainted with the various traditions of illustration in graphic art current in the later sixteenth century. It is also clear that he used this tradition, if only as a spring-board for his own inventions, sometimes remembering a motif, sometimes using a compositional scheme or a 'constellation' of figures, always adding richer description of the 'affetti' and a finer style. In these circumstances the long tradition of the illustration of the Sacraments could hardly have left Poussin completely unaffected. It is not easy to account for the existence of Confirmation without such a tradition. There are many features of the pictures of Extreme Unction that are not accounted for by reference to Meleager sarcophagi and to Christian antiquities. There is no antique precedent for the 'doctor', the praying woman at the foot of the bed, or the men with candles, a Christian motif. There is no obvious source for Confirmation in antiquity at all. It is a Christian rite, and there are no similar subjects that could be adapted to fit.

The Sacraments are illustrated in printed books as early as the first decade of the sixteenth century⁷¹. One of the earliest sets of illustrations is in 'Die Seuen Sacramenten der Heyligher Kercken', published in Leyden in 1504 and 1511. These little genre scenes include most of the main features

of later illustrations. There are no major differences from the iconography of engravings published a century later. The same kind of spectators are added to the Baptism and Confirmation scenes (pl. 27b). The Extreme Unction scene, however, is in the alternative version to the Meleager type, with the bed foreshortened (pl. 58c). This is a commonplace in northern European scenes of death-beds of nearly any sort, like the Death of the Virgin or Jacob blessing his sons. This survived in the Netherlands well into the seventeenth century, while in other places the Meleager type was used instead, with the death bed parallel to the plane of the picture, although not many of the features of the antique relief scheme survived apart from the arrangement of the bed. The Flemish tradition appears also in illustrations related to those of the 'Ars Moriendi',^{71a}

^{78a/} The 'Meleager' type occurs in a death-bed scene in the 'Ship of Fools', (pl. 38). This book by Sebastian Brandt was published in Lyon, with crude re-workings of the original German wood-cuts and crude French paraphrases of the Latin paraphrase of the text. The wood-cut shows a death-bed scene in which the dying man kicks over a table beside his bed spilling his medicines. The text is an attack on those who refuse to accept the help of their doctors until it is too late. This was intended to imply the spiritual healing of the priest, rather than the physical aid of the doctor. The verses conclude with a description of the last agonies⁷². Poussin may have had this in mind when he introduced the figure of the doctor into Extreme Unction, an indication on the one hand that physic is now useless and the dying man's hour has come and a contrast between the healing of doctor and priest, which still remained important in the seventeenth century, since the Church of Rome insisted that the Extreme Unction could provide physical as well as spiritual healing. Poussin could have included him for these very cogent reasons.

Of the three other important series of Catechism illustrations two were published in Germany and one in the Netherlands. As might be expected the illustrator of the Netherlands Catechism persisted in using the foreshortened bed scheme, while the German illustrator used the 'Meleager' type. The last of these illustrated books, that published at Augsburg in 1613 and 1614 (see note 71), may have provided Poussin with a starting point for some of the features of the Sacraments.

These popular illustrated books illuminate an important aspect of Counter-Reformation iconography. The publication of this later group was begun the year after the Council of Trent concluded its final session. In that Session of 1563 the Council had considered the place of imagery in the Roman Church. They had decided, predictably, in favour of its retention, for didactic purposes on the one hand and devotional purposes on the other. Canisius, Nadal⁷³ and Salmeron, all Jesuits and all much concerned with the formulation of the later decrees of the Council, were all involved in this decree and each was involved in the publication of devotional prints.

Nadal was a friend of Canisius and offered to help him with the revision of his Catechism. It could be said that the influence of the Council of Trent on the arts was immediate and direct. The illustrated version of Canisius's short catechism was published within a year of the end of the Council. Their illustrations and their successors conditioned the common vernacular of religious imagery for most of Catholic Europe in the succeeding decades. It is outside the scope of the present, but an investigation of the influence of the imagery of these popular books on Baroque art might be very profitable.

Thesis!

Many other Jesuits at the end of the sixteenth century were concerned with encouraging painters to consider the Gospel realities of the scenes

they were representing, and as we shall see, Salmeron, Maldonat and others were instrumental in the attempt to persuade painters to adopt the tricladium for the banquet scenes of the Old and New Testament. One of their most important instruments in the didactic field was the illustrated catechism, containing all the essential features of the Roman Faith in highly abbreviated form, with clear illustrations, designed with the illiterate in mind, precisely according to the Decree of the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent⁷⁴.

The first of these was the shorter version of the famous Catechism of St. Peter Canisius. An illustrated edition was published with a German text, in Dillingen by Canisius' friend Cholinus. This contained 105 large woodcuts and woodcuts in the margins. Another edition, with engravings, was published in Antwerp in 1576, by Plantin. This was produced by another Jesuit, J. B. Romanus. In Augsburg in 1613 and 1614, the learned Jesuit Georg Mayr⁷⁵ published a collection of similar Catechisms in various languages by Bellarmine, Canisius and others, in which he included a large number of anonymous woodcuts. These may have been produced in the circle of Wolfgang Killian who was responsible for making frontispieces for some of Mayr's publisher's other publications⁷⁶. Georg Mayr's preface made it clear that this new version existed because of the success of the Antwerp publication.

There are not many direct borrowings from one Catechism to the other, and there are a number of variations in the kind of illustrations used. The Dillingen Catechism has a large number of varied woodcuts, taken from Dürer and others at second or perhaps third hand. The Antwerp Catechism has a large number of intensely devotional images, and a large number of

Biblical scenes used as moral emblems for all manner of aspects of the Christian Faith, from the Creed to the Four Last Things⁷⁷. There is an air of a genuine revival of the mediaeval pictorial or stained glass Catechism about this little book. In Mannerist fashion, some of the scenes have little window frame secondary scenes in the background. In the Sacraments these are a mixture of Old Testament types, like the Consecration of Aaron for ordination, and scenes illustrating the institution of the Christian sacraments taken from the Gospels or the Acts. The Augsburg Catechism illustrations have much more of seventeenth century realism about them. A few secondary scenes still appear in window-frames in the background. The emphasis is almost exclusively on the Bible as a source of moral emblemata. Mystical typology is almost totally absent. In all these the sacraments are illustrated as genre scenes.

In the Dillingen and Augsburg Catechisms the extreme unction scene is arranged in the 'Meleager' manner. In the Dillingen version (pl. 58d) a priest points to a crucifix, while another holds a candle. As in the 'Ship of Fools' illustration (pl. 38) there is a table with a number of objects on it. In the Augsburg Catechism this is taken a little further (pl. 58b). In the foreground there is a table with what appears to be medicine or food in a bowl, just as in Extreme Unction I (pl. 48a) there is a table on which the discarded medicine is to be placed. The attitude of the priest anointing the eyes of the dying man is very close to that of the priest in Extreme Unction I. He stands on the far side of the bed and Poussin seems to have taken over his gesture, while combining him with the pedagogue from the antique relief. Behind the bed there is also a woman, her hands joined in prayer. She closely resembles the figure of a woman between the priest and the doctor in Poussin's paintings. There is even a figure of a servant leaving the room in the print, as there is in Poussin's first version. Thus,

some features of the Extreme Unction pictures derive from a tradition of illustration in Catechisms, in which Meleager reliefs had already been partly assimilated. Poussin has gone a stage further, utilised the relief group more skilfully and set the scene in early Christian times, as opposed to the contemporary setting represented in the Catechism illustrations.

The women and children and other spectators in confirmation scenes are not only present in the Augsburg Catechism, but in Venetian illustrations (pls. 27c, d) belonging to the same general tradition.

The woodcuts in 'Liber Catorhuminorum' published in Venice in 1555 not only show the usual genre versions of the sacraments, but include a woodcut of the Marriage of the Virgin to illustrate Marriage and one of the Penitence of the Magdalen (pl. 105b) for Penitence. The conventional spectator figures at these scenes are increased in number for the numerous illustrations to a Venetian Pontificale of 1572. These illustrations are further indications of a sixteenth century tradition of illustration of these sacraments, which is reflected in Poussin's paintings. In the 'Liber Catorhuminorum' the Extreme Unction illustration is of the foreshortened bed pattern (pl. 105a) suggesting that these illustrations are probably connected with a Flemish tradition rather than a German one.

The Augsburg print contains a man presenting a boy for confirmation, while in the middle of the print there is a secondary scene, with a man binding a fillet round the head of a boy. Several of the spectator figures in the print appear in the Confirmation I (pl. 17a); a mother with a child who clings to her (in the manner of Raphael, even in the print), a man on the extreme left, and a woman, of whom only the head is visible looking on from the background. Both the rite and the details suggest that the print or one like it was the starting point for Poussin's composition. In

Confirmation II the kneeling acolyte on the left has a very close counterpart in another of the Augsburg prints, that of Easter Communion (pl. 59). ? ✓

The title page woodcut of the Augsburg catechisms shows a group of kneeling figures adoring the monogram of Christ (pl. 28a). The kneeling boy in this is remarkably similar to Poussin's kneeling boy in Confirmation II. He had used a kneeling figure of a woman in Confirmation I in a pose similar to that of the later kneeling boy, but the figure in the woodcut, in reverse, is almost identical with Poussin's. Its likelihood as a source is enhanced by the fact that in the print the figure is of the correct age and sex, whereas there is no directly equivalent figures in Raphael's paintings.

Poussin's Sacraments were different from the popular Catechisms in a number of obvious ways. His patrons were learned, his work was not going to be displayed publicly. His paintings were on a larger scale and his style was austere, hardly popular. He was free to exploit the richer layers of meaning in his themes, whereas the popular illustrators were bound to simplify theirs. He was free to make allusions to the ancient world in erudite symbolism. As a result the paintings of the Sacraments were a unique and one might say unforeseen fulfilment of the sixteenth century tradition of illustration. His other religious paintings are fulfilments of a long tradition in much the same way.

It is now clear that Poussin was involved in the new devotional Christian antiquarianism of the Oratorians, just as he was aware of the illustration tradition fostered by the Jesuits. Such an involvement in Christian iconography must betoken an awareness of the nature of the religious material he was handling in the Sacraments, but hardly suggests Poussin the cold antiquarian presented to us by Vanuxem, Gaudibert and others.

CHAPTER IV

CEREMONY AND SETTING IN THE SACRAMENTS

1. Introduction

Bosio's 'Roma Sotterranea' was a product of only one current in the stream of Counter-Reformation thought. There were several others, which also affected Poussin's religious painting. Not only was he aware of the newly excavated monuments of Christian antiquity, he also made use of literary material for the reconstruction of early Christian 'costume', especially in the paintings of Eucharist and Penitence.

The traditions on which he drew had their origins in the Counter-Reformation. The religious controversy of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a most important stimulus to the study of antiquity. It was clear that the only true Faith could be that which was intended by Christ. The evidence for these intentions lay in the Gospels, the Acts, and whatever could be learned of the practices and beliefs of the early Church. There was an intense interest in all aspects of Christian antiquity. Patristic writing, historical, canonical, and mystical was explored with great vigour, in the search for evidence. The Council of Trent had defined the proper means for interpretation of the fundamental document, the Bible. The only authority was the concensus of the opinion of the Fathers of the Church. Biblical commentary flourished, and two kinds of study flourished with it: typology and antiquarianism. The mystical interpretations of patristic writing was cited in detail. The exploration of all available ancient monuments and all ancient writers, pagan and Christian alike, was pressed into service to explain references to ceremony, dress and all the

other aspects of life in antiquity.

All antiquity was scoured for information. Even the works of Julian the Apostate were translated and edited. The second of these editions in France was made, by a Jesuit, Denis Petau (Petavius). Julian the Apostate was a hero of the 'libertins', a man who had contrived to acquire Virtù, without the help of Christianity. He was an author who should perhaps have been edited by the 'libertin' Saumaise (Salmasius), rather than by his rival in controversy, Petau, "le Saumaise catholique"¹. Two prefaces did their best to justify the publication of these unchristian works. His writing, they claimed, was now of the distant past, rendered harmless by the passage of time, and contained much important information about early Christian life and belief. Cassiano dal Pozzo took this up as his own excuse, if excuse were needed, for his collection, the 'Museum Cartaceum', which contained so many drawings of objects related to "the false opinion of the ancients as regards the Deity"².

It was plain to the writers of this period that pagan and Christian antiquity were closely related. Pagan and Christian ritual, ceremony and symbolism belonged together in the same broad scheme of religious history, the history of redemption, unified by the eternity of the Godhead. It was widely believed that there had been a partial revelation of the nature of the Divine Being to the pagans and to the Jews³. The Egyptians, in particular, had had the Trinity revealed to them by the patriarch Joseph, but had reverted to pagan worship. The position of the pagans was thus seen as a highly ambiguous one. On the one hand traces of Divine revelation and a corresponding wisdom could be discerned in their symbolism and worship, on the other they were the personification of misguided idolatry. The

Jews had been presented with a revelation which they were unable to understand, and instead of seeing God's promise fulfilled, they had been bound under the unbearable yoke of the Law. In the Law and in the events of the Old Testament were concealed the mysteries of the new dispensation, revealed only by Christ.

This view of history made it possible to interpret antique symbolism and hieroglyphs as representations of Christian truth that had not been completely understood by the pagans. The Old Testament could be interpreted in the same way with respect to the Jews. The patristic systems of typology were thus perpetuated side by side with the humanist tradition of interpretation of ancient religion. Antique ritual and worship in this system foreshadowed the Christian religion, which had in the end superceded it. S/

There was no question of comparing pagan religion and Christianity on equal terms for Christians in this period. There was no modern concept of a collective unconscious to explain away Christianity as a manifestation akin to all other religious manifestations. Even the scepticism of the 'libertins' and the search for a moral law in nature or in reason had not undermined this system of belief by the mid-seventeenth century for the vast majority of writers.

The antiquarian tradition in which Poussin's Sacraments lie is that of the Counter-Reformation. The triclinium motif was largely the preserve of the Jesuits. Many of Poussin's religious pictures still depend on the typology that the Biblical commentators revived. The hieroglyphs that he introduced, especially the 'E' on the pillar in Ordination II have a specifically Christian significance. All three aspects enrich the meaning of his pictures, antiquarianism, typology and symbolism.

2. The triclinium and early Christian ritual in the Sacraments

The triclinium motif was first revived in the early sixteenth century⁴. Raphael used a triclinium for the Feast of the Gods on the ceiling of the Loggia of the Farnesina. He may, as Blunt suggests, have derived this from a reading of Vitruvius, or possibly from reading Philo's 'On the contemplative life'. In 1544 the triclinium was illustrated in Philander's edition of Vitruvius. The first literary account is that of the Florentine doctor, Mercuriale, in his 'De Arte Gymnastica' of 1569. This is, strictly speaking, a medical book. Mercuriale was concerned with exercise, hygiene and eating habits among the ancients. In his first edition he mentioned the use of the triclinium by Christ and the Apostles only in passing. He illustrated the ancient marble relief of the triclinium, then in Padua. He had learned of its existence from Pirro Ligorio⁵. The subject had evidently already been discussed in the circle of Panvinio in Rome. The relief showed how the triclinium was arranged; hitherto it had only been known from literary sources. Mercuriale also illustrated ancient triclinia (pls. 31a, 42b, 43a, b, 44a). Later in his edition of 1601 he added illustrations of the Last Supper (pl. 31b) and the Feast in the House of Simon (pl. 42a) from designs by the Flemish artist, Stradanus, who worked in Florence for most of his active life⁶. It was undoubtedly through Stradanus' designs for Biblical feasts that the motif became known in artistic circles in the Netherlands. The Galle family made and published engravings of his work. They were closely connected with the group of engravers employed by other Antwerp publishers, and were also closely connected, as publishers, with Plantin. Another of this group of engravers, H. Wiericx, made two engravings of similar subjects designed by Otto van Veen, a leading Antwerp Romanist. Mercuriale was

responsible for commissioning Cigoli to paint the Feast in the House of Simon in the antique manner in 1592 (Doria-Pamphili Gallery, Rome) (pl. 37a). This was later reproduced in an etching in Casale's 'De Profanis Romanorum Ritibus' of 1645.

The additional plates in the later editions of 'De Arte Gymnastica' were included to illustrate an addendum to the text. Mercuriale showed that the literature on the triclinium had become very extensive since his first edition. He mentions by name a number of Jesuits, who had adopted his idea for the illustration of Gospel scenes. The Cardinal of Toledo and Jean Maldonat in particular had striven to introduce the motif to painters, who were reluctant to use this new iconography for their paintings. Later, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, one of Maldonat's pupils, Louis Richeôme, continued the struggle to introduce the triclinium into the visual arts. Mercuriale also mentioned the work of Fulvio Orsini, the Farnese librarian. Orsini had edited one of the most famous treatises on the triclinium, the 'De Triclinio' of the Spanish Jesuit, Pedro Ciaccon (Ciacconius) in 1588, with some additions of his own. Ciaccon had died in 1581. He, like Mercuriale, was one of the circle of sixteenth century antiquarians in the Farnese circle in Rome, having worked as a theologian at the Vatican in his later years⁷. Mercuriale comments at greater length on the writing of Salmeron, another Spanish Jesuit, one of St. Ignatius Loyola's original ten companions⁸. Salmeron, after a long and active career, had finally settled down in Naples and in the last fifteen years of his life wrote his 'Commentarii in Evangelicam Historiam'. He died in 1588, seven years after Ciaccon⁹. His comments on the triclinium in relation to the feasts of the Bible are lengthy and similar in many respects to those of Ciaccon. It is difficult to discern the priority of these two. Mercuriale pretended to

believe that Salmeron's work was independent of his own, and therefore provided confirmation of its validity¹⁰. Another treatise, similar to Salmeron's was that of Boulenger (Burlengerius). He was a French Jesuit, a controversialist, who had been involved in controversy concerning the Eucharist. His treatise, 'De Conviti' of 1627 is one of the lengthiest accounts of the subject, and like Mercuriale's book deals with many aspects of ancient eating habits¹¹.

The Jesuits had been primarily concerned with the interpretation of the feasts in the Bible, and of the Last Supper and the Feast in the House of Simon, in particular. Mercuriale's purpose had been a medical one and his addendum in his later edition merely summarised the arguments of the theologians. His intention was plainly to confirm his general argument about the triclinium. Theirs was to arrive at the theological meaning of the Gospel texts.

Mercuriale's treatise was one of the main points of departure for the dissemination of the triclinium motif in Europe, and, (according to his own account, it was the first) the use to which it was put was not perhaps what he had originally anticipated. His antiquarianism was translated into counter-reformation terms. Its wholesale adoption in Jesuit Biblical commentary demonstrates that antiquarianism and religious thought were not exclusive categories in the Counter-Reformation period. For the religious they were one and the same thing. Mercuriale's comments in the addendum also show that it was the Jesuits above all who wished to propagate the new religious iconography among painters, in fulfilment of the Council of Trent Decree on the arts of the twenty-fifth session. This insisted that pictures should provide a truthfull account of Biblical history and that the

clergy should take an active part in decisions about iconography. Poussin's dependence on this tradition is therefore not proof of his indifference to Christianity, or of a cold, antiquarian detachment, but of his involvement in a project dear to the counter-reformation Church and to the Jesuits in particular. This is not intended to imply that Poussin adopted a Jesuit point of view. The influence of the Jesuits on Poussin can only be seen in terms of the results of their participation in Christian humanism. Nevertheless Poussin's Sacraments cannot be abstracted from their environment and Jesuit writing on antiquities was an important part of the culture of the seventeenth century.

Interpretation of the scenes varied slightly from author to author, but the general consensus of opinion was accurately reflected in Mercuriale's addendum. The connection between ancient use of the triclinium and that of Christ and the Apostles was provided by the repeated use of the verb 'discumbere' in the passages in the Vulgate relating to the Biblical feasts. There were a variety of explanations offered. The custom of reclining at table could have been acquired by the Greeks from the peoples of their oriental empire and hence by the Romans. Since the Jews in the period of Christ were under Roman rule, they had acquired it from the Romans. Alternatively, the Jews had originally acquired the custom during the Babylonian captivity. The lying at table was, in any case, a Jewish custom at the Passover. This did not account for any of the other feasts, however. In one way or another most writers convinced themselves that this was the custom of Christ and the Apostles. The best evidence was that of Philo's description of Essene banquets in the 'De Vita Contemplativa', but this was seldom cited. Only Burlengerius quoted the whole passage in a Latin translation¹².

Mercuriale gives the clearest explanation of the main points. Of the feast in the House of Simon he writes that there are three reasons for believing that Christ reclined at the feast. The first is that Mary Magdalen heard that Christ had lain down to supper. The second is that she had taken up a position standing behind Christ's feet. The third is that standing thus, she had performed her four penitential actions, each of which involved Christ's feet. This was impossible without the triclinium arrangement¹³.

A number of other points in the Gospels could be clarified by reference to various other features of Roman custom. The foot-washing references in the Last Supper and the feast in the House of Simon were connected not only with Jewish customs but with the Roman custom of dining in clean clothes after bathing. The Romans removed their sandals when they lay down to eat and Christ and his Apostles must have done likewise. This explained the foot-washing even more completely. The feet of Christ in the house of Simon and the Apostles at the Last Supper were already bare. The manner of lying at table also explained the reclining of St. John on Christ's breast. Mercuriale condemned the lack of decorum in pictures of the Last Supper in which St. John slouches against Christ. Since the Apostles had adopted Roman manners, this was easily rectified. Christ at the Last Supper occupied the place of the 'paterfamilias', with his dearest friend beside him, the beloved Apostle John.

There was some difference of opinion about various aspects and Mercuriale's praise of the Jesuits is transparently ironic at times. He seems to admire Maldonat's labours in persuading painters to adopt the new iconography, but later disagrees with Maldonat's gloss on the Magdalen's action. Maldonat had suggested that the word 'stans' did not mean 'stood

upright' but 'remained,' or 'stayed'¹⁴. Maldonat believed that the triclinium was not a high one and that the Magdalen bent down to perform her various actions. It was expedient for him to maintain that the triclinium was not the high 'thorus', but some other form, because he conceived the event in imaginatively devotional terms. He explained that at first the sinner stood upright and then began to weep. Then she bent down weeping, because of the highly skilful oratory of Christ. One can sense Mercuriale's annoyance at the intrusion in Maldonat's account of the scene, of elements for which there was no specifically textual evidence. He maintained that the triclinium was high and that his opinion had been confirmed by the Cardinal of Toledo, who had lived in Rome a long time.

Mercuriale does not admit to any difference of opinion with Salmeron, but it is clear that his praise of the Jesuit is ironical. He insinuates that Salmeron must have overheard discussions of the triclinium in Rome, where Mercuriale had been, as doctor to Cardinal Farnese, and where he had published the 'De Arte Gymnastica'. Salmeron, like all the Jesuit writers on the subject, added devotional comments that go beyond the bare antiquarian facts. It is this that separates him from Mercuriale, as later it alienated such writers from Naudé. Within their system, antiquarian evidence was secondary to intensity of devotional interpretation. Respect for facts was not their strong suit.

The additions to Mercuriale's simple explanation increased with time. It was probably not his work, but that of Ciacon that inspired the Jesuit writers. In his 'De Triclinio' Ciacon expounded the antiquarian aspect of the triclinium in full, but ended by paying much more attention to the devotional significance of the triclinium in the New Testament. Like

Salmeron he embellished plain antiquarianism with devotional oratory.

Salmeron ended his account by comparing Christ's humility, his announcement that he was leaving the Apostles and the exposition of the mystery of the Eucharist, with the spectacle and 'acroamata' of Roman banquets¹⁵. Ciacon took the same theme even further. He explained that spectacles, 'acroamata' and sweet odours were not lacking at Christ's Suppers. These, unlike those of the Romans, provided spiritual and immortal joy to his companions. At the Last Supper, Christ's humble washing of the Apostles' feet provided the spectacle. At the feast in Simon's house, there was a drama, complete with its Aristotelian peripeteia: the conversion of the Magdalen. Ciacon continued in lyrical tones. The 'acroamata' were the hymns sung after the Last Supper, while the customary apophoretae were the gifts of sacramental Bread and Wine.

The arrangement at the table was not absolutely clear. The most important person at the feast was supposed to occupy the most important place on the middle bed. Mercuriale interpreted this as the middle of the middle bed. He derived this from Plutarch's statement about Persian habits. For the Greeks, however, it was the 'first' place of the middle bed and for the Romans the 'last'. The most suitable place for a Consul at such a feast was in the corner, made by the junction of two beds, according to Cicero, so that he could receive urgent messages most easily. This was all quoted by Salmeron and used to show that Christ as 'Pontifex, seu sacrorum Rex, vel sacrificulus Rex' was seated in the first place of the middle bed, with the angle of the couch on his left, with St. John on his right and with St. Peter near at hand. He also applied this to the feast in the House of Simon, though less convincingly¹⁷.

Whether because of Mercuriale's influence with Cigoli and Stradanus or because of the influence of Jesuits, like Maldonat, the triclinium gradually became a part of the counter-reformation tradition for illustrating the Last Supper and the Feast in the House of Simon. Prado and Villalpando, the Jesuit commentators of Ezekiel included illustrations of the scenes. Another Jesuit, Richeôme, also advocated the use of the triclinium in painting in his 'Tableaux Sacrés'. Later in his 'Peintures Spirituelles',¹⁸ he described the pictures in the Refectory of the Jesuit Novitiate in Rome, S. Andrea al Quirinale. Among these were a Last Supper and a Feast in the House of Simon. He dedicated his book to Claudio Aquaviva, and to the rector of the Novitiate, Ottavio Navarola. Brémond remarked on Richeôme's occasional invention of pictures, but in this case they were probably real. When describing rooms where pictures were missing, Richeôme stated quite clearly that he was supplying their place with verbal pictures. He would not have dared to invent pictures without saying so, since his words could very easily have been checked by his fellow Jesuits in Rome. It is true, nevertheless, that he sometimes did not need a picture to describe, since he often discussed the meaning of a Gospel event, without reference to a visual representation of it. It is impossible to gain any idea of the appearance of the picture. He was well aware of the current discussion of the triclinium, and had shown one in his 'Tableaux Sacrés',²⁰.

