

14 Poussin in perspective

The Louvre retrospective 1960 above and beyond*

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In his review of the exhibition 'Poussin, Works on Paper: Drawings From the Collection of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II', held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art New York in Spring 1996 in the context of the celebrations, organised in honour of the quincentenary of Poussin's birthday, the American pianist, author, critic and columnist Michael Kimmelman wrote on 23 February 1996 in the *New York Times*,

The greatest French artist of the 17th century, Nicolas Poussin [...] has been the springboard for the greatest French artists from David to Matisse: because his work, in its lucidity, intelligence and measured sensuality, exemplifies what makes French art French. Actually, Poussin couldn't abide the crabbed French art world of his day and spent almost his whole life in Rome, enthralled by its ethos. Still, his achievement redefined French art, by elevating it from provinciality.¹

This is nowadays the more or less generally accepted view on Poussin, but the French Master has not always been perceived and hailed like this.

'Always historicize!', the American literary critic Fredric Jameson urges us to never accept anything as given and obvious but to instead trace historical developments of even seemingly certain facts² – and if we do so and consider Poussin in a historical perspective, we realise that although Poussin might be revered and hailed today in countries such as France, Britain and the United States as 'the greatest French artist of the seventeenth century,' he nevertheless was once despised even in his native country as 'boring', 'old fashioned', 'square' and 'pedantic'.³ He might not have been as forgotten as his contemporaries Caravaggio or Vermeer, who were only rediscovered in the nineteenth (Vermeer) respectively in the early twentieth century (Caravaggio),⁴ but it is perhaps most telling that it was not in France but in England (where the admiration for Poussin continued through the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries) and, perhaps most surprisingly: then in Germany that he received his earliest monographic publications: first, in 1820 the British writer Maria Graham (born Dundas), after having visited Italy in 1819 and here especially Rome, where Poussin had lived and worked most of his life, published her book *Memoirs of the Life of Nicholas Poussin* (translated in 1821 into French).⁵ Whereas Graham's book, conforming to its title, focused more on the artist's life than on his work, the English art merchant John Smith with his catalogue of Poussin's oeuvre, published in 1837 as part 8 of his series *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters*, concentrated instead on the painter's production.⁶ This was followed almost eighty years later by a Ph.D. dissertation, submitted by the American art historian Elizabeth

H. Denio in 1898 at Heidelberg University in Germany under the title *Nicolas Poussin Leben und Werke* that was published first in German and then in an English version the year after.⁷

Their endeavours in some ways paved ground for the three monographs that were then prepared and published, in 1914 simultaneously but separately by the French writer and historian Émile Magne and the two German art historians Otto Grautoff and Walter Friedlaender. Whereas Magne with his book *Nicolas Poussin. Premier peintre du roi* was keen on mainly finding and contextualising formerly ‘unpublished documents’ concerning the life and the work of the artist,⁸ the goals of his German colleagues were different. In Grautoff’s case, the coeval political situation, marked by the outbreak of World War I in 1914, has to be considered: Grautoff, a former classmate of German author Thomas Mann, was driven by the wish to reconcile the French and the German and was apparently therefore especially keen to communicate French art to his German fellow citizens.⁹ His two-volume monograph *Nicolas Poussin: Sein Werk und sein Leben* was partly based on Grautoff’s Ph.D. thesis *Nicolas Poussins Jugendjahre* (Nicolas Poussin’s early years), followed by the art historian Artur Weese and submitted in 1913 at the University of Bern in Switzerland,¹⁰ and it was apparently planned to be published as a book, comprising a biography of Poussin as well as an extensive catalogue raisonné of his oeuvre,¹¹ simultaneously in German, English and French, although in the end only the German version was realised.¹²

Although different in conception and approach – Grautoff’s monograph has 770 pages, Friedlaender’s counts only 275 pages – the latter’s book *Nicolas Poussin. Die Entwicklung seiner Kunst* shares some similarities with Grautoff’s publication: both, for example, already considered Poussin’s contribution to the development of French art up to Paul Cézanne and even recognised him as a fulcrum for modern French art (a position that was then eighty-four years later taken up by Michael Kimmelman, quoted at the beginning of this chapter).¹³

Cézanne in fact had taken Poussin as a starting point for his own art by aiming at ‘re-doing him over again after nature’ (‘refaire le Poussin sur nature’),¹⁴ and he was followed in his involvement with the French Master by artists such as Francis Bacon and Pablo Picasso, who likewise discovered Poussin’s paintings as inspirations for their own work.¹⁵ As a French article, published in 1947 at the occasion of a small exhibition dedicated to Poussin in the National Gallery London, puts it,

But [. . .] the good academicians did not look further than the end of their nose when they admired the limpidity of his pictorial vision, they did not understand the subtlety of his analysis of volumes. It needed the Impressionist Cézanne who was aiming at bringing order and firmness into his art which was lacking [. . .] in order to get inspired by Poussin whom he admired too and all the pupils from this school have also drawn their inspirations from this great Master. [. . .] By an extraordinary paradox, this great classic has a preponderant influence on the ultra-modern artists . . .¹⁶

When the article was published, already one attempt had been made to organise a first monographic exhibition on Poussin, and another one was imminent.

On 26 May 1934 (that is twenty years after the publication of his Poussin monograph) Grautoff launched a first initiative by writing to Henry Verne, then ‘Directeur des musées nationaux’, expressing his ongoing ruminations concerning a possible

Poussin-exhibition. Since Grautoff apologises because he is afraid to annoy Verne with 'yet another letter',¹⁷ it seems as if this would have not been his first attempt, and the writer in fact with his lines reacts to an apparent obstacle he has come across when talking to the painter, art critic and then-director of the 'Musée de Reims', Paul Jamot, in the latter's quality not only as one of the then-most prominent French Poussin scholars, but also as one of the organisers of a recently opened exhibition on lesser known artists of the seventeenth century, entitled 'Les peintres de la réalité en France au XVIIe siècle'.¹⁸ In order to do such an exhibition, one would need to convince also the German museums, particularly the one in Dresden, to also lend their Poussin masterpieces such as for example the *Empire of Flora*, whose loan apparently had been denied when requested earlier. Grautoff therefore suggests that Verne, as director of the French national museums, should offer the Germans a kind of artistic exchange in which the French would send Matthias Grünewald's famous altarpiece in Colmar to Berlin (since it had never been in show in Germany) in order to then get the German Poussin paintings in exchange. However, as Jamot in a handwritten note on Grautoff's letter pointed out to Verne, the Grünewald altarpiece does not belong to the French government, but to the museum of Colmar and hence the negotiation of a loan of the artwork to Germany would exceed the legal competency of the 'Musées Nationaux'. Moreover, as Verne explains to Grautoff in his negative response letter, the museum as well as the city of Colmar would have so far always refused 'jealously' any attempt to let the altarpiece leave the museum, since it is a major attraction for the tourists, coming to Colmar and meaning 'big profits for the local commerce and finances' for the city.¹⁹ As we will later see, getting the Dresden *Flora* for the exhibition in 1960 still posed a challenge, which was only overcome with the help of a similar artistic exchange as already envisioned by Grautoff even though it then did not involve the Colmar-altarpiece but instead paintings by French Masters of the nineteenth century.²⁰ And despite the fact that in the end Grautoff's suggestion was rejected, there was a monographic Poussin exhibition fifteen years later, although not, as envisioned by Grautoff, on an international but rather on a national level.

