NICOLAS POUSSIN, CHARLES LE BRUN AND THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF PAINTING AND SCULPTURE PARIS 1648 A KINSHIP OF AESTHETICS

By

Gerald W. Blaney

Department of Art History
McGill University, Montreal
January 1999

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the Requirements
of the Degree of Master of Arts

TABLE OF CONTENTS:

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the faculty and support staff of the Department of Art History for their assistance during my studies at McGill University. In particular, I wish to thank Professor Tom Glen for his guidance during the evolution of my ideas for this thesis and for his assistance in the editing process. A special thanks goes to Angela Foders for her advice and careful typing of the manuscript.

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the history, political climate and evolution of l'Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, Paris (1648) as well as Nicolas Poussin's aesthetic contribution to its classical syllabus, and his influence on Charles Le Brun's classicizing perceptions vis-à-vis the Academy during his tenure as Protector, Chancellor (for life), and Director. Explored too is the confrontation between the ancient guild system (la Maîtrise), and the emerging idea of the ennoblement of the arts. Poussin's Israelites Gathering the Manna and Rebecca and Eliezer, analysed during les Conférences of the Academy, along with certain of the paintings of Charles Le Brun are considered to the conclusion that, at the outset, there was considerable flexibility with regard to les règles.

RÉSUMÉ

Cette thèse examinera l'histoire, politique et évolution de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, Paris (1648), et aussi la contribution esthétique de Nicolas Poussin sur les perceptions classiques de l'Académie, dans le rôle de Le Brun comme Protecteur, Chancellier (perpétuel), et Directeur de l'Académie. Nous traitons ici la guerre entre le système ancien de la Maîtrise et l'idée nouvelle de l'art comme une espèce de la noblesse. Les toiles de Poussin - Les Israélites recueillant la Manne dans le désert, et Éliézer et Rébecca, qu'ils eurent jugées, et aussi quelques oeuvres de Le Brun seront traitées à la fin que, au début, les règles furent assez flexible.

INTRODUCTION AND THESIS STATEMENT

The Gods approve
The depth, and not the tumult, of the soul,
A fervent, not ungovernable, love.

William Wordsworth, Laodamia
(1814, Strophe XIII)

From Roman times, France has held a secure and clear picture of itself as a unitary geographical entity and a homogenous society, an equilibrium between the emotional sensitivities of the Latin race and the directing and codifying security of Roman and Gallican governments. Given the natural artistic and aesthetic talents of the French in conjunction with their clear and logical thought processes, it is not surprising that the end result would be an art, culture and a language that would seek and often achieve the highest standard of excellence and become classic - a model to be retained, copied, codified and often exported. Of course, the terms classic, classical and classicizing are charged with a depth and complexity of meanings and emotion. What is classic art? In formal analysis, Heinrich Wölfflin considers it to be a closed linear system:

> Classic art reduces the parts of a total form to a sequence of planes, the Baroque, emphasizes depth. Plane is the element of line, extension in one plane the form of the greatest explicitness....[1]

More inclusively, classicism must entertain intellectuality, rationalism, impersonality and universality, the milieu of the moment, nature and truth, rules, a certain moral viewpoint and more. Henri Peyre notes:

> Le vrai classique, loin de donner la prééminence à la forme, s'applique à réaliser un équilibre difficile entre la pensée ou l'émotion (c'est-à-dire le contenu de l'oeuvre) et la forme. Il établit entre la matière et la manière de son oeuvre une "adequation" aussi parfaite que possible. [2]

Marcel Proust believed that only the Romantics knew how to read the classicists because they read their works romantically. One must then include the visual arts remembering Eugène Delacroix's admiration for Poussin. Neo-classical and Beaux-arts approaches to painting and sculpture often went unloved because the viewer could not supply a personal component - the romatic dimension. In the 17th century, this participatory direction was simply understood. By these criteria, to be a great classicist is no easy task. But equal to it was the great French painter Nicolas Poussin and his acolyte, the 'soul of the Academy,' Charles Le Brun.

This thesis shows that the classical sensibilities of Poussin found a champion and a standard bearer in the art and vision of Charles Le Brun and that the vehicle of this aesthetic was the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris, 1648, and that Le Brun and Poussin were quite flexible.

Notes to the Introduction

[1] Heinrich Wölfflin, Principles of Art History, (New York: Dover Publications Inc.,1950) 15

[2] Henri Peyre, le Classicisme français (New York: Éditions de Maison Française, Inc., 1942) 112-123

Chapter One

POUSSIN, LE BRUN AND THE ACADEMY

A KINSHIP OF AESTHETICS

In July of 1642, Nicolas Poussin was quite resolved to leave Paris and return to Rome. On his arrival in the French capital, 17 December 1640, the great painter had been received with pomp, circumstance and considerable encouragement in regard to the numerous commissions which immediately came his way.[1] King Louis XIII, in an audience at Saint Germain-en-Laye and in an unusual display of emotion embraced Nicolas, the most eminent French artist of the times, now seemingly returned to the fold. Louis is said to have exclaimed, "Voilà Vouet bien attrapé."[2] By 1642, however, this positive climate had greatly changed. Poussin now seemed tired, dejected and somewhat dismayed by the hostility of his critics - the architect Lemercier, and painters Simon Vouet and Fouquières. More disturbing was the barely concealed coolness of le surintendant de bâtiments, Sublet de Noyes, toward the painter's protracted efforts to design and then complete a decorative scheme for the Grand Gallery of the Louvre.[3] Poussin was still working on cartoons for this monumental cycle, The Labours of Hercules, extolling the work and virtue of the Bourbons, now wrapped in the grandeur of classical allegory. In 1638, the birth of a dauphin, the future Louis

XIV, seemed to ensure the perpetuation of the dynasty. Queen Anne d'Autriche and Louis XIII had been married for twenty-two years. After her four miscarriages, the news of a royal birth was received with a sense of relief in many quarters.[4] Aside from the Hercules saga, Poussin ceded many other aspects of the Louvre venture to his assistant Jean Lemaire. The task was enormous. Little in the way of assistance was provided and Nicolas' technique and high classical vocabulary seemed more at home with the intimacy of easel painting.[5] On 25 July 1642, surintendant de Noyers summoned Poussin to Château Fontainebleau to advise on the restoration of certain of the works of Primaticcio which had been damaged by damp conditions. The painter found his opportunity to beg leave of the court, promising to return to Paris in the spring. De Noyers accepted this on condition that those works in progress be completed. As if to acerbate the situation and until the eve of the departure, de Noyers demanded more and more in the way of projects and advice on aesthetic matters - a critique of Le Vau and Adam's designs for a new chapel to be erected at le surintendant's château. Happily, Poussin's relations with the King remained very cordial. Émile Magne indicates that in a final audience the Monarch seemed confident of Nicholas' return and he asked him to set up an Academy, offering a pension.[6]

Toward the end of September, 1642 Poussin and his brother-in-law Gaspard Dughet, set out for Rome. On the eve

of that journey, the Chancellor of France, Pierre Séguier, recommended the talents of one Charles Le Brun, a brilliant prodigy who would soon be making the journey to Italy to complete his aesthetic formation. Poussin, who had seen some of Le Brun's paintings at the Palais Royale, commissioned by Cardinal Richelieu, was impressed and decided to help.[7] The two artists met at Lyon, where Gaspard Dughet remained awhile with his relatives, while Le Brun and Poussin continued on together to reach Rome on 5 November 1642.

Charles Le Brun, born in Paris (1619-1690), was the son of Nicolas Le Brun and Julienne LeBé. Nicolas was a master sculptor from Crouy in le Beauvais and his talents were passed on to his son whose precocious drawing ability was plainly evident. In 1631, Charles was apprenticed to François Perrier - le Bourguignon. From Perrier, he was soon sent to the atelier of Vouet. Le Brun's drawing of Louis XIII and Anne d'Autriche in equestrian mode was seen by Pierre Séguier who befriended the artist even to providing lodging at his hôtel while allowing his charge to continue with Vouet.[8] Cardinal Richelieu was soon aware of Le Brun's talents and supported the Chancellor's patronage of the lad. Le Brun's Martyrdom of Saint John the Evangelist, a gift to the Guild of Painters and Sculptors of Paris (la Maîtrise), was well received. His father Nicolas, had connections to the jury and this exercise may have been the start of the process whereby Charles would be accepted as a master. The formalities seem never to have

been completed and Le Brun never became officially a member of the Corporation. This, of course, was convenient when the time would come to suppress the guilds. Le Brun also showed some proficiency in wax and clay since his creation of an eagle and two sphinxes in these media were well received.

Beyond his art, a consuming passion gripped Le Brun, the grand passion of so many artists, to study in Italy. In preparation for this he read the classics of sacred and profane literature and the great treatises on painting, sculpture and architecture. Séguier certainly agreed that his prodigy should study in Rome, under the eyes of Poussin, and he provided a pension of 200 écus. Le Brun would remain four years in Italy absorbing the splendour of the antique world and the Renaissance glories of Raphael and Michelangelo. Notable among the paintings from Le Brun's Roman period were Mutius Scaevola, and The Crucifixion, for Jean-Paul Lascaris, Grand Master of the Order of Saint John of Malta, and works sent to Séguier - The Descent from the Cross, Christ in the Arms of the Virgin, Tobias and the Angel, and Roman Charity. Poussin apparently took Charles into his home, on the via del Babuino. So completely did the young painter absorb the master's belle manière, that per Claude Nivelon, Le Brun's biographer, a painting thought by the critics to be a Poussin was found out to be by Le Brun. Nicolas was quite perplexed until Charles confessed that he had done it in homage. Poussin was then agreeably surprised and not taken aback at

being temporarily upstaged.[9] Nivelon indicates that Poussin rendered to his charge, "Une bienveillance singulière." Charles confessed:

> qu'il lui avoit de l'obligation de l'avoir affermi dans les observations les plus secrettes et les plus relevées de la peinture, qui ne se découvrent que par une pratique consommée et connue seulement des maîtres de cet art.[10]

In 1644, Pope Urban VIII died and the accession on 15 September 1644, of Pope Innocent X, Pamphilli who was allied to the Spanish party made life in Rome difficult for French artists. On the advice of Poussin, Le Brun left Italy without waiting for the agreement of Séguier and returned to Paris, 2 March 1645.[11] Le Brun remembered the traditons and training provided by Rome's famous Academy of Saint Luke, and the idea of setting up a similar society in the French capital became a preoccupation. Sublet de Noyers, le surintendant, in conjunction with Richelieu may have thought of creating an Academy of Painting as early as 1640. Jacques Thuillier states:

> They may have wished to profit from Poussin's taking up residence in Paris at the end of 1640. But it was not that easy a task. It was necessary to find accomplished, genteel artists to talk to the great seigneurs and collectors about their art, and there were not many of them then. Besides Poussin there was Stella, a cultured man who had just received the coveted title of Chevalier of St. Michael; "Monsieur" Champaigne, whom Marie de Medicis and Richelieu admired for his lofty spirit and incorruptible life no less than for his painting; Simon Vouet, who was known as a gentleman; La Hyre, passionately interested in hunting, music and mathematics: These painters were what was needed but how to get them together? Vouet wanted to be first in everything; he was jealous of the

> Cardinal's esteem for Champaigne, and the arrival of Poussin, who was immediately swamped with favours and commissions, had decisively split Parisian painters into two opposed cliques... It would have taken all the Cardinal's personal influence to form a viable Academy in this situation. And he died at the end of 1642, followed shortly by King Louis XIII.[12]

The term "academy" derives from that place near the Acropolis of Athens where Plato and his circle met to discuss philosophy - The Grove of Academe. The word and the idea were revived in Renaissance Florence by Neo-platonists attached to Pico della Mirandola and the Medici court. A humanist spirit of scientific enquiry and scholarship was born in opposition to the perplexing labyrinth of medieval scholasticism. These academies were often gatherings of peers who discussed many subjects and matters of common interest. The ideas born out of such discussions were often seen as controversial and their champions began to teach others so as to ensure the perpetuation of the "faith." Schools were opened, which professed to instill modernity. At Bologna, the Accademia degli Inccomminati (ca. 1582), was set up by the brothers Annibale and Agostino Carracci and their cousin Ludovico. The frigid peculiarities of Roman and Florentine Mannerism no longer seemed to inspire painters and this new entity attracted many enthusiastic students - Inccomminati - to its bottega with the attached academy becoming an intimate circle; a kinship of aesthetics. Emphasis was placed on drawing from life and plaster casts focussing on the male nude, and nature itself. The Carracci program was not rigid; however, by the

1590's, lectures on anatomy, perspective, architecture, and theories of colour and light were included along with drawing competitions and prizes for proficiency.

Richelieu's Académie Française began informally in 1629 with men of letters meeting at the home of Valentin Conrart, secretary to Louis XIII. Chapelain and Conrart's panegyrics to the King and Richelieu soon garnered official patronage. Interestingly, in light of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture to be, Pierre Séguier, who would come to the aid of Le Brun, was among Richelieu's academicians. The relationship between literature and the plastic arts was not so far apart. Jean Chapelain and Conrart felt that an artist could only achieve beauty by conforming to rules that were based on reason but derived from classical writers. The Academy that Le Brun knew in Rome was becoming entrenched. However, Roman artists also knew of the guilds whose rules, extending back to 1478, were well preserved.

In Italy, painters had been organizing in the Congregazione di San Giuseppe di Terra Santa Alla Rotonda, which had a chapel in the Pantheon, but no official status or teaching facilities. In 1588, Pope Sixtus V, issued a Breve urging the founding of a confraternita alloting the Church of Sta Martina as a possible site. Cardinal Federigo Borromeo and the painter Zuccari took up the campaign and on 14 November 1593, the Accademia di S. Luca was born, with Zuccari as president. Rules were devised and an aesthetic program

instituted. Nikolaus Pevsner notes that Leonardo's Paragone - the supremacy of painting over sculpture - Zuccari's ideas on Disegno and the distinguishing qualities of architecture were up for discussion.[13] Twelve visiting teachers, Censori, attended to the educational instruction with emphasis on life drawing. But, even landscape and animal subjects were worthy of attention. There were numerous confrontations with the guilds and little ascendency for this society until Pope Urban VIII imposed a compulsory tax on non-members, and provided the Church of SS. Martina e Luca (commenced in 1635) as a home. Pevsner indicates that:

> From 1634-1638, Pietro de Cortona was Principe. Amongst his immediate successors were Turchi, Romanelli, Algardi, Rainaldi - all prominent representatives of Roman Baroque.[14]

Poussin's name was put up for Principe in 1658; he declined. In 1672, another Frenchman, Charles Errard, did accept the post.

In the heady days of 1663, with Louis XIV, Colbert and Le Brun at the centre of the French universe, the powerful, re-organized French Academy of Painting and Sculpture seemed to define classicism and absolutism as indivisible. But in fact, when the Academy was founded in 1648, times were very uncertain. Louis XIV was but ten years old and the strong willed Anne d'Autriche ruled as Queen Regent. Parliament was gaining ascendancy and Paris was a city in a state of near rebellion. From the time of Henry IV, tensions had been growing between artist/artisans of the guild and the painters

holding royal licences. In 1608, the King complained about "La Maîtrise qui oste la liberté ... de travailler" refusing an application to establish a special Guild of Enlumineurs.[15]

In the time of Charles VI (1386-1422), a period of peace and prosperity before Henry V and Agincourt (1415), royal and feudal courts bought luxury objects in quantity - more than their own artists could supply. Independent painters filled the gap and prospered, becoming a distinct class and receiving in 1391, a charter as the Guild of Saint Luke. They adopted an apprenticeship system leading to the title master, la Maîtrise. Often, a lengthy internship was required; and, to obtain accreditation, a successful diploma work, chef d'oeuvre, had to be presented to the jury. The ordinances of 1391 were a codification of additional articles in conjunction with an older, already established entity.