He made a distinction between the three kinds of 'tables' in the refectory, those of the mouth, those of the eye and those of the ear. The first were the tables at which the diners sat, the second the 'tableaux' of religious subjects on the walls, and the third were the commentaries on the sacred subjects in the pictures, read to them while they ate. He remarks that the first were arranged in the European fashion, not like the ancient

triclinia of the Persians and Romans²¹. His distinction between the food of the senses and the food of the soul is like the comparison that Ciacon made between the accessories to the banquets of the Romans and those of Christ. His commentary is quite unlike those of the Biblical commentators or the antiquarians. It is devotional, popular and familiar. Nevertheless, the antiquarian findings of the late sixteenth century dictate the imagery. It is likely that the Jesuits, for the pictures in the refectory of their own Novitiate, had prescribed the new iconography that they had championed. The artists responsible would almost certainly have been members of the order. There is plenty of documentation to show that Jesuit artists of various kinds were at work in the Novitiate at the beginning of the seventeenth century²². Both the pictures Richeôme described were of the triclinium type.

His description of the Feast in the House of Simon is not really a description of a picture at all. He invited us to ignore the Pharisees and concentrate all our attention on the Magdalen, and not so much on her appearance as the tokens of her penitence, her sobs and tears. There is little here that could have affected Poussin's arrangement, unless it were the devotional content²³.

The description of the Last Supper is much more interesting²⁴. The events were somewhat unusual. Judas, as in Poussin's picture, was in the process of leaving the room. Richeôme explained that: "... en partant Judas . . . avalla la mort, et la Damnation, au lieu que les autres Apostres, receurent la vie, et le salut ...". In Richeôme's account, Judas left only after the Institution of the Eucharist. The contrast he made was therefore no more than the traditional one. Judas received the Sacrament unworthily and was punished for it. The other Apostles were worthy to receive it and

profited from it. Richeôme indicated that the purse was in Judas' hand as he departed: "Voyez le tenant sa bourse en sa main, et son âme dans sa bourse, son visage ^{fré?} renfront et portant l'image d'un brigand, et d'une âme desespéré". In similar terms, he noted the affetti of all the participants. He noticed that St. John was not asleep, but sitting up paying attention to Christ's words: "Voyez à l'autre cote saint Jean assis en cette table Persienne, a savoir sur un lit, devant le sein du Sauveur qui est la place du bien aime du Pere de famille, non dormant comme les peintres le figurent, mais bien attentif au mystere ...". This method of penetrating to the feelings of the figures is closely akin to that of many seventeenth century painters, but his method depends on his knowledge of writing on the triclinium.

It appears from Richeôme's description that Judas was present throughout the whole supper, and had received the Sacrament. The departure of Judas was discussed at great length by Biblical commentators at this period. Richeôme's teacher, Maldonat, devoted a long passage to it in his 'In Quattuor Evangelistas Commentarii'²⁵. He had pointed out that there were a number of Fathers who had believed that Judas was not present at the Institution of the Eucharist, because he had been unworthy. Maldonat confessed to a liking for this idea, but argued that Judas was present throughout. The argument was carried through with great tact and Maldonat's usual moderation. Cornelis à Lapide dispatched the matter more speedily, remarking that the Fathers who believed Judas was not present at the Institution of the Eucharist were in a minority²⁶. Maldonat's discussion, presenting both sides of the case, is more in harmony with the spirit of the Council of Trent's Decree on the Scriptâres. Cornelis treated the necessary

concensus of the opinion of the Fathers largely as a counting of votes.

Poussin's picture of Eucharist for the second set of Sacraments cannot therefore depend on Richeôme's text. Poussin shows Judas leaving while Christ is blessing the Chalice and while the other Apostles are either on the point of eating the Bread, or have just placed it in their mouths. In the picture, Judas is not partaking of the Eucharist. This is in accordance with the minority opinion, not used by Richeôme and rejected by most commentators.

It is, of course, possible that the picture in S. Andrea al Quirinale agreed with Poussin's, that he had seen it and followed its example. Poussin could easily have made changes in his arrangement of Eucharist II, that effectively altered the moment of Judas' departure. We do not know how accurate Richeôme's description was. He might have misconstrued the moment, imposing his preconceived theological notions on the picture. The main ideas could have been inferred from numerous other writers of the period and it is hazardous to specify Richeôme's 'Peintures Spirituelles' as Poussin's main source.

There is one possible reason for the remarkable change in iconography between first and second versions. In 1645 a very useful compilation was published, that of G. B. Casale, a widely travelled, erudite Roman, in contact with the Bosio's, Cassiano dal Pozzo and other Roman 'virtuosi'²⁷. He possessed a small Museum of antiquities and part of his book was an explanation, more or less systematic, of the rites of the nations of antiquity, which many of the pieces in his collection represented. There are three parts to the 'De Profanis Aegyptiorum Romanorum et Sacris Christianorum Ritibus', as the title states. There is not a single trace of comparative religion in a modern sense in this book, only the usual

recognition of the continuity of revelation. There is very little in the book that is not borrowed from one author or another. The whole is presented with singular Roman piety. The section on Christian rites is by far the largest and the chapter on the primacy of St. Peter has a title in enormous capital letters. Casale did not content himself with borrowing the antiquarian part of Ciacon's 'De Triclinio', for example, he also borrowed the devotional oratory. The result is that the work is something between a devotional book and a handy encyclopaedia of 'Costume'. It is very likely that Casale was a source of major importance for Poussin. A great many of the peculiarities of the second set of Sacraments have their literary equivalent in his book. As we shall see Casale's account of the Flight into Egypt, quoted in large part from Baronius, was almost certainly Poussin's source for the Egyptian antiquities in his Rest on the Flight into Egypt of the 1650's. Poussin could also have found much information about ancient ceremony and vestments in this invaluable handbook. It is not necessary to suppose that such a busy painter would have had either endless time for the consultation of all the relevant writings of the Fathers and all the moderns or the linguistic ability to read them all. Like most artists he must have depended on convenient secondary sources, to some extent.

Casale provided a summary of recent opinion on the Last Supper. (He nearly always declared the sources of his borrowings. In this case he had used Walterius Wiringus' 'De Triplici Coena'.) The argument that he borrowed ran contrary to that of the earlier commentators. There had not been one Supper divided in two parts, as in Maldonat's account, but three different Suppers. There was the Legal Supper; the Eating of the Paschal Lamb. For this the Apostles stood. The two following Suppers were both taken reclining, the evening supper of the Passover, traditionally taken

reclining according to Jewish custom, and then the Institution of the Eucharist. The washing of the Apostles' feet intervened between the last two. The various difficulties stemmed from the problem of harmonising the Gospel of St. John with the Gospels of the Synoptics. This had already been a problem for the understanding of the Last Supper for many centuries. The variant solution of Waringus was made possible by the renewed study of Patristic opinion, combined with the new Christian antiquarianism.

According to this view, Judas had departed after the foot-washing and before the Institution of the Eucharist. This provided a useful fulfilment for the devout wish that Judas should not have been present at the Sacred Mystery. This is how Poussin represents the scene in Eucharist II. It seems likely that his attention had been drawn to the motif by Casale, whose book had appeared between the painting of the two sets of pictures²⁹. In this way one can account for the differences between Poussin's two versions.

In the first version of Eucharist there are several features that do not conform to the majority of accounts of the scene. Judas is present, St. John is apparently asleep on Christ's breast and the table in the centre is a long one. There is no possibility that the Apostles could all reach the same dish³⁰. The only novelty is the introduction of couches instead of seats. It is also apparent that Poussin had not followed the more recent accounts of the feast in the house of Simon in Penitence I. The Magdalen is kneeling at Christ's feet. This indicates an argument nearer to that of Maldonat, but which had been rejected by most writers. All these features are changed in the second set of Sacraments. St. John is fully attentive to the words of Christ, in the new manner, advocated by Richeôme

and others. His agonised expression indicates that he, too, is stricken by doubts in his conscience, and, possibly, horror at the idea of Christ's betrayal. St. Peter is next to him, so that he can question him about the identity of the traitor. This is all in close conformity with recent opinion³¹. The table arrangement is different in the second version to make this possible. Instead of placing Christ in the centre of the middle bed, Poussin places him in the 'consular' position, at the end of the middle bed, with St. John on his right. There is no other way of placing the three essential figures at the main bed, with St. John next to both St. Peter and Christ³². The table itself is no longer made up of a long middle section with two short pieces at the sides. It is a square table, corresponding to the accounts of Salmeron and Casale³³. Severani in his comments on the Sigma Triclinium remarked on the fact that the Christians were not averse to the use of the square table of the Romans, or for that matter the circular one, which symbolised the universe³⁴. Poussin places three Apostles at each of four couches. This is very hard to account for. Nobody had proposed that a triclinium should be anything but an arrangement of three beds. The variant is pictorially useful, because Poussin does not have to foreshorten two long beds at either side, with five on one bed and four and an empty place on the other. It is possible for all the Apostles to reach the same dish in this arrangement and for the wine to be circulated³⁵.

In both versions of Penitence Poussin used the triple couch arrangement, and in both he used the single table, in conformity with the view that the triclinium signified an arrangement of three couches and was also the name of the room in which such dining furniture was placed. The second version of Penitence, like the second version of Eucharist, shows a new awareness of

recent antiquarian argument. The Magdalen stands, but stoops to perform her actions of penitence. Poussin's version of the triclinium in this picture is raised on a podium, so that it is now significantly higher, and the kneeling posture is impossible for the Magdalen.

There are one or two differences in the accessories of the scene also. In the first version, there is a young boy standing in the foreground beside an enormous wine-jar, while the other servants are all young men. In the second version all the servants appear to be youths in the antique style. Philo's description may have played a part in the new version. Poussin could have known of this from Burlengerius directly or from Casale³⁶. The youth pouring wine or water into the great jar in the foreground is sufficiently strong for the job. Philo remarked that young boys poured the wine into the cups, while strong youths carried the water. He described them as "fresh from the baths and smooth-shaven". He mentions that they wore cosmetics, but it is difficult to know how Poussin could show this in a painting. Their hair was "prettily plaited and tightly bound. For they have long thick hair which is not cut at all or else the forelocks only are cut at the tips to make them level and take exactly the form of a circular line. They wear tunics fine as cobwebs and of dazzling white girt high up; the front part hangs below the under knee, the back part a little below the back of the knee and they draw together each part with curly bows of ribbon along the line of join of the tunics and then let the folds dangle down obliquely, broadening out the hollows along the side. In the background are others, fully grown lads newly bearded with the down just blooming on their cheeks, recently pets of the pederasts, elaborately dressed up for the heavier services, a proof of the opulence of the hosts, as those who employ them know, but in reality of their bad taste." Poussin's lads do not conform

in every detail to this description, but, in general, their kind of dress, the older boy pouring the water, and the hair styles, conform to Philo's description.

In both pictures of the second set Poussin placed drapery at the back of the rooms behind the couches. This is probably a borrowing from illustrations of the Paduan triclinium (pl. 31a)³⁷.

3. Penitence and Foot-washing ceremonies

There is one curious feature of Penitence II. In the final drawing for the picture, no. 21 (pl. 40a) there are indications of the discarded sandals of Christ and of Simon. On the left there is also a faint trace of what might be the Magdalen's ointment pot. None of these are present in the picture. Poussin could have thought that it was sufficiently clear from the bare-footed figures that they had discarded their sandals, and omitted them from the picture. It is not immediately obvious why he should have omitted the ointment pot. Even exploration with infra-red photography of the area around the Magdalen failed to show any trace of the missing ointment (pl. 41b). Poussin never painted it on the canvas at any stage of work on the picture.

The anointing of Christ was the last of the penitential actions. The Magdalen in Poussin's picture is still weeping and drying Christ's feet with her hair. This suggests that Poussin was concerned with the aspect of the penitence emphasised by Richeôme, who wrote of the Magdalen: "Elle montre en la mesme cerimonie la sagesse, et justice d'un vray Penitent, ce chastiant par les instruments mesmes, avec lesquels elle avoit pesche"³⁸. The ointment

occurs in all the Gospel accounts of the episode, but in the Gospel of St. John it is specifically related to Mary Magdalen's prophecy of Christ's coming death³⁹.

Although there are several thematic interconnections in the second set of Sacraments in particular, Poussin seems to have omitted this one, with its many possibilities. He seems to have preferred to concentrate on the character of the Magdalen's penitence that is most striking. All of the Magdalen's actions are Biblical commonplaces, except drying Christ's feet with her hair. This is the most extraordinary penitential action⁴⁰. The fullest account is in the Gospel of St. Luke, and Poussin undoubtedly followed this⁴¹. The ointment pot was of much less significance in that scene than in the others.

Poussin condenses the time in this picture and in Eucharist II. The time chosen is hard to identify in precise terms, because Poussin included all the salient points of the narrative in one picture. Christ completes the action with his gesture. The Magdalen is still weeping and drying His feet with her hair; the feast is in full swing, the guests are eating and drinking, while servants carry out empty dishes; yet Simon is only just having his feet washed in preparation for eating. Poussin might have omitted the ointment pot, thinking of it as having been already used, and its odours already filling the room. The Magdalen's weeping continued throughout the Supper. From Christ's gesture it is apparent that he is forgiving her sins. He only did this after all her actions had been performed, and after his discourse to Simon the Pharisee.

Maldonat devoted many words to the explanation of this incident. Not only did he discuss the nature of the ointment and of the ointment pot, but he also discussed the various incidents as described in the Gospels in great

detail. As with the Last Supper there was a serious difficulty in harmonising the Gospels. Once more there are major differences between the Synoptics and St. John, and lesser ones among the Synoptics.

Traditionally, the woman in all these accounts was St. Mary Magdalen. Maldonat's efforts were in part devoted to demonstrating the truth of this tradition. He concluded that in each case it was the same woman, and it was also the same Simon. The complexity of the argument need not detain us. Since these episodes were all the same, the ointment pot must also have been the same in each case, one supposes. Maldonat suggested that it was a pot made of an alabaster-like material⁴³. This could easily be broken. The ointment, he said, was spikenard. According to the Gospel of St. Mark, she broke the pot and poured the contents over Christ's head⁴⁴. If her actions had all been performed, Poussin could only have shown a few tiny fragments, which might not have looked very convincing⁴⁵. Poussin had no doubts about the identity of his penitent in a letter to Chantelou. He refers to her as the Magdalen, and therefore thought of all the Gospels as referring to the same episode.

The foot-washing of Simon did not appear in Penitence I. In Penitence II its inclusion completes and enriches the narrative. It implies an important part of Christ's discourse, that could not be shown in any other way.

The essence of St. Luke's account lies in the contrast, in Christ's words, between the attitude of the penitent and that of the self-righteous Pharisee. The Magdalen was an important example of penitence and of faith. She was the first to come to Christ for spiritual healing, with no thought of wordly advantage. This was stated by Maldonat and later worked into Richeôme's description of the scene in 'Peintures Spirituelles'⁴⁷.

More important, this episode was central to one of the great controversies, that over Justification. The Magdalen, Maldonat argued, was not forgiven automatically because of her faith, but because she came penitent to Christ, showing her faith. It was necessary that she should do so and that she should be absolved by Christ as Priest. This is in strict accordance with the spirit of the Council of Trent's Decrees on Justification and the related decrees on the Sacraments⁴⁸. The contrast between the actions of the Magdalen and those of the Pharisee were the essential evidence for Maldonat's argument. He therefore emphasised the contrast, which is perceptible even in the form of Christ's discourse. Maldonat speaks of the elegant and forceful antithesis that Christ makes. "Tu vir, ista mulier: tu Pharisaeus, ista peccatrix: tu in domo tua, ista in aliena: tu conviv-iae & hospiti, ista ignoto ante: tu aqua pedes non lavisti, ista non aqua, sed lacrymis non lavit modo, sed perpetuo rigavit pedes: tu os meum osculatus non es, illa, ex quo intravit, non destitit osculari pedes meos: tu nec caput quidem meum unxisti, illa & pedes unxit."⁴⁹

The essential antithesis is precisely that of Poussin's picture (pl. 39). On the left the Magdalen and on the right the Pharisee. His feet are being washed by a servant, while Christ's are being washed with the Magdalen's tears. The picture provides the essential imagery from which the spectator can infer the complete narrative and, if he is so minded, its interpretation. The contrast between Magdalen and Pharisee, and the actions of the Magdalen and her absolution by Christ are all present together in the one picture.

The foot-washing ceremony is necessary to an understanding of the scene. Hand washing was well-known to be a Jewish rite. The washing of feet was associated with the Roman practice of dining on couches, and

hence the necessity for washing dirt from feet that would come into contact with the covering of the couch. There is also an important foot-washing ceremony implied in Eucharist II (pl. 32). This, too, was taken as an example of conventional antique custom, but was given a number of varied Christian meanings. Like the foot-washing of Simon in Penitence II, there was no reference to the foot-washing of the Apostles in the first set of Sacraments. This is a further indication that Poussin's thought is both more complex and more conversant with current religious writing in the second set. Poussin indicated that the foot-washing had taken place by including basins and towels in the scene of the Last Supper.

The meaning of the foot-washing of the Apostles had been variously interpreted by the Fathers of the Church. For St. Ambrose it had been the action of Christ by which the Baptism had been instituted. Indeed, he believed this action, recorded only in the Gospel of St. John, to have been the Baptism of the Apostles. Accordingly, in the Milanese church in his time, a Bishop in the beginning of the ritual of baptism and confirmation, would wash the feet of the 'catechumeni' and place their feet upon his head. This tradition survived for some time in some of the churches of Western Europe, in the Gallican Church, for example. ~~Due~~ largely to the influence of St. Augustine, however, the tradition did not survive at Rome, and with the later attempts to create Liturgical and ritual uniformity in the Roman Church, it gradually disappeared⁵⁰.

St. Ambrose reproached the Church of Rome for treating the foot-washing with little sense of what he believed was its sacramental nature. In Rome, the ceremony of foot-washing was not thought of as a sacrament in the proper sense, nor as having been instituted as such by Christ when he washed the Apostles' feet. For Rome, it had been an action which only showed Christ's

humility and charity. It was interpreted as referring to the washing away of sins committed after baptism, before the receiving of eucharist. It was, in fact, like the absolution given by the sacrament of penitence. The nearest approach to any relation with baptism, survived into the liturgy of Maunday Thursday in Poussin's time. The Roman liturgy included an acknowledgement that the foot-washing signified the new baptism. There was, however, a great difference between a sign and a sacrament, as the whole tenour of the Council of Trent Decree on the sacraments in general makes abundantly clear⁵¹.

The tradition of the Milanese foot-washing was well-known to writers of the counter-reformation. Maldonat cites St. Ambrose's opinion and remarks that the foot-washing was apparently treated as a sacramentary in the Milanese church, but nowhere else. It will be noted that he wrote that it was a sacramentary not a sacrament, the difference being that there were seven sacraments only, which conferred grace, while sacramentaries were the remaining sacred rituals of the Church, like the anointing of Kings. It would have been very difficult for him, living in the sixteenth century, to admit that any Father of the Church could have thought of it as a sacrament. The accepted Fathers had to conform retrospectively to counter-reformation dogma. St. Ambrose's opinion puzzled Maldonat, who concluded that the foot-washing could not really have been closely connected with baptism itself, but only with the washing away of those sins committed after baptism. The ceremony was, therefore, related to penitence. At the worst, it might be admitted that it was like a confirmation of the Apostles, because there couldn't be two baptisms⁵². Casale also mentions the same opinion of St. Ambrose and indicates that he had read about this in the work of Giuseppe Visconti on the sacraments. He mentions also the Maunday Thursday ritual, but observes

only the penitential nature of the foot-washing. There is no evidence in the pictures or in the letters that Poussin thought otherwise.

The foot-washing creates a connection between the picture of Penitence II and that of Eucharist II. With the two pictures side by side, Eucharist on the right and Penitence on the left, the impenitent Judas is juxtaposed with the Pharisee. Thus both are contrasted with the penitent Magdalen. Judas, it was affirmed by all writers of the counter-reformation, had had his feet washed too, although with the same impenitent spirit, for which everyone would have liked to exclude him from Eucharist. He was a type of obstinacy, impenitence and heresy, and was possibly thought of as a Protestant. Poussin did not fail to cast him in an obnoxious role, for his features resemble those of the arch apostate of the ancient world the Emperor Julian, as it is seen in coins (pl. 35b).

There are liturgical connections between Eucharist, with its foot-washing and Baptism, Confirmation and Extreme Unction. The link is the Maunday Thursday ritual in which the chrism used in confirmation and the oil for extreme unction were consecrated. These three sacraments were seen as the essential redemptive ceremonies, in which the consecrated oil, water and chrism all played their parts. In the liturgy the oil is likened to the water of baptism, in that it brings peace and redemption. Maldonat also said that he thought the foot-washing might be taken as the confirmation of the Apostles. By others it was widely held that Christ had ordained his Apostles as Bishops at the Last Supper also. Whether Poussin intended it or not, the inclusion of the foot-washing ceremony in Eucharist II produced a note that was echoed sympathetically in the majority of the other sacraments. Even the Marriage, with the acolyte behind the priest has the suggestion in it of a lustration ceremony.

There is, to be sure, one other link between two of the sacraments, Baptism and Confirmation. These were known to have been performed for adults on the same day in the early church. In Confirmation II (pl. 21) the major changes from the first version are the addition of the large baptismal font and the increased age of the participants, as if Poussin was taking the more ancient ritual into account. On the right, there is the added figure of a deacon, with what is probably a branch of hyssop. This would be a reference to the penitential actions of catechumens before baptism-confirmation. Hyssop was connected with the idea of penitence, and the purgation of the leprous spots caused by the sins of the flesh. Poussin could perhaps have known this from Pierio Valeriano's 'Hieroglyphs'⁵⁴.

In Baptism (pls. 1, 5) there is clearly some significance in the presence of the aged man, helped by two youths. He would clearly be the first to be baptised after Christ. In Severani's account of the Probus sarcophagus, he remarked that in the early Church, it was quite usual to defer baptism to the last years of a man's life, and he gives the example of Probus. "Mi occorre avvertire", he says, "che se bene si dice nell'Iscrizione sepolcrali, che Probo fu battezzato in vecchiezza sua: non per questo ne segue, che egli per lo innanzi non avesse ricevuto la Fede di Christo; poiche questa Famiglia . . . fu la prima che l'abbracciasse; ma differi il Battesimo fin'alla vecchiaia . . ." ⁵⁵. Poussin may have thought of Probus, whose family was the first to embrace the Faith (in Rome) as a symbol of the conversion of the Gentiles. Another symbol connected with baptism and confirmation, not only as redemptive, but as regenerative rites, is the distant image of what appears to be a tomb sculpture beyond the baptismal font in Confirmation II. This is perhaps a reference to the theological notion of the death of the old man in baptism, followed by the birth of the

new. Something of the same sort may also have led Poussin to include the figure of the old man in Baptism⁵⁶.

If the pictures of the second set of Sacraments are taken in their proper order, as discussed earlier, there is an accurate sequence in the ritual. Baptism comes first, followed by the penitence of the catechumeni, then comes Confirmation, followed immediately by the foot-washing, all in the ancient manner. These are followed immediately by Eucharist, as it was in the ritual of confirmation. Judas represents the apostasy of sin, committed after baptism (and, according to Maldonat, after Confirmation). The succeeding scene shows the contrast of self-righteousness and true penitence, which was held to remove sins committed after baptism. Penitence and absolution precede the unction of the sick and confer on them spiritual and also, it was supposed, physical health⁵⁷. There can be little doubt that the main sequence of five pictures contains much more than the bare essentials of a sacramental sequence.

This thematic unification of the first five pictures depends on Poussin's knowledge of Christian antiquities. Another indication of his new material is the inclusion in Eucharist II (pl. 32) of another early Christian rite. Some, not all, of the Apostles are holding the sacramental Bread in their hands. As in Poussin's treatment of time in Penitence II, the narrative of the Last Supper is shown by a variety of different features. Thus, Christ blesses the chalice, while the two Apostles beside him and some of the others near him, react to his words about his betrayal: those furthest from him are about to eat the Bread: Judas leaves the room: the towels and bowls used for the foot-washing stand in a corner. All these refer to different aspects of the narrative, which occurred in succession in time. Only the nearest Apostles have the Bread in their hands. This is

another reference to early Christian ritual. The communicant received the Bread in his hands instead of in his mouth. This was quite well known in the seventeenth century. Petau mentioned it in a book published in 1638. He says that it was a rite disapproved of by Tertullian, Justinus and St. Basil, and remarked that what they disapproved of must have been a custom of the very early church⁵⁸. Casale devoted a whole chapter to this practice⁵⁹. His source for his information was, once more, Visconti.

Casale knew, from Visconti presumably, that confirmation followed baptism immediately in the early church. Casale remarked that the early form of baptism was a triple immersion, the man being baptised spreading his arms in the shape of the Cross, signifying the institution of baptism as a redemptive sacrament, by virtue of Christ's death on the Cross⁶⁰. It is probably for this reason that Poussin includes a font of such large dimensions in Confirmation II. Casale also gives many details of the ceremony of confirmation, including those on the chrism and the fillet and the penitence of the catechumeni. Perhaps Poussin learnt all this from him. He seems to have known that the confirmation ceremonies took place at Easter, and he therefore included the Paschal candle on the altar, and added the candle being lit for the newly confirmed⁶¹.

It is manifestly clear that the meaning of all five of these pictures is complete from the actions and from many of the accessory features contained in them. It is not immediately clear, however, what Ordination II might mean. Not only is the handing of the keys shown, but there is the hieroglyph of the 'E' on the pillar. This is a mysterious symbol that hitherto has not been completely explained. It is clearly connected with symbolism and typology in Poussin's religious paintings, as will be seen in the following pages.

4. Foussin's typology

We have already seen that in the popular tradition of the illustrated catechisms of the late sixteenth century mystical typology was gradually replaced by a system of moralising Biblical emblems. These little books are very like the secular emblem books of the period. The difference is that in the emblem books the pictorial image was accompanied by a short explanatory text while in the Catechisms the pictorial imagery was accompanied only by captions. The text was provided by the oral explanations of the catechist.