Thus, in 1949 a monographic exhibition on Poussin opened in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which was the, so to speak, 'zero grade' of a bigger project that Jamot's niece, Thérèse Bertin-Mouroto, had tried to launch already in November 1947. Referring to the 'unsuspected riches' of France, England, Switzerland and, of course, the 'occupied East Germany' (she certainly was also, like Grautoff before her, thinking of the Dresden *Flora* as an important element of the exhibition), she suggested the organisation of an international Poussin exhibition to the General Director for the Arts and Letters (that is: the French Culture Secretary), who passed the request to Georges Salles, who was the director of the French National Museums at the time.²¹ Salles, when conferring with the chief curator of paintings at the Louvre, René Huyghe, got the assessment that the project would be of an 'immense interest' but that its realization in 1947 would be 'too premature': first the museums would need to completely reinstall themselves after the war, and then the international exchanges could resume normally. He therefore suggested that such a monographic Poussin exhibition should be realised at the 'right moment'.²²

Bertin-Mouroto was not only the niece of Jamot and thus possessed of a network of important and influential contacts, but she was also one of the founding members of the 'Société Poussin', an association of scholars that was founded in 1947 as a response to a desire voiced by Grautoff, who, already in 1932, had suggested an international



Figure 14.1 *Galerie Mazarine*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, (Agence Meurisse/Agence de bvt: 1b90562059)

Source: gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque Nationale de France

system of correspondents which, concerning Poussin's oeuvre, could 'signal to the Parisian centre all the paintings or drawings – true or false – which appear in the countries where they live'.²³ Moreover, Bertin-Mourot was also the director and the editor of the society's *Bulletin*, and hence she did not give in but instead realised a national exhibition on Nicolas Poussin, perceived as a hopeful, 'modest preface to an exhibition of the entirety of the work of Nicolas Poussin which a near future' might bring.²⁴ The show nevertheless assembled an impressive selection of fifteen paintings, thirty-eight drawings and three tapestries after Poussin paintings from the Louvre collection, six drawings from the Bibliothèque de l'École des Beaux-Arts, thirty-nine engravings as well as several manuscripts (such as letters by Poussin) and seventeenth-century publications on the artist, furnished by the Bibliothèque Nationale, where, in the *Galerie Mazarine* (Figure 14.1), the exhibits were presented between July and September 1949.²⁵

The second national monographic Poussin exhibition took place ten years later, in 1959, in the United States, as the fruit of two museums in Toledo, Ohio, and Minneapolis, which each had just recently acquired a painting by or then supposed to be by Poussin.²⁶ The show featured a selection of just seventeen paintings from American collections²⁷ by Poussin (or then attributed to Poussin),²⁸ which were first (January to February) shown at the Toledo Museum of Art and then (February until March) at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

Although not mentioned in the exhibition catalogue (not even by the protagonists of both shows, Walter Friedlaender and Anthony Blunt), the organization of the 'big' international Poussin exhibition in 1960 was then of course already very advanced, despite a series of delays and changes of plans concerning the opening date. In a letter from 10 November 1955, Germain Bazin in his function as 'Conservateur en chef du Département des Peintures et Dessins' writes to Georges Salles, then 'Directeur des Musées de France', and gives him information related to an intended response letter to Jacques Chastellain, the Mayor of Rouen, who apparently had sent a request concerning an exhibition on Poussin.²⁹ Given that Rouen is the capital of the 'Département Eure' of which Poussin's native village Les Andelys is a part, it seems as if the first initiative for such a major exhibition would have actually come from the city of Rouen, where one was apparently keen on organizing on short terms such a retrospective on the artistic achievements of one of the great sons of its department.³⁰ However, as Bazin explains in his letter, such an endeavour, 'worthy of him [Poussin], asks for a very long time of preparation'. According to him (and despite the monographs published earlier), Poussin so far had been badly studied, and one would need the collaboration with the Anglo-Saxon institutions and colleagues (namely with the main expert on the artist, Anthony Blunt, who Bazin would have already asked for an adequately extended preparation time that would guarantee 'a serious preparation' of the exhibition).³¹ Moreover, paintings in British public as well as private collections would have to be researched and accessed, the artworks in French possessions would have to be examined and restored, which all ultimately would also need the necessary funding, to be procured first. Bazin's letter, which in its first paragraph interestingly does not mention the Louvre but the 'Orangerie' as the designated venue, concludes with a schedule according to which the exhibition should have opened at the beginning of 1957.³²

A year later, in a similar letter also addressed to Salles from 9 November 1956 (and again furnishing arguments for a reply to Chastellain), the 'Conservateur du Département des Peintures' Charles Sterling has to extend the deadline again, this time because, 'given the general' and 'current situation', Bazin would have the impression that neither the Soviet nor the American or Canadian museums would be ready to separate from their artworks (a reference maybe to then reigning international tensions because of the various insurrections in the Eastern bloc such as in Posen in June 1956 and in Hungary in October 1956). Sterling, who now envisions 'two big rooms in the Louvre'³³ as the venue for the exhibition, therefore suggests to shift its opening to May 1958.

Meanwhile, Bazin's ideas about a thorough theoretical as well as practical preparation for the exhibition in terms of historical Poussin studies and of an examination of paintings bore fruit in the form of the 'Colloque Nicolas Poussin', organised by the French art historian André Chastel and held from 19 to 21 September 1958 in Paris at the 'Institut d'Art et d'Archéologie' of the Sorbonne University. Thus, apart from sessions in which papers were presented by a number of scholars who were later also contributing to the exhibition and its catalogue, the 'Colloque' also comprised a series of visits at sites such as the Château de Mornay (where the young Poussin was thought to have left wall paintings), the Hôtel de Sully (where barely known works attributed to Poussin were shown) and the deposits of the Louvre were organised (where twenty-nine paintings were held ready for a close examination by the scholars).³⁴

One of the main participants of the 'Colloque' was the aforementioned Anthony Blunt, then already the undisputed leading expert on Poussin from the fifties up to

the late seventies.³⁵ He had been invited for the same year of the 'Colloque' to give the 'A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts' at the National Gallery of Art in Washington. The six lectures he there gave on Poussin formed the nucleus of his book *Nicolas Poussin* that was published ten years later as a follow-up to the published 'critical catalogue' of Poussin's paintings, issued in 1966.³⁶ One of the reasons for this late publication was Blunt's involvement with the exhibition from 1960 – not only because the preparation for the exhibition was time consuming in itself but also because Blunt wanted to benefit from the insights and results of the exhibition for his book.³⁷ That these kept him busy even long after the end of the exhibition can be seen by the fact that, although he submitted the manuscript for the book in December 1961, he continued to make changes to the text.³⁸

