

## Shorter Notices

*Poussin, Titian and Mantegna: some observations on the 'Adoration of the Golden Calf' at San Francisco\**

BY HENRY KEAZOR

SINCE it first came to light, there has been much discussion of the *Adoration of the Golden Calf* (Fig.11) now in the M.H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco,<sup>1</sup> though this has centred exclusively on its date and authorship. When discovered and published in 1919 by J.H. Johnstone,<sup>2</sup> the painting bore a signature and a date which has been interpreted in different ways; in 1957 the last digit became scarcely legible as a result of a somewhat harsh cleaning.<sup>3</sup> Some scholars have deciphered the date, following Johnstone's reading, as 1629,<sup>4</sup> while others, following Martin Davies and Denis Mahon, read it as 1626.<sup>5</sup>

These opposed readings are largely the result of different attempts to fit the few surviving and mostly undated works of Poussin's early Roman period into a coherent chronology, based on differing notions of his stylistic development. Here, the San Francisco *Adoration* has posed the most difficult problems: for Mahon, and later for Blunt as well, it appeared to be impossible that Poussin could have painted so weak a picture of such uneven quality at the same time as works such as the *Martyrdom of St Erasmus* in the Vatican and *The Virgin appearing to St James* in the Louvre, which Mahon has described as 'two of Poussin's most accomplished incursions into the complicated idiom of the then avant-garde full baroque'.<sup>6</sup>

So the date of the *Adoration* was – following Davies's reading – shifted to 1626. But even then the painting – often criticised for its



10. *Adoration of the Golden Calf*, by Nicolas Poussin. Black chalk, 13 by 18.3 cm. (Royal Library, Windsor Castle).

flaws in composition, perspective and gestures<sup>7</sup> – remained so problematic that Blunt welcomed with enthusiasm, as well as a certain relief, Pierre Rosenberg's suggestion of 1973 that the painting should be removed altogether from Poussin's *œuvre*: 'I have always found this picture distasteful', Blunt wrote in a review, 'and difficult to fit into the early period of Poussin'.<sup>8</sup> Blunt and Rosenberg then adopted the position that the painting was an old fake or pastiche (according to Rosenberg, executed by the Neapolitan painter Andrea da Lione),<sup>9</sup> while other scholars have tended to consider it a copy after a lost original,<sup>10</sup> the existence of which seems to be confirmed by a preparatory drawing at Windsor (Fig.10) and an engraving by Jean-Baptiste de Poilly (1669–1728).<sup>11</sup>

\*The findings discussed in this article are extracted from my study of Poussin's 'still lifes': *Les natures mortes chez Poussin: Quellen, Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Kleinkompositionen in den Gemälden Nicolas Poussins*. I am indebted to Frank Martin for helpful suggestions and to Gregory Harwell for burnishing my English. I would like to dedicate this article to the memory of the late Doris Wild (1900–93).

<sup>1</sup>The painting entered the museum in 1955 (inv.no.61–44–30); for its earlier history and provenance see C.EISLER: *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, European Schools Excluding Italian*, Oxford [1977], no. K1876, pp.269ff.

<sup>2</sup>J.H. JOHNSTONE: 'An Early Picture by Nicolas Poussin', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, XXXV [1919], p.91.

<sup>3</sup>See A. BLUNT: 'La première période romaine de Poussin', in *Nicolas Poussin (Actes du Colloque Poussin)*, Paris [1960], Vol. I, p.164 and EISLER, *op.cit.* above, pp.269ff. The inscription seems to be almost totally illegible today; see A. BLUNT: 'Poussin's "Death of Germanicus" lent to Paris', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, CXV [1973], p.533.

<sup>4</sup>Johnstone's reading was accepted by the following: W. FRIEDLAENDER: 'Nicolas Poussin', in *Thieme-Becker*, XXVII [1933], p.324; *idem*: 'America's First Poussin Show', *Art News*, XXXVIII [9th March 1940], p.10; A. BLUNT: 'Poussin Studies II: Three Early Works', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, LXXIX [1947], p.269; T. BERTIN-MOURET: 'Addenda au Catalogue de Grautoff, depuis 1914', *Bulletin de la Société Poussin*, II [1948], pp.45ff; A. BLUNT: *Poussin: The Golden Calf (National Gallery Books)*, London [1951], p.6; *idem*, *loc.cit.* at note 3 above [1960]; *idem*: *Nicolas Poussin*, exh.cat., Louvre, Paris [1960], pp.222ff.; W. FRIEDLAENDER: *Nicolas Poussin – a New Approach*, London [1966], p.138; J. THULLIER: *L'opera completa di Poussin*, Milan [1974], no. 63, p.92; D. WILD: *Nicolas Poussin – Leben, Werk, Exkurse*, Zurich [1980], II, no. 23, p.26; C. WRIGHT: *Poussin. Paintings – a Catalogue Raisonné*, London [1985], no. L5, p.247; K. OBERHUBER: *Poussin – The Early Years in Rome*, New York [1988], no. 82, p.285 and A. MÉROT: *Nicolas Poussin*, London [1990], no. 22, p.256.