Typology was not extinct in the seventeenth century. There was an attempt to purge Christian interpretation of the Bible of profane material and of all-inclusive typology of the later middle ages. There was also a strenuous move to put an end to Christian typological interpretation of pagan authors, like Ovid and Virgil. The Biblical commentators of the counter-reformation tried to restrict the use of mystical and moral interpretation to that justified by Christ's words in the Gospels, St. Paul's writings and by the interpretations of the Fathers. There was no significantly new invention in typological thought in this period, but as with the study of Liturgy and Ritual, there was a renewal of interest in patristic thought.

The purge was not absolute. Outside the canon of the scriptures laid down by the Council of Trent, which included all the Pauline Epistles, and several books now regarded as apocryphal, like the Book of Tobit, there were one or two Jewish writers of antiquity whose writings were still treated as authoritative in some degree. Philo's commentaries were widely used, just as they had been by some of the early Fathers. Josephus was also frequently consulted on details of history, not only of his own times but on those of

Moses also. In the middle ages several episodes in the life of Moses recounted only by Josephus found their way into typological imagery, like Moses trampling on Pharaoh's crown, which appears in the 'Speculum Humanae Salvationis'. The same subject was given a mystical interpretation in the mediaeval compendium of Pierre Bercheur (Berthorius), whose works were often reprinted as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century. Seventeenth century editions of his collected works tended to omit his 'Bible moralisée', however, probably because he interpreted every incident in the whole Bible. Josephus was still respected in the seventeenth century, however. It was widely believed that he had testified to the Divinity of Christ and that his writings therefore had some semblance of revelation about them. It is not unusual to find stoic writers quoted in arguments about the moral meaning of many Bible events, as if pagan antiquity sometimes provided support to Christian morality.

Typological thought flourished in the many Bible commentaries of the Counter-Reformation. The older generation of Jesuits used it with some caution, but Cornelis van Steen (Cornelis à Lapide) used it very fully in his complete Bible commentary of the early seventeenth century. His was the only complete commentary of the period and was widely acclaimed as a monumental achievement. Some of the volumes were dedicated to Cardinal Francesco Barberini. The volumes appeared slowly in the course of the first half of the seventeenth century. Other forms of devotional publication used mystical figures with great frequency. This kind of attitude to the Bible was not opposed to historical thought, but as has already been pointed out, it was an integral part of the historical system that prevailed in religious circles in the earlier seventeenth century, a survival of mediaeval belief.

Sometimes mystical typology was apt to give way to the severity of early counter-reformation morality. Thus Maldonat rejected the idea that the famous Rahab was a prostitute. He could not bear to think that such a famous example of faith could be such a bad example of morality. Similarly, he denied that the Magdalen was a prostitute ('meretrix'), she was just a sinner ('peccatrix')⁶². Yet the suggestion of sexual immorality had formerly heightened the contrast with her conversion, while for the Fathers the figure of Rahab was much more important for its mystical sense, irrespective of moral example. Not all writers tried to bowdlerise the Bible in this way and Cornelis à Lapide restored the full sense of the Magdalen's prostitution in his commentary, as it is clear Maldonat's pupil Richeôme had in his description of her penitence in the 'Peintures Spirituelles'⁶³.

Four kinds of interpretation were specified by Cornelis and his contemporaries; literal, allegorical, tropological and anagogical. In the early years of the church the cycles of pictures in the Roman Basilicas had placed Old Testament type opposite New Testament antitype. Cycles of this sort existed also in the middle ages and indeed in the sixteenth century. In some cycles not in Churches, like the Raphael Loggias, Biblical scenes are unaccompanied by their explanatory antitypes, but nevertheless in an age of moralised Bibles, it would not have been hard to recognise the allegorical significance of the scenes represented. Nearly all the Old Testament scenes in the Loggias are important typological examples and were almost certainly understood as such.

We have already encountered two occasions on which Poussin appears to have borrowed imagery for his Sacraments from scenes showing their Old Testament types. He also painted many Old Testament scenes by

themselves, in single easel pictures, which stood alone, without New Testament antitypes. In particular, he painted a great many scenes from the life of Moses, all of which might have been intended to carry, at the least, allegorical interpretation. If, as one suspects, some of these in the 1640's have a mystical sense, it is more than likely that his employment of Old Testament iconographical patterns for the Sacraments was deliberate. There are many possible sources from which Poussin could have gained a knowledge not only of current interpretation, but also of early patristic ideas. Besides the Biblical commentaries, there was the commentary by Severani at the end of 'Roma Sotterranea' on the imagery of the early Christian scenes of the catacombs and the sarcophagi⁶⁵. In this Severani summarised the opinions of the Fathers on a wide range of Old Testament scenes. This, in Italian, not in Latin, in a book Poussin certainly knew, could have been a most useful simple source of information. In the commentaries an even wider range of interpretative material was available and Poussin could well have used a copy of Cornelis à Lapide, the most up-to-date and the most complete of contemporary works. Cornelis in particular enlarged on the parallels between Christ and Moses. He listed and summarised the nineteen parallels of Eusebius. One of the most important of these for Poussin, as we shall see, was expressed by Cornelis: "Legislator fuit Moses Pentateuch: Christus Evangelis", corresponding to the third of Eusebius' parallels⁶⁶.

Bellori remarked on the frequency with which Poussin painted Moses Striking the Rock⁶⁷. He stressed the point that Poussin continually invented new figures and new arrangements to express the variety of the 'affetti' in this subject. In all versions Poussin placed Moses and Aaron in the middle ground, reserving the foreground for his many, varied figures

of anonymous Israelites. The effect of the miracle and the interpretation given to the subject is expressed chiefly by these foreground figures, rather than by the chief actors, Moses and Aaron. In the first surviving version, that in the Bridgewater collection (pl. 111), he showed the distressed Israelites near their tents in the background, unaware of the miracle. Then there are some rushing up the slope to the stream, and those praising God beside the rock. In the foreground are the drinkers at the stream, in a variety of attitudes, some drinking from bowls, and some offering water to their companions. This is an act of charity, like that of the woman and children on the extreme right. She is giving water to her children and is undoubtedly intended as a symbol of Charity. This is the key to Poussin's interpretation of the scene. Charity is primarily expressed in human actions, which correspond to the Divine Charity implicit in this miracle. St. Augustine's interpretation of the episode is quoted at length by Severani and it is this which corresponds to the human actions in Poussin's picture⁶⁹. The essence of this interpretation is that the Rock is Christ, Moses' rod the Cross, the water is the Water which flowed from Christ's side at the Crucifixion. The Water which flowed from Christ's side was generally understood as signifying the institution of the Church by baptism. The Crucifixion itself was the means by which redemption was given to humanity through God's Charity.

Poussin's means of expression are not transcendental symbolism, but the expression of spiritual themes through human actions. Behind his moralities lie the spiritual realities which activate them.

The same kind of process can be seen in the Manna (pl. 93b). This was universally accepted as a type of the eucharist. The elements are similar to those in Moses Striking the Rock. There are suffering

Israelites, starving in the wilderness, figures praying for food, giving praise for the miracle and some offering the mammo to those in greater need than they. The variety of types, ages and actions in this picture is even more remarkable than in the Moses Striking the Rock. Poussin drew attention to the variety of the figures in his letter to Chantelou concerning the picture, in which he proposed that the picture should be read figure by figure⁷⁰.

We have already encountered this method of construing pictures in Bernini's examination of the Sacraments and in Bellori's elaborate descriptions of figure action in his 'Vite'. In this picture the composition is made up of so many dispersed elements that it is at first very difficult to make out what it is about. It is only when the method of reading the picture figure by figure is followed that the picture makes sense.

Once more, Moses and Aaron are in the middle ground and the whole content of the picture is expressed through the actions of the anonymous Israelites in the foreground. These are divided into two groups. In the left foreground are Israelites unaware of the miracle that is taking place. They are shown as too weak to move. A turbanned man lies on the ground, resting his head on his hand. In front of him is a 'Caritas Romana' group, which derives from one of the moralities in Valerius Maximus, not from the story of Cimon and Pero, but from the immediately preceding one in which a young woman suckles an older one⁷¹. In Poussin's picture, the old woman has taken the place of a child at the breast. Poussin duly records the distress of the child. Beside this group stands a bearded philosopher figure, viewing the action with wonder. Poussin chose to represent this onlooker as a mature man, presumably to show that the action of the young woman was remarkable even to a man of experience. The old man with the

turban cannot reach the food which a young man points out to him. The young man's pointing gesture is the only formal link from the group on the left to that on the right.

On the right, there is one corresponding figure, a young woman who points to the distressed figures behind her. The right hand group is concerned with the gathering of the manna. Two struggling boys demonstrate the dominance of the passions in the young, who are unaware that there is enough manna to satisfy the needs of all. Some gather manna for themselves. The young woman in the foreground, however, points to those in distress who are unable to gather food for themselves, and directs a boy to carry food to them, before she satisfies her own needs. The background is reserved for figures expressing praise and wonder.

This subject was thought of as the type of the eucharistic Bread, the broken body of Christ, sacrificed willingly through God's Charity for the Salvation of mankind. As in the Moses Striking the Rock, Poussin expresses the Charity implicit in the scene through the charitable actions of his figures. These pictures are presented as moral emblemata, but their emblematic moral meaning is that suggested by mystical interpretation, not by merely ethical or moral considerations.

These two pictures were painted in the 1630's and two other Moses subjects of the same period suggest that Poussin was more often concerned with presenting emblemata in his Biblical subjects, only secondarily with typological examples with specifically mystical meanings.

The Red Sea Crossing (pl. 101b) and the Golden Calf (pl. 101a) were painted for Cassiano's cousin, ~~Arnadeo~~ Arnadeo dal Pozzo, at some time in the 1630's⁷². They were accompanied by two pictures by Pietro da Cortona, but these have not survived and it is not known what their subjects were⁷³.

The Red Sea Crossing does not concentrate on the crossing itself but on the events immediately after it. In the background is the song of Miriam and the dance of her maidens. This was sometimes the subject of a separate Bible illustration in the sixteenth century⁷⁴. In the middle ground, the Israelites are thanking God for their Salvation, while in the immediate foreground is the only reference in the picture to the overthrow of the Egyptians. Young men are dragging some bodies from the sea to strip them of their armour.

This foreground part of the scene depends on Josephus' account of the event. It is not to be found in the Bible, though there is a related passage. Josephus pointed out that the stripping of the Egyptians was the means by which the Israelites were enriched, and thus able to defend themselves in the Wilderness⁷⁵. In the Bible, there is a short passage in which it is said that before leaving Egypt the Israelites despoiled the Egyptians⁷⁶. The two accounts are equivalent, in that both show means by which the Israelites were enriched at the expense of the Egyptians. The Biblical passage could not be included without making a violent breach in the credibility of the time structure of the picture, but Josephus' story could, since it took place at the moment Poussin chose for his picture. The mention in the Bible of the Israelites seeing the dead bodies of the Egyptians upon the shore⁷⁷ does not in itself explain the despoiling of the Egyptian bodies. Cornelis à Lapeire who had evidently read both Josephus and Philo in this context, remarked that the bodies washed up on the shore gave the Israelites, to their great joy and consolation, the opportunity for obtaining spoil. Cornelis à Lapeire had therefore connected the episode in Josephus and the Biblical verse. It is quite likely that the connection between Josephus' account and Poussin's picture was

Cornelis à Lapide's commentary⁷⁸. The spoil itself mentioned in the Bible also received its due share of attention from the commentators. Cornelis noted the tradition recorded by Tertullian that the spoil was really gifts to the Israelites before the crossing of the Red Sea, but he did not accept this. He noted also that the spoils were interpreted as a figure for the transference of the wisdom and eloquence of the pagans to the church.

The crossing of the Red Sea itself, for which the Israelites are giving thanks in Poussin's picture, was everywhere taken as a type of Christian baptism. Cornelis à Lapide does not fail to mention this and cites eight authorities⁷⁹. Thus Poussin's Red Sea Crossing in isolation could have a sacramental significance, in the same way as had the Striking of the Rock; its related subject, the Waters of Marah (a type of baptism), and the Manna (a type of eucharist). The Finding of Moses was also a type of baptism. Poussin painted this subject at least three times. It is not clear that Poussin intended the sacramental meaning of the Red Sea Crossing, since its pendant, the Golden Calf was never given a sacramental significance.

In the Golden Calf (pl. 101a) Moses breaks the first tablets of the Law, while the Israelites in the foreground, under the leadership of Aaron, worship the bull god. They made this by melting down their precious metal ornaments. The idolatrous worship of the bull, the Egyptian god Apis, as the commentators pointed out, can only have signified the mis-use of the (allegorical) riches acquired from the Egyptians. These, it will be remembered, in the Bible were in the literal sense jewels and ornaments of gold and silver. While the Egyptians were regarded as possessing wisdom and eloquence, which the Israelites carried off, they had also perverted

wisdom by worshipping idols. The Israelites acquired this from the Egyptians also. The two pictures therefore point to both aspects of the significance of Egyptian learning.

There is a further significance in the pictures. In the Red Sea Crossing, the Israelites are thanking God for their salvation, in the Golden Calf, they are showing their ingratitude to God, who brought them out of slavery. Moses breaking the Tablets, because of their ingratitude, signified the destruction of the Old Law, prior to the coming of the New.

Thus, the two pictures form an allegory of Faith and Salvation, in which the typological significance plays a minor role. The references to Egyptian wisdom and the moral interpretation of the idolatry of the Israelites are the major motifs, while both contain references to the institution of the New Law.

Poussin painted the Exposition of Moses twice and the Finding of Moses three times. The Exposition of Moses was interpreted as the type of the suffering of Christ and his martyrs, while Moses in the basket among the rushes was compared to Christ in the manger. He was discovered by Pharaoh's daughter. (Thermutis was her name according to Josephus.) She gave Moses his name which signified 'saved from the waters', taken by the commentators as meaning 'saved through baptism'. His mother was interpreted as Synagogue, while Thermutis was the Church of the Gentiles which accepted Christian baptism. Moses in the waters was understood by some as Christ in the 'waters' of his Passion and death. In a literal sense, it was believed that Moses was educated by Thermutis, a priestess of Isis, who instructed him in the common arts of the ancient pagans and also in the secret arts of the Egyptians, represented only by hieroglyphs.

The allegory is of the familiar type that is met with frequently in

the Fathers in which the essential Christian beliefs are applied to the interpretation of a large number of different Old Testament episodes. All of this interpretation could be easily found in the commentary of Cornelis à Lapide and there was no need for Poussin to have known the many sources from which it was drawn⁸⁰.

The Egyptian antiquities in his Expositions and Findings of Moses are a reflection of contemporary interest not only in Egyptian religion, but in the relation between Israel and Egypt, between pagan culture and Jewish history, as it is told in the Bible, and between the Church of the Gentiles and the Synagogue of the Jews in allegorical interpretation.

It has not been remarked that in the later versions of the Findings of Moses (pl. 107b), that for Pointel of 1647 and that for Reynon of 1651, Moses' hand is raised in blessing, while he is admired by the companions of Thermutis. Although the pictures are full of antiquarian detail they must also have been intended to suggest a mystical interpretation, in which Moses is the type of the Christ child adored and accepted by the Church of the Gentiles to which he gives his blessing. The scene is given further significance by the hippopotamus hunt on the river. This motif is borrowed from the mosaic at Palestrina, but its significance can best be explained by reference to the hieroglyphs. Pierio Valeriano declared that the Hippopotamus was a hieroglyph for Iniquity⁸¹. The beast was the Oedipus of animals. He was believed to have fought his father and copulated with his mother. The hunt taking place on the Nile in Pointel's picture seems to show the destruction of sin, by the baptism of Moses, the type of Christ. This is a complex fusion of antiquarian knowledge of ancient monuments, hieroglyphs and their humanist explanation, and typological exegesis of the Old Testament.

The complexity of thought in Poussin's religious paintings began to appear in the moralities on biblical subjects of the 1630's. In the 1640's the Finding of Moses pictures are decidedly Christian in character and appear to have primarily a mystical sense, which the earlier pictures only touch upon lightly.

In the 1640's also, Poussin painted the Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh and Moses Trampling on Pharaoh's crown (pls. 60b, 73b). Both of these are extremely unusual subjects in painting. The first subject was among the paintings in S. Paolo fuori le Mura and also among those in Raphael's Loggias. It also occurred with some regularity in Bible illustrations. The second is an episode only recounted by Josephus⁸². This does not mean that it was merely a secular history or that it had no Christian significance. It was included in Berthorius' Bible Moralisé⁸³ and was mentioned in passing by Cornelis à Lapidé⁸⁴. Berthorius, as part of his polemic against wicked priests and wordly monarchs, interprets the episode as the Triumph of the true priest over wordly kings. This was clearly intended as an injunction to contemporary monarchs to obey and pay homage to the Pope. The companion piece was rich in patristic typological interpretation. It signified the triumph of the Cross (Aaron's rod turned into a serpent) over the wordly wisdom of Egypt or over the lies of Antichrist. Cornelis cites the sources and quotes from them⁸⁵. It is clear that it could also signify in a moral sense the triumph of truth over heresy. The appeal of these two subjects to Cardinal Massimi in the seventeenth century is not hard to understand, with their papistic and counter-reformation significance.

There are other reflections of Poussin's knowledge of Biblical commentary in some of the more unusual motifs in his pictures. In the Crucifixion (pl. 107a), for instance, the figure of the resurrected Adam appears at the

foot of the Cross. This picture, like the more cryptic pictures of the Moses subjects and the second set of Sacraments, was painted in the 1640's, and suggests even more strongly that in this period Poussin was making full use of the rich and varied information in contemporary Biblical commentary, and probably that of Cornelis à Lapide in particular. The burial of Adam, or, at the very least, his skull, is mentioned by most commentators. Cornelis, however, gives a long account of it. He says that a concensus of opinion of the Fathers acknowledged that Adam's skull was buried at Calvary. The place used for the Crucifixion, Golgotha, meant 'the place of the skull'. Adam's bones were reputed to have been in the ark with Noah. They were then distributed among his sons. His body was later buried with care, since 'tanta patribus fuit cura honorque sepulchri', because they had sure faith and hope of immortality for the soul. The hope was fulfilled, for on a Friday, which, according to Irenaeus, was the day of Adam's death, Christ's blood flowed from the Cross, washed Adam clean and revived him. Cornelis also quotes Tertullian's verses on the same theme, and in almost exactly the same terms⁸⁶.

The resurrection of Adam in Poussin's picture must have depended on the information provided by a commentary like this. It is dependent on the intensive revival of patristic mystical thought which originated with the counter-reformation. Poussin's motif is a spiritual addition to the picture, not a piece of historical or rational antiquarianism. Poussin's Crucifixion is largely concerned with the triumph over sin and death implicit in the subject. The piercing of the side with the lance is a major motif of the picture and identifies the moment as that in which the Church and its sacraments were instituted, with the blood and the water that flowed from Christ's side. Returning once more to the Moses subjects of the 1630's, it

will be recalled that the Striking of the Rock and the Manna also refer to Divine Charity, that of Christ's death, by which the redemptive sacraments were created.

The mode of thought in his pictures is not far removed from Bernini's devotion to the blood of Christ. Perhaps Poussin's religious iconography was stimulated by the devotional prayers on the Wounds of Christ. These appeared in Books of Hours and were illustrated by several different moments of the Crucifixion. These devotions were adopted by the Jesuits, and were included in some editions of the Shorter Catechism of St. Peter Canisius. Not only did Poussin work for the Jesuits in his earlier years in Paris, but later in Paris for their protector in France, Sublet de Noyers. Time and again his sources for his religious pictures are in the writings of the Jesuits. Whatever he may have learned from the Stoics, ancient and modern, he must have learned much else from the Jesuits, the Filippini, many of whom were commentators, devotional writers and, in their particular way, historians and antiquarians.

It is very probable that with a mind in tune with contemporary religious thought, Poussin deliberately chose to use Raphael's pattern of the anointing of David for the first version of Baptism (pls. 1, 15). The commentators would have supplied him with more than one hint that David was a type of Christ. In Maldonat's commentary on the baptism of Christ, (Matthew, III, 14) he remarks on the 'heretic' doctrine that St. John did not recognise Jesus as the Christ, until the Dove descended on him. Maldonat held that St. John had recognised Christ while in the womb, by Divine grace. He also recognised him in the same way when he came to him to be baptised, although St. John had never seen him face to face before. He remarks that Samuel recognised that it was David he should anoint in

exactly the same way, by Divine 'afflatus'⁸⁷. There are several other instances in the Sacraments of the parallel between David and Christ. In the Marriage, in both sets, for instance, the subject is the Marriage of the Virgin. In both the rod of Jesse is prominently displayed, signifying Christ's descent from David, a fulfilment of God's promise to David of an eternal kingdom. Maldonat cited this promise (cf. Daniel, VII, 14) in making the same parallel in his commentary on Luke I, 33. Significantly, he adds another verse on his own account, one which is taken from the account of the Handing of the Keys, Poussin's Ordination subject, 'Et portae inferni non praevallebunt'.

The doctrinal importance of the presence of the parallel with the kingdom of David in the Sacraments, is that it underlines the point that the sacraments were believed to confer grace, and thus implied a real promise of the kingdom of God to the faithful.

Although St. John recognised the Christ, before the Dove appeared, the other persons present only recognised the significance of the event because of the Divine manifestations that accompanied it. The Dove was a real bodily manifestation, otherwise it would not have been visible to the bystanders, the commentators argued⁸⁹. Its importance in this picture is therefore very considerable. Not only did it identify the Christ for all humanity, it also completed the presence of the Trinity at the baptism of Christ, and hence was connected with the invocation of the Trinity at baptism.

Thus there are liturgical and doctrinal reasons for the inclusion of the Dove in this picture. It is one of the few manifestations of the supernatural in the second set of Sacraments and Poussin needed strong reasons for its inclusion. He adhered to the visible world throughout the pictures, as

he did in his other religious pictures. He made of the visible an allegory of the invisible, through the actions of those present, through the inclusion of motifs that allow of a spiritual interpretation and through the use of symbols and hieroglyphs.

The use of iconographical patterns derived from Old Testament types of his New Testament scenes is a device for increasing the devotional significance of his scenes. Within his naturalistic presentation there are limitations on the ways in which such divine manifestations can be shown. It would have destroyed the credibility and therefore the unity of his pictures to include glories, just as it would have if he had included minor episodes that did not fit into the time scheme of his scenes. In Penitence II and Eucharist II the unity of time is not rigid, but the narrative unity is. Although the various parts of the episode that he represents did not all coincide at one moment of time, all of them belong together as aspects of the same theme. He could not include the types of his scenes in a window-frame, as the sixteenth century illustrators had, and he could not use captions. He could only resort to the borrowing of iconographical patterns. These might or might not have been recognisable to his contemporaries, depending on whether they shared Poussin's knowledge of the iconographical repertory on which he drew. The presence of these patterns in his work shows his personal involvement in typological thinking. He must have known where to look for his borrowings. The baptism corresponded to the anointing of David, in meaning. The actions performed on the one occasion not only signified those performed on the other, they could actually look the same. The pattern of one could therefore be transferred to the other. Indeed, it had already been transferred from baptism to anointing by Raphael.

There were several types of ordination which Poussin could have known. He could have seen Moses consecrating Aaron (pl. 76) in the Sistine chapel cycle opposite the Handing of the Keys (pl. 77). He might have been struck by the typology of this in which the parallel was drawn between Christ's action and Moses'. The same type occurred in a framing archway in the background of the genre Ordination scene in the Antwerp catechism. The type was therefore still in use in the later sixteenth century. Richeôme in the frontispiece to 'Talbeaux Sacrés' showed the Levites carrying the ark across the Jordan. This was an even more important type and was the one most often used by the Fathers. Both of these types had the disadvantage that they did not look like St. Peter before Christ receiving the promise of the keys. Poussin could not include these types in his picture. In S. Maria Maggiore the Levites carrying the ark across the Jordan is the lower part of the mosaic of Moses presenting the second Tables of the Law to the Israelites (pl. 68). The significance of the lower scene was well known and the coupling of the two scenes in the same frame may have been enough to arouse Poussin's interest, in the upper part, for here was a scene from the life of Moses which could be made to look like the Handing of the Keys.

In Poussin's picture, Ordination I (pl. 59b) Christ is shown as the Law-giver of the Church by Poussin's visual transposition. The third of the Eusebian parallels, it will be recalled, implied that 'Legislator fuit Moses Pentateuch: Christus Evangelis'. The first of his parallels was that Moses was the lawgiver of the Jews and Christ the law-giver of the whole world.

The Louvre drawing, no. 16 (pl. 62a), with the Traditio Legis iconography confirms that the parallel was intentional on Poussin's part. Severani had explained that the scrolls which Christ and the Apostles hold

on the sarcophagi and in the catacomb paintings signified that Christ revealed the mysteries of the faith to the Apostles⁹⁰. These had hitherto been concealed in figures. These were made plain by Christ in his life and words. The Bible which contained the Law had not been fully understood until Christ came to fulfil it. The contrast between the New Law and the Old is implicit in Moses breaking the first tablets of the Law in the Golden Calf. The contrast between Synagogue and Church is a theme of the Finding of Moses. The idea of the revelation of the mysteries of the Old Law by Christ in Ordination is a closely related notion.

When Moses presented the Israelites with the second tablets of the Law, he was allegorically showing them the New Law, which replaced the Old, destroyed with the breaking of the first tablets. On this second occasion Moses' face shone with 'horns' or rays of light. He had had to cover his face with a veil because the Israelites were blinded by the light which emanated from him. This was interpreted as the blindness of the Israelites, who could not see the truth directly. They could only be shown God's Law in figures, metaphorically, through a veil⁹¹.

The seventeenth century interpretation of the scrolls and the interpretation of Poussin's type coincide completely. The inclusion of the scroll in Christ's hand is vital in providing the clue to Poussin's meaning.