As early as 1260, Étienne Boileau effected the first registration of the original ordinances of les corporations parisiennes (LXII du livre des métiers d'Étienne Boileau). These ordinances were only systematized in the 14th Century under Philippe le Bel. Previously, they had been random laws that were difficult to interpret,and only by current usage. Thus, the 12 August 1391 ordinances of Jean de Folleville, prévot of Charles VI, the first Charter, really confirm the regulations of Boileau. The reasons for ordinances were to curb abuse and fraud, in connection with artisans' materials, i.e., the use of false gold for real, tin for silver, etc.,

and to protect the interests of les Maîtres - immunities, exemptions, frontiers, with protection against rivals and confirmation of authority over subordinates. Questions of taste were never addressed. After 1391, the kings (not the prévots), would confirm by letters patent the status of the Corporation. Thus, did Charles VII in 1430; Henri II in 1548 and 1555, Charles IX in 1563; Henri III in 1582; and Louis XIII in 1622. All confirmations being based on the 1391 model and each strengthening the means of dealing with fraud, inspection, investigation, with more and severer penalties, higher taxes and powers of seizure. Even Louis XIII, who loved foreign art and pitied the efforts of the guild, signed in 1622 what amounted to a manifesto for guild artists to continue from strength to strength. La Maîtrise, according to Louis Vitet, would not simply govern the trade. The statutes applied to art and trade. The contract was all. From this, justice could be done, and what tribunal would then dare for philosophical reasons to proclaim the liberty of art and refuse application of the law.[16] Members of the guild were artisans and merchants with civic rights. Otherwise, artists had to become attached to the royal, noble or ecclesiastical domain and obtain a licence, or, work illegally, subject to prosecution by the guild. The Maîtrise charged that these brevetés constituted an abuse and a scandal while licencees accused the Corporation of a monopoly,

degrading the talents of artists to the condition of tradesmen.

Feudal France certainly knew of artist-valets, artist-monks and artist-artisans. Artist-valets were in regular service in the royal household attached to the Lord Chamberlain (maître d'hôtel). They carried the title peintre et valet de chambre du roi, being attentive to the royal comforts as architects, sculptors, decorators, painters of easel pictures, designers of tapestry, cabinet makers, book makers, and pagent masters. As the royal establishments became larger, more artist-valets were assigned, their functions being divided - a suitable candidate becoming premier peintre du roi, with charge over all decorative enterprises under the Lord Chamberlain. This system lasted in royal and noble houses with some modification until the Revolution of 1789. Artist-monks worked for the Church often in the monasteries while artist-artisans helped build and decorate churches and cathedrals. Within the Lord Chamberlain's domain, where valet de chambre appointments were granted or sold, licencees were exempt from prosecution by the Corporation. These posts were often obtained by favour and holders could solicit their continuation for their sons.[17] Licencees became peintre du roi, peintre de la reine, or peintre ordinaire, receiving a lettre de brevet-brevetés, brevetaires, with salaries and lodging in the Louvre or Tuileries. From Henri IV's time, other styles could be

obtained protecting artists from the guild as maître de lettres, as opposed to corporate masters, while independent tradesmen, who supplied the court, could often use the semi-official title fournisseur du roi (By Royal Appointment). Striking back at the weakened monarchy in 1646, the Corporation, whose privileges had been strengthened by Louis XIII in 1622 and registered by the Parliament de Paris in 1639, asked Parliament (not the King) to limit the number of royal brevetés to four (at the most six) for the King and the same number for the Queen, while denying royal princes the right to any.[18] Brevetés were not to be allowed to carry out outside commissions for private patrons while working for their majesties on pain of confiscation of the work and a fine of 500 livres. The Maîtrise added that all its members were ready to work for their majesties.

In a judgement of August 1647, la chambre des Requêtes of the Parliament de Paris invited all who held brevets to the King or Queen to come to court and explain why and by what means, this had been ordained. This was in effect for those artists who worked in the Louvre. Court artists were incensed and began to mobilize. Le Brun sensed that the climate was right for a new entity, the Academy, to be born of the spirit of ennoblement and the kinship of aesthetics. Councillor Martin de Charmois, a man of great influence (himself an artist), was approached. Louis Vitet in his Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture states:

> M. Martin de Charmois, conseilleur d'État, autrefois secrétaire de M. le maréchal de Schomberg pendant son ambassade à Rome, avait rapporté d'Italie un amour passionné des beaux-arts; on dit même que pour son plaisir il s'exerçait à sculpter et a peindre. Le Brun le prit pour confident, l'anima, l'échauffa contre les entreprises des jurés; lui rappela les exercices qu'ils avaient ensemble admirés pendant leur séjour à Rome, das l'ancienne Académie de Saint-Luc; vanta les grands services que cette école, selon lui, avait rendus à la peinture italienne, et insista sur la nécessité de transplanter en France quelque institution de ce genre...l'Académie de Saint-Luc, en un mot, à quelques variantes près, tel était le plan de Le Brun. Il le mit sur le papier, le soumit à M. de Charmois, et lui demanda d'appeler comme en consultation les deux frères Testelin, ses intimes amis, deux autres peintres, Juste d'Egmont et Michel Corneille, et un sculpteur déjà célèbre Jacques Sarrazin. M. de Charmois les fit venir, se pénétra de leurs idées, et finit par se convaincre qu'il en était lui-même à peu près l'inventeur. Devenu le patron du nouveau plan d'académie, ... il eut soin de communiquer son travail en grande confidence aux principaux membres du conseil d'État, leur demandant avis, s'assurant de leur approbation; ... il obtint d'être admis à déposer lui-même sa requête aux pieds du trône. Lecture en fut donnée devant la reine dans le conseil de régence tenu au Palais-Royale, le 20 janvier 1648.[19]

The impertinences of the guild were not lost on royal sensibilities which were under a considerable strain. Indeed, the Regent, her Council, the parliaments, princes of the blood, peasants, and Parisians, were all locked in a power struggle that almost destroyed the monarchy. The problem was aggravated during the reign of Louis XIII, for many observers thought that Richelieu and Louis had raised royal authority too high. They had reduced the effectiveness of ancient institutions - the great noble houses, the parliaments, high courts, corporations and the estates. From 1624, France was

submitted to a regime of ministerial administration, the delegation of the supreme royal powers of Louis XIII to an all-powerful first minister Cardinal Richelieu. In the eyes of many loyal Frenchmen, the mystique of the sovereign had become somewhat debased and diluted. Michel Pernot states that according to Cardinal Le Bret:

> Il allait à l'encontre de la théorie du corps mystique de la monarchie, d'après laquelle le roi, oint du Seigneur, est capable et lui seul de sentir, de comprendre et d'interpréter les aspirations de son peuple parce qu'il reçoit pour cela l'assistance du Ciel. Richelieu qui ne pouvait bénéficier d'un tel charisme, n'a pu que pratiquer une politique en désaccord avec les voeux des Français et ceux-ci espèrent en 1643, la fin du ministeriat.[20]

In theory the King's power seemed absolute.[21] However, it is seldom expected that his full force would be used, any more than kind and judicious parents would use their full authority against their children. Louis XIII distrusted his Queen. She defied him and corresponded with her Spanish relatives. He distrusted most everyone else as well. Paradoxically, in his last will and testament, Louis decided to reduce royal power - Anne's powers, as they would apply to her soon-to-be regency for the boy Louis XIV. By this document, all major government decisions to come would be passed by a majority of the Royal Council of State. This Council was to be composed of Gaston d'Orléans, the Prince Condé, and Richelieu's creatures, Pierre Séguier and Cardinal Mazarin. Orest Ranum states:

> In an attempt to secure its establishment, Louis summoned his leading judges from the Parliament of Paris and instructed them to enter his will concerning the regency council into the registers

> of the court. As he lay on his deathbed in the spring of 1643, the King took a position that was probably entirely consistent with the wishes of Cardinal Richelieu who had died five months earlier. He attempted to restore a certain balance in the governance of the realm by effectively decreasing royal authority. The judges solemnly promised to carry out the dying monarch's last wishes and did in fact register his declaration, thereby making it the law of the land.[22]

Anne knew of these matters and vowed to rule by such a council. Within hours of Louis' death, even perhaps before it, she secured support to have Parliament name her regent with full powers. The day after the King's death in a solemn lit de justice she was so confirmed. Why did these judges reverse their stand? The makers of a regent likely saw themselves as increasing their own powers in the process.

The Parliament de Paris was not a House of Lords and a Commons, or a parliament in the English sense, but in reality eight chambers of law courts each with its president and counsellors - La Grande chambre,five chambres des Enquêtes and two chambres de Requêtes. It was proper for the government (the Royal Council) to present its edicts (arrêts) for deliberation and registation by Parliament before they could become law. A power struggle soon ensued as to which body was supreme, the King in his Council or the King in his Parliament? Certain senior parliamentarians held that their origin from the Cour-le-roi capetienne gave their edicts at least the same value as decisions emanating from the Council and that all edicts must then be submitted for parliamentary consideration. The outcome was that parliamentarians now felt

they had not just the right of a remonstrance to the Regent in regard to Council decisions, but the power to modify arrêts issuing from a regency during the King's minority. Anne d'Autriche having been confirmed by Parliament with full powers brooked no diminution in the royal authority. Contentious was the ancient privilege of lit de justice.

Before Louis XIII, lits were only convened to deal with grave matters - the first lit de justice of 1369 being held by Charles V, to try Edward, Prince of Wales, his vassal concerning the Duchy of Guyene. Now, these ceremonies were being employed to force registration of such tawdry matters as finance and taxation. Paul Rice Doolin notes:

> The courts claimed the right to sanction all royal acts affecting their jurisdiction; the word used was verify. The courts examined the act and decreed registration if it was found satisfactory; if not registration was refused, or, sometimes the act was "modified" that is, ordered registered with amendments.[23]

In a lit de justice the King occupied his place in great splendour with Parliament fully assembled. The act was verified in his presence. The votes of the judges were only taken as a matter of form. In the presence of the King they could not disagree.[24]

By 1643, a state of war had been in existence for eight years. The conflict attached itself to two other campaigns, the Thirty Years' War ravaging the Empire since 1618 and a War of Independence between the Netherlands and Spain, commenced in 1579, and renewed in 1621 after a twelve years' truce.

These hostilities supported by Richelieu would see Spain's hegemony in Europe ended. France's efforts commenced in 1635 when Louis XIII declared war on his brother-in-law Philip IV of Spain. The theatre was enlarged in 1636 when Emperor Ferdinand II fought against France over the Prince de Condé's seizure of Dole, a city theoretically in the sphere of the Empire but included in 1510, in a subdivision - the circle of Bourgogne. France fought on four fronts against the Hapsburgs of Vienna and the Hapsburgs in Madrid. It was a colossal and expensive exercise. The French could count on the support of the United Provinces (the Netherlands) and Sweden, but these Protestant countries demanded large subsidies; and to many French Catholics the alliances appeared scandalous. Peace negotiations dragged on and on. Money was in short supply - the treasury was exhausted. The deficit approached 40 to 50 million livres with revenues for three years to come already expended. The principal source of revenue the taille, which many in noble and ecclesiastical circles did not pay, fell on peasants and city dwellers in an inequitable fashion. Innumerable indirect taxes were also imposed, these again unequally applied - the most detested being the salt tax (gabelle). The King often resorted to borrowing large sums from partisans who would amass capital and charge an exhorbitant rate of interest. The monarchy received handsome revenues from the sale of offices in the public service in the judicial and financial spheres, when positions fell vacant on

the death of incumbents. The monarch did not hesitate to create new postions for a price, making the public service by a principle of venality, a source of permanent revenue. The clergy were exempted from the taille but remitted to the treasury le don gratuit, an amount set every five years by negotiation. Michel Pernot states:

> En 1641, le clergé a regimbé devant les exigences financières de Richelieu et a même prétendu réaffirmer l'immunite fiscale des biens ecclésiastiques. Mais il a dû finalement s'exécuter et voter à Louis XIII un subside de cinq millions et demi de livres après que plusieurs évêques récalcitrants eurent reçu l'ordre de retourner dans leur diocèse.[25]

Since the royal government in 1648 was strapped for cash, it decided to sell 24 new offices of maîtres de requêtes de l'hôtel. The officials would serve the chancellor, assisting in the sealing and presentation of documents for authentication and reporting to Council on matters of justice and finance before the courts. As members of Parliament they took their place in the Great Chamber. There were already seventy such offices, some created by Louis XIII. But, in the past, there had never been added in one stroke so many new colleagues. In addition, the King usually recruited his feared intendants from among the ranks of these maîtres. In protest, the seated maîtres, on 9 January 1648 reported no business to the Royal Council - they went on strike. Mazarin then reduced the number of maîtres to be created from 24 to 12 while obliging Parliament to register this by ordering a lit de justice for 15 January 1648.[26] At this famous ceremony

the Advocate General, Omer Talon, chastised the monarchy for this unusual pressure. Talon stated:.

> ... the power of your majesty comes from above, who owe an account of your actions, after God, only to your conscience; but it concerns your glory that we be free men not slaves; the grandeur of your state and the dignity of your crown are measured by the quality of those who obey you.[27]

It is reported that the young Louis XIV burst into tears and forgot the speech he had memorized. Talon thought this lit de justice unconstitutional under the circumstances but confined oppositon to a remonstrance. Parliament as a whole was less temperate and on 15 February 1648, it modified the edict (so registered), on the francs-fiefs.[28] The Queen Regent demanded to know if Parliament pretended to modify an edict which had been approved with the King seated in his lit de justice. Parliament yielded somewhat but added the term sous le bon plaisir du roi which in effect modified the edict. Thus was precipitated one of the great crises of French history, often called la Fronde.[29]

Parliament would continue to ignore its judicial duties. The law courts joined in an act of union, 13 May 1648, and met in the Chambre Saint Louis, while taking a political initiative in order to usurp the Royal Council's authority in defiance of the Queen. The results would see the arrest of five treasurers of France, the detention of Judges Broussel and Blancmesnil, by lettre de cachet, and rioting in Paris with a state of marshal law in effect. There were also disturbances in Provence and Guienne, and access to Paris was

blockaded by troops amassed by Mazarin and the Prince de Condé. The Queen Regent, the King and court would flee Paris 5 January 1649 for Saint Germain-en-Laye and Parliament would seize Parisian fortifications and decree that Mazarin was an enemy of the state. The Royal Council ordered the Parliament de Paris to leave the city and resume its judicial duties at Montargis. Only with the Treaty of Rueil, 12 March 1649 (modified and registered by Parliament 1 April 1649), did the King and Council gain some measure of control. The Regent and Louis XIV returned to Paris on 18 August 1649 to great acclaim.