<sup>5</sup>M. DAVIES: *National Gallery Catalogues, French School* (second edition), London [1957], p.178, note 5, was the first to challenge, with great caution Johnstone's reading ('the date on that picture appears to be 1626'); see also D. MAHON: 'Poussin's early development: an alternative hypothesis', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, CII [1960], pp.290ff., esp., p.291, note 16; *idem*: 'Poussiniana – Afterthoughts arising from the exhibition', *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, LX [1962], p.3; and *idem*: 'The Dossier of a

Picture: Nicolas Poussin's "Rebecca al pozzo", *Apollo*, LXXXI [March 1965], p.202. Blunt was later convinced by Mahon's interpretation; see A. BLUNT: *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin – A Critical Catalogue*, London [1966], no. 25, p.21, and *idem*: *Nicolas Poussin*, New York [1967], p.70. See also for this reading: K. BADT: *Die Kunst des Nicolas Poussin*, Cologne [1969], p.293 and no.154, p.634; A. BLUNT: *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin*, V, London [1974], pp.66ff. and EISLER, *op.cit.* at note 2 above, p.270.

<sup>6</sup>For the *St Erasmus*, commissioned for St Peter's in 1629, see BLUNT, *Catalogue*, *op.cit.* above [1966], no. 97, pp.66ff., MÉROT, *op.cit.* at note 4 above, no. 91, p.268 and recently P. ROSENBERG and L.A. PRAT: *Nicolas Poussin: 1594–1665*, exh. cat., Grand Palais, Paris [1994], pp.172–74, no.26. For the *Virgin appearing to St James*, painted, according to Bellori and Félibien, for a church in Valenciennes in 1629–30; see BLUNT, *Catalogue* [1966], no. 102, p.71 and MÉROT, no. 93, p.268. Mahon's phrase is in MAHON, *loc.cit.* at note 5 above [1960], p.291.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*: 'The "Golden Calf" is the picture of an artist who is yet unsure of himself'.  
<sup>8</sup>P. ROSENBERG: *La "Mort de Germanicus" de Poussin* (Les dossiers du département des peintures 7), Paris [1973], pp.22 and 66, note 56; BLUNT, *loc.cit.* at note 3 above [1973], p.533.

<sup>9</sup>For pastiches of this composition, see THULLIER, *op.cit.* at note 4 above, no. R7, p.118 (*Sacrifice of Noah*, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden), and P. ROSENBERG: *France in the Golden Age*, New York [1982], p.370, no. 7 (*Adoration of the Golden Calf*, The New-York Historical Society New York; listed there as a 'copy of a lost original').

<sup>10</sup>For these opinions, voiced by THULLIER, WILD and WRIGHT, see note 4 above.  
<sup>11</sup>For the Windsor drawing (11884v), see W. FRIEDLAENDER: *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin*, London [1939], I, no. 22, p.12 and pl. 13. For Poilly see WILD, *op.cit.* at note 4 above, I, p.203, and, for the engraving, G. WILDENSTEIN: 'Catalogue des graveurs de Poussin par Andresen', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LX [1962], no. A.74, p.144 and p.151; BLUNT ruled out both drawing and engraving as proofs of authenticity by hypothesising that the painting could have been created by a follower on the basis of Poussin's drawing, while Poilly could have transmitted this early falsification under the name of Poussin (see BLUNT, *loc.cit.* at note 3 above [1973], p.533) and *idem*: *The Drawings of Poussin*, London [1979], p.177ff.





11. *Adoration of the Golden Calf*, by or after Nicolas Poussin. 99 by 128 cm. (M.H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco).