The Moses type is still present in both versions of Ordination, (pls. 59b, 66) although the scroll was changed for keys. The motif of the scroll might have been too difficult to understand, even for Poussin's learned contemporaries. It represented a radical departure from the traditional imagery. Further, it only indicated one aspect of ordination. It only showed that Christ gave the Apostles the understanding to interpret the Bible and thereby the right to preach. Much else was involved. The

powers and rights of the priesthood were more extensive, in particular the power to remit sins or not remit them⁹². The scroll gave no indication of this. This right was of far-reaching importance, because it gave the priesthood the power to administer all the redemptive rites. The keys alone were the symbol which could convey this. Poussin could hardly have omitted them from the Sacraments, because it was the keys which conferred the sacramental powers shown in the other pictures.

Löhneysen claimed that the pictures were papistic, that they did not represent ordinations, that they were rational histories, and that they had no mystical or typological significance⁹³. In effect Poussin's pictures depend on typology in a way which Löhneysen did not suspect. They have a spiritual or at least symbolic meaning, which is not at first apparent. They are therefore not 'rational histories', as he claimed. They represent Ordination scenes, in which the meaning of ordination is more fully expressed than in any possible genre scene, or in any of the possible Biblical ordinations. It is, however, true that they take the side of the Roman church in the question of the primacy of St. Peter, and hence of the Pope.

This was one of the most hotly debated of all controversies between Catholic and Protestant. The Protestants had argued that the passage in St. Matthew's Gospel on which Poussin's picture is based demonstrated that Christ had ordained each of the Apostles, not only St. Peter. All the Apostles, therefore, could be said to have keys. They all had the same rights by this argument. The Catholics admitted that the other Apostles acquired rights and powers like those of St. Peter in most respects, because after being ordained, Peter then ordained the rest. The primacy argument hinged on the interpretation of Christ's words 'tu es Petrus, & super hanc petram aedificabo Ecclesiam meam'⁹⁴. The linguistic complexities of this

phrase occupied many pages in the famous (or infamous) 'De Primatu Papae' of Salmasius⁹⁵. The nub of the question was: did Christ mean to identify 'Petrus' with 'hanc petram'? The Catholics thought he did and the Protestants thought he did not. The only evidence that Poussin's pictures are Roman Catholic in character is that St. Peter kneels before Christ to receive the promise of the keys. Although the primacy of the Popes was founded on this motif, so was the foundation of the priesthood in general, along with the complete Roman hierarchy.

5. Poussin and the false worship of the pagans

The use of antiquarian motifs, like the triclinium, resulted in greater 'decorum' in Poussin's pictures than in those of his predecessors. They were seen by Chambray as enhancing the religious significance of the Eucharist and the Penitence of the second set of Sacraments. His conclusions are those of criticism of the arts, while his arguments depend on the exegetical tradition of the writers on the feasts of the Bible. There are other uses of antique imagery in the Sacraments and in Poussin's Moses pictures. These which have been taken as evidence that Poussin 'rationalised' his Biblical Gospel stories. He did not, subject pagan and Christian beliefs to rational scrutiny in order to demythologise them, as has been suggested⁹⁶. On the contrary, he packed his pictorial images more and more densely with symbolism drawn from many sources, some Christian, some apparently pagan, in an attempt to elucidate the spiritual sense of his subjects. To be sure, the structure of his painting becomes increasingly lucid and orderly in the late 1640's and early 1650's. This is not so much a symptom of a deep-seated rationalism, as a concomitant of an increasing tendency to represent an ideal and remote world. Unlike many other

seventeenth century painters he was not intent upon creating the illusion of a familiar reality in his pictures, either in subject or in symbolism.

That Poussin made use of hieroglyphs is well known. His own seal contained one⁹⁷. There are two in the Sacraments. In Penitence I (pl. 36) in the middle ground there is the hieroglyph of a right hand extended with an eye in the palm. In Ordination II (pl. 66) there is the 'E' inscribed on the pillar on the left.

The hieroglyphs were believed in the Renaissance to have originated in Egypt. They were intended as a secret writing which was invented by the priests to protect the mysteries of their religion from profanation by the ignorant. These hieroglyphs were adapted to create a symbolism which was adopted by numerous writers and artists in the Renaissance. The most famous compendium of hieroglyphs was that of Pierio Valeriano⁹⁸. His book was widely used for reference on the subject for two centuries. Although in origin the hieroglyphs were pagan, in Pierio's usage, and in that of the Renaissance generally they were on the hazy border-line between Christian and profane. Along with the monuments of antiquity, the study of ancient languages, ritual and history, they were used to enrich the Christian tradition, rather than to undermine it. It was not in this, but in the study of ancient philosophy, both moral and natural, that the rationalist tradition had its roots. Pierio cites pagan and Christian authors in the same breath, and evidently saw no danger in so doing.

Ancient religion itself, as has been said, was connected with the Christian religion by current views of history. Egypt, where the hieroglyphs had had their origin was of the utmost significance. It was well-known that the Egyptian religious mysteries, especially those of Isis, had influenced the religion of the Hellenistic world, and were thus the source of many of

the mysteries of Roman religion. The connection was very apparent to antiquarians in the seventeenth century, who were surrounded by the remains of late antiquity, with its numerous references to the mysteries. Hence, the study of Roman ritual and religious belief was one way of penetrating the earliest mysteries of the ancient world. The study of these objects, with their mixed rites and inherent syncretism, provided the basis for seventeenth century syncretist views of the pagan deities. These were particularly common in the circle of Cardinal Francesco Barberini⁹⁹.

This view of pagan religion was enclosed within the formulation of world history to which I have already referred. Dempsey quoted a highly significant passage from Aleandro, in which it is clear that history was considered as the history of redemption¹⁰⁰. He shared this view with many contemporaries and predecessors, like Pierio Valeriano in the sixteenth century, and Kircher, the Jesuit writer on hieroglyphs, Casale, Severani and, no doubt, many others.

Within this system many symbols and hieroglyphs familiar in the Christian religion had been known to the ancients. Thus the Chi Rho, the scarab and the Cross, were all known to have existed in the pagan world. It was realised that many pagan practices had been adopted by the early Christians and given a new significance. The catacombs and the sarcophagi contained numerous examples, like that of Orpheus in the catacomb pictures. Instead of arguing that this was merely a question of cultural continuity, Severani and his contemporaries pointed to further, more subtle reasons for the reappearance of pagan symbols in a Christian context.

Severani's comments on the Chi Rho are of considerable interest. After remarking that it signifies Christ, he goes on to point out that although it is generally said to have originated with Constantine, who was the first

to place it on the shields of his soldiers and thereafter defeated Maxentius, it had in fact been used earlier. It had been found on sepulchral monuments that went back at least to the time of Diocletian. Not only was it used by Christians but by the pagans, "e fù ancora questa trà li Ieroglifici de gli Egittii". It had been noticed on Ptolemaic coins and various interpretations had been given to the pagan symbolism. In particular the presence of the Cross part of the hieroglyph was important, "e se bene quelli si servivano di simili note per altri significati; Dio però le preordinava à tali fini, e misterii; volendo che queste medesime adombrassero la Croce, & il Crocifisso; così possiamo dire di tutte le altre cose trasportate dalla Gentilità al Christianesimo . . ." ¹⁰¹. Thus the Chi Rho on the shield in Extreme Unction II (pl. 5) was originally such a hieroglyph and denotes that the dying man was an early Christian soldier, perhaps a soldier of Constantine.

The scholars of the seventeenth century attributed extraordinary knowledge to the Egyptians. Other symbols were also thought to have had mystery significance for the Egyptians. Thus Kircher, followed St. Augustine's interpretation of the Scarab and elaborated it into a complex Christian meaning, cited at length by Casale in his study of Egyptian rites ¹⁰². It was believed that the Scarab had no mortal father, but was born of dung. For Kircher he was a symbol of the only begotten son of God, who had not disdained to take on lowly human flesh.

For Casale, as for many others, the Egyptians had possessed great arts and had spread these throughout the ancient world ¹⁰³. They had also been the originators of idolatry and they had spread this too, by conquest ¹⁰⁴. They had preserved their mysteries in hieroglyphs, but the inventor of these was hotly disputed. Zoroaster and Hermes Trismegistus were the two chief claimants ¹⁰⁵. It was also claimed that the Jews had learnt a great deal

from the wisdom of the Egyptians as well as from their idolatry. Moses had learnt the symbol of the Cross from them. He exhibited this in the form of the brazen serpent in the wilderness as a sign of Salvation¹⁰⁶. The Egyptians were believed to have inscribed the Cross, often in the form of a Tau on the surviving obelisks. They had apparently attached a significance to it which was not very remote from the Christian one. Casale cites a passage from Socrates' History of the Church in which it appears the Cross was found in the Temple of Serapis when it was destroyed by Theodosius. The Cross was supposed to signify 'Future Life' to the pagans and thereby many were converted to the Christian faith, because of the similarity with the Christian meaning. It was also a symbol of the Egyptian God, Serapis¹⁰⁷.

The identity of Serapis was arrived at by the rules of the ancient game of etymology, in which any kind of word play, however improbable, was allowed. His identification is of some interest, since the interpretation of Poussin's Rest on the Flight into Egypt (pl. 108a) depends on it. This picture is analogous in many ways to Ordination II, both are patently full of mysteries, both use a curious mixture of Christian and pagan symbols and as it happens both have been interpreted in roughly similar ways.

There were three important traditions which co-existed in the seventeenth century. On the one hand Serapis was supposed to have been Apis, King of the Argives, whose sarcophagus was venerated by the Egyptians. The word for sarcophagus was 'soros' and hence the name of the God gradually mutated from 'Sorosapis' to 'Serapis'. This was the tradition that was well known from St. Augustine. The second was derived from Plutarch, the essence of this was that Serapis was a Bull-God, the resurrected form of Osiris. The third was to be found in a little treatise written by the early Roman Christian apologist, Julius Firmicus Maternus. The treatise was frequently reprinted

in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the light it shed on early customs among the Christians in Rome. According to this author, the Egyptians had erected a temple to the patriarch Joseph, in gratitude for his having saved them from starvation in the seven years of famine. Joseph was Sarah's grandson and therefore called 'Sarae Pronepos'. By even more extraordinary mutations than those by which St. Augustine arrived at the name, 'Sarae Pronepos' became 'Serapis'. Joseph, it appears, was thought to have introduced the Doctrine of the Trinity to the Egyptians, since one of the oracles of Serapis was supposed to have mentioned God as three persons:

Principio Deus est, tum Verbum, his spiritus unus,

Congenita haec tria sunt, cuncta haec tendentia in unum.

All this was quoted at length by Baronius, Spondanus and Cornelis à Lapide¹⁰⁸. Casale summarised their opinions in his study of Egyptian rites. Further it was held that Serapis signified 'Salvator Mundi'. This was highly credible to seventeenth century writers. They knew that Joseph was a type of Christ, in that he had suffered and eventually triumphed. Cornelis à Lapide devoted several pages to this typological allegory. It was not in the slightest bit surprising that Joseph should be worshipped and regarded as 'Salvator Mundi'. The identification with the Argive King was explicitly made by Cornelis à Lapide also. Joseph and Apis were exact contemporaries, he claimed.

Since Joseph fed the Egyptians, he must have understood the flooding of the Nile, which was the source of fertility in Egypt. The Egyptian bull-god was the symbol of this fertility. Ruffinus, quoted by Baronius, remarks that the Egyptians measured the Nile at the Temple of Serapis, who they thought was the author of the rising of the waters. To show that it

was not the false god Serapis, but the True God who was their author, the greatest flood in living memory occurred after the destruction of the temple of Serapis by Theodosius. The nilometer was carried off to the Church, presumably for use as a font¹⁰⁹. This would have been highly appropriate, since they could have dispensed grace from the ancient symbol of grace.

Thus both 'Soros Apin' and 'Sarae Pronepos' were the same, Argive King and Hebrew Patriarch, fused together.

It was not grain that Joseph gave the Egyptians, but allegorically, the Doctrine of the True God. This was rapidly forgotten and turned to the purposes of idolatrous worship. Thus, when Moses came to Egypt, he was educated in the Arts of the Egyptians, which, according to Plutarch, had been taught by Serapis, or according to others, Hermes Trismegistus. Moses was, however, educated in the profane arts on the one hand, but in Hebrew doctrine by his mother. Thus, he later denied that he was Pharaoh's son. Cornelis à Lape de asserted that Hermes Trismegistus belonged to a later period of time than Moses, implying that Moses could have learnt nothing of value from the Egyptians¹¹⁰. Ficino had edited Trismegistus in the sixteenth century. He professed a great admiration for this 'Egyptian' philosopher, who he believed had written at a period of remote antiquity. He had received some measure of Revelation also, since, according to Ficino, he had expounded the doctrine of the Trinity¹¹¹. If Hermes Trismegistus lived before Moses, or even about the same time, it would follow that Moses might have learnt not only pagan arts, but Divine truth in Egypt. If, on the other hand, Hermes Trismegistus was born after Moses, then taught the Egyptians, Moses could have learnt nothing from them except pagan philosophy¹¹².

When Poussin had finished work on the Rest on the Flight into Egypt he wrote to Chantelou of the Egyptian details he had put into it, not for

any particular symbolic reasons, but to show that the scene was in Egypt and for the novelty of it¹¹³. Dempsey, when discussing the picture, the letter and the iconography, remarked that Poussin was obviously telling less than the truth¹¹⁴. In this letter, Poussin refers to "Soros Apin" who was, to be sure, the Egyptian bull-god, the King of the Argives. Dempsey was well aware of this. Whatever form of the name Poussin used, however, he can only have acquired his detailed knowledge of the items in his picture from contemporary scholarship. In so doing he would not have failed to encounter the alternative etymologies for the name, and the interpretation as 'Salvator Mundi'. This would have been most likely, since he was evidently aware of contemporary Biblical commentary. Even turning to Suarez's 'Praeneste Antiquae' Dempsey quoted the passage referring to Serapis. In this the 'Sarae Pronepos' etymology follows the 'Soros Apin' variant¹¹⁵. Dempsey made no comment whatever on the appearance of the phrase 'Sarae Pronepos', but it is this etymology which provides the connection between Christ in Egypt and the scene of Egyptian worship in the middle ground of the picture. The mythology of Serapis was not confined to pagan interpretation, as Dempsey supposed, but had in it the germ of revelation, fulfilled by the presence of Christ. In the background there is a view of a city (a mediaeval city according to Dempsey) with a tower surmounted by a Cross. The Cross is not simply a Christian symbol, but a symbol adopted from pagan worship, signifying Serapis, 'Salvator Mundi'. This city is not, as Dempsey supposed, the symbol of Christianity after Christ, but the symbol of Serapis, the type of the true Salvator Mundi.

The Christian scene in the foreground is in complete harmony with the Serapis scene in the background. It was said by the commentators and historians that Christ had descended into Egypt to destroy idolatry at its

source. There is no sign here of a broken idol. According to Baronio the destruction of the idols signified the penitence of the inhabitants of Egypt. Not all, he continued, were penitent, for Theodosius had had to destroy the idolatrous temple of Serapis at Alexandria at a later date¹¹⁶. The ceremony in Poussin's picture can only indicate the Egyptians worshipping at the temple of 'Sarae Pronepos', Joseph, the type of Christ, who had revealed the True God to them and had brought fertility to them during the years of Famine. In this sense Christ had come to restore their original worship of the true God, or to fulfil the partial revelation to the pagans. In this picture they are bringing food and water to the Holy Family, in the place of the traditional angels, signifying their worship of Christ. In the foreground the ass drinks from the nilometer.

Like Joseph, the ass is a symbol of Christian patience¹¹⁷. The true Christian in this picture is rewarded with water from the well, like Eliezer who was also a type of God's servant, given water from the well by Rebecca, the *Speculum virginis*, as Cornelis à Lapide calls her. Here the ass is receiving water that symbolised the fertility created by the flooding of the Nile, due, as Rufinus had pointed out, to the Grace of the True God. Poussin seems to have restored the Nilometer to its original place, beside the Temple, but given it its Christian baptismal function. Another symbol of grace in the picture is the figs being offered to the Virgin. According to St. Gregory, who is quoted by Pierio, when Christ made the fig-tree wither, he left only the dry leaves of the tree to the Jews, signifying the Law, and the fruit to the faithful, signifying Grace¹¹⁸.

Dempsey noticed that none of the writers on the Palestrina mosaic, the source of the visual imagery for the Serapis rite in the picture, had been interpreted as such in detail by seventeenth century antiquarians. He

suggested that this was Poussin's contribution to antiquarian thought. This supposes that Poussin thought of the imagery at Palestrina first and then worked a picture round it. It is more likely that he arrived at the 'conchetto' of the picture, in its allegorical complexity from his reading of Baronius, Casale and the rest, and then searched for imagery by which to represent it. It would be an easy step to the imagery of the mosaic, his idea, since it was a major source of Egyptian antiquities in a general sense. Thus the temples and procession of priests were ideally useful pictorial images for his purpose.

This picture contains antiquarian material, hieroglyphs and religious history and typology. These co-exist easily in Poussin's picture because of the fundamental inter-relation of all historical and mythical, Christian and pagan, material for Poussin and his contemporaries.

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There is no known precedent in painting for the hieroglyphs in Penitence I and Ordination II. Both, in accordance with seventeenth century theory and Poussin's pictures signify, mysteries. There is no reason for supposing that they signify pagan mysteries. Both were attributed to the ancients, but we have seen that this does not ~~Exclude~~ their having a Christian meaning.

The eye and the hand were explained by Pierio Valeriano. It is not known how Poussin came to apply it to the penitence of the Magdalen. One can only suppose that he decided on its use of his own accord. Poussin must also have invented the combination of the two symbols. Pierio gives

a variety of interpretations of the hand, but most interesting from the point of view of Poussin's picture is the theological interpretation of the words of the Psalm: "Deum exquisivi manibus meis nocte coram eo". Hands, in this, were interpreted as good works, while "nocte" signified hidden, or secretly¹¹⁹. Nevertheless, these good deeds were seen in God's mind. The eye signified among many other things the ever open eye of God, which sees all the good and bad deeds of men¹²⁰. It follows that Poussin's hieroglyph explains the action of his picture: Christ saw the good works that is the penitential actions of the Magdalen, which were hidden from the others present, especially the Pharisees, who saw her only as a sinner. It will be recalled that Christ also perceived what Simon the Pharisee was thinking. He also perceived evil actions.

Pierio continued by explaining that God took by his own hand everything upon himself. The hand of God in this context signified the Son, through whom everything was made. Then he quotes Isaiah, LIII, 4, 5, which the significant phrases are: "Labores nostros ipse tulit . . . Disciplina pacis nostrae super eum, & livore eius sanati sumus". Thus Poussin provides an elaborate gloss on the scene, emphasising not only the nature of the Magdalen's actions, Christ's perception of them (and of Simon's thoughts), but also the means by which the Magdalen's absolution was possible, Christ's Passion.

The penitential actions of the Magdalen were all concerned with Christ's feet. As the commentators pointed out, the feet of Christ signified, allegorically, the poor, because they were the lowest part of his body, therefore lowly or humble. The Magdalen's actions therefore stood for 'good works'¹²¹. Theological commentary and hieroglyph interpenetrate in a way which increases the content of the picture, to the point at which

another meaning of Pieric's hieroglyph is brought to mind. This interpretation has an aesthetic relevance to Poussin's painting. Visual images well-made arouse ideas in the mind. A variant of this hieroglyph, also involving hands and eyes, is in the self-portrait painted for Chantelou (pl. 103).

There is one other reference to hieroglyphs, not mentioned so far, in another picture, Eucharist II. The gesture of Judas, finger to lips, is the gesture of silence, the gesture of Harpocrates. This signifies secrecy, and thereby the presence of a mystery¹²². Judas is used by Poussin to show that a great mystery is taking place, that of the Eucharist. There are also other senses in which the gesture applies to the picture. Judas himself is departing to betray Christ. The other Apostles must have known that he was the betrayer, since he had been given the sop. They did not know what it was that Judas was going to do, nor did they know why he held the purse. This was still a secret between Judas and Christ. Again there is a contrast between Judas and the Magdalen, in that she performed 'good works to the poor', while the Apostles thought that Judas had perhaps been instructed 'to give something to the poor'. There is another mystery in the betrayal also, that by which the evil action of Judas resulted in good, that is in Christ's Crucifixion and hence of redemption¹²³.

The 'E' on the pillar in Ordination II, like the eye on the hand is a hieroglyph in the proper sense of the word. It contains a mystery and is part of a representation of a sacrament, that is, a 'Mystery'. Thus it conceals the Divine from the eyes of the profane. Löhneysen failed to understand it. He thought it meant 'Ecclesia'¹²⁴. He thought Christ was pointing to the pillar on which it is inscribed, the pillar being a sort of rock on which he was founding the Church. The pillar is much further back in the space and Christ is therefore not pointing to it, but to the

earth. The keys in his hands are the keys of heaven and earth, and Poussin suited gesture to word.

Initial letters of words make poor hieroglyphs and Poussin could surely have found a better way of indicating 'Church' if he had wished to. 'E' is, after all, the initial letter of many words in many languages. Löhneysen did not discuss any of the possible alternatives. For instance, 'E' is the initial letter of 'Est' meaning East in French. Why not East? The direction has considerable importance in religious thought. Perhaps the other invisible faces of the block of stone at the top were implied to have been inscribed with the letters N, S, and O for the other points of the compass. It is also the initial letter of 'Evangelium'. The book of the Gospels in the ancient ritual of some churches was placed on or over the head of the ordinand Bishop, signifying that he was given the power to understand and preach the Gospel¹²⁵. This would have fitted neatly with the idea of the scroll in drawing no. 16.

Sir Anthony Blunt suggested that the 'E' was the 'EI' at Delphi¹²⁶. The inscription was discussed in a dissertation of Plutarch, devoted to this one subject. It was one of three inscriptions, the others of which are perhaps better known, because they are more readily comprehensible: "know thyself" and "all things in moderation". Blunt also demonstrated that the dissertation was known in the seventeenth century, since it was cited by Camus. He then suggested that the 'EI' represents the Greek mysteries, while the pyramidal temple on the right stands for those of the Romans, since it is derived from a temple of Jupiter Ultor. This implies that there is here a juxtaposition of Christian mysteries with those of the pagans¹²⁷. Should one suppose therefore that Poussin wanted to make a comparison, or that there was any kind of parity between them? This is

very like Dempsey's interpretation of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt¹²⁸.

Dempsey proposed that the three parts of the scene, the Holy Family, the priests of Serapis and the 'mediaeval city' represented three ages, that before Christ, that of Christ and that after Christ. He proposed that the picture showed the fusion of pagan and Christian stories into a new 'poetic' unity¹²⁹. What he means by 'poetic' is not clear. I have tried to show that all the background material, procession of priests and city, tower with the Cross, and even the ass drinking from the nilometer are all connected allegorically with one narrative action. Narrative, as opposed to temporal, unity is the principle on which the Eucharist II and Penitence II are put together, as I have already shown. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that this is also the principle behind the iconography of Ordination II and of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt. The picture shows the fulfilment of the revelation to the pagans by which they had been told of the 'Salvator Mundi'. Poussin does not show a series of symbols separated from one another by time. The parts of the picture do not show different ages, but two aspects of something eternal, outside time: on the one hand the figure, and on the other the reality. The pagan worship in the background is a figure of the true worship in the foreground. The unity of the picture is not just vaguely poetic. Its unity lies in its subject matter. All the elements show the eternal nature of the Saviour of the World. His nature had been revealed to the Egyptians by Joseph and they had gradually turned to worshipping him falsely as Serapis, the bull-god. Christ's visit to them in the flesh therefore renewed their original revelation. There is nothing 'rationalist' about the picture and nothing properly 'historical' in the normal sense of these two words. Poussin did not create the unity in this picture by demythologising pagan myth and

Christian legend, as Dempsey suggests¹³⁰. The antiquities in the picture were the material of seventeenth century religious speculation. In Poussin's picture these material furnish the spiritual sense of his scene.

It is impossible to use Dempsey's method of interpretation for Ordination II, and suggest that Poussin used all manner of ritual symbols and architecture to place his image within a historical time and place, conformable with reason, or to suggest that the Greek inscription and the Roman temple signify different ages. These last two features stand for the same partial revelation to the pagans, together with their idolatrous worship. This revelation is fulfilled in the foreground scene by Christ. Thus, the temple and the inscription are mere figures of the foreground reality. Although all three may be said to be related in time, it is their allegorical relation that is significant.

The essay of Plutarch on the 'EI' was indeed well-known not only in the seventeenth century but also to Pierio Valeriano and others in the sixteenth century. The interpretation of the hieroglyph was carried on from one author to another with no significant change, finding its way from Gyraldus and Goropius to Pierio Valeriano, until it emerged like so much of sixteenth century humanist learning in the Bible commentaries of the seventeenth century.

It is not surprising that the 'E' on the pillar has puzzled recent writers, since Plutarch gave no final answer to its meaning. If its meaning at Delphi was ever known, it had been forgotten by this time. The various speakers in Plutarch's dialogue propose different answers. The general argument was summarised concisely by Babbitt in his Loeb edition and translation. "There was also a representation of the letter E . . . the Greek name for this letter was EI, and this diphthong in

addition to being used in Plutarch's time as the name of E (which denotes five), is the Greek word for 'if'. It is also the second person singular of the verb 'to be' (thou art)"¹³¹. Of the various meanings attributed to it, only the last two have any bearing on Poussin's picture. The penultimate argument was a discourse on the number five in which the importance of the number was shown in mathematics, physiology, philosophy and music. In the last argument the 'EI' was interpreted as 'thou art', which was said to refer to God's eternal being.

In the argument on the number five, Plutarch shows that there are four dimensions to the material universe, the point, length, breadth and height, and that the fifth dimension is that of spirit, without which the universe would be a lifeless thing¹³². The pointing gestures of the Apostles on the right seem to indicate the dimensions of earthly space. It is possible that Poussin used the 'E' again in a secondary sense to indicate the missing spiritual dimension, which would then be related to Christ's keys of earth, the four dimensions, and heaven, the fifth.