If one compares Blunt's writings on Poussin, one can clearly see that the view he developed there on the painter as an 'intellectual' and 'philosophical' artist had a strong impact on the exhibition. Already in his catalogue contribution to the American Poussin exhibition from 1959, Blunt had stressed his view on Poussin that it was '[h]is intellectual approach and his assertion of the importance of reason rather than imagination in the creation of a work of art'.³⁹ It is therefore telling that the catalogue to the Louvre exhibition opened with a motto, taken from Jamot, in which the ideal of an artist is envisioned who

endowed with his most beautiful gifts, useful for his art, [. . .] at the same time a wise being, capable of the highest and most manly thoughts, the day he will find a perfect plastic form for one of these general verities [. . .] will have made a work that merits a place of honor in a little elite and which the respect and the admiration of good judges are proper.⁴⁰

Moreover, the exhibition itself also focused mainly on works which helped to illustrate Blunt's vision of Poussin as he had voiced it a year before on the occasion of the American Poussin exhibition, when he used the chosen works in order to show the development of Poussin from an 'intellectual control which becomes increasingly marked in Poussin's art in the late 1630's' over figures 'in the classical phase of the 1640's', which seem to be 'in a complete philosophical detachment from the world' up to his late works 'that contain something sublime which only comes with the wisdom and aloofness of age'.⁴¹

This strong bias towards a view of Poussin as an intellectual and a 'philosophical painter' was certainly inspired by Friedlaender's book from 1914 with its suggestion that Poussin had been 'one of the most conscious theoreticians',⁴² precisely a 'peintre-philosophe',⁴³ an idea strongly taken up by Blunt in his own book from 1967.⁴⁴ Not by chance, Friedlaender was appointed as 'honorary member' of the organizational committee of the 1960 exhibition.⁴⁵ This approach, however, triggered the wrath of Blunt's rival and opponent, Denis Mahon, who not only published his 'Poussiniana. Afterthoughts Arising from the Exhibition' in 1962 but also and especially his 'Plea for Poussin as a Painter' in 1965,⁴⁶ in which he criticised the intellectualised view shed on Poussin in the Louvre exhibition in the wake of Blunt's conception of the artist and instead pleaded for a view of Poussin as a practical painter. The placement of the article, a *Festschrift* for no-one else than for Walter Friedlaender, the ancestor of Blunt's view of Poussin as a 'peintre philosophe', as well as the date of

Mahon's second article, 1965, hereby certainly were strategically chosen: the year marked the 300th anniversary of Poussin's death. It – indirectly – could remind people of the obvious rush behind the decision to have a Poussin exhibition already in 1960 (respectively even earlier, since, as we have seen, it had been originally planned even for 1957, 'at the approach of the three-hundredth anniversary of Poussin's death', as letters, written by the organisers in preparation of the exhibition, specify).⁴⁷ The decision to have the exhibition nevertheless five years earlier cannot be only explained by Blunt's desire to profit for his book from the exhibition, since he was invited to the Mellon Lectures only in 1957, when the preparation for the huge conference in Paris, intended to function as a build-up for the exhibition, was already on its way. It therefore seems as if a combination of various and individual initiatives such as the earlier one by Bertin-Mouroit or the later one by Chastellain would have joined forces with the art historical rediscovery of Poussin by Blunt as well as with a general tendency in the later fifties to exhibit Old Masters. Tellingly, the invitation letter, drafted up for loan requests and committee invitations by Germain Bazin and Charles Sterling apparently in 1958/59,⁴⁸ begins with the lines,

Already for decades now the exhibitions dedicated to artists of the past have become countless. Their interest not always justifies them. The museums, too, have to only venture on those where the contribution to the taste of our time and the necessity to put things straight are evident. It is surprising to find that the work of one of the greatest Masters of early painting, Nicolas Poussin, has never been the object of an entire exhibition. No reunion of masterpieces dispersed throughout the entire world is more justified than that of this painter whose art is the fundament of all the forms of modern classicism from David to Cézanne and the Cubists and whose last complete monograph from 1914 is insufficient despite the essential contributions which the more restricted monographs of Professor Walter Friedlaender and of the late Paul Jamot added to it.⁴⁹

The exhibition, eventually shown at the Louvre in the 'Salles Denon', 'Mollien' and 'Daru' from 9 May to 29 August 1960⁵⁰ (Figures 14.2 and 14.3) was a huge success in various respects: first, the preparatory conference had already fostered a series of very important insights and discoveries, not only in terms of scholarly content but also because through it new specialists emerged. Jacques Thuillier is a case in point: his giant and magnificent 'Corpus Pussinianum' paved the way for the thorough study of Poussin's documentary background, for the period of his lifetime, and afterwards, in terms of his later reception and a *fortuna critica*, which – most tellingly – ended in 1700 when Poussin's star began to sink.⁵¹

The exhibition itself was also a triumph. It attracted so many visitors⁵² that the exhibition in Paris had to be prolonged, because, as it was stated in the letters sent to the participating museums and collections in order to ask for an extension of their loan, 7,000 visitors per week came to see the exhibition.⁵³ This is also why, at one point of the exhibition, the organisers gave up on what was originally at the heart of its occurrence: as it has become clear from the replies written to the mayor of Rouen, it seems as if a strong part of the initiative to have a Poussin exhibition in the first place was due to the engagement of the city of Rouen. Therefore, the exhibition originally was supposed to move, apparently in a reduced form, from Paris to Rouen

in August 1960 in order to end there, but given the strong request, the organisers decided to leave the exhibition in Paris up to 29 August 1960.⁵⁴

The show thus obviously functioned as a rediscovery of an up-to-then-neglected artist and, in line with its intellectual and documentary bias, it raised questions about the dating and the attribution of the paintings especially from Poussin's early period up to the late 1630s. It is said that Blunt himself was unsure about the chronology of Poussin's early development and that he had hoped that seeing all the pictures together at the exhibition and discussing them would provide an opportunity for him and others to rethink the chronology⁵⁵ – in fact, there are even tales that such discussions resulted in an actual, occasional re-hanging of particular paintings during the exhibition.⁵⁶

Given the many visitors who also bought a catalogue, the book was published in a second, updated and corrected edition,⁵⁷ but the corrections that can be found there concern rather misspelled names, missing references and – first of all – missing exhibits whose loan had fallen through in the very last moment.⁵⁸

In conclusion, if one looks back at the dynamics and motivations that eventually spurred the organization of the Poussin exhibition of 1960, it becomes evident that a series of interlocking driving forces was crucial here: the already firmly established practice of dedicating exhibitions to artists of the past, the rediscovery of the art of the seventeenth century with the exhibition 'Les peintres de la réalité' in 1934, which worked in a paradoxical way in favour of a future Poussin exhibition, since although the painter was conceived here as somebody who had eclipsed other artists, the attention generally paid to the art of his era nevertheless also fostered the desire to devote a monographic exhibition to the French Master. Here, it was also individuals such as Grautoff and Bertin-Mouroit who, with their insistence and encouragement for a Poussin exhibition, ultimately paved a way for its realization, hereby sided and supported by simultaneous ongoing art-historical research which on the one hand offered the needed foundation for such an exhibition while on the other hand it emphasised the urgent necessity of such an exhibition for further endeavours such as the critical catalogue of Blunt from 1966 to which the Louvre show also led.