The simple relegation of this picture to a follower, however, will not do. The San Francisco "Golden Calf" must be considered either a copy of an important painting by Poussin of around 1629/30 . . . or as the very damaged and rubbed original', Konrad Oberhuber stated finally in his book of 1988, reconstructing Poussin's early years in Rome.<sup>12</sup> Oberhuber rightly points out the weaknesses in the composition: Poussin still seems to be struggling here with the problems of perspective and the creation of spatial depth, hence the relief-like group of worshippers right in the extreme foreground who seem rather like actors before a painted landscape backcloth, on which appears the slightly tilted figure of Moses.<sup>13</sup> But this type of combination of figures in the foreground viewed straight on with figures further back seen slightly from above can also be found in paintings from Poussin's own hand, such as the *Parnassus* in the Prado, Madrid, which is unanimously dated between 1631 and 1632.<sup>14</sup> The *Parnassus* also contains the particular types of bearded head found in the *Adoration*.<sup>15</sup> Other close parallels of individual forms between the *Adoration* and works by Poussin dating from around 1629–31 – such as the figure of the kneeling man in the middle foreground (repeated in the *Virgin appearing to St James* at the Louvre) and his striped dress used again

in the *Plague of Ashdod* – have already been remarked on and discussed in the literature.<sup>16</sup>

Apart from these, however, the *Adoration of the Golden Calf* has never been the subject of detailed investigation or analysis. As far as the sources for the painting are concerned, scholars have been content to follow the lead of Johnstone, who pointed to the obvious influence of Raphael's Vatican Loggia frescoes, as well as drawing more general comparisons with the schools of the Carracci and Domenichino, with Venetian (especially Titian) and Flemish painters, with Caravaggio and with Roman bas-reliefs.<sup>17</sup> Subsequent scholars then adopted several parts of this supposed chain of influence, which is derived more from the biographical facts known about Poussin's life in 1629 than from what is actually apparent in the painting itself: in fact, it seems extremely difficult to demonstrate concrete similarities between the *Adoration* and any of these supposed models.

Fortunately, however, distinct hints of the sources Poussin studied and used at that time are present in the painting itself. For example, the accumulation of objects at lower right, which forms a sort of still-life in its own right (Fig. 14) and is sometimes underrated as an 'archaeological nicety', contains useful clues about the

<sup>12</sup>OBERHUBER, *op.cit.* at note 4 above, p.28. MÉROT, *op.cit.* at note 4 above, no. 22, p.256 has also listed the composition in his catalogue as by Poussin, showing the engraving by Poilly rather than the painting in San Francisco which he considers a copy. EISLER, *op.cit.* at note 1 above, p.270, states that Poussin's 'authorship seems likely'. Unfortunately, an X-ray-examination of this picture, which might help to clear up this point, is still a desideratum.

<sup>13</sup>OBERHUBER, *op.cit.* at note 4 above, p.214: 'Typically, we find Moses standing on a specially prepared platform, seen wrongly from above . . .'

<sup>14</sup>See THULLIER, no. 69, p.94; WILD, II, no. 26, p.29; WRIGHT, no. 67, pp.167ff.; OBERHUBER, p.25, MÉROT, no.121, p.274 (all cited at note 4 above) and ROSENBERG

*op.cit.* at note 6 above, no.45, pp.206ff.

<sup>15</sup>BLUNT *loc.cit.* at note 3 above [1973], p.533 could not think of an 'example in Poussin's certain early works' for these 'bearded types based on "Etruscan" vases'.

<sup>16</sup>See MAHON, *loc.cit.* at note 5 above [1965], on the *Virgin and St James*; and also note 6 above. For the *Plague at Ashdod* (Louvre, Paris), dateable to c. 1630–31, see BLUNT, *Catalogue*, cited at note 5 above [1966], no. 32, pp.24ff. and ROSENBERG *op.cit.* at note 6 above, no.43, pp.200ff. See also Blunt, *loc.cit.* at note 3 above [1973], p.533, note 9.

<sup>17</sup>JOHNSTONE, *loc.cit.* at note 2 above, p.91. Comparisons with the *Adoration of the Golden Calf* in the Vatican loggia (and with the *Parnassus* in the *Stanza*) also help to explain the anomalies of viewpoint discussed above.