There is much better reason for supposing that the last of Plutarch's arguments was that with which Poussin was familiar, and which supplied the main meaning of the 'E' in the picture. The passage containing this part of the essay was quoted at great length by Eusebius¹³³ and by St. Cyril of Jerusalem. Eusebius uses the quotation to show that there had been a partial revelation to the ancients. This is a theme with which the seventeenth century was quite familiar. Eusebius text was one of the most familiar of all early Christian writings to them, and his argument may well have been a further stimulus to erudite theory. In the first Latin edition of Plutarch's *Moralia*, that of Xylander, the passage in Eusebius was noted¹³⁴.

Having found its way into Christian literature it became a commonplace in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Valeriano appears to pour scorn on the EI¹³⁵. He starts by considering the inscription at the Temple of Isis mentioned by Plutarch in the Discourse 'Isis and Osiris': "I am whatever is, was and will be"¹³⁶. The parallel inscription at Delphi he regarded as 'a fraud of the lying spirit, who deluded the wretched pagans with the oracle'. Pierio pointed out that Plutarch gave it two meanings, 'If' expressing doubt and 'Thou art' which could only be addressed to the true God, not to any created being. This was a pagan usurpation of the Divine Name for worship of a false god. The inscription from the temple of Isis ought to be concerned with the eternal Wisdom of God. He also remarks that the Egyptians, according to some authors, taught their mysteries to the Hebrews, who later perverted them. He admits Plutarch's argument that the Greeks learnt much from the Egyptians. The Hebrews told the Egyptians that there was to be a Saviour born of a Virgin. In Hebrew this is $\text{TI}\Psi\text{X}$ by which Pierio seems to be trying to explain Isis, by etymology. The mysteries of Isis were then corrupted into superstition by the Egyptians, who transmitted what they knew to the Greeks. Hence, Isis was the Word of God, the second person of the Trinity. Hence also the 'dual' significance, as Pierio called it, of the 'EI' at Delphi.

The main point that emerges in the subsequent appearances of the theme in Biblical commentary is the interpretation of 'EI' as 'Thou art'. It appears in two contexts: the discussion of the Name of God in commentary on the verse 'I am that I am', and on the 'Confessio Petri' in the Gospel of St. Matthew, where the essential words are 'Tu es Christus'.

Cornelis à Lapide, evidently deep in the humanist tradition, cites the EI at Delphi in his commentary on the Moses episode. Cornelis certainly

knew Pierids Hieroglyphs, for he cites Pierio by name and mentions the hieroglyph of God as a circle¹³⁷. He does not cite Plutarch directly, but from the quotation used by Eusebius. His intention is to show that the Name of God was also known to the Pagans. He refers to the Temple of Isis inscription and follows Goropius in interpreting her name as Est, Est. Pierio had not allowed this. He also says that Thales, Parmenides and Plato also knew the Name. He ends by quoting Eusebius on the mutability of all things, as opposed to the Eternity of God, as shown in his Name. Cornelis also cites the opinion of Fra Lucas of Bruges, another late sixteenth century commentator, frequently cited by Cornelis.

It is Fra Lucas who notes that the 'Confessio Petri' beginning 'Tu es' is the Name of God, as in the 'EI' at Delphi. It is clear that St. Peter is confessing the true God, the Christ "Formerly promised by the Law and the Prophets, and desired and expected by all the saints, the anointed and consecrated of God, King, Priest and Prophet: Prophet to give his people knowledge of Salvation, Priest to reconcile them with God, King to protect and adorn them"¹³⁸.

Poussin only painted an 'E' on the pillar. When Xylander published his Latin edition of Plutarch's 'Moralia' in 1570, he added a short note on the title of the dissertation on the 'EI' at Delphi. He stated that 'E' in Greek was not only called 'Epsilon' but also 'EI'. Poussin chose the hieroglyph itself, not its name. There is ample justification for this in the Latin title given to the dissertation by Xylander: "De E apud Delphos"¹³⁹.

It is evident that Poussin's picture does not show the "Confessio Petri" in the figure action. St. Peter is receiving the promise of the Keys. Christ is evidently expressing "Et tibi dabo claves regni coelorum. Et quodcunque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum & in coelis: & quodcunque solveris super terram, erit solutum & in coelis"¹⁴⁰. Christ holds two

keys one of gold and one of silver, signifying heaven and earth, since he points with the golden key to heaven and with the silver key to the earth. St. Peter's gestures echo those of Christ. The inclusion of the 'E' on the pillar, therefore, extends the narrative to include St. Peter's words: "Tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi"¹⁴¹.

The scene is one of revelation. As in Baptism (pl. 5) the light on the water of the Jordan falls at the feet of the main figures. In the Baptism St. John recognised the Christ, by Divine grace, according to Catholic commentary. He did not need to see the Dove descend, since he was already inspired by the Verbum Dei. The light in this picture signifies that St. Peter had also received a Divine revelation. The presence of the light therefore adds a further element to the narrative, that expressed in the next verse after the "Confessio Petri". Christ's words are "Beatus es Simon Bariona: quia caro, & sanguis non revelavit tibi, sed pater meus qui in coelis est"¹⁴². The curious name, Bariona, was interpreted as son of the Dove¹⁴³. It was always stressed that Peter had received his revelation from God.

In the background of Ordination I (pl. 59b) it will be recalled, there is a reclining figure, based on the dying Moses in the S. Maria Maggiore mosaic of Moses with the Law. Moses was not allowed to come into the Promised Land, while Joshua was, signifying the contrast between the old and new dispensations. The reclining figure in Poussin's picture is on the opposite side of the Jordan to Christ, and probably represents some aspect of the partial revelation either to pagan philosophy or to the people of the old dispensation.

In the background of the picture there is a view of the city of Caesarea Philippi. The place was often described by commentators and

geographers. It was identified with the ancient town of Panias. St. Jerome spread some confusion by identifying Panias with Dan, the ancient city of the Tribe of that name¹⁴⁴. Most commentators¹⁴⁵ had shed this notion by the seventeenth century. They also distinguished carefully between the other Caesarea, that by the shore, founded or embellished in honour of Augustus by the tetrarch of the region, one of the Herods. His son, Philip, was responsible for Caesarea Philippi, at the foot of Mount Lebanon. He was known to have built a great temple to Jupiter there. The city was supposed to be at the confluence of the two streams Jor and Dan, which gave their name to the Jordan. Just above the town there was supposed to be a grotto and a shrine of Pan. This was known from Josephus, Eusebius and other historians and geographers of antiquity. Because of the shrine of Pan, the town had anciently received its name, Panias. There was one other feature mentioned in pilgrim tradition and also by Cornelis à Lapide, there was a great pyramidal tomb nearby, said to be that of Job.

Cornelis à Lapide notes that the town was a seat of idolatry, in the time of the Judges, and in Christ's time many idolatrous Phoenicians lived there, and, of course, idolatrous Romans. Christ's purpose in going there, he wrote, was threefold. He could not declare himself near to Jerusalem, because the scribes would say that he was setting himself up as a King. On the borders of Judaea he could declare himself to the Gentiles and the Jews equally, while at the same time destroying idolatry¹⁴⁶.

Many of these features are included in Poussin's picture. In the later drawings and the painting, the river Jordan flows behind the Apostles. The bridge, not mentioned in Cornelis à Lapide's account, was almost certainly intended to be the bridge of Tiberias¹⁴⁷, which was supposed to be at or near Caesarea. Mount Lebanon is presumably the mountain range

in the background. The tomb of Job is probably the strange building with the pyramid on top of the hill on the right. The buildings on the left may be intended for the palace of Philip.

Poussin thus identified the place thoroughly. Is Christ not destroying idolatry in this setting? In the final drawing for the picture, no. 32, Poussin shows a pall of smoke coming from the background. Perhaps this was intended as a symbol of destruction. Cornelis referred to the presence of idolatry and the worship of Pan in Caesarea. He also referred to the destruction of idolatry, or allegorically, heresy, in his comments on the one important phrase not indicated in Poussin's picture: "Et portae inferi non praevalent adversus eam". At the beginning of this century, there was some learned debate about the significance of the Pan grotto. It was affirmed, on the one hand, that this grotto could have inspired a folk tradition that this was the gate of hell and thus account for Christ's words. This was later vigorously denied¹⁴⁸. Poussin could perhaps have arrived at a similar idea, although there is no contemporary evidence for it¹⁴⁹. The act of founding the hierarchy of the Church combined with the revelation of the true God were in themselves acts which revealed the meaning of the Old Law and idolatry alike.

Christ is in this picture Priest and King, as he is in the Eucharist. He is also Law-giver by virtue of the pictorial analogies which Poussin drew with Moses with the second tablet of the Law. This is the creation of the whole hierarchy of the Church, which was to be given the power of the Keys in fulfilment of Christ's promise, not at this moment, but at Pentecost. One of the main difficulties was that of showing both the right to absolve, symbolised by the keys, and the right to preach at the same time, in the earlier drawing, no. 16, Poussin had introduced the scroll which symbolised the right to preach, but not the right to absolve. In this picture the 'E'

on the pillar indicates clearly that St. Peter had the nature of the true God revealed to him by the Father and was therefore given the understanding of Holy Scripture. The keys themselves were also the symbols of the power to open the closed book of the Scriptures in Catholic thought, but this was not an aspect of them which could be easily understood from the picture.

Although the pillar contains a hieroglyph that can be identified with a lost Greek inscription, it does not have a pagan significance in this picture. The pyramid on the right may well be a temple of Jupiter. If it is, the worship of Jupiter is not foreign to this picture. In the discussion of the Tetragrammaton it was as much a commonplace to discuss the 'EI' as to discuss the similarity of the name Iove with Iaweh, and to draw similar conclusions. The worship of Jove was therefore another example of revelation of the true God to the pagans, who worshipped him idolatrously. Both temple of Jupiter and pillar with the 'E' represent the worship of the true God, as they were known before the true revelation.

The presence of Christ at Caesarea among these symbols implies, not a comparison on equal terms of religious systems, or a 'rational-historical' interpretation of the episode, but the fulfilment of the eternal God head. In this respect, the picture is closely akin to the Rest on the Flight into Egypt. In just the same way, it also signifies the end of the false worship of the ancients, with the institution of the new Law.

The pictorial analogy with Moses with the second tablets of the Law is also an indication of the replacement of the Law with the Novum Mandatum. Even in Baptism (pl. 5) Poussin shows a figure on the far bank of the Jordan who has drawn water from a ruined well and turns her back on the baptism of Christ. She, too, is surely a symbol of Synagogue. The symbol of the well is frequently referred to as a symbol of the Law in Old Testament commentary.

This is one more example of the interdependence of the iconography of

the Sacraments and a further justification of Chambray's idea that they were intended to form a 'mystic body'.

There remains one slightly puzzling feature of the paintings: Poussin's choice of subject for Marriage. This is the Marriage of the Virgin, which in historical terms occurred before the birth of Christ and was therefore a rite of the Old Law. Nevertheless, because of the special nature of the Virgin, this marriage is a type of Christian marriage, in terms of moral and spiritual example. In fact, the Council of Trent made an exception from the norm with marriage. The Fathers of the Council claimed that marriage preexisted in the Old Law by Christ's grace, and therefore deserved to be enumerated among the sacraments of the new Law. The first Canon on marriage further maintained that the sacrament was a true sacrament, instituted by Christ and not invented by man. The remaining canons do little more than enumerate some familiar and elementary rules for Marriage. The introductory section on Doctrine and Canon 5, both refer to the indissoluble nature of marriage. In this sacrament, more than any other, it was necessary for Poussin to indicate the dependence of the sacrament on the eternity of Christ, since the sacrament had been instituted long before his coming with the marriage of Adam and Eve. In the first version of the sacrament, the marriage is graced by the presence of the eternal Verbum Dei in the form of a Dove. In the second, in accordance with Poussin's insistence on maintaining a unity of representation of things visible, he omitted the Dove. In the picture as an afterthought he made the openings in the back wall of the temple porch to reveal on the left a curious pillar on top of which there is a sphere. This is a familiar hieroglyph for eternity and for the Eternal Godhead. The same symbol occurs in two other pictures by Poussin, the Eliezer and Rebecca (pl. 88a) painted for Pointel

in 1648 and the lost Moses and Jethro's daughters (pl. 88b). In the Pointel picture Poussin places the sphere on the well-head. In the Jethro's daughters he places it on a column in the city of the Midianites on the hill in the background. This column appears to be standing before a temple. Rebecca was a type of the Church and her future husband, Isaac, the type of Christ. Rebecca is also in Cornelis à Lapide's account the "speculum virginis"¹⁵⁰. This marriage was a type of the eternal Marriage of Christ with his Church. Moses was a type of Christ also. His action in freeing the well was remarked on as a type of Christian good works by Cornelis à Lapide¹⁵¹. Moses' future father-in-law was a pagan priest, who was converted later. His daughter, like Rebecca, was a pagan spouse for a type of Christ and could have been taken as a type of the Church of the Gentiles also. In both cases, which are superficially similar, a marriage was involved, between Isaac and Rebecca and between Moses and Jethro's daughter, Sephora. The sphere seems, therefore, to have been used by Poussin as a hieroglyph in his marriage pictures of the 1640's and presumably it refers specifically to the marriage of the Virgin in the second set of Sacraments.

CONCLUSION

There is still a conflict to be resolved. Poussin appeared to Gaudibert¹ to have been exclusively a neo-stoic. Poussin wrote a series of letters to Chantelou while he was painting the Sacraments which seem to support this view. On the other hand, there is such a close connection between religious thought in the seventeenth century and Poussin's iconography that he would seem to have been committed to a Christian, or at least a Christian-stoic view-point. There is, further, no trace of unorthodoxy in the Sacraments. Vanuxem² thought there was, because Poussin had not distinguished the Eucharist from the other sacraments, whereas the Council of Trent had anathematised those who said that the sacraments were equal among themselves and were of equal dignity. He omitted to cite the following canon, no. 4, which anathematised those who said that not all the sacraments were necessary for salvation³. Poussin could hardly have omitted any of them and they would hardly have retained their unity if he had, say, made the Eucharist pictures bigger than the others. The illustrators of sacraments in books had not hesitated to show them all on the same scale and in much the same manner, why should Poussin make any distinction? It was open to the faithful to acknowledge the degree of respect due to each of the sacraments. It is hard to see what a painter could do to make the differentiation that Vanuxem appears to have demanded of Poussin. Would a difference of scale have proved the dignity of the Eucharist? Vanuxem seems to have confused the picture and the thing it represents⁴. Poussin did not, but he pretended to. In several of his letters there are some very strange references to the religious pictures he was painting. Among these are some which convinced Gaudibert that

Poussin was a neo-stoic. For Gaudibert, the case was much easier to make, because he dismissed Poussin's religious pictures as being of no account.

The whole current of thought which made a pagan of Poussin ignored the moderating counsel embedded in their main inspiration, Pintard's 'Le Libertinage Erudit'. It is clearly not enough to show that Poussin had read Montaigne, Charron and Seneca, and was prepared to quote from them to prove that he was an out-and-out pagan. This is to present too black and white an image of any human being.

To be sure, Poussin was not credulous. He was not prepared to accept popular and very dubious miracles. This does not class him with Jean-Jacques Bouchard. Certainly, Fortune was one of his themes, but then so it was for the whole of Christian humanism. If he withdrew from society to contemplate the comedy of human life, why choose the Stoics for his model? Why not the hermit saints? The attitude is common to both, even though Poussin expresses his views in terms borrowed from neo-stoic writers. I am content to admit that Poussin expressed stoic views. It would be absurd, though, to ignore the findings of Sauerländer, Costello and some of those of Dempsey.

On June 22nd, 1648, Poussin wrote his most stoic letter of consolation to Chantelou, in which he wished that his Seven Sacraments might be converted into seven other subjects, which would offer the consolation of the sight of men of virtue withstanding the tricks of Fortune⁵. It might be remarked that Fortitude and Patience are not exclusively stoic Virtues. In an earlier letter, that of the 3rd November, 1647, he offered Chantelou a different consolation: a "souper" in which he has represented "celui qui nous a montré comment il faut souffrir toutes choses", in other words,

the second version of Eucharist⁶. In this version the betrayal is stressed, thus emphasising Christ's patient suffering of the commencement of the Passion, the supreme example of Christian Patience. The letter is at the best highly ambiguous evidence of stoicism. Christian-stoicism is a much more appropriate definition of Poussin's attitude.

The tone is sometimes more ironic in the references to the Sacraments. Does Poussin's apparent flippancy imply libertinism? He plays regularly on the double-meaning of the names of his pictures and the names of the sacraments. We have just met one example in the letter just quoted. There are several more. When he sent the Extreme Unction to Chantelou he remarked in a letter, that of the 9th November, 1644, that he consoles himself that "en quelque manière" Chantelou will receive "l'Extreme Onction sans être malade" and "devant que j'aie entendu les plaintes que commencer a faire de ne pas recevoir le Sacrament au temps que je vous l'avais promis". The best is yet to come as Poussin maintains his tone. Chantelou will receive the sacrament not from the priest, but "du messenger de Lyon"⁷. When he sent him the Penitence, he wrote that he knew that it will "effacer la coulpe des fautes passées"⁸. When, however, he wrote about the Crucifixion, in a letter of 1646 to Stella⁹, that he could not paint the projected Carrying of the Cross for de Thou, he made a statement that could only be sincerely Christian, yet the punning sense still persists. The Crucifixion had made him ill, the Carrying of the Cross would finish him off. Here it is not only the title of picture and the name of the episode on which he plays, but there is a third element, the experience of the scene to be painted. He stated that it was necessary to enter into emotions of the scene that has to be represented.

It is implied that he had done so for the Crucifixion and this had resulted in an illness, almost certainly a real one, but of the kind that we might call psycho-somatic. This cannot have been the only occasion on which Poussin worked in this way, his statement has the force of a statement of principle. In fact, he appears to have carried the principle through. The religious pictures that I have been discussing show the degree to which the narrative is fully worked out, and the degree of involvement they must have required.

The 'stoic' letters reflect one aspect of Poussin, his austere morality. The letter about the Carrying of the Cross reflects another, which is not very far removed from the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola. Is it not possible that Poussin's austerity has been mistaken for stoicism, when it might equally well stem from the austerity of the first generation of Jesuits, many of whom like Poussin seem to have been deeply involved in the tradition of Christian-humanism.

Nothing sums up better the complexity of Poussin's thought, than the self-portrait painted shortly after the completion of the Sacraments for Chantelou (pl. 110). While the symbolism of the hands and the eye on the diadem may refer to the concordance of the manual and the intellectual aspects of painting, 'Practica' and 'Theoria', the diamond ring, to which Kauffmann recently drew attention, which Poussin wears on his hand, remains an ambiguous symbol. Does it signify Stoic virtue exclusively as Kauffmann claimed¹⁰? Or does it signify 'Dei-Amans'¹¹? Light is not only a symbol of reason, pure and simple, but of Divine reason. Reflected in the diamond it symbolised the soul magnifying the gifts that God had given the lover of God. The greater the purity, the greater the lustre. This cannot be safely ignored.

There is a shred of further evidence that has not been mentioned. Poussin's hair style and moustache are strikingly different from those in the exactly contemporary self-portrait painted for Pointel¹². The type of the head is very close to that of the Head of Christ admired by Bosio in the catacomb of Pontianus, which had been engraved in 'Roma Sotterranea' (pl. 109). This is the type that Poussin used for the head of Christ in Ordination II. The head in Poussin's self-portrait has the same hard plasticity as that shown in the engraving. The self-portrait head is not quite frontal, but the picture-frames behind Poussin's head intersect in exactly the same relation to his head as the Cross behind the head of Christ in the engraving. It would have been highly appropriate if Poussin had not only painted the Sacraments for Chantelou, with their wealth of Christian significance, embellished by the riches of antiquity, Christian and pagan, but also used an early Christian model for his self-portrait for the same patron. The gesture of Poussin's hand on the book or scroll is very like that of the Apostles in many of the sarcophagi in Bosio's book. It seems possible that he is showing himself in the character of an artist and a Christian disciple. The roll of paper or book, perhaps his writings on the 'theoria' of his art, specially on light and shade, is the product of revelation to the lover of God. Light and shade also have religious overtones, specially in the seventeenth century.

Poussin said in the letter of the 29th May, 1650¹³ that he had chosen the best likeness for Chantelou. The consistent irony and understatement of his letters conceals in this case a great deal that is not revealed by his words.

With this I conclude my examination of Poussin's great religious works,

the Seven Sacraments, every feature of them reflects the religious world of the seventeenth century. Poussin remained, as usual, far from the popular imagery of the public art of the Baroque. In his Sacraments are the expression of erudite traditions and innovations in the study of religious history and theology. The second set of Sacraments, in particular, are remarkable, not only for their splendid formal harmony but for the richness of their theological and narrative implications, to a degree that is exceptional in the art of the seventeenth century.

APPENDIX

The drawings for the Sacraments

Baptism I

1. (CR 75) Chantilly: 169. 0.150 x 0.192. Pen and wash. Pl. 6
2. (CR 76) Ecole des beaux Arts, Paris. Masson: 1118. 0.181 x 0.280. Pen and wash. Pl. 7a.

Confirmation I

3. (CR 85) Windsor: 11896. 0.137 x 0.208. Wash over black chalk. pl. 17b. Verso: Holy Family (CR 40) Pl. 20b. Dated to last weeks of 1639 or early in 1640.

Extreme Unction I

4. (CR 188) Windsor 11902 v. 0.142 x 0.208. Pen and wash. Figure on left for mourning woman on left of picture. Dated to c. 1635 - 1636. Pl. 50a. Recto: Christ healing the blind (CR 62)

Marriage I

5. (CR 90) Windsor 11894. 0.195 x 0.282. Pen and wash. Pl. 81

The remaining drawings are for the second set of Sacraments. These are listed in the order in which they appear in the text, which is roughly chronological.

Extreme Unction II

6. (CR 102) Giraudoux collection. 0.153 x 0.280. Pen. Before April, 1644. Pl. 50b.
7. (CR 103) Louvre: 32,429. 0.218 x 0.332. Pen and wash. Squared. Coll.: Crozat, Mariette. Final drawing for picture. Before April, 1644. Pl. 52b.

Penitence II

8. (CR B 20) Louvre: MI. 991. 0.133 x 0.186. Pen. Coll.: Lawrence, Cunningham, His de la Salle. Attribution doubtful, but connected with project for a sigma triclinium of May, 1644. Pl. 38a. Verso: Visible by strong illumination only. A decorative design with quadri riportati and supporting figure.

Confirmation II

9. (CR 86) Windsor: 11897. 0.182 x 0.254. Pen and wash. 1644 - 1645. Pl. 23a. Verso: woman's head. Not connected with Sacraments.
10. (CR 88) Louvre: MI. 994. 0.131 x 0.254. Pen and wash. Coll.: Chantelou, Lawrence, His de la Salle. 1644 - 1645. Pl. 24a. Verso: Possibly a drawing, faintly visible by strong illumination.
11. (CR 87) Louvre: MI. 995. 0.124 x 0.246. Pen and wash. Coll.: Mariette, Lawrence, His de la Salle. 1644 - 1645. Pl. 24b.
12. (CR 89) Louvre: MI. 996. 0.126 x 0.254. Pen and wash. Coll.: Chantelou, Lawrence, His de la Salle. 1644 - 1645. Pl. 24c. Verso: Fragment of a letter, visible by strong illumination.
13. (CR A 20) Windsor 11898. 0.186 x 0.287. Pen and wash. Squared. 1644 - 1645. Coll.: Massimi, 62. Final drawing. Wash probably improved by a later hand. Pl. 23b

Ordination II

14. (CR 95) Louvre; MI. 993. 0.137 x 0.213. Pen and wash. Coll.: Mariette, Lawrence, His de la Salle. c. 1645. Pl. 61a.
15. (CR 97) Formerly Blumenreich collection. Pen. c. 1645. Pl. 64a.
16. (CR 96) Louvre: 32.436. 0.133 x 0.246. Pen and wash. Coll.: Paraph. c. 1645. Pl. 62a.

Marriage II

17. (CR 92) Turin. Bibl. Reale. Cart. 46 (60) D. C. 16301. 0.078 x 0.103. Pen and wash. Coll.: Denon. c. 1645. Pl. 82
18. (CR 93) Louvre: RF 18. 0.132 x 0.200. Pen and wash. His de la Salle. Watermark: part of an oval 0.040 x 0.036. c. 1645. Pls. 83, 61b.
19. (CR 94) Louvre: RF 17. 0.170 x 0.248. Pen and wash. Coll.: Mariette, Lawrence, His de la Salle. c. 1646 - 1647. Pls. 84, 62b.

Penitence and Eucharist II

20. (CR 101) Louvre: RF 757 v. 0.184 x 0.254. Coll.: Lawrence, His de la Salle. c. 1646. Pl. 34a. Recto: Rinaldo and Armida (CR 146).

Penitence II

21. (CR 99) Montpellier, Musée Fabre. 0.210 x 0.310. Pen and wash. Squared. Final drawing for picture. c. 1647. Pl. 40a.

Eucharist II

22. (CR 100) Louvre: MI. 992. 0.157 x 0.256. Pen and wash. Coll.: Chantelou, Lawrence, His de la Salle. Squared. c. 1645 - 1646. Pl. 34b.

Baptism II

23. (CR 77) Dijon: 870 v. Pen. Coll.: His de la Salle. 1645 - 1646.
Pl. 7b. Recto: Holy Family. (CR 45)
24. (CR 78) Hermitage: 5081. 0.164 x 0.255. Pen and wash.
Coll.: Cobenzl. 1645 - 1646. Pl. 8a.
25. (CR 79) Uffizi: 903e. 0.123 x 0.191. Pen and wash.
1645 - 1646. Pl. 8b.
26. (CR 80) Louvre: MI. 990. 0.069 x 0.160. Pen and wash.
Coll.: Chantelou, Lawrence, His de la Salle. Watermark:
part of an oval with an anchor 0.040 x 0.036.
1645 - 1646. Pl. 9a.
27. (CR 81) Louvre: MI. 987. 0.157 x 0.255. Pen and wash.
Coll.: Dimsdale, Lawrence, His de la Salle.
Watermark: Oval with an anchor. 0.040 x 0.036.
1645 - 1646. Pl. 10a.
28. (CR 82) Louvre: MI. 989. 0.085 x 0.127. Pen and wash.
Coll.: Lagoy, His de la Salle. Figure ascending
steps from early version of Marriage II, upper right
corner. 1645 - 1646. Pl. 9b.
29. (CR 83) Louvre: MI. 988. 0.165 x 0.254. Pen and wash over
black chalk. Coll.: Chantelou, Lawrence, His de la
Salle. Traces of squaring. 1645 - 1646. Pl. 11.