It is tempting to compare the Louvre exhibition from 1960 with the shows, organised in celebration of Poussin's four-hundredth birthday in 1994, or, recently at the occasion of the quarter centenary of the painter's death in 2015. One thus can note certain differences. Whereas the Louvre-exhibition in 1960 dodged commemorative dates, the recent exhibitions have taken them as their justification. This also shows that the Louvre exhibition in 1960 made Poussin the 'established' artist who is now thought to deserve such commemorative exhibitions. Perhaps because of the intensified art historical research, prompted by the 1960 exhibition, later exhibitions had no apparent need for similar special scientific preparations to those which took place in advance of the 1960 event: in 1960, a preparatory conference was organised in advance of the exhibition, whereas the conferences held in Paris, London and Rome in 1994, 1995 and 2015 accompanied the shows as part of the supporting program. This obviously also had to do with the changed purposes and conceptions of the exhibitions: whereas the Louvre exhibition in 1960 was still exploratory and research-driven in its character, the idea behind the 1994 exhibition was more to present 'masterpieces' from a meanwhile firmly established artist. In the case of the 1994 exhibition, it appears almost as an irony of history that this event was rivalled by an exhibition,

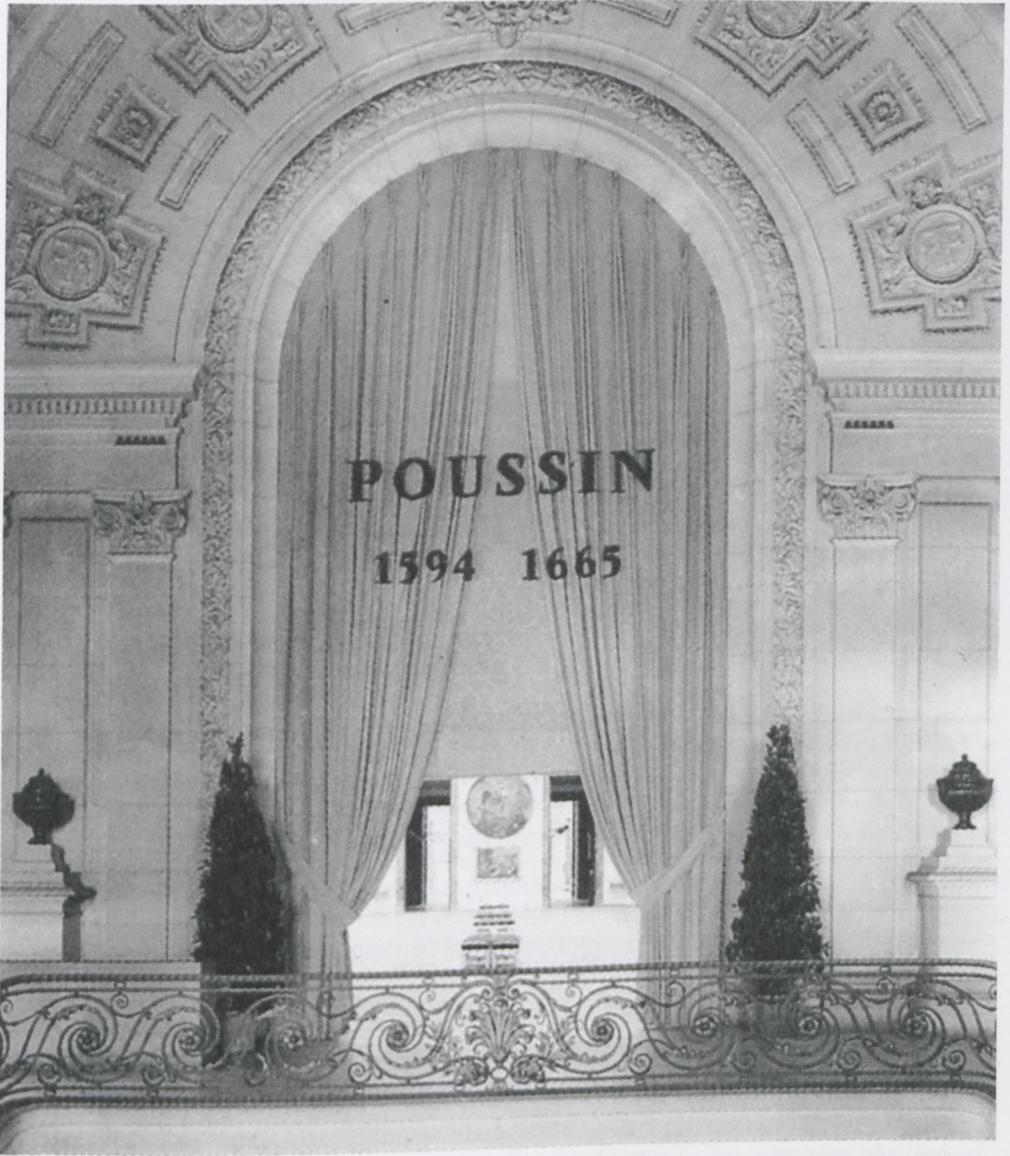


Figure 14.2 Entrance to the Poussin Exhibition in 1960, Paris, Louvre (Arts Graphiques de la Cité [Agraci])

Source: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, *Nicolas Poussin 1594–1665* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux 1994, p. 12)

running at the same time at the Grand Palais and aiming at the re-discovery of another long-time-neglected artist, Gustave Caillebotte. His retrospective was the unexpected success the Poussin exhibition in the Louvre had been in 1960 – an artist who was retrieved from obsolence. And if one looks at the covers of magazines dealing with the exhibitions, it becomes evident how much Poussin was then hailed in solemn but also somewhat antiquated terms as a ‘rich’ ‘Master’, whereas Caillebotte instead got



Figure 14.3 Room in the Poussin Exhibition in 1960, Paris, Louvre (Arts Graphiques de la Cité [Agraci])

Source: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, *Nicolas Poussin 1594–1665* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux 1994, p. 13)

the thrilling adjectives, once, in 1960, applied to Poussin himself, since the Impressionist was celebrated as a up to then ‘misjudged’ ‘mystery’ and a ‘revelation’.⁵⁹