In such a climate of sensitivity, Councillor de Charmois' lecture and memorandum to the Queen, 20 February 1648 was very carefully worded. In fact, the style was distinctly that of the Siècle Louis XIV. According to N. Pevsner, Louis is compared to Alexander the Great, with artists longing to paint "Son Visage Auguste," and "les beaux traits et les grâces que le ciel y a imprimez."[30] The memorandum set out Le Brun's programme (from the Saint Luke model, Rome), where a knowledge of architecture, geometry, perspective, arithmetic, anatomy, astronomy and history would be stressed. The memorandum minute was signed immediately. Infuriated by the Community's intrusion into the royal domain itself, the Queen was of a mind to suppress the guilds entirely. She called la Maîtrise gilders and marbleizers, forbidding them to paint history pictures, portraits, bas-reliefs and sculpted figures or to

work for churches, public buildings or hôtels. She wanted to confine their activities to ornamentation alone, on pain of a fine of 2000 livres and confiscation of the work if they contravened her dictum. In defence of guild artists, whose reputations were being somewhat denigrated by would-be academicians, the Community could call on such excellent artists as Jacques Blanchard, Lubin Baugin, Pierre Patel, Claude Vignon, Le Blanc, Quesnel, Lalemant and Poerson. Blanchard's work by times recalls Titian, while Patel sometimes painted landscapes in Le Sueur's canvases, not a mediocre honour. In his landscapes, Patel could evoke Claude Lorrain. He worked in l'hôtel Lambert and at the Louvre under Lemercier. Le Sueur, a member of la Maîtrise presented the Corporation with an esteemed Saint Paul Healing the Sick at Ephesus. The early list of founders of the Academy contained two or three estimable names. Many were unknowns or no better than Maîtrise artists. Within the guild there remained an affection for l'école primitive flamande - Fouquières, de Clouet, de Corneille de Lyon. Often their work was rendered with conscience, patient observation of nature, justice of expression, even profoundness. However, the Community members by their tendency to perpetuate hereditary memberships - sons and nephews could inherit their title, but often not the talent, and by a process of association, they often entertained the membership of workers (some merely house painters), hardly conversant with the basic elements of art;

a negative connotation began to attach itself to their company. Academicians, on the other hand, walked with kings and princes inferring that art conferred nobility. Among the young, a disdain for the guilds soon developed because of the high price for the title, and the length of apprenticeship. Young artists would rather take their chances by studying with a court painter with the view to obtaining a brevet. Simon Vouet, who was opposed to the Academy, conducted an atelier with a spirit of double opposition. Thus, at the beginning of Louis XIV's reign, three camps were effected, la Maîtrise, les brevetaires, and a group of young talents fighting both camps. The Royal Council, being more temperate than the Queen, modified Anne's virtual proscription of the Corporation to a position of accommodation, asking only that la Maîtrise not give any undue trouble to court artists by way of visits, seizures or confiscations, on pain of a fine of 2000 livres. Royal approval for the Academy did not mean, however, that brevetes were home free or out of the woods. There would still be interference by the Corporation and great uncertainty for academicians in light of the political climate, and the lack of finances and permanent quarters in which to assemble as a company. However, the royal willingness to acknowledge in a concrete and legal way this small band of visionary missionaries, who would effect a world of aesthetic kinship and the ennoblement of artists, was now at hand. Le Brun and

company could at last look to building a brighter future for the arts in France.

Notes: Chapter One

[1] Émile Magne, Nicolas Poussin: Premier Peintre du Roi, (Paris: Émile Paul Frères, 1928) 166

[2] Magne, 167

[3] De Noyers, à ce moment, parait avoir un certain ressentiment contre les artistes en général, car il parle à Chantelou, avec aigreur de ces "Messieurs les peintres" qui "se rend nos maîtres après qu'ils ont entamé un ouvrage...." (Magne, 192)

[4] Poussin per H.W. Van Helsdingen (Simiolus, The Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art, V, 1971, 172-184) used the French translation by Jean de Montlyard of La Mythologie de Natale Conti, as the principal source of the iconography for Hercules in the cartoons for the Grand Gallery. 14 January 1639 (Corrspondence de Nicolas Poussin, C. Jouanny, Archives de l'art français, N.S.V. 1911, p. 5-7). Poussin must have been well appreciated by Louis XIII's artistic advisors because of his knowledge of the antique and his high classical style. In the above mentioned letter Sublet de Noyers indicates that Poussin would not have to paint ceilings or vaults. The Hercules theme was à propos. Jean Seznec (The Survival of the Pagan Gods, New York: 1961, 25-26) states that certain royal families believed in their descendence from Hercules, who in his voyages through Europe founded dynasties in Bourgogne and Spain. Seznec dit qu' Henri IV (descendant de la lignée soi-distant "herculéenne" des Navarre), avait été lui-même appelé "Hercule gaulois" par les Jesuites d'Avignon. Henri appropriated the image from the Valois his predecessors. A. Blunt (Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700 1970, 206) notes that the symbolic Hercules remained important to the Bourbons and the theme would even be considered for the decorations in Louis XIV's Galerie des Glaces, Versailles. (Natalie and Arnold Henderson, "Nouvelles recherches sur la decoration de Poussin pour la Grande Galerie," in La Revue du Louvre, 27 No. 4 [Paris: Imprimerie Blanchard, 1977] 225-234)

[5] The Long Gallery of the Louvre, some 1400 feet long by 28 feet wide, a passageway to the Tuileries, was difficult to address in the sense of designing an effective decorative scheme. On 20th of March 1641, the King had sent Poussin a "lettre de Brevet" designating him premier peintre ordinaire au roi, which marginalized Simon Vouet's role at court. This gave Nicolas the general direction over many artists employed in the work of embellishing the royal establishments - among these were Salomon Girard, Jean Lemaire, Remy Vuibert and Jacques Stella. Lemercier, the architect for the Louvre, had provided plans and sketches for the general decorative scheme. These were rejected by Poussin out of hand as being heavy, cold and inappropriate. Jacques Fouquières' paintings (pre-commissioned), of the cities of France, were also rejected for the Long Gallery. They were thought discordant with the Hercules program and certain plaster reliefs which Poussin had taken in Rome, - the Arch of Constantine and the Trajan Column, among these - to be incorporated as architectual detailing in the Gallery. Poussin's main assistants were

the sculptor Henri Perlan and the painter Vuibert. Nicolas complained of a lack of competent workers in Paris, the size of the structure, and the money being wasted on decorating a gallery that was, at best, a corridor in a state of disrepair. (Émile Magne, Nicolas Poussin: Premier Peintre du Roi [Paris: Émile-Paul Frères, 1928] 168-191)

[6] Joachim von Sandrart (op. cit. p. 368), indicates that Poussin accepted the King's offer. La correspondance des directeurs de l'Académie de France à Rome avec les surintendants des batiments published by A. de Montaiglon, 1887, 350: "Louis XIII aurait également fait présent à Poussin d'une année des appointements attachés à sa charge de premier peintre." (Magne, 193)

[7] According to Guillet de Saint-Georges, Le Brun painted for Cardinal Richelieu an allegorical composition alluding to the Cardinal's name and representing the King in a glory of prosperity; and three other pictures, The Rape of Prosperine, Hercules Delivering Diomede and Hercules to be Burned. G. de Saint-Georges notes: "M. Poussin, qui était alors à Paris, témoigna qu'il était fort content de ces ouvrages et en dit beaucoup de bien." (p.5). Émile Magne (Nicolas Poussin: Premier Peintre du Roi, (1928)), notes in regard to Le Brun's work at the Hôtel Richelieu (Palais Royale, per Claude Nivelon and Guillet de Saint-Georges, Poussin remarked, "que si ce qu'il voyait était d'un jeune homme, qu'il serait un jour un des grands peintres qui eut été, ou que si c'était d'une personne avancée en age qu'il pouvait se dire habile homme avec justice."(p. 169). (MM. L. Dussieux, E. Soulié, P.H. de Chennevières, Mémoires inédits sur la vie et les ouvrages des Membres de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, Vol.I [Paris: F. de Nobele, 1968] 4,5)

[8] Le Brun may have come under Séguier's protection by way of M. Pierre LeBé, the maternal grandfather of Charles. LeBé was maître de lettres to Séguier's children. The future Chancellor of France likely employed Nicolas Le Brun and Vouet to decorate the Hôtel de Bellegarde and Vouet may have used young Charles for secondary work in the Hôtel. Charles soon came to Séguier asking to study the works of de Rosso and Primaticcio at Fontainebleau. (André Malraux, Charles Le Brun, Exposition (July-Oct. 1963 [Versailles:1963] xxxxI)

[9] Émile Magne, Nicolas Poussin: Premier Peintre du Roi, (Paris: Émile-Paul Frères 1928) 240

[10] Andre Malraux, Charles Le Brun, Exposition (July-Oct.1963) (Versailles: 1963) xxxxv

[11] Dans une lettre datée de Lyon, le 18 janvier 1646 (op. Jouin, 399), il annonce à son protecteur qu'il est parti conseillé par M. Poussin. (François Gebelin, L'Époque Henri IV et Louis XIII, [Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969] 144)

[12] Jacques Thuillier, Thomas B. Hess and John Ashberry, Eds. "The Birth of the Beaux-Arts," in The Academy, Five Centuries of Grandeur and Misery

from the Carracci to Mao Tse-Tung. Art News Annual XXXIII New York: Macmillan and Company, 1967), 29-37

[13] N. Pevsner, Academies of Art Past and Present, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973) 60

[14] Pevsner, 66

[15] Pevsner, 83

[16] Louis Vitet, C. Lévy, Eds. L'Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, (Paris: Maison Lévy Frères, 1880) 30-40

[17] Molière's father valet-tapissier to Louis XIII, secured the title for his son who held it without providing the service. (R. Wilensky, French Painting, [New York: Dover Publications, 1973] 78)

[18] 16 January 1619, the King returned to his prévot the draft of 34 strong ordinances regarding the Corporation for a written assessment. In 1621, the response hung on three issues: 1. Maîtres had exclusive right to make and sell pictures. Foreign importation was forbidden, except for sale at the Saint-Germain Fair or local fairs - with precautions - subjecting fair merchants to jury assessment. Unsold pictures at the close of the fair would be held under lock and key by the Maîtrise. No object painted or sculpted could be sold by any tradesman or artisan without Corporation approval. 2. Brevetaires must not work in chambers or at les maîtres without a certificate that the brevet was real (not honorary) and inscribed by proper officers of la cour des Aides, by the King, Queen, Monsieur or Madame, princes of the blood. Brevetaires must work on royal premises and not have fixed residences in Paris. 3. Ordinances regarding the length of apprenticeship, increasing control and supervision. Two magistrates analysed the above and gave approval, 2 Oct. 1620. The King and Council hesitated, assailed by complaints from merchants and shopkeepers who claimed their sale of real art work was few - they only sold objects d'art as accessories. They would face ruin. The King signed letters patent in April 1622. Parliament held up registration until 1639. (Louis Vitet, C. Lévy, Eds. L'Académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, [Paris: Maison Lévy Frères, 1880] 48-65)

[19] Vitet, 62, 63

[20] Michel Pernot, La Fronde, (Paris: Éditions de Fallois, 1994) 42

[21] P.Doolin in his Introduction, maintains that the Kings's power in 17th and 18th-Century France was a limited monarchy - the King's command was successfully opposed on many occasions. (Paul Rice Doolin, The Fronde, [London: Harvard University Press, 1935] xi-xiii)

[22] Orest Ranum, The Fronde: A French Revolution 1648-1652, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1993) 47

[23] Paul Rice Doolin, The Fronde, (London: Harvard University Press, 1935) 61

[24] The ceremony lit de justice takes its name from the banquette emblazoned with golden fleurs de lis upon which the king sat during a ceremony recalling a royal medieval court. The chancellor, chief of administration of justice, princes of the blood, dukes, peers, marshals seated next to the magistrates. Here, the medieval right of registering, remonstrance and interfering in the direction of policies of the realm developed. Richelieu who convened a number of lits, appreciated this propensity for interference and curbed these initiatives exiling the contentious parties when necessary. (Michel Pernot, La Fronde, [Paris: Éditions de Fallois, 1994] 15)

[25] Pernot, 38

[26] The edict creating 12 new offices of maîtres des requêtes was only one of seven fiscal edicts to be registered at the lit de justice of 15 Jan. 1648. All but one were intended to increase the burden of taxation. The second edict created new offices in chancelleries. The third created offices, the possessors of which were to be paid by fees levied on goods entering Paris. The fourth - the francs-fiefs demanded payment of dues as stated in note 28. The fifth edict - a tax on the aisés which met with strong oppostition was abolished. The sixth edict demanded one year's revenue from holders of property comprised in the royal domain, while the seventh edict was another creation of offices in the maréchaussés of France. (Paul Rice Doolin, The Fronde, [London: Harvard University Press, 1935] 3)

[27] Doolin, 63

[28] The edict of the francs-fiefs, ordered payment of twenty-five years' dues by the possessors. Of these twenty-five, fourteen had elapsed. Holders were in debt for these to the government. Parliament reduced the edict to fourteen years. (Doolin, 5)

[29] In the fall of 1648, boys playing with slingshots broke the windows in the carriage house and stables of Cardinal Marazin. Dressed in fine red silk, Mazarin was driven about in a sumptuous coach pulled by fine horses. As a foreigner, he was despised for he lacked Richelieu's communicative skills in being able to mobilize public opinion against the threat of the Holy Roman Empire. It has not been determined if the slingshot incident was the beginning of the revolution called the fronde. The French word for slingshot is fronde and a person using the weapon is a frondeur. (Orest Ranum, The Fronde: A French Revolution 1648-1652, [New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1993] 51,52)

[30] N. Pevsner, Academies of Art Past and Present, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973) 84

Chapter Two

POUSSIN'S CLASSICAL SENSIBILITY

Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), was born in Villers, part of the Les Andelys region of Normandy. Jean Poussin his father, a mercenary soldier in the train of Henri of Navarre, came from Soisson. At Vernon, Jean met and married Marie Delaisement, the widow of Claude Lemoine. She was the daughter of Nicolas Delaisement, an alderman of Vernon. Marie inherited a parcel of land at Les Andelys and she and Jean moved there in 1592. Thus, Nicolas Poussin was born and grew up in simple surroundings; however, his parents were able to give him some education in Latin and letters.[1] In 1611, the Mannerist painter Quentin Varin executed works for the Church of Notre Dame at Le Grand Andely. Poussin likely saw these paintings and may at this time have been inspired to become a painter. The lovely stained glass and carvings at Nôtre Dame, begun in the 13th century, are also notable. The organ case is an example of Norman art as revived by Italian artists (ca.1500), the School of Cardinal Georges D'Amboise, first minister to Louis XII. The biblical figures are quite Renaissance in feeling: King David with a harp, set before Roman arcading and aediculae, rendered in perspective, delineations of a classical world that would not have been ignored by Poussin.

Nicolas left home in 1612. His early teachers in Rouen and Paris, Noël Jouvenet, Ferdinand Elle and likely Georges Lallemant, were confirmed Mannerists. Poussin rejected their aesthetic; however, he did associate with, and learn from, Flemish artists, Philippe de Champaigne and later François Duquesnoy. Predominant in Paris were the tendencies of the Second School of Fontainebleau, painters seconded by Henri IV after the wars of religion. Henri Sauval in his Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris, written in Nicolas' lifetime, tells of Poussin's admiration for Toussaint Dubreuil who among Second School artists approaches Nicolas' early style.[2] Dubreuil's Study for Sacrifice and painting (Fig.1 Louvre), renders the protagonists as earth-bound in conscious poses with unfussy draperies defining the figure. The spatial dimension is delineated as seen from below in a simplified architectural setting. Poussin would recall this perspective in The Triumph of David, and Holy Family on the Steps. Dubreuil eliminates Manneristic gnarled figure forms and acidic colour. His art approaches a classic monumentality, putting the viewer, as if seated in the orchestra of a theatre, in touch with the players, in conjunction with historically accurate (if reduced) architectural settings. Poussin would soon appropriate this to his own classical vocabulary.