Ordination II

30. () Louvre: RF. 758 v. 0.90 x 0.130. Pen. 1646 - 1647.
Recto: Rinaldo and Armida. (CR 145)
31. (CR 98) Pierpoint Morgan coll. 0.187 x 0.255. Pen and wash.
Coll.: Marchetti, Robinson, Fairfax Murray. 1646 - 1647.
Pl. 64b.

32. (CR A 21) Windsor: 11899. 0.198 x 0.327. Pen and wash. Squared. Coll.: Massimi 60. 1646 - 1647. Wash possibly improved by a later hand. Pl. 65.

Marriage II

33. (CR 91) Louvre: RF. 2359. 0.172 x 0.230. Pen and wash. Coll.: Mariette, Lawrence, His de la Salle. 1647. Pl. 85.

A. (CR A22) Lost drawing. Copy of this in Coll. G. Offrescu. Bucharest. Inv. 371. Coll.: H. Walpole. Doubtful drawing for Extreme Unction II.

B. (CR 84) Chantilly: G. D. XVI. 191 v. Drawing of later 1650's. Not for Baptism II.

Concordance of my numeration with CR

CR	ASG	CR	ASG
75	1	87	11
76	2	88	10
77	23	89	12
78	24	90	5
79	25	91	33
80	26	92	17
81	27	93	18
82	28	94	19
83	29	95	14
84	B	96	16
85	3	97	15
86	9	98	31

CR	ASG
99	21
100	22
101	20
102	6
103	7
A20	13
A21	32
A22	A
B20	8



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NOTES

Bibliographical references are cited in the following notes in full at the first citation. Subsequently they are cited in the form of the name of the author and a number referring to the numeration of the Bibliography. A new numeration begins with each chapter.

Abbreviations

AB	Art Bulletin
Actes.	Actes du Colloque International Poussin
BM	Burlington Magazine
BSP	Bulletin de la Société Poussin
CA	Critica d'Arte
CR	W. Friedlaender, A. Blunt and others. The drawings of Nicolas Poussin, London, 1939
CRB	A. Blunt. The paintings of Nicolas Poussin, Vol. I, Catalogue, London, 1966.
FS	Festschrift
GBA	Gazette des Beaux Arts
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HMSO	Her (His) Majesties Stationery Office
IS	Italian Studies
JWI	Journal of the Warburg Institute
JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
K.d.K.	Klassiker der Kunst
Lettres	Lettres de Nicolas Poussin ed. P. du Colombier, Paris, 1929.

- Migne P.G. Migne, I. Patrologus cursus completus . . .
Series (Graeca) Paris, 1857 - 1903
- Migne P.L. Migne, I. Patrologus cursus completus . . .
Series (Latina) Paris, 1844 - 1902
- MKIF Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institut in
Florenz
- MJBK Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst
- P-W Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen
Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung.
1914 - 1967
- RA Revue des Arts
- T-B Thieme, U. and Becker, F. Allgemeines Lexikon
der bildenden Künstler. Leipzig, 1907 - 1939
- ZNTW Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche
Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Christentums.

Notes to Introduction

- 1 The text book of my thesis was completed, but the footnotes were not, before the publication of the text volume of Sir Anthony Blunt's monograph, The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin, II, London, 1967 (25). His comment (p. 213) that Poussin was "a pure example of the Christian stoic to the end of his life", shows a far wider understanding of Poussin's stoicism than that of some earlier writers criticised in my introduction. I have indicated points of disagreement with Sir Anthony in my footnotes. I owe a considerable debt to Sir Anthony Blunt, who encouraged me to write the present thesis, and suggested its subject, and who was generous enough to allow me to see parts of his text in manuscript.
- 2 Sauerländer, W. Die Jahreszeiten. Ein Beitrag zur allegorischen Landschaft beim späten Poussin. MJBK, Dritte Folge, VII, 1956. pp. 169 - 184. (137). In this important article Sauerländer showed that the Four Seasons contained many references to sixteenth and seventeenth century religious thought, especially typology.
- 3 Costello, J. Poussin's Annunciation in London. Essays in Honour of Walter Friedlaender, New York, 1965. pp. 16 ff. (45), who argued that this picture may have been intended for the tomb of Cassiano dal Pozzo, and that it contained some unexpectedly recondite religious themes.
- 4 Dempsey, C. Poussin and Egypt. AB, XLV, 1963, pp. 109 ff. (48) Dempsey does not explain the Christian significance of the Egyptian mysteries represented in Poussin's pictures. He maintained that Poussin fused Christian and pagan imagery, to form a new "poetic" whole. This is in marked contrast to the attitude of Vanuxem (see note 21 below), who did not believe there was any religious significance in Eucharist II, because of the antiquarian material in the picture.
- 5 Dempsey, 48, p. 117. "His historicizing interpretation of the mythic and miraculous elements of the scene (as distinct from his typological concern) also recalls his earlier rationalist attitude towards Christian and pagan myth. This attitude is exemplified by the Adoration of the Golden Calf in the National Gallery in London". What Dempsey calls "rationalism" can be accounted for in terms of a specific current of specifically Christian thought, a critique of pagan ideas and mysteries. See below Ch. IV, and for a discussion of the Adoration of the Golden Calf, see Ch. IV, section 3.

- 6 Marignan, R. de. Les Sept Sacrements "convertis en sept autres histoires" par Nicolas Poussin. *Revue des Questions Historiques*, LXIII, 1935, pp. 73 - 99. (103)
- 7 Lettres, 133, pp. 248 - 250.
- 8 Lettres, loc. cit. "Je souhaiterais s'il était possible que ces sept sacrements fussent convertis en sept autres histoires où fussent represents vivement les plus étranges tours que la fortune ait jamais joué aux hommes et particulièrement à ceux qui sont moqués de ses efforts. Ces exemples ne seront pas à l'aventure de petit fruit rappelant par leur vue à la consideration de la vertu et de la sagesse qu'il faut acquérir pour demeurer ferme et immobile aux efforts de cette folle aveugle".
- 9 This was a main support of his argument. They were small copies, then, according to Marignan, in the Bence collection. The Extreme Unction was altered during its execution (see plates 56 and 57). The Bence picture does not show the picture before these changes were made, but follows instead the finished picture. It cannot have been a preliminary sketch, as Marignan claimed. The rest of Marignan's article is replete with inaccuracies and incredible speculations and is best passed over in discreet silence.
- 10 Löhneysen, W. von. Die ikonographischen und geistesgeschichtlichen Voraussetzung des "sieben Sakramente" der Nicolas Poussin. *Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte*, IV, 2, 1952, pp. 133 - 150. (80)
- 11 Richeôme, L. *Catechisme Royal*, Paris, 1606 (130). For Richeôme see Brémond, H., *Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieuse en France*. Paris, 1924, I, pp. 18 - 67. (30)
- 12 Richeôme, L. *Peintures Spirituelles*. Lyon, 1611 (131)
- 13 These pictures disappeared, presumably when the new Noviciate was built by Bernini later in the seventeenth century. See Armellini, M., *Le chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1942. (8)
- 14 See below, Ch. IV, section 2.

- 15 Musée Royal, Antwerp. See Panofsky, E. *Early Netherlandish Art*. Harvard, 1953. (114) I, pp. 282 - 284. II, figs. 347 - 349. Friedlaender, M. *Die altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924 - 1937, II, p. 96, no. 16. (60)
- 16 Mansi, J. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Venice, 1798. Facsimile, Paris and Leipzig, 1906. (102) XXXIa. cols. 1047 - 1060. The "Decretum pro Armenis" was thought, at the Council of Trent, to be a definition of the Sacraments of the Council of Florence. It is properly a papal decree: "Decretum Eugenii Papae IV". For this point and a discussion of the importance of the decree, see F. Cavallera. *Le Decret du Concile de Trente sur les Sacrements en général (VIIe Session)*. *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclesiastique*, VI, 1914, p. 404 (40) "Enfin ce Decret . . . reprend à propos des sept Sacrements les considérations de S. Thomas, et donne sur chacun d'eux des explications détaillées. C'est le document le plus important sur cette matière avant les définitions tridentines. Tous ces arguments - arguments de tradition, arguments de convenance - sont repris au Concile de Trente; d'autres viennent les renforcer, selon le voeu des legats. On cite des textes scripturaires, patristiques, canoniques, . . ."
- 17 Jedin, H. *A History of the Council of Trent. II, The First Sessions at Trent, 1545 - 1547*. Trans. Graff, London, 1961, p. 372. (79)
- 18 Richeôme, L. *Tableaux Sacrées*. Paris, 1601. (129)
- 19 Löhneysen, 89. p. 138. "Für die Priesterweihe waren ebensowenig liturgische oder typologische Szenen zu verwenden . . . die Aufnahme dieser Szene in die Folge der Sakraments bedeutet aber den dadurch gleichsam 'bewiesenen' Anspruch des Papstes auf die Nachfolgeschafft Petri und zur sakralen Herrschaft, durch die mit der Person des Papstes die Vollmacht, die Sakramente richtig zu spenden, bzw. diese Vollmacht weiterzugeben, gewährt wird. Es ist auch keine Ordination, keine Weihe dargestellt mit der Gestus der Handauflegen als äusserer Zeichen der Erteilung des Hl. Geistes verbunden ist, sondern vielmehr die Aushändigung der Machtinsignien an den Papst . . ."
- 20 See below Ch. IV, section 3, for a discussion of typology and section 4 for religious symbolism.
- 21 Vanuxem, J.,¹⁵⁰ *Les "Tableaux Sacrées" de Richeôme et l'iconographie de L'Eucharistie chez Poussin*. *Actes*, I, 1960, pp. 151 ff. (150)

- 22 Sauerländer, 137. Vanuxem's mere denial of the validity of Sauerländer's theory is hardly convincing. Vanuxem did not believe that Poussin could have been affected by religious thought, but he does not say why this would be axiomatic, and he does not take into account the fact that Poussin's Roman activity was in the circle of the Barberini Cardinals, especially that of Cardinal Francesco. Nor does he allow for the religious significance of the triclinium for Richeôme and other Jesuit writers.
- 23 A. Blunt. The triclinium in religious art. *JWI*, II, 1938 - 1939. pp. 271 ff. (20) Vanuxem (150) assumed that Poussin's antiquarianism excluded all religious motivation. Blunt never proposed any such exclusion.
- 24 Brémond, 30. Ch. I, section 4, pp. 11 - 15 and especially p. 15.
- 25 The Colloque Poussin was held in Paris in 1958 and the 'Actes' were published in 1960. Among those present was Georg Kauffmann, whose attitude, as will be seen, is very similar to Vanuxem's.
- 26 Gaudibert, P. Poussin et le Neo-Stoïcisme. *Europe*, 1959. pp. 27 - 47. (63)
- 27 *Ibid.* pp. 30 - 31. He objected that Christ Healing the Blind (CRB 74) and other paintings "ne témoignent non plus d'un vif sentiment de la Charité". It is not clear how he arrives at this statement. He cites the criticisms made in Paris in the 1640's of Poussin's Miracle of St. Francis Xavier, but he does not mention that these were made by art-political enemies of Poussin and were not impartial criticisms. He speaks of Poussin's "Christianisme austère et Stoïcien" which "engendre une froideur d'émotion qui marque presque tous ses tableaux religieux . . ." Amplifying this he mentions the archaeological details of Poussin's religious paintings and concludes: "A l'inverse de la démarche qui consiste à actualiser les thèmes religieux par les portraits, les costumes, les cadres de la vie, source chez tous les grands peintres de réalisme et d'émotion humaine, Poussin cherchait à restituer leur caractère antique". Not only does Gaudibert impose a limited aesthetic view on Poussin, but he ignores the effect of Poussin's pictures on Chambray, Chantelou, Bellori and other contemporaries, many of whom were evidently moved by many of Poussin's religious paintings. He also ignores the function of Poussin's religious paintings, many of which were not intended to create the same kind of emotional response as the works of many other painters of his period, who were more often concerned with work for public devotion. It appears that there is only one kind of religious art for Gaudibert, essentially Northern and essentially realist. In actuality the

spectrum of religious art has always been wider than Gaudibert's criticism of Poussin suggests. Poussin's religious paintings exist and demand a more sympathetic attention. The antiquarian aspect is not separable from Christian meaning in Poussin's art, as Gaudibert, Vanuxem and others would have us believe.

- 28 Pintard, R. *Le libertinage érudit dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle. I*, 1943. pp. 52-53. (121) Pintard's brilliant, erudite and often entertaining study has clearly been an inspiration to many writers who deny the effectiveness and sincerity of Poussin's religious painting. Pintard's discussion of the fusion of Christian and humanist thought seems to have been largely ignored (Ch. II), as has the parallel discussion by Brémond (see note 24), which is acknowledged by Pintard. He cites the examples of Louis Richeôme and St. François de Sales as Christian-humanists and concludes: ". . . les Neo-Stoïciens obtenaient la fusion des enseignements du Portique avec ceux de l'Évangile; une spiritualité souriant conciliant de même le bel esprit et la religion, la poésie et la mystique, les Grâces et la grâce. Et c'était après l'humanisme chrétien, en même temps que le Stoïcisme christianisé, l'humanisme dévot".
- 29 Kauffmann, G. *Poussin-Studien*. Berlin, 1960. (84)
- 30 *Ibid.* p. 91. "Der das Licht brechende Spitzdiamant lässt sich bei Poussin kaum als religiöse Symbol begreifen".
- 31 Friedlaender, W. Blunt, A. et al. *The drawings of Nicolas Poussin*. London, 1939 - (62)

Notes to Ch. I

- 1 There are no letters, contracts, receipts or other documents of that kind for the first set of Sacraments, except for the letters concerning Baptism I. It is unlikely that there are any to be discovered, since both painter and patron lived in Rome and on terms of familiarity.
- 2 Haskell, F. Patrons and painters. A study in the relation between Italian art and society in the age of the Baroque. London, 1963. p. 108. (67) Haskell gives an admirable account of Cassiano dal Pozzo.
- 3 The standard biography is that of Lumbroso, G. Notizie sulla vita di Cassiano dal Pozzo. Miscellanea di Storia Italiana, XV, 1874, pp. 129 ff. and separately, Turin, 1875. (93)
- 4 For accounts of the collection of drawings see C. Vermeule. Aspects of scientific archaeology in the seventeenth century. Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, CII, 2, 1958. pp. 193 ff. (153) The dal-Pozzo-Albani drawings of classical antiquities in the British Museum. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, new series, L. Pt. 5, 1960. (154) and the Dal Pozzo-Albani drawings of classical antiquities, notes on their content and arrangement. AB, XXXVIII, 1956. Pp. 31 ff. (152)
- 5 See Pintard (121), p. 238 and Haskell (67), pp. 107 ff. for accounts of the scandalous J. Bouchard and the fate of his papers.
- 6 Pintard (121), pp. 561 - 562. Presumably the letters are among those in the Aosta collection, formerly to be consulted in the Biblioteca della Cisterna, Turin, but now totally unavailable except to Mrs. Sheila Somers-Rinehart.
- 7 Ibid. p. 355. Pintard remarks on Bourdelot's pleasure in Poussin "qui n'a rien d'un docteurinaire de l'incrédulité".
- 8 Holstenius, L. Dissertatio duplex de forma Sacramento Confirmationis apud Graecos, Rome, 1638. (74)

- 9 Morin, J. De Sacris Ecclesiae Ordinationibus. Paris, 1652. (108) Author's preface. In this Morin states that he was present at this conference in 1639 for nine months, but was then recalled to France by Richelieu without explanation. He then continued the work he had begun in Rome.
- 10 The copy was in grisaille. See Wright, E. Some observations made in travelling through France, Italy, etc. in the years 1720, 1721 and 1722. London, 1730. See Churchill 'A collection of voyages. . . ' London, 1744 - 1746. VI, p. 319. (165) The existing copies in Rome attributed to Poussin are in colour. For a thorough account of Cassiano dal Pozzo's collection, see Haskell, F. and Rinehart, S. The dal Pozzo collection - some new evidence. BM. CII, 1960. pp. 318-326. (66)
- 11 Baldinucci mentions copies of the Vatican Virgil and Terence manuscripts in the collection of Cassiano. Baldinucci, F. Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua. Florence, 1728. VI, p. 479 (10) Friedlaender and Blunt (62) pp. 15 - 16, suggest that the Paulinus Bible is a source for the style of the figures in Poussin's drawings for the Judgment of Solomon (CR 32, I, pp. 15 - 16)
- 12 Lettres. 36. p. 52. 20th September, 1641.
- 13 Haskell and Rinehart. (66)
- 14 Wittkower, R. Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600 - 1750. London, 1953. (164) Pt. II. Ch. 11.
- 15 Rinehart, S. Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588 - 1657) Some unknown letters. IS.XVI, 1961. pp. 35 ff. (132)
- 16 Haskell and Rinehart. (66)
- 17 Ibid. for Ghezzi's list of Cassiano dal Pozzo's collection, in which the following are named:
Madonna, putto and St. Joseph (no. 4) CRB.L 17. Assunta (98) CRB.L 36
Agony in the Garden (49) CRB.L 30. Probably early, mentioned as being on copper by Tessin. Drawing at Windsor, CR.I.64. Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine (52). CRB 95. Early 1630's. The Story of Rachel (60) CRB 90. According to Blunt the late picture in his

own collection, but, according to Mahon, the early picture in his collection. See Mahon, D. The dossier of a picture: Nicolas Poussin's "Rebecca al Pozzo". *Apollo*, LXXXI, 1965, pp. 196 ff. (99) Ghezzi mentions a companion piece, but it is not clear what this was. 'Rachel' is in Mahon's view a mistake for 'Rebecca at the well', since Rachel at the well is a non-existent episode. Ghezzi does not mention a well, and this picture might very well have been what he said it was.

- 18 See also Baronius, C. *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Pan's 1864 - 1880. 64. (11)
- 19 *Lettres*, 47. pp. 66 - 67. 27th March, 1642. ". . . le Christ avec deux petits Anges".
- 20 *Ibid.* 19, p. 30. 21. CRB 46. 22. *Lettres*. 35. pp. 50 - 51.
- 23 *Ibid.* 36. pp. 51 - 53. 20th September, 1641.
- 24 *Ibid.* 38. p. 54. 4th October, 1641.
- 25 *Ibid.* 41. pp. 57 - 58.
- 26 *Ibid.* 43. pp. 59 - 61. 17th January, 1642, and 45. pp. 63 - 64. 14th March, 1642.
- 27 *Ibid.* 47. pp. 66 - 67. 28. *Ibid.* 47. pp. 67 - 68.
- 29 *Ibid.* 52. pp. 82 - 84. 30 *Ibid.* 57. p. 89.
- 31 Louvre, Paris. *Exposition Nicolas Poussin*, Paris, 1960. p. 246. Henceforth cited as *Cat. Poussin*, 1960. (91)
- 32 *Lettres*. 104. p. 195. 15th October, 1645.
- 33 *Ibid.* 48. pp. 67 - 68. 4th April, 1642.
- 34 For a full discussion of the tapestries see the important article, Weigert, R. *Poussin et l'art de la Tapisserie: Les Sacrements et l'histoire de Moïse*. BSP, III, 1950. pp. 79 ff. (159)

- 35 Lettres. 13. p. 12. 36 Ibid. 43. pp. 59 - 61.
- 36 Ibid. 43. pp. 59 - 61. 37 Ibid 47. pp. 66 - 67.
- 38 Weigert, (159) p. 81, n. 6.
- 39 This was questioned by Mahon in Poussiniana, Paris, New York and London, 1962. (98) p. 106, n. 315.
- 40 See CRB, 136 - 138. pp. 95 - 99. 41 CRB 74
- 42 Bellori, G. Le vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni. Rome, 1728. (14) p. 171.
- 43 CRB nos.: 12, 178, 204, 190, 191, 176 and 163, 161 and 162, 159, 121, 103, 40, 37.
- 44 Cat. Poussin, 1960. (91) p. 96. This dating was not mentioned by Blunt, (25) p. 75.
- 45 The letter was dated on the basis of its reference to the negotiations that preceded Poussin's Paris journey of 1640, by Salomon, R. An unknown letter of Nicolas Poussin. (136) *JWI*, I, 1937. pp. 79 ff.
- 46 The dating is that given in CR. The picture was probably painted in 1638, but the dating of the drawing is quite unexceptionable.
- 47 CRB 44 and 50.
- 48 Perhaps for CRB 50, which is probably a copy of a lost painting.
- 49 Salomon, (136). 50 CRB 108, p. 75
- 51 The large black and white drawing is signed G. Montaney and is one of a set of these Sacraments. The coloured drawing is anonymous (Louvre. 32.562). It is also one of a set of eight drawings. The colouring of the picture would appear to have been very delicate and cool.

- 52 See the recent note by Zeitler, R. *Il problema dei 'Modi' e la consapevolezza di Poussin*. CA, XXI, no. 69, 1965. pp. 26 ff. (166) Also comments by A. Harris, in review: *In Honour of Walter Friedlaender*. BM.CIX, 1967. pp. 36 - 39 (64) and letters from D. Mahon in reply, BM.CIX, pp. 304 - 305 and pp. 591 - 593. (99a)
- 53 In particular, Mahon (98) relies on this kind of argument very heavily. See also controversy Blunt-Mahon in BM.CII, 1960, pp. 455 and 489 (22 and 97).
- 54 Mahon (98), p. 107 and ns. 314 - 315.
- 55 The phrase is Jonathan Richardson's. *An account of the statues, bas-reliefs, drawings and pictures in Italy, France, etc.* London, 1722 (126) p. 188.
- 56 CRB 21, p. 18.
- 57 See the descriptions of Tessin and de Cotte, both reprinted in Haskell and Rinehart (66).
- 58 The order is stated clearly in the 'Decretum pro Armenis' (see note to Introduction, 16)
- 59 Bellori (14), pp. 169 - 171.
- 60 The authorship of the de Cotte manuscript was discussed by Bertin-Mourot, T. BSP, II, 1948, pp. 88 - 91. (17) (Notes et documents) She argued that the hand-writing was de Cotte's. The manuscript has been dated to 1688 - 1692.
- 61 Letarouilly, P. *Edifices de Rome moderne*. Paris, 1840 - 1850. I p. 171. pl. 31. (88)
- 62 CRB 26. 63 Blunt (25), p. 73. 64 Bellori (14) pp. 169 - 171.
- 65 See note 57 above. Tessin's description is datable to 1688.
- 66 See note 57. 67 Richardson (126) p. 188.

- 68 Reynolds, J. Discourses. ed. Wark, R. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., 1959 (127), p. 87.
- 69 For Wleughels letters see Montaignon, A. de and Guiffrey, J. Correspondance des Directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome . . . , 1666 - 1793. Paris, 1887 - 1912 (107) VIII, pp. 40 - 67, especially letters of 21st July, 1729 and 8th September, 1729, where Wleughels noted that there were two different Baptisms, one of the Pharisees and the other of Christ.
- 70 Brosse, Charles, Conte de. Lettres familières sur l'Italie. Paris, 1799, II, p. 387.
- 71 Montaignon and Guiffrey, (107), VIII, p. 67. Wleughel's letter of 2nd February, 1730.
- 72 E.g. Vasi, M. Itinerario istruttivo di Roma . . . Rome, 1799, I, p. 473. (151)
- 73 Titi, F. Descrizione delle pittura . . . Rome, 1763, p. 91 (144)
- 74 Montaignon and Guiffrey (107), VIII, p. 67. Wleughel's letter of 18th November, 1729.
- 75 HMC. 14th report. Appendix, Part I. The Manuscripts of His Grace, the Duke of Rutland, K. G. preserved at Belvoir Castle. Vol. III. HMSO, 1894 (71), p. 214. Byres to Duke of Rutland, 10th June, 1785.
- 76 Ibid. p. 8. Alleyn Fitzerberbt to Marquis of Granby, 25th March, 1777.
- 77 Ibid, p. 9. 78 Ibid, p. 9. Letter of August, 1777.
- 79 Ibid., p. 214. Byres to Duke of Rutland, 10th June, 1785. It is clear that the deal has just been made.
- 80 Ibid, p. 258. Byres to Duke of Rutland. 12th November, 1785.
- 81 Ibid, p. 283. Byres to Bishop of Killala. 14th June, 1786.
- 82 Ibid, p. 221. Reynolds to Duke of Rutland. 5th July, 1785.

Notes to Ch. II

- 1 The family name of the brothers was Fréart. Roland, the eldest was Sieur de Chambray; Paul and Jean were Sieurs de Chantelou. For Paul, see Bonnaffé, E. Dictionnaire des amateurs français du XVIIe. Paris, 1884. (26) and Chardon, H. Amateurs d'art et collectionneurs manceaux du XVIIe siècle. Les Frères de Chantelou. Le Mans, 1867.
- 2 cf. Magne, E. Voiture et les années de Gloire de l'Hôtel Rambouillet, 1635 - 1648. 2nd ed. n.d. Paris, p. 331, n. 2. (94) Voiture suggests that Paul de Chantelou's mind was a very serious one in letters. Lettres de Monsieur de Voiture. Nouvelle édition, 1672. Nos. 160, p. 328; 169, pp. 339 - 340, p. 340 and 171, pp. 340 - 341. (157)
- 3 CRB 21
- 4 Lebrun may have held the post earlier. See Château de Versailles. Charles le Brun, 1619 - 1690 . . . Catalogue. Versailles, 1963, pp. LIII-LIV. (42). The brevet is dated 1st July, 1664 (see p. LVIII), but the post may have been his by 1658.
- 5 Lettres. 101. pp. 188 - 190. 3rd July, 1645 and 153. pp. 248 - 250. 22nd June, 1648.
- 6 See Vanuxem, J. Les Jésuites et la peinture au XVIIe siècle à Paris. RA, VIII, 1958. pp. 85 - 91. (149)
- 7 Fréart de Chantelou, P. Journal du voyage du Cavalier Bernin en France. 1665. (59)
- 8 Weigert, (159). 9 Lettres. 48, p. 70.
- 10 Lettres. 68, p. 111. 4th August, 1643.
- 11 Ibid, 70. p. 116.
- 12 Identified as Ciccio Graziani. Blunt (25), p. 77. Lettres. 70, p. 116.
- 13 Ibid, 71, p. 118. 14 Ibid, 72, p. 121 - 123.