Notes

- * I would like to thank Pierre Rosenberg and Sophie Moquin (École du Louvre) as well as Pascal Riviale (Archives nationales, Paris) and the staff at the Archives nationales for their help and support.
- 1 Michael Kimmelman, ‘When Poussin Drew for Himself’, *Art Review*, 23 February 1996 <www.nytimes.com/1996/02/23/arts/art-review-when-poussin-drew-for-himself.html> [Accessed 22 January 2017].
 - 2 Fredric R. Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (London: Methuen, 1981), p. 9.
 - 3 See for example the judgements quoted in the catalogues from the exhibitions from 1960 as well as from 1994: Musée du Louvre, *Exposition Nicolas Poussin* (Paris: Édition des Musées Nationaux, 1960), p. 17: ‘... en un temps où les Français, épris de l’Impressionnisme, alors encore dans toute sa fraîcheur, ne voyaient plus guère en cet artiste qu’un peintre ennuyeux...’ (my translation from the French: ‘... in a time when the French, taken by Impressionism, which was then in all its freshness, did rather see nothing else in this artist [Poussin] than a boring painter...’). Réunion des Musées Nationaux, *Nicolas Poussin 1594–1665* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1994), p. 14: ‘L’artiste passait pour ennuyeux,

- académique [. . .] poussièreux et pédant . . .’ (my translation from the French: ‘The artist [Poussin] was passed off as boring, academic [. . .], square et pedantic . . .’). One can here encounter the often-voiced but entirely unfounded prejudice against Impressionism that it would have been due to this artistic movement that Baroque art in general and Poussin in particular would have been forgotten. See for example also the short contribution by Anthony Blunt to the Rouen-catalogue: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen: *Nicolas Poussin et son temps. Le Classicisme français et italien contemporain de Poussin* (Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1961), p. VII: ‘Sous David, Poussin connut un renouveau de gloire [. . .] Puis vint l’indifférence de l’époque du Réalisme et de l’Impressionnisme . . .’ (my translation from the French): ‘Under David, Poussin knew a renewal of his fame [. . .]. But then came the indifference of the era of Realism and of Impressionism . . .’. In fact, Baroque art was rediscovered in the same period when Impressionism began to rise, and an early praise of the new movement such as Théodore Duret’s *Les peintres impressionnistes* actually finishes with a postscript in which the painterly qualities of Baroque masters such as Velázquez, Rubens and Poussin are even directly equaled to those of the Impressionists – see Théodore Duret, *Les peintres impressionnistes. Claude Monet-Sisley-C. Pissarro-Renoir-Berthe Morisot* (Paris: Librairie Parisienne: H. Heyman & J. Perois, 1878), p. 33.
- 4 For Vermeer, see Etienne Joseph Théophile Thoré (alias Thoré-Bürger), ‘Van der Meer de Delft’, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1 October 1866, pp. 297–330, 1 November 1886, pp. 458–470 and 1 December 1886, pp. 542–575, a series of articles, heralding the rediscovery of the painter. For Caravaggio, see, even before Roberto Longhi’s *tesi di laurea* on Caravaggio at the university of Turin in 1911, the article by Wolfgang Kalab, ‘Caravaggio’, in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 26 (1906/1907), pp. 272–292.
 - 5 Maria Graham (later: Lady Maria Callcott), *Memoirs of the Life of Nicholas Poussin* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820) and: *Mémoires sur la vie de Nicolas Poussin* (Paris: Pierre Dufart, 1821).
 - 6 See John Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters*, vol. 8 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1837). The volume comes with a fifty-four-page-long biography of Poussin and records 342 paintings attributed to him. On Smith, see Charles Sebag-Montefiore and Julia I. Armstrong-Totten, *A Dynasty of Dealers: John Smith and Successors, 1801–1924. A Study of the Art Market in Nineteenth-Century London* (London: The Roxburghe Club, 2013).
 - 7 See Denio’s Latin dissertation certificate from the 1 October 1898: Heidelberg, Universitätsarchiv, Promotionskartei der Philosophischen Fakultät: UAH-H-IV-102/130 and Denio’s books: *Nicolas Poussin* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1898) and *Nicolas Poussin: His Life and Work* (London: Sampson Low, Martson & Company, 1899). On Denio and the reasons for her study and particularly her graduation in Heidelberg, see Sandra L. Singer, *Adventures Abroad: North American Women at German-Speaking Universities, 1868–1915* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2003), pp. 163–165.
 - 8 See Émile Magne, *Nicolas Poussin. Premier peintre du roi. 1594–1665. Documents inédits* (Brussels: G. van Oest & Cie, 1914), republished in 1928 (Paris: Éditions Émile-Paul Frères) again in a much more reduced and modest version as well as in a smaller format.
 - 9 On him and his relationship to Mann, see the introduction by Peter de Mendelssohn, ed., *Thomas Mann. Briefe an Otto Grautoff 1894–1901 und Ida Boy-Ed 1903–1928* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1975), here especially pp. VIII–XIV. As de Mendelssohn emphasises, Grautoff, among other, translated French writer Romain Rolland’s novel in ten volumes *Jean Christophe*, published between 1904 and 1912, together with his wife Erna between 1914 and 1920 into German. Moreover, Grautoff founded in 1925 a ‘German-French Society’ in Berlin.
 - 10 Published also as: Otto Grautoff, *Nicolas Poussins Jugendjahre* (Munich: Georg Müller, 1914). This in Poussin scholarship rarely quoted dissertation is however for example referenced in Catharine M. Cox, *The Early Mental Traits of Three Hundred Geniuses* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1926), p. 234. For Grautoff’s doctorate, see the list, published by the Basel University under <www.ikg.unibe.ch/unibe/portal/fak_historisch/dkk/ikg/content/e40090/e40108/e93750/files93779/festschrift_doktorate_ger.pdf> [Accessed 22 January 2017].