Present in France (ca. 1560's), was an influential group of Flemish artists rendering figures and portraiture quite

differently from Second School acolytes. Notable among them was Frans Pourbus the Younger, the principal painter to Queen Marie de Medici. H. Sauval indicates that Nicolas admired Pourbus' Last Supper (Fig.2), which betrays elements of Titian's Supper at Emmaus, which Pourbus knew from his study in Italy.[3] Poussin distills an essential classical grandeur from Pourbus with figures disposed before a curtain, a reduced classical architecture, marble squared pavement; these ingredients to reappear in his Eucharist of 1647. However, the Flemish naturalism of Pourbus' heads is replaced by an elemental classical expressivity. Alexandre Courtois, in the train of Marie de Medici introduced Poussin to the royal collection and prints after Raphael and Giulio Romano. As well, Nicolas Duchesne's copy (1621), of Caravaggio's Death of the Virgin, was likely available as were some of Rubens' canvases for the Marie de Médici's cycle before Poussin finally left for Italy in 1624. The painter had made two earlier attempts to reach Italy. On the first voyage (ca. 1616-17), he reached Florence but soon turned back.[4] A second attempt to reach Rome from Lyon (ca. 1619-20) also failed.

From 1622-24, Poussin's activities in Paris are quite certain. During these years the Jesuits celebrated the canonization of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier, and the artist executed six tempera panels for the festivities. These works were different from run-of-the-mill French art and Nicolas was lauded by the Italian poet Giovanni Battista

Marino, laureate to Marie de Medici. Marino gave him lodging in his home and Poussin then began to illustrate the writings of a range of classical authors: Ovid, Livy, and Virgil. There are also fifteen drawings for Marino (Windsor Castle). In them there is a richness of incident and diversity of feeling evoking classical legend. The beings portrayed are vigorous and substantial; the mood is direct.[5] Some plan seems to have stimulated these drawings. Passeri saw them as plates for Marino's Adone, but the subjects do not conform. There are eleven mythological scenes and four battles.[6] Poussin was aware of a body of Ovid's illustrations by such artists as Bernard Salomon, Virgil Solis, and Hendrick Goltzius (for the Veuve-Langelier translation). Remaining uninfluenced, Nicolas preferred to distil from a constellation of figures two or three who relate. Rejected by him were the long-waisted forms, fluttering foliage, mincing steps and dancing movements. The story becomes a single happening - one moment - in contrast to the book illustrations replete with superfluous figures and incident. As well the Manneristic treatment of apparition is discarded. The Death of Chione (Fig. 3), shows her lying wounded or dead. The goddess Diana, here present, was often depicted in Manneristic terms, as borne upwards on a cloud, a saint-like figure. Jane Costello states that for Poussin:

> No goddess is made to appear to men as a figure of decorative grace borne upon a cloud. Diana is a huntress who walks ... with heavy tread ... The

> environment in which she moves at ease is the same in which Chione died (and lived).[7]

One is brought to a space that invites entry through being shallow. Rocks and trees are only ciphers for landscape as on a stage, if ordered on the principles of one's own substantial world. As well, there is here a deep concern for the psychological states of figures.

Poussin arrived in Rome early in 1624. His situation soom became precarious for Marino had died in Naples, in March of 1625, and two powerful patrons Cardinal Francesco Barberini (nephew of Pope Urban VIII), and Cassiano dal Pozzo, Barberini's secretary, soon left for France on diplomatic assignment in 1625. In 1630, Poussin married Anne-Marie Dughet. Her family had sustained him through serious illness and financial hardship. However, from Cardinal Barberini, he had received commissions for the Capture of Jerusalem by Titus, The Death of Germanicus and Martyrdom of St. Erasmus (1628), for St. Peter's Rome.

Most influential to Poussin's classical perceptions was the great Flemish sculptor François Duquesnoy. In 1626, they shared lodging (Via Paolina), and visited the Villa Ludovisi to study the paintings of Titian. Émile Magne states:

> Poussin et Duquesnoy y passaient de longes heures à besogner, un tableau de Titian: Enfants jouant dans une paysage sylvestre ... Poussin le copiait sans relâche, cherchant les secrets de coloris du maître vénitien. Quand ils avait terminé ses copies, il aidait son compagnon à parachever les bas-reliefs de plâtre qu'il tirait de la même toile.[8]

K. Oberhuber states that two major works by Duquesnoy (described by Bellori), were found by Italo Faldi (Galleria Doria Pamphili). Like Poussin, Duquesnoy was a Northerner absorbing Italian ideas of space, volume and expression. The Triumph of Divine Love (Fig. 4), is most linear and flat - the figures are pressed into one shallow plane. The hair and the skin of the putti are smooth - Rubens-like, while the body-types are Titianesque. There is also a relation to Poussin in regard to movement, proportion and facial type indicating the Duquesnoy worked closely with Poussin.[9] Later, the sculptor's St. Susanna, would parallel Poussin's serene, painted classicism. In the Barberini library, Nicolas explored Matteo Zaccolini's ideas on perspective, Alhazen's mathematical treatise, anatomy as described by Vesalius and the aesthetics of Dürer and Alberti.[10]

After the Carracci of Bologna, Poussin accepted that Domenichino and Andrea Sacchi were the true heirs of classicism in Rome. Poussin attended their ateliers informally even though Domenichino was quite out of favour. Émile Magne indicates:

> Celui-ci,... présidait une académie peu fréquentée où l'on étudiait d'après le nu et selon les principes promulgés par les Carrache. On y inculquait aux élèves le goût de l'ordonnance et l'amour de la simplicité. On y professait que, pour être harmonieuse, une composition ne doit comporter qu'une douzaine de figures.[11]

Poussin began to discipline himself, dispensing with Venetian colour. The practice of sculpture - Duquesnoy had taught him

to create wax and terra cotta figures comfirmed that design was paramount in painting and that concepts of beauty should be based on order and rules.

In 1626, Cassiano Dal Pozzo returned to Rome and Poussin wrote to him for assistance. Francis Haskell states:

> ... at this formative stage ... he (Poussin) was plunged into a world of classical studies, directed by the greatest European connoisseur of the age ... Poussin absorbed the spirit of classical art, not only in formal methods of composition ..., but in its more complex, intimate manifestations. Cassiano must have realised quite soon that he had in his service a painter who could do very much more than merely reproduce the remains of antiquity and that Poussin was capable of breathing new life into old forms.[12] [13]

Nicolas lived by the principles of Roman Stoic philosophy with a belief in the divine Logos. This translates to an uncomfortable position with regard to the doctrines and dogma of the Roman Church with its façade of Counter-Reformation Baroque art. He was soon branded a Protestant, a libertin, a Jesuit, a member of the Compagnie du St.-Sacrament and a Jansenist. There is likely some truth in all of this, although the Jansenist position was politically sensitive in Rome and Paris. The grandeur and severity of Poussin's Seven Sacraments for Dal Pozzo, and his mystical approach to landscape painting are replete with Stoical-Jansenist traits.[14] He seldom painted the visions, ecstasies, martyrdoms, assumptions or the newly canonized saints of the Baroque. He preferred (adhering to Council of Trent rules, 1563) the central themes of the New Testament; the Holy

Family, Nativity, Baptism, Passion, and a range of Old Testament themes, not popular in Baroque art in which the saving properties of water are canonical; The Sacrifice of Noah, Rebecca and Eliezer, Moses Sweetening the Waters of Marah.[15] Often, a syncretic approach is taken with a fusion of pagan and Christian iconography. The artist's important middle period commissions were the two versions of The Seven Sacraments (Dal Pozzo 1636-42, De Chantelou 1644-48).[16] Here, a basic truth current in all religions - religion as being above sect or creed - is illustrated. This was a stance favoured in Dal Pozzo's circle and among certain of Poussin's friends in Paris.[17] Stoic Philosophy was a rudder which guided one to live according to nature thus leading to virtue and tranquility. Anthony Blunt notes that Poussin states: "We have nothing that is really our own; we hold everything as a loan."[18] This is almost a direct quotation from Seneca's Moral Essays. Emotion seemed incompatible with reason and a sense of divine order or Logos. Stoic reason is to be distinguished from reason as defined by the Enlightenment of the 18th century. Charles Le Brun, the 'soul of the Academy' sensed something of Poussin's reason as a creative force born of Heraclitean fire. After Le Brun, Boileau and Testelin would see not a creative force, but a set of rules.[19] A subtle fusion of Stoical-Jansenist ideas is seen in Poussin's Extreme Unction (Fig. 6, Dal Pozzo), in which an application of healing oils is administered to a Stoic warrior. Nothing

in the visual context of the picture alludes to Christianity. Some architectural detail - a blank tondo on the wall, awaits a new iconography to clarify the issue. This is resolved in Poussin's Extreme Unction (De Chantelou), in which the tondo becomes a Christian warrior's shield bearing Emperor Constantine's chi-rho monogram. For Dal Pozzo and company, there was no break between the pagan Greco-Roman world and the Christian life to come. When Poussin died (19 November 1665), he received the last rites of the Catholic Church. Such was the simplicity and severity of the arrangements, no donations to charity or religious orders, that Jean Dughet, his executor searched his own conscience to spend additional monies to provide a suitable funeral. This strengthens the notion of Poussin's adherence to Stoical-Jansenist principles.

Poussin's attitude toward landscape painting confirms a classical viewpoint. These are largely constructs of the imagination if based on a profound knowledge of the Campagna, the Aiban Hills and likely the sea coast toward Naples. Pierre Francastel notes:

> Pas question ... de faire de Poussin le précurseur des realistes. Il n'a jamais peint sur nature. Ce n'est pas la vue d'un site qui remplace celle d'une histoire...'[20]

In his Titian mode (late 1620's), Nicolas' beautiful landscapes are but a backdrop where figures dominate, replete with Manneristic elements, a repoussoir of rocks and trees, some unrelated middle distance inclusive of architecture, often in the Palladian mode, and a far off vista of hazy

mountains. By 1630, figures in the classical mould of Greece, Rome or Raphael were perfectly integrated by Poussin into a landscape that becomes a vast stage for heroic dramas. Landscape did not then rank high in a hierarchy which preferred History Painting. In Rome, one could see a topographical (Northern) approach to landscape painting in the work of Breenberg and Van Poelenburg, the romanticism of Elsheimer and Claude Lorrain, or the classical views of A. Carracci and Domenichino. The classical road was soon taken by Poussin. Traditionally, in these classical vistas, a planar arrangement; a panoramic view of the countryside with the closing off of space was adhered to. There is not an unlimited view to the horizon but a series of small stages of action parallel to the picture plane often inclusive of rather small scale figures (staffage), as seen in Domenichino's Landscape with Castle (Fig. 7). Poussin did make drawings from nature, i.e., The View near Villeneuve-lès-Avignon (Fig. 8), where the superb use of ink and wash defines the fall of light. In the View near Villeneuve the arch seems curiously flat and planar, yet, the whole, is a vibrant transubstantiation of the antique. This recalls ancient Roman fresco painting.

Poussin's political viewpoint seems ambivalent. He remained suspicious of the aristocracy and the rabble, calling the lower orders "betise et inconstance" confirming his assimilation to an elite, the middle class, who were beyond

stupidy and inconstancy. Here is the link to Stoical-libertinage. Sheila McTighe indicates that Pierre Charron in De la sagesse describes three layers of air in the atmosphere (after Renaissance physical science), with three levels of society. The majority of men, of lowly intelligence, must be led, a few in the middle are utilitarian and practical and may govern by law. The least number of men are of pure intelligence. They see clearly and are our natural leaders. The men of middling capacities suffer most from storm and tempest. Opposed to them stands the blind, madwoman Fortune and against her every man must stand firm.[21] S. McTighe points out that in Poussin's Landscape with Blind Orion (Fig. 9), the sightless giant Orion walks away, his face averted from our gaze. He was punished with blindness for attempting to violate the nymph Aerope. Vulcan, god of fire, healed the giant's eyes directing him to walk toward the rising sun. The landscape depicted seems inanimate and curiously unreflective of emotion.[22] A disquieting equanimity pervades the atmosphere and yet this topography cannot be dismissed as a mere backdrop.

In a letter to Chantelou, April 1647, the painter introduces the modes of ancient music, the precursors of musical key signatures. The Doric mode is grave and severe, the Phrygian joyous, the Lydian melancholic while the Ionic is quite festive, with the Hypolydian inducing divine raptures. These ideas developed from a treatise by the 16th-

century humanist Gioseffo Zarlino. Thus, Orion's searing fury and chagrin proclaim a Lydian mode. These modes imply reason, measure and unity but attached is an ancient ethical meaning that remembers Plato's Republic, in which passions could be profoundly manipulated by modal music and poetry for good or evil.

Before commencing a painting, Poussin read all available texts on his proposed subject and tailored his canvases to the aesthetic perceptions of each patron. In the Renaissance, the idea developed that image, text, painting and poetry were sister arts. S. McTighe indicates that the ancient writers (Simonides and Horace among them) believed in the relationship between poetry and painting. Painting was seen as a form of mute poetry while poetry was described as speaking painting. Horace in ut pictura poesis states: "... as it is with painting so with poetry ...." These ideas soon became the foundation of art theory.[23] In Baroque times, this was conflated with the notion that text was of paramount importance to becoming a moral treatise.

If the Renaissance tradition of linear perspective would draw the viewer into a world set within a framed space, Poussin's closed off landscapes and low viewpoints prevent the audience from entering the scene of action, just as the stage is off limits to the audience in the theatre, and the altar rail of a church defines a subtle distinction between the space of the devout parishioner who would receive the

Eucharist and the hierarchical neutrality of the priest who celebrates it. Poussin 'iconizes' the image placing it on a symbolic 'pedestal' or 'altar.' Paradoxically, this need not be a real barrier to participation, for the viewer must then mentally search his/her own emotions and bring to a classical experience the personal dimension. This is in contrast to the usual Baroque picture which invites the viewer, in a physical sense, into a space where the borderline between illusion and reality is tenuous.