- 15 Ibid. loc. cit.
- 16 Ibid, 77, p. 134, identified as Claude le Rieux by Blunt (25), p. 77.
- 17 Ibid, 79. Chantelou's note only in Jouanny's edition.
- 18 Ibid, 80, p. 141. 19 Ibid, 81, p. 143.
- 20 Ibid, 82, p. 145. 17th March, 1644.
- 21 Ibid, pp. 145 - 247. In the summary in the text the numbers in brackets refer to the numbers of Poussin's letters in du Colombier's edition (44).
- 22 Ibid, 103, p. 194. 20th August, 1645.
- 23 Ibid, 92, p. 169. 24 Bellori (14), p. 282.
- 25 Fréart de Chambray, R. de. Idée de la perfection de la Peinture. Paris, 1662, p. 125. "le Prestre . . . luy administre les saintes Huiles avec une dévotion pleine de pitié".
- 26 Lettres, 87, p. 157.
- 27 A request for a photograph of the verso of this drawing was refused, unfortunately. There are two more drawings in the Louvre with material on the verso of sheets pasted down, but photographs of these were refused also.
- 28 4th September, 1642, de Noyers wrote to Chantelou returning some drawings that Poussin had made as preparations for work in the Orangerie. See Thuillier, J. Pour un 'Corpus Pussinianum'. Actes, II, pp. 66 - 67 (143)
- 29 Identified as very similar to the interior of S. Atanasio dei Greci by Blunt (25), p. 189. He also pointed out (p. 190 - 191) that the setting of Confirmation II is like that of catacombs illustrated in Bosio, A. Roma Sotterranea, Rome, 1632. (27).

- 30 The catalogue of drawings (CR) is arranged by subjects and the question of the chronological development of Poussin's drawing style was not a major preoccupation of the authors.
- 31 Matthew, XVI, 13.
- 32 Heawood, E. Watermarks. Monumenta chartae papyraceae historia illustrata. I. Hilversum, 1950. (69) Nos. 1 - 8, pl. 1. These anchor marks are all earlier seventeenth century Italian, either Roman or Venetian.
- 33 Louvre, R. F. 757.CA. 146. 34 CR 31-3 and 27. 35 CR 145.
- 36 See Olsen, H. Federico Barrocci. Copenhagen, 1962. (111) Cat. 65, p. 209, pl. 109. The Last Supper, Rome, Cap. Aldobrandini, S. Maria Sopra Minerva, c. 1604 - 1607.
- 37 D. Bouts. Altar of the Sacrament. St. Peter's Louvain. See Panofsky (114), pp. 418 - 419, fig. 428; and Friedländer (60), III, p. 107, no. 8, pls. XIII, XIV.
- 38 See P. P. Rubens. Des Meisters Gemälde. ed. A. Rosenberg. Stuttgart, Berlin and Leipzig, n.d. (133) K.d.K. p. 203.
- 39 Stryenski, C. La galerie du Régent Philippe, Duc d'Orleans, Paris, 1913, p. 9. (139) Also, Cat. Poussin, 1960 (91) p. 106.
- 40 CRB 69, 70 and 105. 41 CRB 33. 42 CRB 17.
- 43 Council of Trent, Sess. VII, De Baptismo, Canon, I, Mansi (102), Vol. XXXIII, col. 53. Sess. VII, Sacr. in genere. Canon II, Ibid, col. 52.
- 44 Although Poussin mentioned the shake of his hand for the first time while he was in Paris (Lettres, 58, p. 91. 27th June, 1642), the degree of shake at this time was slight. The shake in this drawing is like that of drawings made much later, like the drawings for the St. Paul of c. 1658 (especially CR 70).
- 45 Chantelou (59), p. 113. 46 Chambray (58), p. 124.

- 47 Blunt (25, p. 79.
- 48 Cornelis à Lapide. *Commentaria in Pentateuchum Moses*, Antwerp, 1616, p. 913.
- 49 Lettres 133, p. 250. 22nd June, 1648. "L'invention de couvrir les tableaux est excellente, et les faire voir un à un fera que l'on s'en lassera moins, car les voyants tous ensemble rempliroit le sens trop à un coup". This is possibly a compliant a posteriori rationalisation, although Poussin was not given to this form of reply to Chantelou, if the appearance or effect of his pictures was likely to be adversely affected.
- 50 Chambray (58).
- 51 Ibid, p. 127. "Car bien que chaque Tableau pris à part, et séparé de cette Union, ou pour ainsi dire de cette Encyclopédie des Sacrements, soit communément considéré comme une Histoire complete et independante du reste, neantmoins la principale Intention de nostre Peintre ayant esté d'en former un Corps Mystique, composé de ces sept membres sacrez (qui est la plus noble idée qui pouvoit naistre dans la Pensée d'un Peintre Chrestien . . .)".
- 52 E.g. Waters of Marah CRB 28; Triumph of Flora CRB 154; Triumph of David CRB 33; The Death of Sapphira CRB 85; Baptism of Christ CRB 72.
- 53 Cf. Oppé, A. Right and Left in Raphael's cartoons. *JWCI*, VII, 1944, pp. 82 ff., (112) where the general problem of direction is discussed. Also White, J. and Shearman, J. Raphael's tapestries and their cartoons. *AB XL*, 1958, pp. 193 - 221 and pp. 229 - 323, which deals more fully with the problem in relation to Raphael's cartoons.
- 54 Mahon (98), p. X refers to the compositions of the Waters of Marah and the Triumph of Flora as 'confused' and suggests that they are immature.
- 55 Chantelou (59). "Son fils et Mathie ont admiré . . . toutes les figures les unes après les autres". Reprinted in Thuillier (143). *Actes*, II, pp. 124 - 126.
- 56 Ibid, loc. cit.

- 57 Dubois de St. Gelais, L. Descriptions des tableaux du Palais Royal, Paris, 1727. (50), pp. 353 ff.
- 58 Smith, J. A. catalogue raisonné of the works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French painters, London, 1829 - 1842. (138) French, nos. 128 - 142.
- 59 For a summary of this information, see Blunt (25), pp. 76 - 77.
- 60 Stryenski (139), p. 15.

Notes to Ch. III.

- 1 Chantelou (59) in Thuillier (143), Actes, II, pp. 124 - 127.
- 2 Chambray (58).
- 3 Monconys, B. Journal des Voyages, Lyon, 1664 (105). Parts reprinted in Thuillier (143), Actes, II, p. 119.
- 4 Chambray (58), pp. 127 - 128. 5 cf. e.g. Blunt (25), p. 196.
- 6 Cf. Blunt (25), p. 255.
- 7 Cf. Ettliger, L. The Sistine Chapel before Michelangelo . . . Oxford, 1965, p. 69. (53)
- 8 The relation of Poussin's paintings to some of those in the Raphael Loggias was noted by M. Davies. National Gallery Catalogues, French School. 2nd ed., 1957, pp. 177 - 178. (110). Cf. also Blunt (25), p. 125 especially.
- 9 Raphael. Des Meisters Gemälde. ed. A. Rosenberg. Stuttgart, Leipzig, 1909 (125), pp.
- 10 Finding of Moses CRB 12, 13 and 14; (The relation of the Exposition of Moses (CRB 10) to Raphael's Finding of Moses (pl. 94) is even closer. The only major change in the general arrangement is Poussin's introduction of the river God in the foreground); Red Sea Crossing (CR 17 and 19), particularly the figure prostrate in prayer; Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh, CRB 19 (although there are more probable sources for Poussin's picture in early Christian art).
- 11 Cf. Emmerling, S. Antikenverwendung und Antikenstudium bei Nicolas Poussin. Würzburg, 1939, (52), for the most complete discussion of Poussin's antique sources. Also Pierson, W. jr. The drawings of Rubens and Poussin after the antique. Unpubl. M.A. thesis, May, 1941 (119).
- 12 Cf. Rubens' Baptism K.d.K. p. 14. (133)

- 13 Emmerling (52), p. 39 and , n. 6, who identified the figure as that in Reinach, S. Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romain. Paris, 1897, I, 447, 3. (126) Is this perhaps an error for p. 449, no. 1881, which is a Pudicitia statue in the Vatican?
- 14 Du Choul, G. Discours de la Religion des anciens Romains, Lyon, 1556. (51)
- 15 Blunt, A. Poussin et les cérémonies religieuses antiques. RA, X, 1960, (21) pp. 58 - 63, pls. 4 - 9 for discussion and illustration of these. e/
- 16 Raphael, K.d.K. (125), p. 129.
- 17 Bellori, G. and Bartoli, P. Admiranda romanarum antiquitatum. Rome, 1693. (15).
- 18 Pierson (119), p. 46. The Pierpoint Morgan drawing is after the Villa Pamphili relief and the Chantilly drawing (Malo 54) after the Villa Albani relief. Emmerling (52) lists the Chantilly drawing only (Katalog 2), p. 65.
- 19 Cf. Emmerling (52), pp. 3 - 7, who sees nothing but Meleager reliefs in this painting.
- 20 Bellori and Bartoli (15), p. 71.
- 21 For Giacomo Bosio, see Falcone, P. Il valore documentario della Storia dell'Ordine Gerosolimitano di Giacomo Bosio. Archivio Storico di Malta. Anno X, 28 Gennaio - 28 Aprile, 1939, XVII, Fasc. II, pp. 93 - 135 (56).
- 22 Falcone (56), p. 106. "E un po lo toccava quella curiosità per le antichità cristiane, che nel ristretto campo dell'archeologia, così particolare dell'esaltato estetismo della prima metà del secolo, vi presentava la stessa reazione, e si volgeva agli avanzi e alle memorie della primitiva arte cristiana, più che per il momento formale di essa - negato dal classicismo tramontano, e meglio rivalutato dal barocchismo in fasce - per il suo contenuto storico, e per il significato devozionale. A tanto lo traeva, forse anche, la diretta e domestica esperienza della viva febbre di ricerca che animava il giovinetto nipote Antonio . . .".
- 23 Listed in Falcone (56), p. 133.

- 24 Il primo processo per San Filippo Neri. ed. G. Incisa della Rocchetta, G. and Vian, N. (Studi e Testi, 194), Vatican, 1958, (78) II, pp. 291 - 294 and especially pp. 292 - 293.
- 25 According to Bosio (27), p. 176, San Carlo Borromeo did the same.
- 26 Il primo processo, (78) II, pp. 283 - 284.
- 27 White, J. Cavallini and the lost frescoes in S. Paolo. JWCI, XIX, 1956, pp. 84 - 95. (160) Also Wilpert, J. Römische Mosaiken und Malereien, Freiburg, 1917. (163) II, pp. 549 - 550. The frescoes in S. Paolo fuori le Mura are recorded in Ms. Barb. Lat. 4406, Vatican.
- 28 Holstenius (74) 29 Morin (108).
- 30 Bosio (27), pp. 45 and 85. The central part of the latter was copied by Poussin in a drawing (Hermitage), published in Blunt (25), p. 200, fig. 165, thus demonstrating conclusively Poussin's knowledge and use of this early Christian motif and his specific borrowing from Bosio's book.
- 31 Ibid, pp. 49, 53, 69, 75, 79, 157.
- 32 Ibid, p. 53. 33 Ibid, p. 69. 34 Ibid, p. 85.
- 35 Ibid, p. 49. 36 Ibid, p. 62. 37 Ibid, pp. 61, 67 and 157.
- 38 Ibid, pp. 69 and 75.
- 39 Ibid, pp. 61. The Barberini copyist was also capable of omitting sandals on occasion. See Wilpert (163), p. 581.
- 40 Ibid, p. 69. 41 Ibid, p. 63. 42 Ibid, p. 87.
- 43 Eusebius Pamphili, Historia Ecclesiastica, Bk. VII, ch. 18 in Migne P.G., XX, p. 679. Cf. also Maldonat, J. In Quatuor Evangelistas commentarii, Moguntiae, 1574. (100) Matthew, col. 209. Casale, G. De veteribus sacris Christianorum Ritibus. Rome, 1645. Cited from Hanover, 1681 (39), p. 19.

- 44 Bosio (27) Bk. IV, Ch. 4, p. 600. Severani (or Bosio) cites early sources, including Eusebius (see note 43). For more recent discussions and a more extensive bibliography see Hölscher, G. in P-W, XXXVI, 2, pp. 594 ff. (73) Article "Πανιάς". Panias was the ancient name for Caesarea Philippi.
- 45 Hauck, A. Die Entstehung des Christustypus, 1880, pp. 8 ff. (68) and Harnack, A. Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums, 1902, 87 ff. (65). For the relation between the imagery of Asklepios Soter and the Healing Jesus. Weber, W. in Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann zum 60. Geburtstag, 7 November, 1926 . . . Tübingen, 1927, pp. 38 ff. (157) identified the statue with a Restitutor Provinciae group. Hölscher (73) suggested that the kneeling figure could have signified a town as well as a province. In Poussin's picture, Ordination II, the kneeling figure of St. Peter is promised keys to more extensive domains.
- 46 White (160), p. 84.
- 47 Blunt (25), p. 179, who makes a similar comment about Poussin's interest in the S. Maria Maggiore mosaics and the doors of S. Sabina. "Poussin would have known both these models, which would in his time have been regarded as examples of late antique art and were studied as such by Cassiano dal Pozzo".
- 48 White (160), title to pl. 27 f. and again more recently, White, J. Art and architecture in Italy, 1250 - 1400, London, 1966. (162), p. 85 - 86 and p. 88, identifies the scene as the "plague of serpents". There was no "plague of serpents" among the ten plagues of Egypt, only lice, according to the authorised version, Vulgate 'sciniphes'. The scene represents that shown in Poussin's picture, Exodus, VII, 10 - 13. There are four serpents, exactly as the text demands.
- 49 Bosio (27), p. 63. 50 Ibid, p. 391.
- 51 Lettres, 87, p. 157. 30th May, 1644. Blunt (25), p. 200, fig. 166, published a drawing by Poussin in the Hermitage, copied from the Agape feast in Bosio, complete with the inscriptions "agape" and "convito funerale. Col triclinio lunare. detto sigma" Bosio (27), p. 391. In the top left-hand corner is a cylindrical box containing scrolls inscribed "volumi".
- 52 Bosio (27), p. 355. 53 Ibid, p. 129. 54 Ibid, p. 127.

- 55 See Pigler, A. Barockthemen. Berlin, 1956. (120), I, pp. 509 - 510.
- 56 Brodrick, J. Saint Peter Canisius, London (reprint.) 1963, p. 250, who cites letter in Braunsberger, O. Beati Petri Canisii Societatis Jesu Epistolae et Acta. Freiburg, 1896 - 1923, VIII, pp. 403 - 404. (29) It appears from Brodrick (33), p. 249, that St. François de Sales' friend, Possevino, had used a French translation of the Catechism minor of Canisius on a preaching tour in Rouen in 1570, where he had catechised children and prisoners. St. François de Sales used it in his tour of Chablais in 1594. Neither mentions illustrated versions specifically, but it is hard to believe that they could have used unillustrated versions for large mass audiences.
- 57 Costello, J. Poussin's drawings for Marino and the New Classicism, I: Ovid's Metamorphoses. JWCJ, XVIII, 1955. (45), pp. 296 - 318.
- 58 Ibid, pp. 312 - 317 for an analysis of Poussin's probable method.
- 59 Blunt, A. Poussin and Aesop. JWCJ, XXIX, 1966. (24), pp. 436 - 437.
- 60 For this artist, see Vial, E. in T-B. XI, pp. 31 - 32. (155) Eskrich was born c. 1515 - 1520, probably in Paris, son of an engraver from Freiburg. He was active in Lyon in 1548 - 1551 and in 1565 - 1573. He also worked in Geneva.
- 61 Biblia Sacra. Rouvilly, Lyon, 1562. (19) For complete bibliographical information, see Baudrier, H. Bibliographie Lyonnaise. 9e serie, 1912, pp. 286 - 288. (12)
- 62 Symeoni, G. Figure de la Biblia. Rouvilly. Lyon, 1564. (140) I would like to thank Mr. Giles Robertson for lending me his copy and for drawing my attention to these illustrations. The photographs I have used were made from this copy (which belonged formerly to Sir Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Stothard, John Ruskin and Lady Conway).
- 63 The Moses and the Burning Bush, derived remotely from the version in Raphael's Loggias, is similar in many ways to Claude's picture of this subject of 1664, National Gallery of Scotland (loan).
- 64 My observation that the drawing was beneath the chalk marks was confirmed independently by Miss Scott-Eliot of the Royal Library Windsor.

- 65 See note 71 (below), no. 5.
- 66 Catalogue of German and Flemish prints in the British Museum, 1879. (32). I, p. 294.
- 67 CRB. 24. 68 Sauerländer (137), pp. 176 - 180.
- 69 Cat. Poussin, 1960 (91), p. 50. 70 CRB 66.
- 71 I have examined a number of books containing illustrations of the Sacraments and of various other devotional subjects. The most important are:
1. Die seuen sacramenten der heylicher Kercken. Leiden, 1511. (6)
 2. Een suyverlick boecxken, inhoudende den grout Ende. Amsterdam, 1551. (7)
 3. Ein kurtze ordenliche summa. Regensburg, 1552. (4) A protestant catechism containing illustrations of baptism, communion and penitence.
 4. Liber Catechuminum. Venice, 1555. (5)
 5. Institutiones Christianae pietatis. Antwerp, 1576 and 1589. (3) de Backer, A. and A. Bibliographie des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus. Liège, 1853. Revised ed. Paris and Liège, 1896. (9). List an edition of this published by Plantin in 1569. The Musée Plantin states that there was no such edition. This may be a confusion with a different edition by Cholinus. This book is the shortest version of the catechism by Canisius.
 6. Catechismus, christliche underrichtung. Strasbourg, 1595. (2)
 7. Bettbüch und Catechismus. Dillingen, 1604. (1) This very probably contains the illustrations used in the earlier illustrated Cologne and Dillingen editions, the earliest of which was published by Cholinus in Cologne in 1564. The third German edition, Dillingen, 1564, contains 105 large woodcuts. The character of the illustrations in no. 7 is very mixed and in some cases very old-fashioned, suggesting that these cuts had not been designed specifically for this edition.

8. *Κατηχισμος Εικονισμος*, Augsburg, 1613. (36) This is the earliest of the catechisms published in Augsburg with translations by George Mayr into a wide variety of languages (Greek, French, Italian, German, Hebrew, etc.) Some are dated 1614. Like no. 5, these contain a series of over one hundred illustrations with a text reduced to the status of captions. The same blocks with some additions and omissions were used for translations by the same learned Jesuit of other catechisms in similarly abbreviated form, as in:
9. Bellarmine, R. *Dottrina Christiana figurata d'imagini*. Augsburg, 1614. (13).

This list is not intended to be complete and includes those that I have found in the British Museum and in the National Library of Scotland. A further study of this type of illustrated book would probably provide much information on counter-reformation iconography. Such an extensive and time-consuming investigation was outside the scope of this thesis. For Netherlandish illustration, see Delen, A. *Histoire de la gravure dans les anciens pays-bas et dans les provinces . . . II. Le XVIIe siècle les graveurs-illustrateurs*. Paris, 1934. (47a). This study, although concerned with a limited area, is an invaluable starting point for any future investigation, containing much erudition and bibliographical information.

- 71a See Delen (47a) II, p. 14. He states that a large print of a dying man receiving the Extreme Unction appears in Johannes de Ketham. *Fasciculus Medicinæ*. Antwerp, 1512. The setting, he says, is borrowed from that of illustrations in the 'Ars Moriendi'. I have not had the opportunity to confirm this, but assuming his statement is correct, it seems that Poussin's Extreme Unction belongs to a tradition of death-bed scenes that go back to at least the fifteenth century and is not exclusively dependent on Meleager reliefs.
- 72 The French text of the editions published in Lyon is a free translation of the Latin paraphrase of Brant's text. There is an addition to the text in French, which might have determined the meaning of some of the imagery of the woodcut for Poussin: "Si le malade est opprime de maladie en son corps et d'angoisse assez fort prime Qui encores ensuit les recors Du bon medecin/ et accords Ne veult/ si apres a douleur C'est bien fait/ car c'est bien son heur". *Nef des folz*. Lyon, n.d. (National Library of Scotland)
- 73 Natalis, H. (Nadal). *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia . . .* Antwerp, 1595. (109)

- 74 Cf. title of catechism no. 5 (3). "Institutiones Christianae . . . primum quidem à P. Ioanne Baptista Romano, Societatis Iesu, in rudiorum & idiotarum gratiam, iuxta SS. Concilij Tridentini decretum Sess. 25. Imaginibus distinctus, nunc vero aeneis formis ad D. Petri Canisii, Societate Iesu, institutiones eleganter expressus . . ." and the Preface to the same book: "Christianos omnes . . . Christianae fidei capita cognoscenda, divina lege & religione teneri . . . a rudioribus & legendi ignaris verbo tantum . . . solo Christiani nomine gloriantur. Quare e prudenter a S. Concilio Trid. cantum est Sess. 25. ut qui praesant . . . imaginum simulacris, . . . rudes indoctorum oculos religione informet. . . "
- 75 de Backer (9), 1896, Vol. V, col. 809. G. Mayr, b. (Bavaria), 1564, d. Rome, 1623.
- 76 The publisher was C. Mangus, who also published a life of S. Ignatius Loyola in 1616 with a title page by Wolfgang Killian and another edition in 1622 with the same title and 100 engravings.
- 77 The engravings were designed by Pieter van der Borch (or Verborcht) for whom see H. Hymans in T-B, XIV, 1910, p. 342. (76) He was b. 1545 (Mechelin) and d. 1608 (Antwerp). He worked for Plantin from 1565 onwards.

Notes to Ch. IV.

- 1 The admiration of the libertins for Julian is noted by Pintard (121), p. 165, Naudé's admiration for Julian, p. 474: "qui se distingue (Julian) par tant de 'perfections particulières'", an example of virtue without the benefits of Christianity, p. 521. La Mothe le Vayer noted Julian's persecution of the Christians, but praised him for his virtue, culture and enlightenment. In France, Julian was translated by Charles (II) de Chantecler and then by D. Petau Iuliani imp. opera. Cramoisy, Paris, 1630. (82). Petau was nicknamed the "Saumaise Catholique" by Balzac, see Pintard (121), p. 94.
- 2 Cited from Lumbroso (93) by Haskell (67), p. 108. The first preface is by the publisher and refers to the example of Julian's administrative skill "quo ex fonte Zosimus, Libanius ac caeterii, qui Iuliani acta celebrarunt literis sui hausisse profitentur." The second preface is Martinus Morentinus'. He praises Julian's "ingenio et eloquentia", which were vitiated by his apostasy. He is an example of a great man seduced into puerility.
- 3 Cf. Cornelis à Lapide. Commentaria in Pentateuchum Mosis. 1671. (87), p. 363. "Hanc Dei notionem & Theologiam ab Hebraeis, ut videtur, hauserunt et cognoverunt Gentiles". He cites several examples, among them the EI at Delphi.
- 4 This is discussed in detail in a fundamental article by Blunt. (20) And also, with further information, by Montagu, J. The "Institution of the Eucharist" by Charles Le Brun. JWCI, XXIV, 1961, pp. 309 ff. (106) Much of this material is summarised in my text with additional comments on the role of the Jesuits in the propagation and interpretation of the motif.
- 5 Mercuriale, G. De Arte gymnastica. Venice, 1601. (104), p. 65.
- 6 For Stradanus (Jan van der Straet), see Orbaan, J. Stradanus te Florence. Thesis, Amsterdam, 1903. (113), and Thiem, G. Studien zu Jan van der Straet, genannt Stradanus. MKIF. Band 8, Heft. I-IV, Oct. 1957 - May, 1959. Pp. 8 - 11 and 155 - 166. (142)
- 7 For antiquarianism of this period see Mandowsky, E. and Mitchell, C. Pirro Ligorio's Roman antiquities, London, 1963, (101) and for much bibliographical material. Mercuriale might have been listed by them as one of the members of the Farnese circle, on his own testimony (104), p. 89.

- 8 Mercuriale (104), pp. 88 - 89.
- 9 There is a summary of P. Ribadaneira's account of Alfonso Salmeron prefaced to A. Salmeronis Toletani . . . Commentarii in Evangelicam historiam . . . Cologne, 1602. (135)
- 10 Mercuriale (104), p. 78. But Mercuriale also insinuates that Salmeron over-heard conversations about the triclinium in Rome, when Mercuriale was in Rome as Cardinal Farnese's doctor, p. 89. Indeed Salmeron's account of the triclinium (135), pp. 217 - 221, appears to be a summary of Ciacon's De Triclinio Romano, Rome, 1588. (43) This was published in an edition by Fulvio Orsini after Ciacon's death (d. 1581), but must have been drafted somewhat earlier. Ciacon was a member of the Farnese circle in Rome. See Mandowsky and Mitchell (101), p. 29.
- 11 Burlengerius, J. De convivii libri quatuor. Lyon, 1627, (35) in J. Graevius. Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanum, XII, Leiden, 1699.
- 12 Philo Judaeus. De vita contemplativa. (Loeb) London, 1929 - 1962. (118) trans. and ed., Colson, F. and Whittaker, G., VI, Ch. VI, pp. 49 ff. Quoted by Burlengerius in Latin (35), p. 82.
- 13 Mercuriale (104), pp. 79 - 81.
- 14 Ibid, pp. 80 - 81. Maldonat, (100), Luke, p. 88.
- 15 Salmeron (135), I, p. 220. 16 Ciacon (43), pp. 49 - 50.
- 17 Salmeron (135), p. 219. 18 Richeôme (131).
- 19 Brémond (30), p. 34. 20 Richeôme (129).
- 21 Richeôme (131), pp. 65 ff.
- 22 See Pirri, P. Intagliatori gesuiti italiani dei secoli XVI e XVII. Archivium Historicum Societatis Jesu. 1952, pp. 3 - 59. The artists mentioned by him were active from c. 1598 - c. 1603, mostly with the embellishment of S. Vitale, which was the church then used by the Jesuit Novitiate in Rome. It is possible that one of the

painters mentioned in the documents of this period had painted the pictures in the refectory, described by Richeôme. It is equally likely that Richeôme had had a hand in the iconography of pictures for the Novitiate at this period.