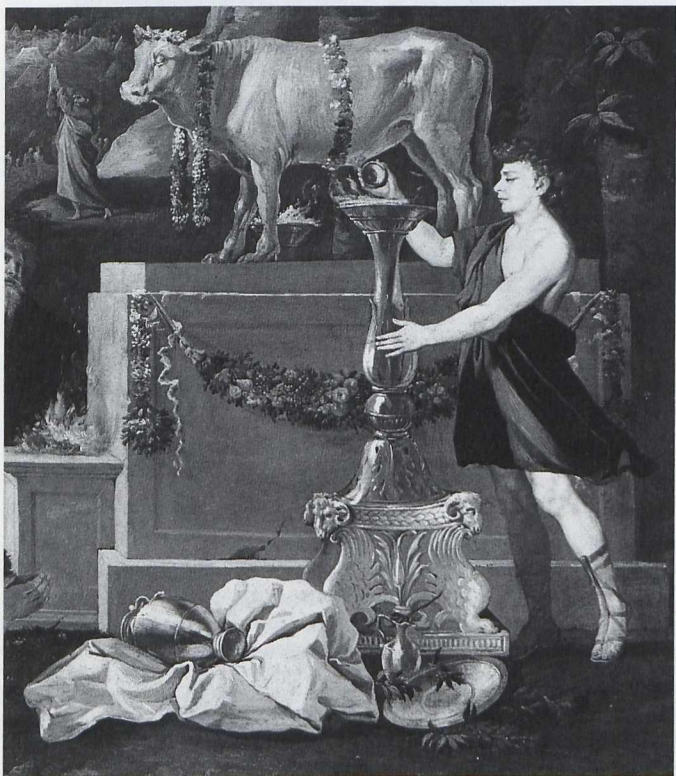
12. *The triumph of Caesar: the elephants*, by Andrea Mantegna. 267 by 277 cm. (Royal Collection, Hampton Court).



13. *The triumph of Caesar*, by Giovanni Antonio da Brescia after Andrea Mantegna. Engraving. (Musée du petit Palais, Paris).

12.

13.



14. Detail of Fig. 11.

painter's interests at this period. Such 'still lifes',<sup>18</sup> composed out of objects borrowed from several distinct sources, are typical for Poussin's paintings from 1629 onwards, and in the *Adoration* we have not only the first example of such a combination, but also one which echoes the earlier (indeed the first) and simpler example of such a 'still-life', the metal vessel, placed at the left on a sumptuously billowing drapery in the *Lamentation over the dead Christ* at Munich (Fig. 15).<sup>19</sup> In both cases Poussin seems to have been inspired by the urn lying on a thin drapery at the lower left of Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* in London (Fig. 16). Since Titian placed his signature ('TICIANUS F.') directly on the surface of this urn, it seems likely that Poussin, by citing exactly this element, was consciously paying homage to the revered master whose works he had begun to study, together with François Duquesnoy, in 1626.<sup>20</sup> How impressed Poussin was by this particular motif is apparent from the fact that he adopted it a third time in his *Triumph of Silenus* (Fig. 7).<sup>21</sup>

To the right of these objects in the *Adoration* appears a small metal jug standing behind an inclined metal plate: laurel fronds are scattered on and around it one of which appears to have been stuck into the jug itself. Here Poussin's source is the famous Roman frieze from the Temple of Neptune, displaying instruments used for sacrifice and published in a mid-sixteenth-century engraving by Nicolas Beatrizet in Antonio Lafréry's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (Fig. 17). He has followed quite closely the form of the metal *oinochoe* with a laurel branch, third from the right in the second row of the engraving, as well as the two plates.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup>See F.-G. PARISET: 'Les natures mortes chez Poussin', in the 1960 *Colloque* cited at note 3 above, I, pp. 215-24; A.-M. LOGAN-SAEGESSER: *Die Entwicklung des Stillebens als Teil einer größeren Komposition in der französischen Malerei vom Beginn des 14. bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, doctoral dissertation, Universität Zurich, Winterthur [1968], pp. 52-64; and WILD, *op.cit.* at note 4 above, I, pp. 56ff.

<sup>19</sup>The *Lamentation* is variously dated between 1626 (see BADT, *op.cit.* at note 5 above, pp. 302ff., THULLIER, *op.cit.* at note 4 above, no. 18, p. 86; WILD, *op.cit.* at note 4 above, II, no. 12, p. 16; and ROSENBERG *op.cit.* at note 6 above, no. 12, pp. 144) and 1628-29 (see MAHON, *loc.cit.* at note 5 above [1962], p. 24, and BLUNT, *Catalogue* cited at note 5 above [1966], no. 82, p. 57, as well as WRIGHT, p. 153, no. 40, OBERHUBER, p. 195 and MÉROT, p. 39, all cited at note 4 above). For my dating see note 20 below.