- 11 Otto Grautoff, *Nicolas Poussin: Sein Werk und sein Leben*, 2 vols. (Munich and Leipzig: Georg Müller, 1914). Other than Smith with his 342 entries, Grautoff only counts 160 works by Poussin.
- 12 See the letter by Romain Rolland to Louis Gillet from 19 September 1912, published in Mme Louis Gillet and Mme Romain Rolland, eds., *Correspondance entre Louis Gillet et Romain Rolland. Choix de lettres* (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1949), pp. 253–254.
- 13 See Walter Friedlaender, *Nicolas Poussin. Die Entwicklung seiner Kunst* (Munich: R. Piper & Co. 1914), p. 106 and Grautoff, *Nicolas Poussin*, p. 11.
- 14 Ambroise Vollard, *Paul Cézanne* (Paris: Galerie A. Vollard, 1914), p. 78.
- 15 See Henry Keazor, *Nicolas Poussin* (Cologne: Taschen, 2007), pp. 7–8.
- 16 My translation from the French. See Anon., ‘Une exposition de Nicolas Poussin’, *Arts et Créations*, 26 July 1947: ‘Mais [. . .] ces bons académistes n’y voyaient pas plus loin que le bout de leur nez, s’ils admiraient la limpidité de sa vision picturale, ils n’avaient pas compris la subtilité de son analyse des volumes. Il a fallu Cézanne l’impressionniste cherchant à apporter dans son art l’ordre et la fermeté qui manquaient [. . .] pour s’inspirer de Poussin qu’il admirait lui aussi et tous les disciples de cette école ont également puisé des inspirations dans le grand maître [. . .]. Par un paradoxe extraordinaire, ce grand classique a une influence prépondérante sur les ultramodernes. . . .’
- 17 My translation from the French: Paris, Archives Nationales (AN), Cote 20150042/4, X19, Musées Nationaux No. 3914: ‘Excusez-moi de vous importuner encore par une lettre . . .’
- 18 Jamot had published a series of articles on Poussin between 1911 and 1925 that were collected after his death in 1939 in a volume, edited by his niece – see Thérèse Bertin-Mourot, ed., *Paul Jamot: Connaissance de Poussin* (Paris: Librairie Floury, 1948). For Jamot’s life, see Mario Roques, ‘Éloge funèbre de M. Paul Jamot, membre libre de l’Académie’, *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 83^e année, no. 6 (1939), 625–636. For the exhibition ‘Les peintres de la réalité en France au XVII^e siècle’ which rediscovered artists such as for example Georges de la Tour, the Frères Le Nain or Valentin de Boulogne and Simon Vouet, felt to have been eclipsed by Poussin and Claude Lorrain, see the exhibition catalogue by Pierre Georget *Orangerie, 1934: Les “peintres de la réalité”* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2006). Julien Cain, then Administrateur Général de la Bibliothèque National, writes in a preface to the third number of the *Bulletin de la Société Poussin* in May 1950, p. 2 that the exhibition at the Orangerie did also ‘project vivid lights’ on Poussin who had been ‘for too long misunderstood, disfigured, reduced to a summary academism’ (my translations from the French): ‘Cet art a été trop longtemps méconnu, défiguré, réduit à un académisme sommaire. Des expositions comme celle des Peintres de la Réalité ont projeté sur lui de vives lueurs.’
- 19 My translation from the French. Letter from 1 June 1934: AN Cote 20150042/4, X19, Musées Nationaux No. 5573: ‘. . . qui se sont toujours jalousement refusés à lui laisser quitter l’ancien couvent des Unterlinden . . .’.
- 20 As a letter by German Bazin, then ‘Conservateur en chef du Département des Peintures et Dessins’, to Anthony Blunt from 13 November 1958 shows, the organisers of the Poussin exhibition in 1960 saw it as a challenge to get the painting from Dresden, since there were no official diplomatic relationships between Eastern Germany and France; Blunt therefore, in a letter from 3 November 1958, had suggested ‘using a third nation as intermediaries, as is frequently done in in diplomatic and economic matters’ – see the correspondence filed under AN Cote 20150160/24: ‘Poussin Paris Colloque 1958/Projet d’expo’. It was maybe due to these uncertainties that the attempt to get the *Flora* was started surprisingly late: only on 21 January 1960, that is: less than five months before the opening, the director of the ‘Musées de France’ Edmond Sidet in a letter to Max Seydewitz, then director general of the Staatliche Gemäldesammlungen Dresden applied the loan of the painting for the first time (to give a comparison: Poussin’s self-portrait from the East-Berlin had been requested already on 14 November 1958). Moreover, Sidet’s letter shows an interesting strategy inasmuch as he first asks for three Poussin paintings, the *Flora* among them, then offers in exchange the loan of around twenty paintings of French artists from the nineteenth century from the Louvre as a ready-made exhibition with the possible title ‘Le Romantisme and le Réalisme en France de Géricault à Courbet’ and ultimately deduces from the thus established imbalance of three paintings from Dresden versus twenty paintings from Paris

- the request for another three Poussin paintings from Dresden. It seems, however, as if this exchange (which had been first discussed in a correspondence that began on 14 August 1959 with a letter from Sidet to the minister of cultural affairs, André Malraux) was only suggested in order to enhance the pressure on Dresden which, as hoped for, in the end conceded: in a letter from 31 March 1960, Seydewitz agrees to the loan, but just to that of the *Flora*. See for this the correspondence filed under AN Cote 20150160/25: 'Allemagne: République Populaire'.
- 21 Letter from 27 November 1947: AN Cote 20150042/4, X19, Direction des Musées Nationaux 20.705 (my translations from the French): '... notre province et l'Angleterre, sans compter la Suisse, ont des richesses insoupçonnées – et l'Allemagne occupée de l'Ouest. ...'
 - 22 Letter by Huyghe to Salles from 5 December 1946: AN Cote 20150042/4, X19 (my translations from the French): '... que cette manifestation serait d'un immense intérêt, mais [...] je crois qu'il serait prématuré de l'envisager [...]. En résumé, ce projet me paraît excellent à condition de le réaliser au moment opportun.'
 - 23 See the quote, taken from an article by Grautoff from 1932, in the foreword by Bertin-Mourot on the frontispiece of the first edition of the *Bulletin* which appeared in June 1947 (my translation from the French): '... signaler au centre parisien tous les tableaux ou dessins de Poussin – vrais ou faux – qui apparaîtraient dans les pays où ils résideraient.'
 - 24 See Cain, 1950, p. 2 (my translation from the French): '... une préface modeste, à l'exposition de l'ensemble de l'œuvre de Nicolas Poussin qu' un avenir prochain [...] nous apportera.'
 - 25 See the catalogue *Bibliothèque Nationale: Nicolas Poussin. Peintures, Dessins et Gravures* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1949). For the context of such exhibitions, see Amandine Pluchet, 'Les expositions organisées à la Bibliothèque nationale sous l'administration de Julien Cain, 1930–1964', *Revue de la BNF*, 1, no. 49 (2015), 50–59, also online under <www.cairn.info/revue-de-la-bibliotheque-nationale-de-france-2015-1-page-50.htm> [Accessed 22 January 2017].
 - 26 The Minneapolis Institute of Arts bought with the *Death of Germanicus* one of Poussin's earliest documented works – see the exhibition catalogue *Nicolas Poussin. 1594–1665. A Loan Exhibition Organized by the Minneapolis Institute of Arts in Collaboration With the Toledo Museum of Art* (Minneapolis: The Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts, 1959), p. 24. Although Walter Friedlaender in his contribution to the catalogue of the American exhibition congratulated the Toledo Museum of Art upon its acquisition of the painting *Mars and Venus* (see *ibid.*, p. 12), the work is today not considered as a work by Poussin any more. See for this for example Jacques Thuillier, *Nicolas Poussin* (Paris: Flammarion, 1994), p. 274, No. R100.
 - 27 In the catalogue's foreword – *Nicolas Poussin. 1594–1665*, 1959, (s.p.: p. 3) – written by representatives of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Richard S. Davis, Director, and Sam Davis, Curator) and the Toledo Museum of Art (Blake-More Godwin, Director, and Otto Wittmann, Jr., Associate Director), the authors lament the fact that although 'there are now some thirty-five paintings of varying degrees of significance by the artist in America and Canada' and it was hoped 'to include from twenty to twenty-five of the outstanding examples', nevertheless due to 'reasons of fragile condition' or proscriptions from travelling 'under the terms of their gift', only seventeen Poussin paintings could be assembled for the occasion.
 - 28 Among the works today doubted as originals by Poussin are the paintings *Moses Sweetening the Waters of Marah* (Baltimore Museum of Art – see *Nicolas Poussin, 1594–1665*, 1959, p. 24) and the *Selene and Endymion* (Detroit Institute of Arts – see *Nicolas Poussin, 1594–1665*, 1959, p. 26) – see for example Doris Wild, *Nicolas Poussin: Leben – Werk – Exkurse*, 2 vols. (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1980), vol. 2, p. 203, No. M 1 and p. 295, No. R 57.
 - 29 In the foreword to the catalogue from the 1960 exhibition, Germain Bazin, then 'Conservateur en Chef des Peintures au Musée du Louvre', writes in fact concerning Hubert Guillet that 'since 1955, M. Guillet, Conservateur du Musée de Rouen [...] had envisioned the idea of rendering homage to Poussin in the natal province of the Master ...' (my translation from the French). See: *Exposition Nicolas Poussin*, 1960, p. 14: 'Dès 1955, M. Guillet, Conservateur du Musée de Rouen ... 'avait envisagé de rendre un hommage à Poussin dans la province natale du maître ...'.