- 23 Richeôme (131), pp. 121 ff. 24 Ibid, p. 75 ff.
- 25 Maldonat (100), Matthew, cols. 549 - 550.
- 26 Cornelis à Lapide. Commentarius in Quatuor Evangelia. Antwerp, 1670. (86) Matthew, p. 477.
- 27 Casale, G. De veteribus Aegyptiorum Ritibus. Hanover, 1681. (37).
- 28 Cf. Blunt (25), p. 207. It is true that Poussin may have done some specialised reading, but in this particular case Casale's books would have been a most convenient alternative. I have not been able to check Casale's borrowings from Wiringius or Visconti, but where I have been able to compare his text with other avowed sources, e.g. Baronius and Ciacon, he seems very reliable, often quoting accurately relatively long passages. In these cases it is sometimes hard to be certain whether Poussin used Casale or the original sources. It does, however, seem opportune that Casale's book should be published (1645) at the moment when Poussin appears to have made considerable changes in his designs for some of the pictures of the second set of Sacraments (see my comments on the drawings in Ch. II above).
- 29 The devout wish that Judas had not been present at the institution of the Eucharist was not enough to change the conclusion reached by Maldonat, Baronius or Cornelis à Lapide. The wish may have been father to the thought that there was a way to remove Judas from the scene, by the invention of the triple supper as opposed to the double one.
- 30 Maldonat (100) Matthew, col. 551 and Cornelis à Lapide (86), p. 478 suppose that the mention in Matthew, XXVI, 23, of dipping in the dish, meant that Christ was narrowing down the number of Apostles, among whom the traitor was to be found, from all twelve to three to four. Salmeron (135), p. 220, following Ciacon (43), p. 45, supposes that there was only one dish and that the traitor's identity was still obscure. Cf. Casale, G. De Profanis Romanorum Ritibus. Hanover, 1681. (38), p. 139.
- 31 Casale (39), p. 67. 32. Ibid, loc. cit.

- 33 Salmeron (135), p. 220. He specifies that there were four reclining on two couches and five on the third couch. Casale (39), p. 67, on the other hand, says: "Lecti stabant dispositi in Coenaculo circum mensam . . .".
- 34 Bosio (27), p. 635. 35 Casale (39), p. 67.
- 36 Casale (38), p. 137. See note 11.
- 37 Mercuriale (104), p. 70. 38 Richeôme (131), p. 121.
- 39 Matthew, XXVI, 12. John, XII, 7.
- 40 This idea is confirmed by Maldonat's account (100), Luke, p. 88: "fuit maioris humilitatis, caritatisque; capillis tergere, quam linteo".
- 41 Luke, VII, 36 - 50. 42 Maldonat (100), Luke, pp. 87 - 91.
- 43 Ibid. Matthew, col. 338. 44 Mark, XIV, 3.
- 45 Cf. Veronese. Feast in the House of Simon. (Brera, Milan, 140), where the ointment pot is lying in fragments on the floor.
- 46 Lettres. 110. pp. 209 - 210. 25th February, 1646.
- 47 Maldonat (100), Luke, pp. 90 - 91. Richeôme (131), p. 122.
- 48 The sacrament of penitence is clearly linked with Justification in the decrees. See Sess. XIV, Doctrina de sanctissimis poenitentiae . . . Ch. III. Mansi (102), XXXIII, cols. 92 - 93. Sess. VII. Des sacramentis in genere. Canon 4 (Ibid, col. 52) states that the sacraments are necessary to salvation, which is not available by faith alone and Canon 8 (Ibid., col. 52) states the doctrine of "ex opere operatio". See also Sess. XIV. On Penitence, etc. Ch. III (Ibid., cols. 92 - 93), The "material" of the sacrament is defined as "contritio", "confessio" and "satisfactio". For the first two see Sess. XIV. De sanctissimo poenitentiae sacramento. Canons, 4, 5, 6 (Ibid., col. 100).

- 49 Maldonat (100), Luke, p. 90.
- 50 For much of this information I am indebted to Kantorowicz, E. The Baptism of the Apostles. Dumbarton Oaks Papers, IX and X, 1956, pp. 203 - 251.
- 51 Council of Trent, On Sacraments in general. Sess. VII. Canons 6 and 7. Mansi (102), XXXIII, col. 52, especially Canon 7, where those who do not believe that the sacraments contain the grace they signify are anathematised.
- 52 Maldonat (100), John, pp. 424 - 425. 53 Casale (39), p. 49.
- 54 Valeriano, P. Hieroglyphica. Frankfort, 1614, p. 720 (146). He quotes Psalm LI.7. "Asperges me Domine hyssopo, & mundabor".
- 55 Bosio (27), p. 47.
- 56 Cf. Casale (39), p. 42. "Collocabantur quoque Baptisteria in loco elevato supra basin, seu columnam; cujus circuitus esset aliquantum profundis: & ad illum descendebatur instar sepulchris: quoniam sepulti sunt Baptizati cum Christi".
- 57 See Council of Trent. Sess. XIV. On penitence and extreme unction. Ch. II. Mansi (102), XXXIII, col. 98.
- 58 Petau, D. De potestate consecrandi & Sacrificandi Sacerdotibus a Deo concessa . . . 1638. (With De iure laicorum Sacerdotali, London, 1685) (116), p. 75.
- 59 Casale (39), pp. 112 - 115. 60 Ibid, pp. 52 - 53.
- 61 Ibid, p. 43. 62 Maldonat (100), Matthew, col. 335.
- 63 Richeôme (131), p. 123. "Elle montre à la mesme cérémonie la sagesse, & justice d'un vray Penitent, se chastiant par les instruments mesmes, avec lesquels elle avoit peché".
- 64 Cornelis à Lapide (87), p. 6. 65 Bosio (27), Bk. IV., Ch. VI ff.

- 66 Cornelis à Lapide (87), p. 20. 67 Bellori (14), p. 173.
- 68 Cf. Catechism illustrations, e.g. Institutiones Christianae (3), 7 Acts of Mercy. Giving drink to the thirsty is illustrated by a man pouring out water, while in the background there Moses is striking the rock.
- 69 Bosio (27), pp. 609 - 610. 70 Lettres. 8. p. 11. 28th April, 1639.
- 71 Valerius Maximus. Factorum et dictorum memorabilium. Lib. V, Ch. IVs.5. ed. C. Kempfius. Berlin, 1854, p. 425. (148)
- 72 CRB 20 and 26.
- 73 Briganti, G. Pietro da Cortona. Florence, 1962. (31), p. 311. He suggests that a Finding of Moses drawing by Cortona in the Louvre (his no. 472) might have been for the lost Amadeo dal Pozzo pictures, and that the other lost picture was probably a Moses subject also. There is no clear evidence for this.
- 74 Biblia Sacra (Rouvilly) (19).
- 75 Josephus Flaccus. Jewish Antiquities. Bks. I-IV. Trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, (Loeb). London and New York, 1930. (81) Bk. II, 6, pp. 317 - 318. Josephus also mentions the gifts of the Egyptians to the Hebrews. Ibid. Bk. II, 6, p. 303.
- 76 Exodus, XII, 35 - 36. 77 Exodus, XIV, 30.
- 78 Cornelis à Lapide (87), p. 449. 79 Ibid, p. 447.
- 80 Ibid, pp. 347 - 349. 81 Valeriano (146), p. 349.
- 82 Josephus (81), Bk. II, 97, p. 267. Thackeray notes that there is a similar account in Midrash on Exodus, II, 10.
- 83 Berthorius, P. (Bercheur) Moralitates Bibliorum. Douai, 1607. (16), pp. 66 ff.

- 84 Cornelis à Lapide (87), p. 384. 85 Ibid, pp. 390 - 393.
- 86 Ibid, p. 101. 87 Maldonat (100), Matthew, col. 77.
- 88 Ibid, Luke, pp. 26 - 27. 89. Ibid, Matthew, cols. 79 - 81.
- 90 Bosio (27), p. 622.
- 91 Cornelis à Lapide (87), pp. 596 - 597.
- 92 Lorocheus, I. Thesaurus Novus utriusque theologiae theoricæ et practicae. Freiburg, 1609. (90) Article "Claves", pp. 607 - 609.
- 93 Löhneysen (89), p. 137. Cf. Blunt (25), p. 195, n. 61.
- 94 Vulgate, Matthew, XVI, 18.
- 95 Salmasius, C. De primatu papae. Leiden, 1645. (134)
- 96 Dempsey (48), p. 117.
- 97 "Confidentia" derived from Ripa's Iconologia, not Cartarias stated by Bellori (14), p. 288. See Blunt (25), p. 17 and n. 67.
- 98 Valeriano (146).
- 99 Dempsey, C. The classical perception of nature in Poussin's earlier works. JWCI, 1966, pp. 219 - 249 (49), especially pp. 233 - 241, where he makes a brilliant analysis of the fundamental attitudes to antiquity of the Barberini circle. I am greatly indebted to this article, which complements many of my own findings.
- 100 Ibid, n. 64 (pp. 239 - 241). 101 Bosio (27), p. 630.
- 102 Casale (37), p. 35. Cf. Valeriano (146), pp. 93 - 94, who also quotes St. Augustine's interpretation of the Scarab and arrives at a similar interpretation by a different route.

- 103 Casale (37), pp. 21 - 23. 104 Ibid, p. 17.
- 105 Ibid, p. 26. 106 Ibid, p. 30.
- 107 Ibid, p. 29. The passage is cited by Baronius (11), VI, 56, who is followed closely by Casale.
- 108 Baronius (11), VI, p. 54. Spondanus, n. 16. Casale (37), p. 28. Cornelis à Lapide (87), pp. 286 - 289. The last discusses the problem at great length.
- 109 Baronius (11), VI, p. 53. 110 Cornelis à Lapide (87), p. 346.
- 111 Ἐργου του Τρισμεγιστου Ποιμανδρου. Mercurii Trismegistus
Poemander . . . (M. Ficino interprete). Paris, 1554. (70)
- 112 The question of chronology was therefore of great importance and occupied the time and attention of several scholars.
- 113 Lettres. 170, pp. 299 - 300. 25th November, 1658.
- 114 Dempsey (48), p. 113. 115 Ibid, p. 111.
- 116 Baronius (11), I, p. 13. 117 Valeriano (146), p. 146.
- 118 Ibid, p. 671. 119 Ibid, p. 393. 120 Ibid, p. 393.
- 121 Maldonat (100), Luke, p. 88, rejects Bede's suggestion "Beda in omnes superfluas interpretatur, quae Christi pedibus, id est pauperibus, servire debent". Cornelis à Lapide (86), Matthew, p. 472, quotes the interpretation of Origen and Alcuin of Christ's feet as the symbol of the poor, with approval.
- 122 Valeriano (146), pp. 441 and Casale (37), p. 32.
- 123 Cf. Maldonat (100), Matthew, col. 555.

- 124 Löhneysen (89), p. 146. 125 Morin (108), Pt. III, pp. 15 - 17.
- 126 Cat. Poussin, 1960 (91), p. 107 and again in Blunt (25), p. 201, and ns. 68 - 70. Although Blunt cites Camus' reference to the EI, where the meaning "Thou art" is transferred from Apollo to the Christian God, he makes the assumption that the reference in Poussin's picture is to Christ's words to Peter "Tu es Petrus". This would imply that Jesus recognised that Peter was the Divine Being.(!) Accordingly he ends with the tame suggestion that the E on the pillar is "merely a shorthand allusion to the theme of the painting". If the EI is the Divine Being, then it is more appropriate that the E on the pillar in Poussin's picture should refer to Peter's words to Christ, the "confessio Petri", "Tu es Christus", implying that Peter has recognised the true nature of Christ. The E on the pillar is more than a mere shorthand allusion. It is instead an integral part of the picture, since it alludes to a theme nowhere else expressed in the picture.
- 127 Blunt (25), p. 201, suggests that the "hidden reference" to the sanctuary of Apollo implies a parallel between the Greek and the Christian mysteries. I have already indicated that I cannot accept the idea that seventeenth century writers were capable of thinking in terms of comparative religion in a modern sense. The idea of a continuity of revelation on the other hand was in wide circulation. An interpretation in terms of continuity rather than of comparison is therefore more in harmony with seventeenth century thought. This is amply supported by Dempsey's findings (49).
- 128 Dempsey (48). 129 Ibid, p. 113. 130 Ibid, p. 112.
- 131 Plutarch. *Moralia*, V., ed. and trans., Babbitt, F. (Loeb), London and Cambridge (mass.), 1936, pp. 194 - 195.
- 132 Ibid, p. 231.
- 133 Eusebius Pamphili. *Praeparatio Evangelica*, XI, Ch. XI in Migne, P.G. XXX, pp. 875 ff. (55)
- 134 Plutarch. *Moralia*. ed. Kylander, 1570. II. Notes, p. 18 (123)
- 135 Valeriano, P. *Hieroglyphicum Collectanea* . . . Frankfort, 1614. (147), pp. 191 - 192.

- 136 Plutarch. (123), Loeb. Isis and Osiris, p. 25.
- 137 Cornelis à Lapide (87), p. 364.
- 138 Franciscus Luca Brugensis. In Sacrosancta Quatuor Iesu Christi Evangelia. Antwerp, 1606. (92), p. 241.
- 139 Plutarch (123), Xylander. Note, p. 18.
- 140 Matthew, XVI, 19 (Vulgate). 141 Ibid, XVI, 16.
- 142 Ibid, XVI, 17.
- 143 Luca Brugensis (92), p. 242.
- 144 Jerome. In Ezekiel. XLVIII. 18. (80) Migne Pl. XXV, p. 488. For full bibliography, see Hölscher (73).
- 145 Luca Brugensis (92), pp. 313 - 314. Cornelis à Lapide (87), p. 1036. Baronius (11), col. 1186.
- 146 Cornelis à Lapide (86), pp. 313 - 314.
- 147 See The Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society. Description of the Holy Land by John of Würzburg. Trans. Stewart, A. London, 1890. (117), p. 67.
- 148 See Immisch, O. "Matthaus, 16, 18". ZNTW, XVII, 1916, 18 ff.
- 149 Did he perhaps think of Pan as the god of nature, who was also the shepherd god, and therefore a pagan type of Christ, the good shepherd? Cf. Blunt (25), p. 116, on Pan and Christ in sixteenth and seventeenth century thought. The gates of hell were destroyed by Christ after the death of Christ, so there would be no difficulty in squaring this with Plutarch's story of the death of Pan during the reign of Tiberius.
- 150 Cornelis à Lapide (87), p. 204.

151 Ibid, p. 351. Philo's allegory of the five senses does not fit this picture, as Poussin shows seven daughters. In view of Cornelis' interpretation of the episode, as Moses', as an example of Christian virtue, perhaps the seven might represent the seven virtues. Cf. Blunt (25), p. 180.

Notes to Conclusion

- 1 Gaudibert (63). 2 Vanuxem (150).
- 3 Council of Trent, On sacraments in general. Sess. VII. Canons 3 and 4. Mansi (102), XXXIII, col. 52.
- 4 Cf. Plutarch (123), Loeb. Isis and Osiris, p. 165, where he refers to the confusion between gods and their images. Those who confuse them "have the effrontery to say that Lachares stripped Athena, that Dionysius sheared Apollo of the golden locks, and that Jupiter Capitolinus was burned and destroyed in the Civil War . . . "Poussin may have had the idea of this passage in mind, when he made his jocular confusions of the sacraments and the paintings of the Sacraments.
- 5 Lettres. 133, pp. 248 - 250.
- 6 Ibid, 127, pp. 235 - 238. It is rarely stated that this letter is also a letter of consolation, and that it is, properly, a Christian consolation that Poussin offers Chantelou.
- 7 Ibid, 95, p. 176. 8 Ibid, 121, pp. 226 - 228. 3rd June, 1647.
- 9 In Thuillier (143), p. 219.
- 10 Kauffmann (84), p. 91. Cf. Bialostocki, J. Review of (84), AB, XLIII, 1961, p. 71 (18), who remarks that Kauffmann cites iconographical sources that post-date Poussin's imagery by many years. In the case of the diamond as a stoic symbol, the earliest reference he gives is to Laresse, G. Grosses Malerbuch, 1707. (85)
- 11 See G. de Tervarent. (141) Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450 - 1600. I. pp. 147 - 148. Geneva, 1958 - 1959.
- 12 CRB 1. 13 Lettres, 151. p. 273. 29th May, 1650.

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- 31b. Stradanus (?). Last Supper. (Mercuriale) Wood-cut.

- 32. Eucharist, II. National Gallery of Scotland (loan).
- 33a. Eucharist, II. Infra-red. Detail: centre.
- 33b. Eucharist, II. Infra-red. Detail: Judas.
- 34a. Drawing. Eucharist, II and Penitence, II. Louvre, Paris.
- 34b. Drawing. Eucharist, II. Louvre, Paris.
- 35a. Institution of Eucharist. Louvre, Paris.
- 35b. Coin of Julian.
- 35c. Capture of Christ. Missal, Paris, 1555. Wood-cut.
- 36. Penitence, I. Copy. Private collection. New York.
- 37a. Cigoli. Feast in the House of Simon. Doria-Pamfili Gallery, Rome.
- 37b. Agape feast. Engraving. (Bosio)
- 38a. Drawing. Sigma triclinium. Louvre, Paris.
- 38b. Feast, with a triclinium. Engraving. (Bosio)
- 39. Penitence, II. National Gallery of Scotland (loan).
- 40a. Drawing. Penitence, II. Musee Fabre, Montpellier.
- 40b. Ikarios relief. Formerly in the Montalto collection. Engraving.
(Admiranda)
- 41a. Penitence, II. Infra-red. Detail: Simon the Pharisee.
- 41b. Penitence, II. Infra-red. Detail: The Magdalen.
- 42a. Stradanus (?). Feast in the House of Simon. Wood-cut. (Mercuriale)
- 43a. A triclinium. Wood-cut (Mercuriale).
- 43b. A triclinium. Wood-cut (Mercuriale).
- 44a. Banquet. Relief. 747. Louvre, Paris.
- 44b. Nova Nupta relief. Engraving. (Admiranda)
- 45. Catacomb painting. Engraving. (Bosio) S. Calixtus.
- 46. Death of Germanicus. Minneapolis Institute of Arts.
- 47. Miracle of St. Francis Xavier. Louvre, Paris.

- 48a. Extreme Unction, I. Belvoir Castle.
- 48b. Extreme Unction, I. Photograph in reverse.
49. Raphael. Jacob and Laban. Loggias, Vatican.
- 50a. Drawing. Richelieu Bacchanal and Extreme Unction, I, Windsor Castle.
- 50b. Drawing. Extreme Unction. Giraudoux collection, Paris.
51. Drawing. Extreme Unction. Uffrescu Collection. Budapest.
- 52a. Rubens. Tapestry. Death of Constantine. Frick collection, New York.
53. Extreme Unction, II. National Gallery of Scotland (loan).
- 54a. Coins showing Jewish captivity. Wood-cut. Du Choul.
- 54b. Death of Meleager. Sarcophagus relief. Louvre, Paris.
- 54c. Death of Meleager. Sarcophagus relief. Engraving. (Admiranda)
55. Raphael. Joseph and Potiphar's wife. Loggias, Vatican.
56. Extreme Unction, II. Infra-red. Detail: priest.
- 57a. Extreme Unction, II. Infra-red. Detail: right-hand side.
- 57b. Part of sarcophagus relief. Woman with haemorrhage. Engraving. (Bosio)
- 58a. Death bed scene. Wood-cut. Ship of Fools.
- 58b. Extreme Unction. Catechism. Augsburg. Wood-cut, 1614.
- 58c. Extreme Unction. Die seuen sakramenten. 1511.
- 58d. Extreme Unction. Bettbüch und Catechismus, 1604.
- 59a. Raphael. Tapestry. Pasce meas oves. H.M. the Queen.
- 59b. Ordination, I. Belvoir Castle.
- 60a. Saving of young Pyrrhus. Louvre, Paris.
- 60b. Moses trampling on Pharoah's crown. Louvre, Paris.
- 61a. Drawing. Ordination, II. MI.993. Louvre, Paris.
- 61b. Drawing. Marriage of the Virgin. RF.18. Louvre, Paris.
- 62a. Drawing. Ordination, II. 32.436. Louvre, Paris.

63. Drawing. Ordination, II. RF. 758. v. Louvre, Paris.
- 64a. Drawing. Ordination, II. Formerly, Blumenreich collection.
- 64b. Drawing. Ordination, II. Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York.
65. Drawing, Ordination, II. Windsor Castle.
66. Ordination, II. National Gallery of Scotland (loan).
67. Raphael. Moses with the tables of the Law. Loggias, Vatican.
68. Moses with the tables of the Law. Mosaic. S. Maria Maggiore.
- 69a. St. Paul preaching. Copy drawing of fresco formerly in S. Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome. Barb. Lat. 4406.
- 69b. Woman with haemorrhage. Sarcophagus end. Engraving. (Bosio)
- 70a. Sarcophagus relief. Engraving (Bosio, p. 69).
- 70b. Sarcophagus relief. Engraving. (Bosio, p. 85).
71. Probus sarcophagus relief. Engraving. (Bosio)
- 72a. Sarcophagus relief. City-gates type. Engraving. (Bosio)
- 72b. Sarcophagus relief. Engraving. (Bosio, p. 61)
- 73a. Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh. Copy drawing of fresco formerly in S. Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome. Barb. Lat. 4406.
- 74a. Ordination, II. Infra-red. Detail: Far left.
- 74b. Ordination, II. Infra-red. Detail: Centre left.
- 75a. Ordination, II. Infra-red. Detail: Centre right.
- 75b. Ordination, II. Infra-red. Detail: Far right.
76. Perugino. Handing of keys to St. Peter. Sistine chapel, Vatican.
77. Signorelli. Story of Moses. Sistine chapel, Vatican.
78. Drawing after the antique. Copied from Du Choul. Musée Condé, Chantilly.
79. Raphael. Tapestry. Healing at the Golden Gate of the Temple. H.M. the Queen.
80. Marriage, I. Belvoir Castle.

81. Drawing. Marriage, I. Windsor Castle.
82. Drawing. Marriage of the Virgin. Cisterna, Turin.
83. Drawing. Marriage of the Virgin. RF 18. Louvre, Paris.
84. Drawing. Marriage of the Virgin. RF 17. Louvre, Paris.
85. Drawing. Marriage, II. Louvre, Paris.
86. Marriage, II. National Gallery of Scotland (loan).
87. Detail of sarcophagus relief. Pilate washing his hands. Engraving (Bosio)
- 88a. Rebecca at the Well. Louvre, Paris.
- 88b. Jethro's daughters. Engraved Trouvain.
89. Waters of Marah. Mosaic. S. Maria Maggiore.
90. Raphael. Moses striking the rock. Loggias, Vatican.
- 91a. Waters of Marah. Baltimore Museum of Art.
- 91b. Moses striking the rock. National Gallery of Scotland (loan).
- 92a. Detail of sarcophagus relief. Moses striking the rock. Engraving. (Bosio)
- 92b. Eskrich. Moses striking the rock. Wood-cut. (Rouvilly, Bible).
- 93a. Eskrich. Waters of Marah. Wood-cut. (Rouvilly Bible).
- 93b. The Manna. Louvre, Paris.
94. Raphael. Finding of Moses. Loggias, Vatican.
95. Finding of Moses, 1638. Louvre, Paris.
96. Raphael. Adoration of the Magi. Loggias, Vatican.
97. Adoration of the Magi. Staatliche Gemäldegalerie. Dresden.
98. Raphael. Adoration of the shepherds. Loggias, Vatican.
- 99a. Eskrich. Jethro's daughters. Wood-cut. (Rouvilly, Bible).
- 99b. Drawing. Jethro's daughters. 890 v. Windsor Castle.
- 100a. Drawing. Jethro's daughters. 11890 r. Windsor Castle.

- 100b. Drawing. Jethro's daughters. 11889. Windsor Castle.
- 101a. Adoration of the Golden Calf. National Gallery, London.
- 101b. Red Sea Crossing. National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne.
- 102a. Golden Calf. Wood-cut. Ship of Fools.
- 102b. Eskrich. Adoration of the Golden Calf. Wood-cut. (Rouvilly, Bible).
- 103a. Eskrich. Ruth and Boaz. Wood-cut. (Rouvilly, Bible).
- 103b. Summer, or Ruth and Boaz. Louvre, Paris.
- 104a. Eskrich. The Miraculous grape. Wood-cut. (Rouvilly, Bible).
- 104b. Autumn, or the miraculous grape. Louvre, Paris.
- 105a. Extreme Unction. Catechism, Venice. Wood-cut.
- 105b. Penitence. Catechism, Venice. Wood-cut.
- 106a. Massacre of the Innocents. Petit-Palais, Paris.
- 106b. Flight into Egypt. Gowing coll, Lambourn.
- 107a. Crucifixion. Wadsworth Athanaeum, Hartford, Conn.
- 107b. Finding of Moses, 1647. Louvre, Paris.
- 108a. Rest on the Flight into Egypt. Hermitage, Leningrad.
- 108b. Drawing. Holy Family. British Museum.
109. Head of Christ. Engraving. (Bosio)
110. Self-portrait. Louvre, Paris.
111. Flight into Egypt. (Hours. Tory, Paris, 1531)
- TR.A Baptism, II. National Gallery of Scotland (loan)
- TR.B Confirmation, II. " " " " "
- TR.C. Eucharist, II. " " " " "
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