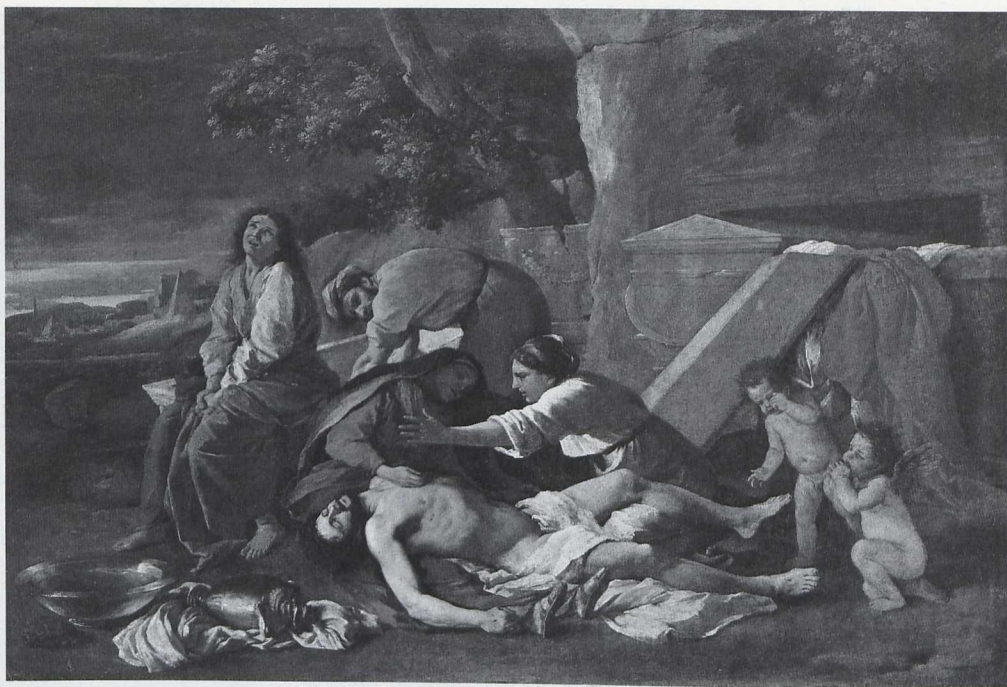
<sup>20</sup>See WILD, *op.cit.* at note 4 above, Vol. I, p. 21, note 6; she states that hints of Titian's Bacchanals should be traceable in Poussin's paintings only from 1629 on, but dates the *Lamentation* in Munich to 1626 - a dating with which I would agree since the painting has stylistic characteristics close to the two works Poussin executed in 1625-27 in collaboration with Daniel Seghers the *Virgin and Child* (Preston Manor, Brighton) and the *Pietà* (Musée Thomas Henry, Cherbourg); for this comparison see the grouping by MÉROT, *op.cit.* at note 4 above, p. 42. Concerning the two Seghers paintings see t.j. standing: 'Some pictures by Poussin in the Dal Pozzo Collection: Three new inventories', *BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, CXXX [1988], p. 613

and 618. It should be noted that M. PODRO has already speculated about a direct influence of Titian's 'Bacchus and Ariadne' on the paintings of Poussin; in 'Dépeindre "Le veau d'or"', *Cahier du Musée National d'Art Moderne*, 21 [1987], pp. 47-67, esp. p. 51.

<sup>21</sup>Until now the painting in the National Gallery, London, was considered a copy; see BLUNT, *Catalogue* cited at note 5 above [1966], no. 138, p. 99; recently, however, there has been a tendency to rehabilitate it as the original, painted around 1636 as a part of the Richelieu-Bacchanals: see for example H. BRIGSTOCKE: 'Poussin in Edinburgh', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*, CXXIV [1982], pp. 239ff., and ROSENBERG, *op.cit.* at note 6 above, p. 22. [See this issue, p. 11, Fig. 7].