Poussin's rigorous drawing skills and meticulous attention to formal design are notable; but he must also be accepted as a master of colour. The teaching of the Royal Academy of 1648, and more so under Colbert and Le Brun in the 1660's was based on the ideals of Poussin. Until Le Brun's death in 1690, Poussin the 'French Raphael' was accepted as an infallible classical master well nigh the equal of Raphael. As the 17th century drew to a close, a quarrel between the ancients and moderns developed which attacked the intellectual superiority of drawing as the basis for painting and Rubens became a god for the colourists. When analysing Poussin's colour, it is clear that drawing and line rank high but they are not to be separated out from the whole in the abstract sense. In Poussin's paintings, the subtle and appropriate use of colour is the psychological foundation for the actions and responses of the protagonists, in conjunction with drawing. Bellori, makes note of a series of twelve ideas which Poussin

accepted as fundamental. These thoughts were written in the manner of Leonardo da Vinci and Poussin likely intended to write a similar treatise. In a letter to Chantelou, 29 August 1650, he sets out some aesthetic ideas. A. Blunt indicates:

> Selon Chantelou, Cerisier affirmait avoir vu un manuscript qui traitait di lumi et ombre, colori et misure, hypothèse qui serait confirmé par le fait que dans son auto-portrait peint pour Pointel l'artiste s'appuie sur un livre intitulé: De lumine et colore;....[24]

These ideas parallel treatises on painting by Junius, Lomasso, Chambray and certain oeuvres of literary theory. In Des limites du dessin et de la couleur, Poussin takes a median approach; a balance between colour and its counterpart:

> La peinture sera élégante quand ses termes extrêmes s'uniront à ses termes les plus simples par l'intermédiaire des termes moyens, en sorte qu'ils ne concourent ni trop faiblement ni avec trop d'âpreté de lignes ou de couleurs ... De l'idée de Beauté; Poussin notes ... l'ordre, le mode et l'espèce ou forme. L'ordre, signifie l'intervalle des parties, le mode est relatif à la quantité, la forme consiste dans les lignes et couleurs. L'ordre ne suffit ni l'intervalle des parties ni, ne suffit que tous les membres du corps aient leur place naturelle....[25]

This position is less rigid than the Academy would eventually hold in regard to line and colour. Nicolas speaks of those gifts of the painter given by Fate which cannot be taught - le rameau d'or de Virgile; these include:

> ... forme, la disposition, l'ornement, le décoré, la beauté, la grâce, la vivacité, le costume, la vraisemblence et le jugement partout.[26]

In his Numa Pompilius and the Nymph Egéria (1630 Dal Pozzo) Poussin shows the King of Rome plucking the golden bough in the sacred woods guarded by Egéria. Notable is the spectacular landscape and glowing colour.

Poussin accepted that the compositional and figural ideas of Raphael were a perfect fusion of antiquity with the modern. By drawing on the antique and Raphael, Nicolas gives to his own inventions a superior authority. His central protagonists in The Plague at Ashdod are a direct quotation from Raphael's Il Morbetto, in which the actors (the mother and child with a man holding his hand to his nose by reason of the putrefaction of the woman's body), become a signifier for the plague itself. Poussin imbues his trio with a sculptural immobility. They exist, like Raphael's classical figures, beyond reality and time, becoming the general and the universal. When one remembers Nicolas' earliest encounter with Raphael in Paris, thanks to Alexandre Courtois, and that the royal collection then contained prints by Marc Antoine after Raphael's Saint Michel terrassant le démon, and la Sainte Famille, painted for François 1er, it would seem that Poussin's admiration for Renaissance classicism was boundless. However, he remained open-minded. Roland Fréart, sieur de Chambray (the brother of Chantelou), in a treatise L'idée de la perfection de la peinture (1662), noted that Junius held to five dogmas that were indispensible to perfection in art. Chambray also felt that Da Vinci, Raphael, Giulio Romano, the

Carrache and Poussin observed the rules. Michelangelo seldom did and he was excluded. Chambray looked for rigid definitions in regard to aesthetics (the precursor to the inflexibility of the later Academy, in Paris). Émile Magne indicates that Chambray sounded out Nicolas on the mysteries of perfection in painting and that Poussin remained enigmatic if flexible by stating: "...la fin dernière de la peinture est la délectation et que les moyens de la donner varient à l'infini...."[27]

Notes: Chapter Two

[1] Mancini (I, p. 261) states ... that he learned Latin and gained a knowledge of (classical) History and legend ("per l'erudition litterale è capace di qualsivoglia historia, favola o poesia). Fréart de Chambray (Idée, p. 132) talks of "l'avantage extraordinaire qu'il a eu d'avoir estudié aux lettres humaines, avant que de prendre le pinceau." (Anthony Blunt, Nicolas Poussin: The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1958, [Washington, D.C.: Pantheon Books, 1967] 9)

At this time Les Andelys would only have had 'peites ecoles.' The boy's education ... seems to have gone further than that; so we must assume that he was sent, around the age of eleven or twelve, to board at a 'collège.' The Jesuits had established one in Rouen in 1593, which had closed after Châtel's attempted assassination on Henri IV but reopened in 1604. It is not out of the question to suppose that Poussin was sent there for a time. (Jacques Thuillier, Poussin Before Rome 1594-1624, Christopher Allen Ed. [London: Richard L. Feigen and Company, 1955] 18)

[2] Anthony Blunt, Nicholas Poussin: The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1958 (Washington D.C.: Pantheon Books, 1967) 23

[3] Blunt, 28

[4] The first contact with Italy probably took place around 1617. As it happens, it was on the 24th of April that year that Maréchal d'Ancre was assassinated. The young Louis XIII seized power, and the Queen Mother and former Regent was soon afterwards sent into exile at Blois. One may wonder whether the interruption of Poussin's journey was not provoked by news of this palace revolution. He must have retained important contacts at court, and may have hoped to find favour with the party now in power. We have recently suggested the opposite hypothesis: Poussin may have been overtaken by these events in Paris itself, and followed Marie de Médici's entourage to Blois ... the young painter may have been entrusted by the Queen who was kept in the Château under close guard, with a secret mission to her Uncle, the Grand-Duke of Florence: a mission which would have required a prompt return. (Jacques Thuillier, Poussin Before Rome 1594-1624, Christopher Allen Ed. [London: Richard L. Feigen and Company, 1955] 28, 29)

[5] Bellori recalls ... Giovanni Battista Marino was present at the Court of France, and that while there his great fame was further enhanced by the publication of ... the Adone. He speaks of Marino as an amateur of painting ... La Galleria (Venice, 1619), is proof of it. While in Paris he appears to have taken a lively interest in the activities of French painters and littérateurs, as witness Poussin or Jean Chapelain. The two essential points in Bellori's presentation are ... that Marino saw Poussin's paintings at the festival of the Jesuits ... about that time Marino was ill. Biographers of Marino record ... he was ill during the middle of 1622. The festival of the Jesuits is recorded as having been

scheduled for July 31, 1622. (Bellori is wrong in placing it in 1623. Should the celebrations have occured, or been repeated in July of 1623, Marino could not have been present. In the spring of that year he left Paris and did not return). Consequently the occasion on which Poussin met Marino was July 31, 1622. The making of the Marino drawings followed ... (Jane Costello, "Poussin's Drawings for Marino," in The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes Vol. 18 [Worcester: Trinity Press, Ebenezer Baylis and Son Ltd.,1955] 297, 298)

[6] Toward the end of the 17th century, the volume containing these drawings and others by Poussin was catalogued by G.B. Marinella. Eight of the mythological scenes Marinella accepts as illustrations of Ovid's Metamorphoses. (Costello, 299)

[7] Costello, 312

[8] Émile Magne, Nicolas Poussin: Premier Peintre du Roi, (Paris: Éditions Émile-Paul Frères, 1928) 95

[9] Konrad Oberhuber, Poussin the Early Years in Rome: The Origins of French Classicism, (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1988) 116

[10] Among Poussin's literary sources were: le Traité des proportions du corps humain, d'Albert Dürer; De corporis humani fabrica, d'André Vesale; De re aedificatoria, de Léon-Baptiste Alberti (1485, translated into French by Jean Martin, 1553); Le Vitellionis perspectivae libri X (Nuremberg en 1533) written by a Polish mathematician of the 13th century; le Traité de la perspective de Vignole, (1583). Poussin frequented the libraries of colleges and convents. He studied the ancients and moderns - Montaigne, Tacitus, Theocritus, Ovid, Virgil, Homer, Lucian, Pausanias, Plutarch, Josephus, Livy, Pliny, Apuleius, and Quintilian. According to É. Magne "... la Bible resta son livre de chevet avec quelques écrits d'hagiographes, les Vies des saints et la Legenda aurea de Jacques de Voragine." (Émile Magne, Nicolas Poussin: Premier Peintre du Roi, [Paris: Éditions Émile-Paul Frères, 1928] 97-99)

[11] Magne, 102, 103

[12] Francis Haskell, Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980) 104, 105

[13] The ancient Roman Palestrina Mosaic (found ca. 1588-1607 in the cellar of the Bishop's Palace, Palestrina), was partially removed to Rome for the Barberini where it was copied (ca. 1626), for Cassino dal Pozzo. Joyce notes, that the mosaic is a large-scale Nilotic landscape in bird-eye view. The upper half represents the highlands of Ethiopia, inhabited by exotic animals, identified by Greek inscriptions. These rich details were used by Poussin as background in his Moses Rescued from the Nile (1647), The Holy Family in Egypt (1655-57), and in Landscape with Two Nymphs and a Snake (1659). Poussin explains the background to the Holy Family in a letter to Paul Fréart de Chantelou. The procession of priests carries the bones and relics of the god Serapis; the building was made as a home

for the Ibis bird." (Fig. 5) Poussin notes, "All this is not made thus because I imagined it but is taken from the famous Temple of Fortuna at Palestrina, the pavement of which is made of fine mosaic, and on which is depicted to the life the natural and moral history of Egypt and Ethiopia, and by a good hand. I put all these things into the painting in order to delight by their novelty and variety and in order to show that the Virgin who is there represented is in Egypt." According to H. Joyce, O. Bätschmann indicates, "The combination of the two original settings of myth and historical subject indicates that we are not dealing with a return to mythology or an insistence on history, but with the cancellation of both and the rediscovery of a myth beyond history." (Hetty Joyce, "Grasping at Shadows: Ancient Painting in Renaissance and Baroque Rome," The Art Bulletin, Vol. LXXIV, No.2 [New York: College Art Association of America, 1992] 219-246)

[14] Saint Augustine attacked what he believed to be the heretical ideas of Pelagius which emphasized the potential for human good at the expense of original sin. Augustine felt man's nature to be crippled by original sin. Man of his own nature had no potential for good, and only by means of God's healing grace could he be saved. Augustine felt that God had predetermined those from all mankind who would be saved by divine Grace, yet, this in no way undermined human freedom of choice. Protestantism intensified the debate insisting that after the fall, the overwhelming need for God's grace was pivotal to redemption. The Council of Trent rejected the Protestant repudiation of human freedom but this was dismissed in very general terms opening the door to controversy in Catholic thought. The doctrine of grace attracted scholars at Louvain - Jansenius and the Abbé de Saint Cyran. The Jesuits became critical of any doctrine inclined toward Protestant grace and they emphasized free will. The Jesuit Molina in De Concordia Liberi Arbitrii cum Divinae Gratiae Donis (1588), stated that grace was necessary for Christians to achieve salvation. But, one was free to accept or reject God's grace. Grace of itself was not efficacious unless fully accepted. The Jesuits were powerful and Molina's book went uncensored by Pope Clement VIII. Fear of Protestantism and heresy caused the papacy and the French crown to assert control over Catholic thought. (Decrees of 1611 and 1625 by the papacy prohibited debate on grace. (Alexander Sedgwick, Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France: Voices from the Wilderness [Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1977] 5-13)

The hostility of the French government toward Jansenism had its origin in Jansenius and Saint-Cyran's opposition to Cardinal Richelieu's anti-Hapsburg pro-Swedish foreign policy during the Thirty Years' War. Like other leaders of the French Counter-Reformation - collectively referred to as the parti dévot ... Jansenius and Saint-Cyran opposed a foreign policy which sacrificed the interests of the Catholic reconquest of Europe to those of the Bourbon dynasty. Saint-Cyran, moreover, insisted ... upon the necessity of true contrition or love of God rather than mere attrition or fear of eternal punishment in the sacrament of penance. This contradicted Richelieu's own catechism. Saint-Cyran was arrested and imprisoned in 1638. (Dale Van Kley, The Jansenists and the Expulsion of

the Jesuits from France, 1757-1765 [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975] 11, 12)

[15] The sweetening of the waters of Marah is quoted by all early Christian apologists as one of the most important of the types of salvation in the early books of the Old Testament ... water, that is to say, mankind, has been made bitter by the serpent, Sin, and is sweetened by the wood of the Cross ... The other subjects from Jewish History are of interest in that they are rarely found represented in art of the 17th century, and a high proportion of them are types of salvation through the Sacraments. (Anthony Blunt, Nicholas Poussin: The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1958 [Washington D.C.: Pantheon Books, 1967] 179 180)

[16] The Sacraments were a theme rare in art before the 17th century and little known in painting. They occur in sculpture - Andrea Pisano's Campanile, Florence, English baptismal fonts and Anton Pilgrim's pulpit, Stephansdom, Vienna. They do appear in Italian Frescos by Roberto Oderisi at S. Maria Incoronata, Naples; in parallel to Old Testament themes - Joseph, Moses and Samson. And in Northern painting, in the works by Rogier Van der Weyden. (Blunt, 186)

[17] The Seven Sacraments have been ... rigorously analysed for the light they throw on Poussin's religious views. Jansenism? Possibly. The artist had a stubborn mind capable of independent thought ... it is clear beyond any reasonable doubt that the idea ... can only have come from Cassiano ... For Cassiano was in touch with artists and scholars of all kinds. Cassiano was the most prominent figure in the immediate entourage of the Barberini. But that was no guarantee of religious orthodoxy, as the French 'libertins,' Jean Jacques Bouchard, Gabriel Naudé and many others would readily testify. (Francis Haskell, Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy, [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980] 107, 108)

[18] Anthony Blunt, Nicholas Poussin: The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1958 (Washington D.C.: Pantheon Books, 1967) 167, 168

[19] The Stoic philosophy was founded by Zeno of Citium (350-260 B.C.E.). The system deals with all the great themes touched upon by Chaldaism, Persianism and Buddhism. Like the first, it insists that there exists an unchanging Destiny, according to which events throughout the universe are predetermined from all eternity. Like the second, it sets up as claiming the worship and allegiance of men a Supreme Deity, who governs the world with boundless power and benevolent will, and is manifested to men as the Logos or 'Divine Word.' Panetius of Rhodes (ca. 189-109 B.C.E.) a Stoic philosopher and friend of Scipio Africanus minor developed a circle of intelligent and noble Romans. Panaetius may be regarded as the founder of Roman Stoicism, his treatise was freely translated by Cicero in de Officiis. The central doctrine is that virtue is knowledge, and is the sole and sufficient good, is accepted as the plain teaching of nature and with it the paradox that the wise man never errs. The Fifth century B.C.E. philosopher Heraclitus' ideas on physics are central to Stoicism. The primary stuff of creation is an ever-living fire. E.V. Arnold notes:

"Out of fire all things come, and into it they shall all be resolved. Of this ever-living fire a spark is buried in each man's body; whilst the body lives, this spark, the soul, may be said to be dead; but when the body dies it escapes from its prison, and enters again on its proper life." (E. Vernon Arnold, Roman Stoicism, [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1958] 17, 35, 36, 101, 102)

[20] Pierre Francastel, "Les paysages composés chez Poussin: Academisme et Classicisme," in Nicolas Poussin, Ouvrage publié sous la Direction de André Chastel, Centre National de la recherche Scientifique Colloques internationaux, Vol.I (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960) 209

[21] Sheila McTighe, Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996) 18-25

[22] McTighe, 34-36

[23] McTighe, 152, 153

[24] Anthony Blunt, Nicholas Poussin, Lettres et Propos sur l'Art, [Paris: Hermann, 1964) 167,168

[25] Blunt, 170, 172

[26] Blunt, 165

[27] Émile Magne, Nicolas Poussin: Premier Peintre du Roi, (Paris: Éditions Émile-Paul Frères, 1928) 263, 264

Chapter Three

CHARLES LE BRUN, THE 'SOUL OF THE ACADEMY'