- 30 See also the undated letter, drafted up by German Bazin and Charles Sterling, in 1958/59 (?) as a model to be used for loan requests and committee invitations, in which it is clearly stated that 'the Direction des Musées Nationaux français and the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen which represents the native region of the great Norman [Poussin – H.K.] have decided to organise a reunion of his works' (my translation from the French): '... la Direction des Musées Nationaux français et le Musée des Beaux Arts de Rouen, qui représente la région natale du grand Normand, ont décidé d'organiser une réunion capitale de ses oeuvres [sic]': AN Cote 20150160/24: 'Poussin Colloque Paris 1958/Projet d'expo'. The letter seems to be from around 1958/59, since it shows similarities to both a letter written to the Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts in Bruxelles on 12 January 1959 as well as one written by the then-directeur des Musées de France Edmond Sidet, on 8 September 1959 to Walter Friedlaender with the invitation to become 'Membre d'Honneur' of the exhibition committee: see AN Cote 20150160/24: 'Comité d'organisation'.
- 31 My translations from the French. Letter by Bazin to Salles from 10 November 1955: AN Cote 20150160/24: 'Organisation 1) Financière 2) Diverses', 'Diverses', Direction des Musées de France No. 15578: '... une manifestation digne de lui demande de très longs délais de préparation. [...] Antony [sic] Blunt [...] ne veut le faire véritablement que si on lui donne les délais suffisantes pour une préparation sérieuse. ...'
- 32 This was possibly because also the above mentioned, inspiring exhibition 'Les peintres de la réalité en France au XVIIIe siècle' (see note 18 above) had been presented there in 1934. However, in 1959 and 1963 a collection by Jean Walter and Paul Guillaume consisting of 146 paintings, from Impressionism to Modern Art, along with pieces of African art, came into possession of the Musée de l'Orangerie, and in order to exhibit the artworks between 1960 and 1965, an extensive conversion of the building was necessary, which of course made it impossible to further host the Poussin exhibition. See Michel Hoog, *Catalogue de la collection Jean Walter et Paul Guillaume* (Paris: Ministère de la Culture, de la Communication, des Grands Travaux et du Bicentenaire, 1984).
- 33 Letter from Sterling to Salles from 9 November 1956 (my translation from the French): '... deux vastes salles du Musée du Louvre. [...] Mais étant donné la situation actuelle [...] dans la situation actuelle.': AN Cote 20150160/24: 'Organisation 1) Financière 2) Diverses', 'Diverses', Réunion des Musées Nationaux No. 2789. In a letter from the 13 November 1958 to Anthony Blunt, Germain Bazin writes of the 'Salle David' as the planned venue for the Poussin exhibition, hereby replying to Blunt's concerns, as voiced in a letter to Bazin from the 3 November 1958 in which he expresses his doubts that the rooms in the Orangerie would 'provide room for all we ought to get', and he emphasises his plea for the Louvre as the venue by concluding with the rhetorical question: 'If this is really to be a proper tribute to one of France's greatest painters, should it not have as fine a setting as the Delacroix exhibition of 1930?' See the correspondence, filed under: AN Cote 20150160/24: 'Poussin Colloque Paris 1958/Projet d'expo'.
- 34 See the original program filed under: AN Cote 20150160/24: 'Poussin Colloque Paris 1958/Projet d'expo': '1958: Colloque Poussin Paris'.
- 35 Blunt was from 1945 up to 1972 'Surveyor of the King's Pictures' resp. (after 1952) 'Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures', a highly esteemed position for which he was knighted as a 'KCVO' (that is: as 'Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order') in 1956; 1947 he became professor of the history of art at the University of London and director of the Courtauld Institute of Art at the University of London. In 1964 Blunt had to confess to the British government that he had been working as a Russian spy from 1934 on, but it was agreed that the public should be not be informed. Only in 1979, he was publicly exposed and was, among other, stripped of his knighthood. See for this Miranda Carter, *Anthony Blunt: His Lives* (London: Macmillan, 2001).
- 36 See Anthony Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin: A Critical Catalogue* (London: Phaidon Press LTD, 1966) and Anthony Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin* (The A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1958), Bollingen Series XXXV, 7 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1967).
- 37 See for this also Carter, *Anthony Blunt*, p. 433.
- 38 See for this Carter, *Anthony Blunt*, p. 433 and Blunt 1967, p. ix, according to whom other reasons were technical challenges; moreover, he had to take care of the production of the 'critical catalogue' that appeared in 1966.