<sup>22</sup>Later Poussin again made use of this engraving for the 'still-lives' in the *Saving of the young Pyrrhus* in the Louvre of c. 1632-4 and in the *Holy Family on the Steps* of 1648. The only known drawings by Poussin after the engraving are dateable c. 1635-40; on one, in the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Poussin even copied the engraving's commentary: see G. KAUFFMANN: 'Poussin's letztes Werk', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* XXIV [1961], p. 113, BLUNT, *Drawings*, cited at note 5 above [1975], pp. 43ff., no. 352, and *idem*: *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin*, London [1979], p. 134 and no. 153. For the other sheet, in a private collection in Paris, see *idem*: 'Further Newly Identified Drawings by Poussin and His Followers', *Master Drawings*, XVII [1979], pp. 136ff.





15. *The lamentation over the dead Christ*, by Nicolas Poussin. 102 by 148 cm. (Alte Pinakothek, Munich).

Finally, behind this grouping of objects is a splendid silver *lychnuchus* (a kind of torch or candelabrum) with rams' heads at its base, attended by a youth in antique garb who pours an offering into the flame.<sup>23</sup> (A pendant to it is just visible behind the Golden Calf on the other side of the altar). While the *lychnuchus* itself has never worried scholars greatly, the young servant attending it has been considered not only quite unusual for Poussin, but even striking and somewhat disturbing,<sup>24</sup> to the extent that Blunt in 1967 based his dating of the picture on this figure when he concluded: 'In many ways this landscape looks forward to Poussin's paintings of about 1630, but the clumsiness of certain figures, notably the boy pouring the offerings on the right, confirms the dating 1626 rather than that of 1629'.<sup>25</sup>

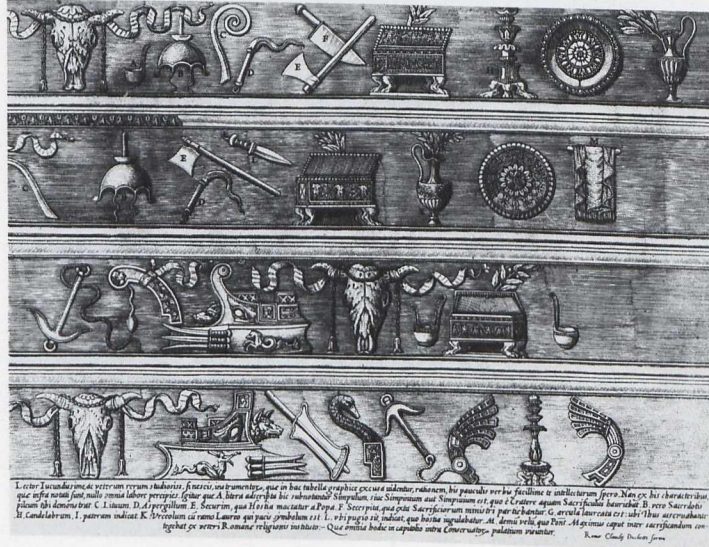
What Blunt did not realise was that this figure as well as the *lychnuchus* owe much of their striking appearance to the fact that they too are quotations from another artist. As early as 1924, René Schneider in an article on Poussin's sources strongly emphasised the importance of Mantegna, although without citing specific examples, and concluded: '*Mantegna et Titien sont, je crois, les seuls grands créateurs auxquels il se soit adressé, sans intermédiaire*'.<sup>26</sup> Since then, several other scholars have suggested a certain influence of Mantegna upon Poussin, without being able to deliver concrete proof.<sup>27</sup> 'There are some reminiscences of Mantegna, whose engraving Poussin is said to have admired and collected', Friedlaender wrote in 1966 of Poussin's *Crucifixion* at Hartford, CT; but he finally had to concede that this influence was 'sporadic and ephemeral'.<sup>28</sup>

In the *Adoration of the Golden Calf*, however, Poussin obviously made use of a work of Mantegna: a glance at canvas no. V (commonly known as *The Elephants*) of the *Triumph of Caesar* (Fig. 12) is enough to show that the French master transposed not only the *lychnuchus*, but also the youth attending the flame into his own



16. *Bacchus and Ariadne*, by Titian. 175.2 by 190.5 cm. (National Gallery, London).

17. *Roman frieze of the Temple of Neptune*, by Nicolas Beatrizet. Engraving from ANTONIO LAFRÉRY: *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*.



<sup>23</sup>While the youth is already indicated, though very faintly, in the drawing at Windsor (fig. 10), the still-life objects cannot be detected there; in their place there is what appears to be a crawling child.