CLASSICISM CONFIRMED

Following the death of Cardinal Mazarin 9 March 1661, the Protector of the Academy, Le Brun assumed the title. Colbert became Vice-Protector replacing Mazarin in the eyes of Louis XIV, and Colbert wanted Le Brun at the head of aesthetic endeavours in regard to a centralized monarchy. The Academy endured three phases after 1648. A wholly unsatisfactory amalgamation with la Maîtrise, according to the articles of 5 June 1651; the separation of the masters as dictated by the statues of 16 December 1654, and the grand restoration of 1663.[1] It is notable that Le Brun held himself aloof during the period of amalgamation. He had been Chancellor. During this critical time, he abdicated these functions to M. Ratabon, le surintendant and Director of the Academy. Charles' chagrin was difficult to countenance and he would have no truck with les Maîtres.[2] As noted above, Louis XIII had asked Poussin to set up an Academy in Paris, and Le Brun's aesthetic formation was supervised by Poussin in Rome. Charles was the living link in a grand tradition of classicism. This writer believes that Le Brun's faithfulness to Poussin's ideals rested on the likelihood that Poussin intended (until 1664), to return to France in order to assume

his rightful place. There are a number of indicators that would have signaled Poussin's return. He accepted Louis XIII's charge. As a Norman with and independent mindset, and as a person of integrity, Poussin would normally not have gone back on his promise. Sublet de Noyers assigned to Nicolas a comfortable house, Le Pavillon de la Cloche, in the gardens of the Tuileries. Poussin was most content. "J'ai des vues découvertes de tous les côtés, et je crois que l'été c'est un Paradis."[3] He believed this mansion would be his in perpetuity. He was wrong. Following his return to Rome, the house was re-assigned 8 November 1644, to Sampson Le Page, heraut d'armes de France and Poussin was furious.[4] While in Paris, Nicolas's material wealth accumulated due to the number of important commissions he received. Oliver Michel notes that the painter invested money in France, another indication of his likely return.[5] The deaths of Louis XIII in 1643 and Richelieu some months before created a new political climate. However, the disgrace of Sublet de Noyers (Poussin's bête noire), opened the door for a return and more so upon the death of Urban VIII 29 July 1644, and the subsequent exile in France of the Barberini. In 1655, Poussin obtained from le surintendant Nicolas Fouquet the restitution of his pension and the title of premier peintre du roi. Émile Magne notes; "Le 28 décembre 1655, le roi signe le brevet qui lui restitue son titre et ses gages passés."[6] Le Brun had used the title premier peintre unofficially. The designation was rightfully

Poussin's until 1664. Poussin's moral authority always remained high in Paris. It is notable that Le Brun was able to return to Paris from Rome on the advice of Poussin, without the approval of Séguier, and get away with it. Work continued for some time on the Grand Gallery of the Louvre. Following a fire, Le Brun insisted that the restoration (ca. 1668) carried out by Louis de Boullogne, be effected according to Poussin's cartoons. Nicolas was apparently active with the Academy of Saint Luke in Rome where he declined the title of Principe. Did he see himself in this role in Paris?

Soon after the commencement exercises of the Academy in 1648, and in an open display of support for classical ideals, Le Brun caused copies of his own paintings after Raphael, executed in Rome under Poussin's direction, to be displayed in the public rooms of the Academy. In addition, Charles purchased at his own expense, plaster casts after the great classical sculptures of antiquity for the Academy school. The idea to hold conferences originated with Henri Testelin. During these meetings, paintings and sculptures by the greatest artists in the royal collection were examined in situ and formally analysed for their aesthetic merits or deficiencies. The first 'official' Conférence was held Saturday 7 May 1667. Thereafter, Conférences would be held at irregular intervals until 4 February 1792. It is notable that the opening session was given by Le Brun on Raphael's Saint Michael Vanquishing the Demon, a suitable painting to

reinforce a classical syllabus.

Critical to the analyses of Le Brun's adherence to Poussin was his second conference of 5 November 1667 in which he followed up on Raphael with Poussin's The Israelites Gathering the Manna, and Philippe de Champaigne's discourse on Poussin's Rebecca and Eliezer, 7 January 1668. In connection with Raphael, Le Brun remarked to the assembled Academy that Poussin was a worthy model to follow Raphael, noting that while in Rome, Raphael was the model for his own studies:

> Que le divin Raphaël a été celui sur les ouvrages duquel il a tâché de fair ses études, et que l'illustre M. Poussin l'assista de ses conseils et le conduisit de cette haute entreprise.[7]

On examining the Manna (Fig. 10), Charles notes that all the talents of the Italian painters seem to be united in Poussin. He divides the discourse into four parts: The general disposition of the figures; their design and proportions; the expression of the passions; the general tone - perspective and colour. Notable is the arid landscape; a frightful desert, and the extreme distress of the Israelites. He notes:

> C'est pour cela qu'on voit ces figures dans une langueur qui fait connoître la lassitude et la faim dont elles sont abattues ... la vue néanmoins n'y trouve pas ce plaisir qu'elle cherche, et que l'on trouve d'ordinaire dans les autres tableaux ... Ce ne sont que de grands rochers qui servent de fond aux figures....[8]

Le Brun remarks on the distinct grouping of the actors and Poussin's masterful use of light:

> Quant à la lumière, il fit observer de quelle sorte elle se répand confusément sur tous les objects. Et pour montrer que cette action se passe de grand matin, on voit encore quelque reste de vapeurs dans le bas des montagnes et sur la surface de la terre qui la rend un peu obscure,....[9]

Poussin renderes the figures with classical proportions, an aging man standing has the physical attributes of Laocoon, tall, but with appendages neither too solid or excessively delicate. One recognizes the affects of deprivation and aging. The woman who gives her breast to her mother could be the figure of Niobe, while the old man seated behind recalls, for Le Brun, the statue of Seneca in the Borghese gardens. He found the juxtapositioning of the figures appropriate:

> ... ce n'est pas sans dessein que M. Poussin a représenté un homme déjà âgé pour regarder cette femme qui donne à téter à sa mere, parce qu'une action de charité si extraordinaire devoit être considerée par une personne grave,....[10]

Most impressive is the depiction of Moses and Aaron before a great company, some of whom are kneeling. Everywhere the painter has attired his protagonists in carefully chosen costumes. Charles notes:

> ... qu'il ne fait pas seulement des habits pour cacher la nudité, et n'en prend pas de toutes sortes de modes et de tous pays; ... il a trop de soin de la bienséance, et sait de quelle sorte il faut garder cette partie du costume, non moins nécessaire dans les tableaux d'histoire que dans les poèmes.[11]

With regard to colour, Poussin robes his principal figures in yellow and blue, which, more than the other colours, capture the effects of light and air. It was noted above, that Poussin in the Marino drawings began the process of distilling

from a collection of actors, the essential protagonists, placing these in a suitable setting. He has done this in The Manna with a large cast of characters. The landscape impinges on the actions and psychological state of the Israelites, and the painter distils from his Venetian period colours which reflect mood and emotion, but which are not obtrusive.

The subject drawn from the Old Testament is typical of Poussin's interest in the central themes of salvation. Critical to the discussion is the fact that the painter seems not to have adhered to the unities (time, space and action). The biblical account (Exodus 16:1-36) states that the Manna fell at night to be received by the people at dawn. Poussin paints a variety of experiences - some Israelites having received this blessing from heaven; some awaiting it, while others look for a sign. The affects of famine would seem excessive here, since the Israelites had already been succoured with quail (les cailles). In rebuttal to this criticism of Poussin, A. Félibien remarks:

> A cela M. Le Brun repartit qu'il n'en est pas de la peinture comme de l'histoire. Qu'un historien se fait entendre par un arrangement de paroles et une suite de discours qui forme une image des chose qu'il veut dire, et représente successivement telle action qu'il lui plaît. Mais le peintre n'ayant qu'un instant dans lequel il doit prendre la chose qu'il veut figurer, pour représenter ce qui s'est passé dans ce moment-là, il est quelquefois nécessaire qu'il joigne ensemble beaucoup d'incidents qui aient précédé afin de faire comprendre le sujet qu'il expose ... M. Poussin, voulant montrer comment la manne fut envoyée ..., a cru qu'il ne suffisoit pas de la représenter répandue à terre; ... mais qu'il falloit, pour marquer la grandeur de ce miracle, fair voir en

> temps l'état où le peuple juif étoit alors: qu'il le représente dans un lieu désert, les uns dans une langueur, les autres empressés à recueillir cette nourriture, et d'autres encore à remercier Dieu....[12]

The Mannerist traditon of crowding the landscape with superfluous figures has been dispensed with. The large number of protagonists depicted in this desert are appropriate and suitable to furthering the narrative. It would be impossible to add or subtract a single actor without distorting the balance. In support of Le Brun and Poussin, Félibien (the acting historiographer of the academy) indicates that a member of the company stated that in the theatre it is permissable to join together several events and different time frames so long as the truth (vraisemblance), is apparent. Poussin has interjected nothing that impedes the unity of action. A. Félibien notes:

> Pour ce qui est d'avoir représenté des personnes, dont les unes sont dans la misère pendant que les autres reçoivent du soulagement, c'est en quoi ce savant peintre a montré qu'il étoit un véritable poète, ayant composé son ouvrage dans les règles que l'art de la poésie veut qu'on observe aux pièces de théâtre....[13]

Le Brun was much more than a great decorator of walls and ceilings. Poussin seems to have stimulated in Charles an interest in copying classical sculpture and striving for archeological correctness in regard to ancient costume and antique cultures. Jennifer Montagu observes:

> Poussin might ... have encouraged him to devote a similar attention to early Christian art ... Poussin would also have approved of the copying of Raphael's

> Madonnas and his frescoes in the Vatican, but it may have been Le Brun's own ambitions towards large-scale decoration that led him to study Carracci's ceiling in the Farnese Gallery and to make a small copy of Guido Reni's Aurora. It is apparent that he must also have looked with interest at the work of Pietro da Cortona, whose influence was evident in his later decorative paintings.[14]

Before his contact with Nicolas Poussin, two early teachers, Simon Vouet and François Perrier, had instilled in Le Brun some interest in classical and Renaissance ideals. Vouet lived in Rome for fourteen years and while in Venice, he made a special study of Veronese. Returning to France in 1627, he became premier peintre to Louis XIII. Henry Jouin (after Claude Nivelon), notes that Vouet was not a colourist but he excelled in composition and design - French qualities, and his pupils included Poncet, Blanchet, Frère Luc, Michel Corneille and Mignard.[15] François Perrier, who had lived a long time in Italy returned to France in 1630 with many designs after statues and bas-reliefs. Perrier certainly had classical aspirations. According to Henry Jouin:

> Il orientera sûrement l'esprit de Le Brun vers la beauté sereine de l'Antinoüs et du Gladiateur qu'il s'apprête à graver dans un recueil devenu célèbre....[16]

Saturday, 7 January 1668, Philippe de Champaigne gave his famous discourse to the Academy on Poussin's Eliezer and Rebecca (Fig. 11). The text is lost; however, Guillet de Saint-Georges, the first Historiographer of the Academy (appointed 30 January 1682), pieced together an analysis.[17] The Conférence was given in the presence of M. Colbert. The

twenty-fourth chapter of Genesis tells how the servant of Abraham travelled far and wide in search of a wife for Isaac. While in the desert his thirst and that of his camels was assuaged by Rebecca. Eliezer soon recognized in her the qualities of nobility and graciousness that the wife of Isaac would need and she was presented with a golden earring and two bracelets of gold. De Champaigne paid tribute to the genius of Poussin, remarking on the flexibility of rules:

> Il ajoutoit que le tableau de Rébecca avoit extrèmement contribué à lui acqueir une réputation si bien fondée. Il soutenoit ensuite que l'excellence de la peinture dépendoit moins des règles de l'art que d'un beau génie, mais que tout cela se recontroit dans ce tableau, et il y remarqua la pratique de trois ou quatre règles générales et importantes.[18]

The first is that it is necessary to distinguish the essential subject of the narrative from subsidiary actions. The servant giving the maiden certain gifts establishes immediately that this is the central historical theme. Rebecca's modest acceptance marks her as a woman of innate nobility. The second rule pertains to the grouping of figures who, by their actions and intercourse, provide a coherent reaction to the central theme. Important as a rule, is that the expression of each protagonist must be exactly observed and rendered. Guillet de Saint Georges records:

> Il faisoit remarquer la figure d'une fille qui est appuyée sur une vase proche du puits. A la considérer, il semble qu'elle blâme Rébecca d'avoir accepté le présent d'un homme inconnu ... M. De Champaigne voulut faire remarquer que M. Poussin avoit imité les proportions et les draperies de cette figure sur les antiques, et qu'il s'en étoit

> toujours fait une étude servile et particulière ... M. Le Brun l'avoit interrompu, et, prenant la parole en faveur de M. Poussin, avoit dit que les hommes savants qui travaillent à de mêmes découvertes et qui se proposent un même but peuvent s'acorder et convenir ensemble, sans que les uns ni les autres méritent le titre d'imitateurs ou de plagiaires. De Sorte qu'il falloit faire différence entre les concurrents et les copistes....[19]

Dal Pozzo had recognized Poussin's ability not just to copy the ancients but to reconstitute the elements into a living drama. Le Brun in coming to Poussin's defence shows his own preference for a classical world of antiquity which becomes modern and relevant. De Champaigne notes that Poussin was not true to Biblical history because he made no attempt to record the presence of the camels mentioned in Genesis, wherein it states that the animals drank of the water given by Rebecca at the same moment that she accepted the gifts of a golden earring and two bracelets. De Champaigne added:

> ... peut-être prétendroit-on excuser M. Poussin en disant qu'il n'a voulu représenter que des objects agréables dans son ouvrage, et que la difformité des chameaux en auroit été une de dans son tableau ... cette excuse seroit frivole, et qu'au contraire la laideur de ces animaux auroit même rehaussé l'éclat de tant de belles figures....[20]

Le Brun jumped to Poussin's defence and the Academy was soon convinced of Nicolas' erudition in matters Biblical. Nicholas Poussin painted Rebecca and Eliezer in 1648, for the Parisian banker Jean Pointel. Pointel greatly admired a canvas by Guido Reni, The Virgin of the Sowing Circle, then in the collection of Cardinal Mazarin. Guido's exquisite rendering of the heads of the women paid homage to feminine beauty.

Pointel wrote to Poussin requesting that he paint for him a similar depiction of beauty and grace. Nicolas was disinclined to copy his own work - he had painted an earlier version of Rebecca (ca. 1629) in which he included a reference to the camels. He provided Pointel with, not the Virgin of the New Testament, but with the Old Testament story of Rebecca. By omitting the camels and focussing on her beauty and modesty, Pointel's wishes were fulfilled. As stated above, Philippe de Champaigne commented on Nicolas' seeming disregard for les règles of history painting by omitting the camels. By de Champaigne's standards, Poussin compounded the problem when he depicted Eliezer presenting Rebecca with two gold bracelets set with jewels and a finger ring inlaid with a precious stone, disregarding the Vulgate text of the Bible wherein a golden earring and two bracelets of gold are mentioned. Thomas L. Glen observes:

> Here Poussin has emphasized the moment when Eliezer singles out Rebecca from a group of maidens and presents her not with an earring, but with a finger ring. Clearly, if an allusion to the sacraments is intended, and it surely is, then Poussin must have meant to suggest the sacrament of marriage. But that is not all. For it can be shown that he specifically meant to symbolize the Virgin Mary's mystical marriage with God, a union that resulted in the birth of Christ as announced to the Virgin by the Archangel Gabriel.[21]

The water which quenched Eliezer's thirst is present as a symbol of baptism. True to Poussin's tendency to use synchronism, he links events from the Old Testament which are

a prelude to the New Testament - Rebecca as the counterpart of the Virgin Mary to come. Le Brun states:

> ... le champ du tableau n'est destiné que pour les figures nécessaires dans le sujet ...; que M. Poussin faisoit ... réflexion sur ce mélange incompatible et disoit pour maxime, que la peinture aussi bien que la musique a ses modes particuliers,....[22]

Charles, now in his element, expounds on Poussin's modes and editing principles noting that per tradition, only five figures, and at that, sometimes three, were delineated in representations of Christ's Crucifixion, when there would have been a great crowd assembled for the Easter festival in Jerusalem. M. Colbert interjected diplomatically that the painter must bring common sense to bear and edit out secondary elements to the furtherance of the narrative.