- 39 *Nicolas Poussin, 1594–1665*, 1959, p. 5.
- 40 My translation from the French. *Exposition Nicolas Poussin*, 1960, p. 13: ‘... un peintre doué par ailleurs des plus beaux dons utiles à son art, [...] en même temps un sage capable de hautes et viriles pensées, le jour où il aura trouvé une forme plastique parfait pour une de ces vérités générales [...] il aura fait une œuvre qui méritera une place d’honneur dans une élite peu nombreuse, à laquelle sont dus le respect et l’admiration des bons juges.’
- 41 *Nicolas Poussin, 1594–1665*, 1959, pp. 8 and 9.
- 42 My translation from the German. Friedlaender, *Nicolas Poussin*, 1914, S. 4: ‘... jener bewußteste Theoretiker unter ihnen...’.
- 43 Friedlaender, *Nicolas Poussin*, 1914, S. 43.
- 44 See already the chapter titles, referring to philosophical and theoretical issues in Blunt 1967, p. xiii such as ‘Poussin and Stoicism’, ‘Poussin’s Ideas on Painting’, ‘The Last Synthesis [...]’.
- 45 See note 30.
- 46 Denis Mahon, ‘Poussiniana. Afterthoughts Arising From the Exhibition’, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* II, July/August (1962), pp. 1–138 and *ibid.*, ‘A Plea for Poussin as a Painter’, in *Walter Friedlaender zum neunzigsten Geburtstag. Eine Festgabe seiner europäischen Schüler, Freunde und Verehrer*, ed. by Georg Kauffmann and Willibald Sauerländer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965), pp. 113–142.
- 47 See for example the letter written by Sidet from 8 September 1959 to Walter Friedlaender (see note 30) or the general letter draft, used for loan requests (my translation from the French): ‘... aux approches du troisième centenaire de la mort de Poussin...’ See here also the following two notes.
- 48 See note 30.
- 49 My translation from the French: ‘Depuis une dizaine d’années les expositions consacrées aux artistes du passé ne se comptent plus. Leur intérêt ne les justifie pas toujours. Aussi les grands musées se doivent-ils de n’entreprendre que celles dont l’apport pour le goût de notre temps et le besoin d’une mise au point historique seraient évidents. Il est surprenant de constater que l’oeuvre [sic] d’un des plus grands maîtres de la peinture ancienne, Nicolas Poussin, n’a jamais été l’objet d’une exposition d’ensemble. Nulle réunion des chefs-d’oeuvres [sic] dispersés dans le monde entier n’est plus justifiés que celle du peintre dont l’art est à la base de toutes les formes du classicisme moderne depuis David jusqu’à Cézanne et les Cubistes et dont la dernière monographie complète, qui date de 1914, reste insuffisante malgré les apports essentiels qu’ajoutèrent à cette étude les monographies plus restreintes du professeur Walter Friedlaender et du regretté Paul Jamot.’
- 50 As it is difficult to find exact information (the catalogue does not mention any opening or ending date), one sometimes finds wrong dates indicated, such as for example 29 April to July 1960 (so the catalogue entry in the files of the Archives Nationales concerning the exhibition in 1960: ‘Poussin; musée du Louvre, salles Denon, Mollien, Daru; 29 avril-juillet 1960’) or the 11 May 1960 as the opening date – see for the Archives Nationales: Hélène Brossier, *Archives des musées nationaux Expositions, Salons, Expositions universelles (séries X-Expositions, X-Salons et XU)*, Première édition électronique (Archives nationales: Pierrefitte-sur-Seine 2015), p. 35, online under <www.siv.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/siv/rechercheconsultation/consultation/ir/pdfIR.action?irId=FRAN_IR_054004> [Accessed 22 January 2017] and (for the 11 May 1960) Pierre Rosenberg, ‘L’année Poussin’, in *Nicolas Poussin, 1594–1665* (1994), pp. 12–27 (p. 12), who apparently refers to the first date on which the exhibition was open to the wider public. The fact that these dates are so hard to establish is an echo of the fact that the Louvre up to the very last moment apparently was unsure when to open the exhibition exactly. One thus finds varying dates among the documents, ranging in fact from the end of April to the beginning of May 1960. However, a letter by the ‘Directeur des Musées de France’ to the ‘Directeur Général des Arts et des lettres’ from the 2 May 1960 allows television teams to film the official opening of the Poussin Exhibition on 9 May 1960, 11 o’clock a.m. – see AN Cote 20150160/24: ‘Communiqués à la presse (et télévision)’, Réunion des Musées Nationaux 1676. For the closing date, see the main text.
- 51 See Jacques Thuillier, ‘Pour un “Corpus Pussinianum”’, in *Nicolas Poussin. Colloque international Paris 19–21 Septembre 1958*, ed. by André Chastel, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions du

- Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960), II, pp. 49–238, reprinted in Thuillier, 1994, pp. 143–217.
- 52 A calculation from 30 September 1960 counts 90,000 visitors for the entire time, that is: from 11 May 1960 to 29 August 1960 – see AN Cote 20150160/24: ‘Organisation 1) Financière 2) Diverses’, under ‘Financière’ and ‘Entrées’. Rosenberg 1994, p. 12 compares these numbers to those of later exhibitions on artists such as Chardin (1979), Watteau (1983/84), Fragonard (1987/88) or Gauguin (1989) and thus judges the amount of visitors of the Poussin exhibition as ‘bien modeste’, but in 1960 such a number seems to have been impressive, given that the organisers used it as an argument to extend the exhibition time in Paris – see the following note.
- 53 See letter draft for a requested extended loan, labelled as ‘Modèle I’ and filed under AN Cote 20150160/24: ‘Prolongation Poussin’.
- 54 See the letter draft referred to in the earlier note. Instead of being the second ‘halt’ of the Paris exhibition, Rouen one year later with ‘Poussin et son temps’ got its own Poussin exhibition, which, however, as the title already indicates did not focus on Poussin exclusively and featured, among the works of other *Seicento* artists from France and Italy, nineteen works by Poussin, two questioned attributions, two paintings tentatively attributed to him, fifteen paintings from his circle and five paintings ‘after Poussin’. See the catalogue *Nicolas Poussin et son temps*, 1961.
- 55 Carter, *Anthony Blunt*, p. 432.
- 56 So Pierre Rosenberg in an interview done with him in Paris on 24 March 2016.
- 57 According to a document from 11 October 1960, filed under AN Cote 20150160/24: ‘Organisation 1) Financière 2) Diverses’, ‘Diverses’, the first print run of the catalogue was 3,500 copies; 515 were given away for free, the rest was sold. The second print run was 4,880 copies; 321 were given away for free, whereas 2,905 were sold, so that 1,654 were left over.
- 58 See for example three drawings from the Musée Bonnat in Bayonne, which are still listed in the first edition of the catalogue (*Exposition Nicolas Poussin*, 1960, p. 151, Nos. 139 and 140, p. 161, No. 170) but which, given that the Musée Bayonne by principle never lends out its works, had to be cancelled from the second edition (see *Exposition Nicolas Poussin*, 1960 where on p. 151 and p. 160 the entry numbers jump from No. 138 to No. 141 respectively from No. 169 to No. 171). Although the organisers must have known about the policy of the Musée Bayonne, they were apparently optimistic to nevertheless get the drawings and therefore included them into the catalogue. As the example of the *Flora* from Dresden shows (see note 20), some loans were apparently organised on a short-term basis.
- 59 See the headlines and titles on magazines such as the one devoted to the Poussin exhibition (‘Nicolas Poussin. The Riches of a Great Master’) versus those dedicated to Caillebotte (‘The Mystery Caillebotte’, ‘The Caillebotte Revelation’, ‘Caillebotte. The Modernity of a Misjudged Painter’). See (for Poussin): *Le petit journal des grandes expositions: Nicolas Poussin – la richesse d’un grand maître*, No. 263, October 1994–January 1995 and (for Caillebotte): *Le petit journal des grandes expositions: Gustave Caillebotte – la modernité d’un peintre méconnu*, No. 260, September 1994–January 1995; Daniel Charles, *Le mystère Caillebotte* (Paris: Glénat, 1994) and *Beaux-Arts: La révélation Caillebotte*, No. 126, September (1994). For the use expressions such as for example ‘révélation’ in the context of the reception of the exhibition from 1960, see Rosenberg 1994, p. 14. The parallel presentation of the two exhibitions and especially their reception in the press in some way apparently confirmed the wrong misconception about the ‘rivalling’ relationship between the Impressionists and Baroque Art – see for this here note 3.