In 1678 Le Brun showed drawings of the expressions to Colbert who advised him to have them engraved. Charles had some experience as a theorist - he introduced Poussin's ideas on the Modes to the Academy, as mentioned above. The transposition of literary and musical theory to painting was expected.

In the 17th century, art theory had fallen behind that of music and literature, and it appropriated ideas from literary models. Jennifer Montagu notes:

> Le Brun's ideas on the general expression were an extension of the theory of decorum in the traditional theory of literary styles as much as of the musical theory of the modes ... The other aspect of the rule of decorum was that of strict historical accuracy ... Le Brun's concern for this in his own paintings is well knows.[23]

Charles' seeming dogmatism concerning the expressions would haunt the later Academy but he is less rigid than one would think. Historical accuracy was important in the 17th century, and painters troubled to show this to earn the right to be considered as historians with intellectual capacities.

From René Descartes, Le Brun appropriated the physiological structure of his theory - the reduction of the passions to a formula. Descartes believed that the soul which was ethereal worked in the pineal gland in the centre of the brain. The soul controlled the reactions of the body through the motions of the pineal gland. Being near to the brain, the face should then be the index of the mind. Charles maintained that the concupiscible and irascible passions were the same as the simple and mixed passions, including: Love, Hate, Desire, Aversion, Pleasure and Pain. Le Brun's ideas were flexible and not prescriptions to be followed to the letter. They are prototypical expressions - the signs that characterise a face at the apex of pure emotion. J. Montagu writes:

> Just as the description of prototypical emotions are intended to aid recognition of the most intense emotion, but also of lesser degrees of the same emotion, so Le Brun's descriptions were intended as an aid to representing them ... the prototypical emotions are always extreme, so too are Le Brun's.[24]

However, these are not models from which no deviation is allowed. In medicine, one had to know the essential temperament of a patient because the disease acted differently

according to the individual; the same with the passions and according to age, rank and character. Le Brun's theory was based both on the heads of ancient rulers and philosophers (whose characters were well known) and the comparison of the heads of men and animals. His ideas may have come from Giovanni Battista della Porta's Della fisionomia dell'huomo, and the pseudo-Aristotelian theory which attempted to divine the character of man from his resemblance to an animal whose character is given by ancient lore, bestiaries, etc., for example Le Brun's Horse and Horse-Man (Fig. 12)

Critical to Le Brun's alliance with Poussin in connection with the Academy, are two paintings which recall Charles' flexibility with the rules. In 1661 or 1662, while residing at Fontainebleau, Le Brun painted The Queens of Persia at the Feet of Alexander (Fig. 13). This was completed at the command of Louis XIV and in his presence. The central figure Sysigambis (the mother of the defeated Darius), in the tent of Darius, being scornful of addressing Ephestion directly, throws herself at the feet of Alexander the Great and demands pardon. Jacques Thuillier indicates that, Le Brun:

> le représent dans le moment qu'il (Alexandre) aborde ces Dames; que ce n'etait pas l'usage des Grecs; et de plus qu'il ne pouvait pas se baisser beaucoup, à cause que dans le dernier combat il avait été blessé à la cuisse."[25]

Alexander inclines his head (a momento of all those Hellenistic portraits of the Eastern Kings). Le Brun's faithfulness to the unities is complete. However, his exact

rendering of the costumes, the Greek armour and the rich raiment of the Persians recalls Poussin's insistence on archeological exactness. Nor does Charles exploit colour for its sensuous quality as per the Venetians. Rather, he uses it, as Poussin does, to underline psychological states. He allows the light to fall on the cool blue robe of Statira, while the main tonalities remain in the brown range. Charles, as did Poussin, defines distinct groups, two men and the suppliant women. The focus on expression is the dramatic tension. Alexander seems capable of four movements, - compassion, clemency, friendliness and civility. Among the royal women, admiration and dumbfoundedness according to age and rank are apparent. Poussin juxtaposed the péripéties, the multiplication of expression. It is not known why this subject was chosen. Perhaps it was to be a simple glorification of a royal person (Louis XIV), in stressful times, i.e., the arrest of Fouquet.

Earlier (ca. 1649), Le Brun painted The Brazen Serpent (Fig. 14). This was a return to Poussinesque formulae. Charles may have been influenced by The Sacraments painted for Chantelou and there are overtones of Poussin's 1630's Old Testament epics - Moses Striking the Rock, and The Manna. The Book of Numbers (Chapter 21:5-9), recalls that the Israelites wandering in the desert complained against God and Moses of their plight. The Lord sent fiery serpents among them. Repentant Jews asked Moses to pray for them. The Lord

then told Moses to set up a brass serpent on a pole - everyone that is bitten who looks there shall live. Le Brun had formulated his aesthetic viewpoint in regard to Poussin well before his conference of 1667 on The Manna. In The Bronze Serpent, he is at his most Poussinesque. The figures are juxtaposed into groups and the expressions of individuals are not there just for visual interest but reveal reactions which further the episode. Le Brun breaks the unities. In the foreground and on the right, figures are shown fleeing the serpents, some are dead, while others in the centre of the composition are looking at the Brazen Serpent. Their expressions range from terror, death agonies, to relief in the faces of those to be saved. As with Poussin, Le Brun quotes from the "antique." Two men holding dead bodies recall Pasquino's sculptural group, while the figure climbing a rocky incline seems to be borrowed from Raphael's Fire in the Borgo (Stanza, Vatican). Charles, unlike Poussin, did not seem to value landscape as a genre. However, here the rocky terrain has a psychological impingement on the protagonists equal to Poussin's rocky desert in the Manna.

After 1683, with Louvois in power and Pierre Mignard's star rising, Le Brun painted pictures which often included references that extended the time-range, a 'flash back' technique, which disturbed the unities. J. Montagu notes:

> ... in Moses Defending Jethro's Daughters ibises fly through the sky in pursuit of winged serpents ... anyone familiar with Josephus would recall how Moses had made use of these birds to destroy the venomous

> serpents while serving as a general in the Egyptian army. In Christ's Entry into Jerusalem Christ is welcomed by those He had cured by His miracles.[26]

As to a visual comparison with Poussin's art, Le Brun excels in design and draftsmanship. His work has an opulent solidity - a French Baroque trait, if infused with classical motifs, along with some retention of Manneristic formulae, a certain crowding of the scene. He is less a colourist in the sense that Poussin uses beautiful colour within the framework of linear pattern. Poussin's art seems more imbued with a pure sense of the antique and is projected with an airy spaciousness. Le Brun's religious viewpoint was that of an orthodox Catholic; there are no cool Jansenist overtones in the pictures, no mystical landscapes, Stoical severity or pagan-Christian syncretic imagery. A certain brutality intrudes with Le Brun which is close to the Baroque requirement for verisimilitude and dynamism. In the broadest sense, his commitment to classicism remains on course.

Considering the progress of the Academy and the making of art theory, Charles Le Brun is sometimes passed over in favour of Henri Testelin and Roger de Piles. In the 1650's Testelin's adherence to a sound program of instruction in the Academy school restored much of the prestige of the Anciens as opposed to the Maîtrise and he was largely responsible for the drafting of the new articles which gained ascendency for the Academy. Testelin was not a strong painter or even, in his capacities as a secretary, all that literate. However,

he was a persistent and tireless worker and extremely loyal to the cause. In his theoretical writings, i.e., The Characters of the Heads of Antique Figures, Testelin conflates physiognomics with pathognomics - a preliminary version of Le Brun's ideas on the Expressions. It was inevitable that out of the conferences the idea of infallible rules would develop. J. Montagu notes that, because men differed widely in their judgements of what was beautiful, such judgements became suspect and there was a return to the standards of the past.[27] In 1680, Testelin published his Tables de préceptes which drew conclusions from the various views put forward in the lectures. Testelin's approach was technical with no room for aesthetic expansion. Roger de Piles was more original. In his notes to Charles Alphonse Dufresnoy l'Art de peinture, he quotes the ancients Quintilian and Horace, while emphasizing the need for the study of nature. Gradually, the idea took hold that beyond the pleasures of the mind, there is something else which should come before it, the pleasure of the eyes. De Piles in his Cours de peintre par principes (1708) promotes the preference of colour over drawing - the grace beyond the reach of art, dependent on natural genius. His are technical approaches to aesthetics and pushed to the extreme, they became sterile. Le Brun must be praised for the careful attention he devoted to his subject, the precision of his analyses and his use of current psycho-physiological theories, and an overriding flexibility. The flame of the ancients

which lived on in Poussin also penetrated the soul of Le Brun and this was his legacy to the arts.

Notes: Chapter Three

[1] The merger of the Guild with the Academy created a strange animal. The Academy wanted registration by Parliament of the letters patent signed by Louis XIV and the statutes of 1648. They faced a long battle in this regard and an act of union was considered the best way to effect a modus operandi. The Maîtrise insisted that the statutes of 1648 and the act of union be verified by the same arrêt. The Anciens wanted the existing letters patent and regulations verified (homologuées), with the articles of amalgamation recognized thereafter. M. Hervé, magistrat au Châtelet de Paris sought double verification with Parliament - this was granted 7, June 1652. Le Brun soon sought ascendency over this arrangement and twenty-one new regulations were drafted (in secret), with the aid of secretary Henri Testelin. These articles provided for suitable quarters for the Academy, a pension of 1000 livres and the right of commitimus (rights held by l'Académie Française de Richelieu). This was approved 23 June 1655 by Parliament with the force of a single document. With this new authority in hand, the contentious attitude of the Maîtrise was curbed and they gradually withdrew. In a final thrust for ascendency, secretary Henri Testelin addressed a memo to Colbert setting out the problems and a pension of four million livres in support of the school was approved 6 April 1663. Le Brun had already acted in regard to all artists holding brevets to unite them to the Academy. This was approved by Council 8 February 1663. (Anatole de Montaiglon, Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de l'académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture depuis 1648 jusqu'en 1664, (1853). [Paris: Kraus reprint, Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1972] The Second Epoch, 93-95. The Third Epoch 8-144)

[2] M. Le Brun et le petit nombre d'académiciens qui pensaient comme lui ressentoient un veritable chagrin en voyant ce vif empressement avec lequel l'Académie courait au devant de sa honte et de sa degradation. L'honneur de cet etablissement leur étoit cher ... Ils le regardoient comme l'asile et la dernière ressource de ces arts dont ils etoient passionnes. (De Montaiglon, The Second Epoch, 93, 94)

[3] Émile Magne, Nicolas Poussin: Premier Peintre du Roi, (Paris: Éditions Émile-Paul Frères, 1928) 166

[4] Poussin states: "Vous savez que mon absence a été cause que quelques téméraires se sont imaginés que puisque jusques à cette heure je n'étais point retourné en France depuis que j'en suis partis, j'avais perdu l'envie d'y jamais retourner. Cette fausse croyance, sans aucune raison, les a poussés à chercher mille inventions pour tâcher à me ravir injustement la maison qu'il plût au feu roi, de très heureuse mémoire, me donner ma vie durant. Vous savez bien qu'ils ont parté l'affaire si avant qu'ils ont obtenu de la reine licence de la posséder et m'en mettre dehors ... Veut-on souffrir qu'un homme comme Sampson mette dehors de sa maison un vertueux connu de toute l'Europe?...." (Émile Magne, Nicolas Poussin: Premier Peintre du Roi, [Paris: Éditions Émile-Paul Frères, 1928] 207-209)

[5] Avant de quitter Paris, il confie 10,000 livres tournois à ses amis, les marchands banquiers Pointel et Sérisier, les destinant par le testament de 1642 à ses neveux des Andelys. Poussin en laissant cet argent gagné en France envisage-t-il réellement un retour rapide à Paris? Sans doute reste-t-il dans l'expectative.... (Oliver Michel, "La fortune matérielle de Poussin," (Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le service culturel, du 19 au 21 octobre 1994. [Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1996], 30, 31)

[6] Émile Magne, Nicolas Poussin: Premier Peintre du Roi, (Paris: Éditions Émile-Paul Frères, 1928) 228

[7] Henry Jouin, Conférences de l'académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, (Paris: A. Quantin, Imprimeur - Éditeur, 1883) 49

[8] Jouin, 52

[9] Jouin, 53

[10] Jouin, 56

[11] Jouin, 59, 60

[12] Jouin, 62, 63

[13] Jouin, 64

[14] Jennifer Montagu, The Expression of the Passions, the Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) 31, 32

[15] Henry Jouin, Charles Le Brun et les Arts sous Louis XIV: le Premier Peintre, sa vie, son Oeuvre, ses Crits, ses Contemporaines, son Influence (Paris: Laurens, 1889) 23-25

[16] Jouin, 18

[17] André Félibien was named an honorary member of the Academy in 1667. He fulfilled the duties of historiographer without holding the title. Félibien was secretary of the Academy of Sciences and historiographer of buildings. He was given the task of recording the conferences (28 March 1667, approved by Colbert). The regular secretary Henri Testelin was overburdened. After 29 April 1669, the résumés of Félibien received severe criticism from the anciens. It appears that he allowed important comments by his confrères to go unrecorded. (Henry Jouin, Conférences de l'académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, [Paris: A. Quantin, Imprimeur - Éditeur, 1883] 10, 98, 99)

[18] Jouin, 90

[19] Jouin, 91

[20] Jouin, 93

[21] Thomas L. Glen, "A Note on Nicolas Poussin's Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well of 1648," in The Art Bulletin 57 (New York: College Art Association of America, 1975) 221-4.

[22] Henry Jouin, Conférences de l'académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, (Paris: A. Quantin, Imprimeur - Editeur, 1883) 94

[23] Jennifer Montagu, The Expression of the Passions, the Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) 14

[24] Montagu, 19

[25] Jacques Thuillier, André Malraux, Exposition Charles Le Brun, Peintre et Dessinateur, (Château Versailles, 1963) 73

[26] Jennifer Montagu, The Expression of the Passions, the Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994) 71

[27] Montagu, 46

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It may be seen from the above that France and French creative sensibilities were inclined toward a logical and codifying process; an accommodation was soon effected between the expansive personality of the Latin peoples and the Northern propensity for reason and rigorous analysis of concepts.

In Chapter One, Poussin, Le Brun and the Academy, A Kinship of Aesthetics, it is notable that the fame of Nicolas Poussin, the greatest French painter of the times reached Paris and his classical vocabulary was found suitable as a visual indicator of the French monarchy's growing self-assurance as a positive force for effective and stable government after a long period of great uncertainty. For Poussin, the flame of classical ideals, the legacy of ancient Greece and Rome burned bright as a mysterious source of creative energy and perfection to be renewed in any age. This idealism was passed on directly to Charles Le Brun. Poussin had planted a seed that would grow to become a strong tree, the fruit of which would feed the aesthetic hunger of French artists for a long time to come.

From this, the creation of an Academy became inevitable whose raison d'être, the training of artists and the formulation and enforcement of rules and classical ideals toward the betterment of the arts, could be predicted. In the more modern context of a Marxist philosophy - the progress of

art would be measurable. The classical perfection of Poussin and his connection with the Italian Renaissance masters - Raphael, would be renewed under Le Brun. It is also apparent that the road was not smooth toward the evolution of a liberal arts Academy. The political climate in Paris was often uncertain and the abandonment of an ancient system of servitude and craft, la Maîtrise to a condition of ennoblement was problematic. Only through persistence did a small band of disciples triumph.

In Chapter Two, Poussin's Classical Sensibility, the great painter's aesthetic formation is traced from its humble Mannerist roots in Normandy, along with his education in Paris, and his mystical, intuitive grasp of a classical syllabus, soon to be reinforced through a long stay in Italy in a climate relatively free of political pressure or provincial attitudes. Notable, is Poussin's masterful distillation of diverse artistic styles and attitudes to a coherent classical whole and an emerging flexibility in regard to aesthetics while in no way abandoning classical principles.

Chapter Three, Charles Le Brun 'The Soul of the Academy' Classicism Confirmed, considers Le Brun's growing moral authority in matters aesthetic and his influence on a triumphant Academy along with his devotion to classical and Renaissance ideals - Poussin and Raphael. Le Brun becomes the standard bearer and the director of a new era of French art with a powerful unified visual façade for a powerful monarchy.

Charles' unflagging support for Poussin in the Academy Conferences is addressed along with certain of Le Brun's paintings to the conclusion that he adhered to classicism as to practice and in principle. Also apparent is Charles' flexibility in the face of growing rigidity and sterility in connection with the formation and dissemination of aesthetics and art theory, i.e., Testelin and De Piles.

The end result is that Charles Le Brun's moral authority and his irresistible flame of classical imagination were the Academy's life line and driving force.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

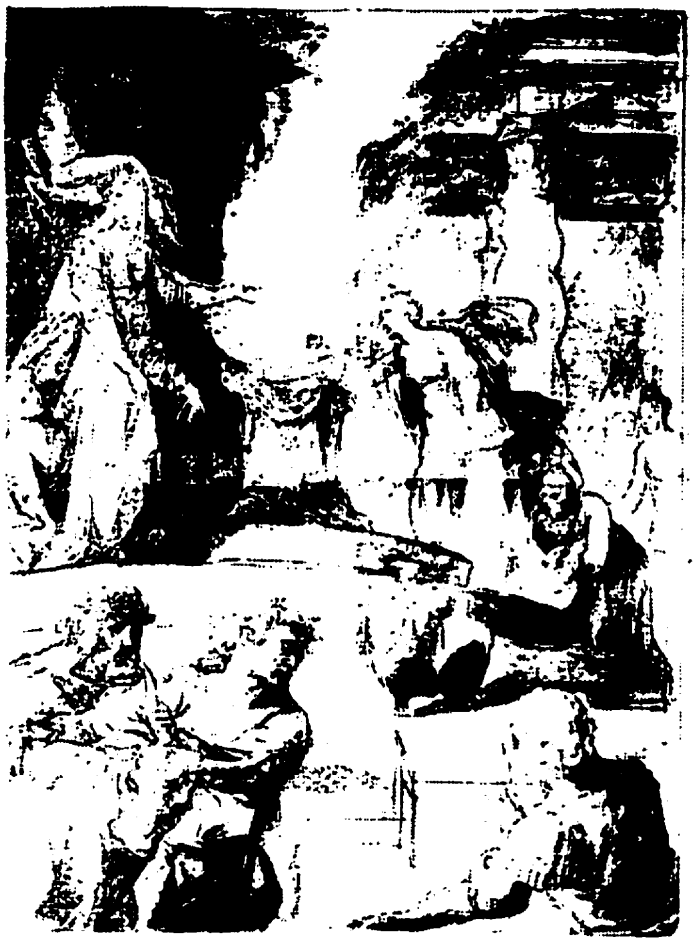
Poussin, The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, National Gallery of Art. Plates Vol. II. (Washington: 1967) 128

11. Nicolas Poussin. Eliezer and Rebecca. 1648. Oil on Canvas. Louvre, Paris. Source: Anthony Blunt, Nicolas Poussin, The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, National Gallery of Art. Plates Vol. II. (Washington,: 1967) 170

12. Charles Le Brun. Horse and Horse-Man. C. 1670. Drawing. Louvre, Paris. Source: Jennifer Montagu, The Expression of the Passions, the Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière. (New Haven: 1994) 25

13. Charles Le Brun. The Queens of Persia at the Feet of Alexander. C. 1660-61. Oil on Canvas. Versailles, Musée national du château. Source: Michel Gareau, Charles Le Brun, First Painter to Louis XIV. (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc. 1992) 197, 198

14. Charles Le Brun. The Brazen Serpent. C. 1649. Oil on Canvas. Bristol, Bristol City Art Gallery. Source: André Malraux, Charles Le Brun 1619-1690, Peintre et Dessinateur, Exposition Château de Versailles. (Versailles: 1963) 31

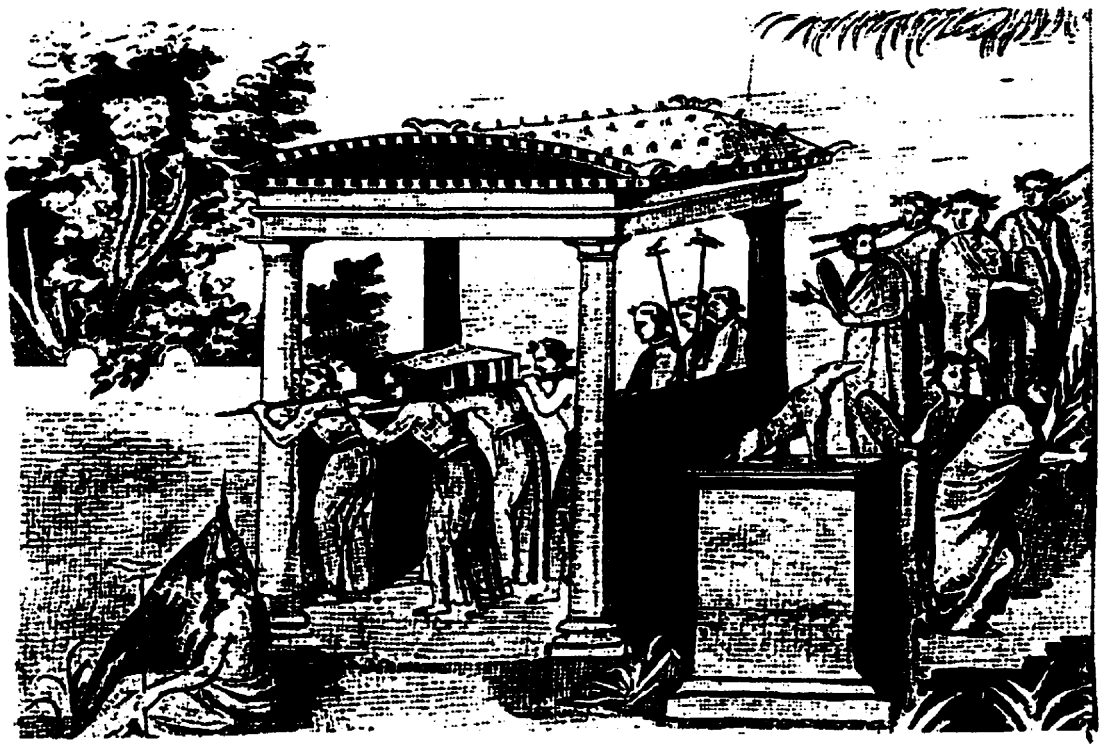


I. Toussaint Dubreuil, Study for Sacrifice

2. Frans Pourbus the Younger, The Last Supper

3. Nicolas Poussin, Death of Chione

4. François Duquesnoy, Triumph of Divine Love

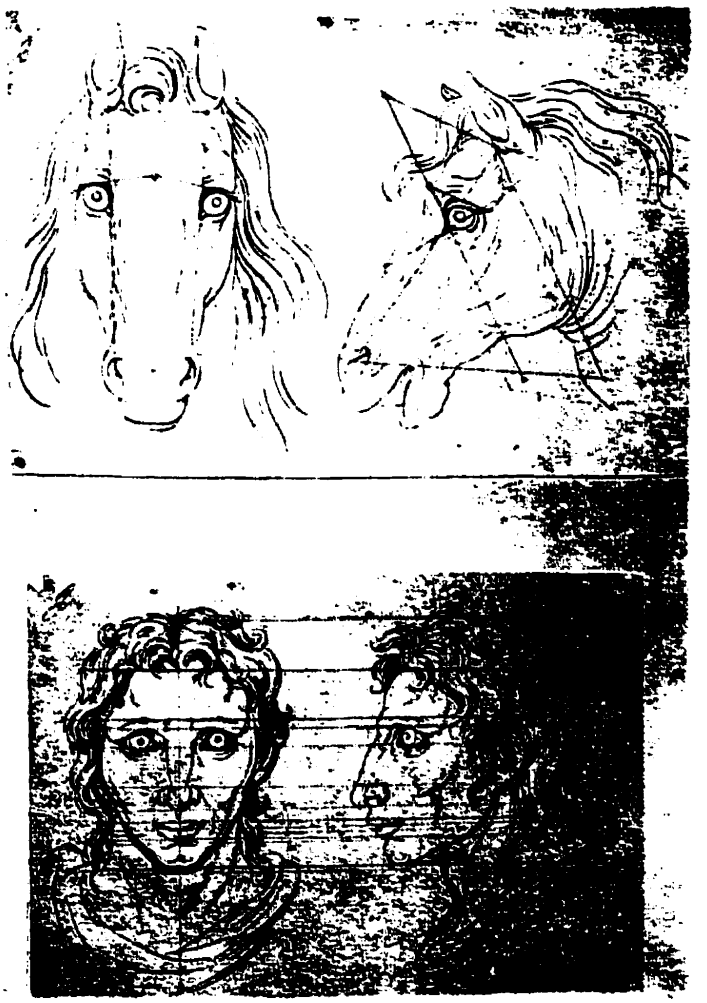


5. Palestrina Mosaic - Detail

7. Domenichino, Landscape With Castle

8. Nicolas Poussin, View Near Villeneuve-Lès-Avignon

11. Nicolas Poussin, Eliezer and Rebecca



12. Charles Le Brun, Horse and Horse-Man

13. Charles Le Brun, The Queens of Persia at the Feet of Alexander

14. Charles Le Brun, <u>The Brazen Serpent</u>

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arnold, E. Vernon. Roman Stoicism. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1958

Blunt, Anthony. Nicolas Poussin, The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1958. Washington D.C.: Pantheon Books, 1967

Blunt, Anthony. Nicolas Poussin, Lettres et Propos sur l'Art. Paris: Hermann, 1964

Burkhardt, Carl, J. Richelieu and His Age, Power, Politics and the Cardinal's Death. Vol. III. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1965

Costello, Jane. "Poussin's Drawings for Marino." Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes. Vol. 18. Worcester: Trinity Press, Ebenezer Baylis and Son Ltd., 1955

Doolin, Paul, Rice. The Fronde. London: Harvard University Press, 1935

Dussieux, L. MM. et al. Mémoires Inédits sur la vie et les Ouvrages des Membres de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, Vol. I. Paris: F. De Nobele, 1968

Félibien, André. Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture pendant 1667. Paris: F. Léonard, 1668. Republished in 1669 and 1675

Fontaine, André. Les Doctrines d'Art en France, Peintres, Amateurs, Critiques de Poussin à Diderot. Genève: Slatkine Reprints 1970

Francastel, Pierre. "Les paysages composes chez Poussin: Académisme et Classicisme" Nicolas Poussin, Ouvrage publié sous la direction de André Chastel. Centre National de la recherche Scientifique Colloques internatiaux. 1 (1960) 209

Gebelin, François. L'Epoque Henri IV et Louis XIII. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969

Glen, Thomas, L. "A Note on Nicolas Poussin's Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well of 1648." The Art Bulletin 57 (1975): 221-4

Haskell, Francis. Patrons and Painters in Baroque Italy, A Study in the Relations Between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980

Henderson, Natalié, and Arnold Henderson. "Nouvelles recherches sur la décoration de Poussin pour la Grande Galerie." La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France 27 (1977): 225-34

Jouin, Henry. Charles Le Brun et les Arts sous Louis XIV: le Premier Peintre sa Vie, son Oeuvre, ses Crites, ses Contemporains, son Influence. Paris: Laurens, 1889

Jouin, Henry. Conférences de l'académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, (1883). Paris: A. Quantin, Imprimeur - Éditeur, 1883

Joyce, Hetty. "Grasping at Shadows: Ancient Painting in Renaissance and Baroque Rome," The Art Bulletin, Vol. LXXIV, (1992) 219-246

Kleinman, Ruth. Anne of Austria, Queen of France. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1985

Knecht, Robert. Richelieu. London: Longman, 1991

Lavisse, Ernest. Mélanges offerts à M. Henry Lemonnier par la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français ses amis et ses élèves. Paris: Librairie de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français, 1913

Magne, Émile. Nicolas Poussin, Premier Peintre du Roi. Paris: Éditions Émile-Paul Frères, 1928

Malraux, André. Exposition Charles Le Brun, Peintre et Dessinateur. Château Versailles, 1963

McTighe, Sheila. Nicolas Poussin's Landscape Allegories. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996

Montagu, Jennifer. The Expression of the Passions, the Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994

Montaiglon, Anatole, de. Mémoires pour servir de l'histoire de l'académie royale de Peinture et de Sculpture Depuis 1648 Jusqu'en 1664, 1853. Paris: Kraus reprint, Nendeln, Liechtenstein, 1972

Oberhuber, Konrad. Poussin the Early Years in Rome the Origins of French Classicism. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1988

Pernot, Michel. La Fronde. Paris: Éditions de Fallois, 1994

Pevsner, Nikolaus. Academies of Art Past and Present. New York: Da Capo Press, 1973

Peyre, Henri. Le Classicisme Français. New York: Éditions de Maison Française, Inc. 1942

Philippe, Julien. Charles Le Brun, L'Expression des passions et d'Autres Conférences, Correspondance. Paris: Éditions Dédale, Maisonneuve et Larose.

Ranum, Orest. The Fronde a French Revolution 1648-1652. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1993

Sedgwick, Alexander. Jansenism in Seventeenth-Century France, Voices from the Wilderness. Charlottsville: University Press of Virginia, 1977

Thuillier, Jacques and Christopher Allen, Tran. Poussin Before Rome, 1594-1624 London: Richard L. Feigen and Company, 1995

Thuillier, Jacques, T.B. Hess, and J. Ashberry, Eds. "The Birth of the Beaux-Arts." The Academy Five Centuries of Grandeur and Misery from the Carracci to Mao Tse-Tung. Art News Annual XXXIII, 1967

Thuillier, Jacques, and A. Chatelet. French Painting from Le Nain to Fragonard. Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1964

Van Kley, Dale. The Jansenists and the Expulsion of the Jesuits from France, 1757-1765. New Haven: Yale University Press 1975

Vitet, Louis (Ludovic), C. Lévy, Ed. L'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture. Paris: Ancienne Maison Lévy Frères, 1880

Wilenski, R. French Painting. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1973

Wölfflin, Heinrich. Principles of Art History, the Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art. New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1950