<sup>24</sup>See BLUNT, *loc. cit.* at note 3 above [1973], p. 533; and W. FRIEDLAENDER: *Nicolas Poussin*, Munich [1914], p. 115, describing the Poilly engraving.

<sup>25</sup>BLUNT *op. cit.* at note 5 above [1967], p. 70.

<sup>26</sup>R. SCHNEIDER: 'Des sources ignorées ou peu connues de l'art de Poussin. La conception classique de l'originalité', *Mélanges à la mémoire d'Émile Bertaux*, Paris [1924], pp. 279-287.

<sup>27</sup>See, for example, OBERHUBER, *op. cit.* at note 4 above, p. 26.

<sup>28</sup>FRIEDLAENDER, *op. cit.* at note 4 above [1966], pp. 66 and 27.



composition.<sup>29</sup> But it is very unlikely that Poussin would have seen the originals, and it is more probable that he adapted the *lychnuchus* and the youth from one of the engravings after Mantegna he is known to have collected.<sup>30</sup> In fact, this supposition is confirmed by the appearance of the *lychnuchus* in Poussin's painting (Fig. 14): both its general structure (see especially the larger size of the dish at the top and the shape of the knob between the upper and lower part and the leaf-ornaments on the socle above the ram-head base differ from those found in Mantegna's canvas, but are close to those in the engravings (Fig. 13).<sup>31</sup> Moreover, Mantegna's youth wears a chemise under his flaming-red drapery while in both the engraving and Poussin's painting his left arm and shoulder are bare. Finally, a comparison of the gestures in the three representations shows that Poussin needed to regularise the boy's appearance and gestures somewhat in order to fit him into his own composition. While the boy seems rather ecstatic and unstable in Mantegna's canvas (where he almost appears to be dancing), in the engraving he is shown in a steadier, if still eager and energetic pose, which is in turn calmed down in Poussin's *Adoration*, where only his stretched-out leg and the slight fluttering of his garb indicate movement.

To sum up, we may conclude that, whatever the status of the canvas itself, the *Adoration of the Golden Calf* at San Francisco must certainly show a composition invented by Poussin himself. Blunt's hypothesis that the painting could be the work of a follower, executed on the base of the Windsor drawing, is refuted by the evidence of the details invented by and taken from Mantegna.<sup>32</sup> The youth with the candelabrum is already, if very faintly, indicated in the drawing (Fig. 02), and it seems most improbable that an imitator could have detected and recognised the precise source Poussin was citing; surely such an imitator would instead have freely elaborated the summary indications he found on the sheet. Further confirmation of the authenticity of the composition can also be adduced from the fact that we find here a 'still-life' typical for Poussin in this period: no other painter at that date seems to have taken such care in arranging minor objects in a larger scene.<sup>33</sup> Unique, and also typical for Poussin, is the way in which he provides the details for those 'still-lives', by gathering and combining motives from widely different sources – fusing elements borrowed from Roman reliefs, Titian and Mantegna to recreate a scene of antique sacrifice on the basis of 'authentic' details.

Thus, Poussin's practice seems to confirm what René Schneider wrote in 1924 about the conception of originality in classicism: '*C'est que son temps et lui conçoivent l'originalité autrement que beaucoup d'entre nous. Pour lui . . . elle consiste, non à inventer des idées, des sujets, mais à repenser soi-même et à redire à sa façon ce que les prédécesseurs ont déjà trouvé. On peut même emprunter des formes, des attitudes, des gestes: c'est le bien commun. Le tout est de le rendre sien par l'usage . . . La vraie originalité? Elle ne se dégage que de l'imitation ou de la réminiscence. Voilà la pure essence de la doctrine classique . . .*'<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup>See *Andrea Mantegna*, ed. J. MARTINEAU, exh.cat. London/New York [1992], no. 112, p.365; for iconography, sources and details see A. MARTINDALE: *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna*, London [1979], pp.147–49.

<sup>30</sup>Poussin's brother-in-law, Jean Dughet, reported in a letter of 1678 that Poussin owned thirty-two engravings after Mantegna; see *Archives de l'art français*, Documents, Paris [1858–60], Vol. X, pp.250–54.

<sup>31</sup>See BARTSCH 25/1 (formerly Vol. 13/2), No. 017b (322.8), p.114. Poussin reworked the top of the *lychnuchus* following the example of the torch shown at the right of the youth in the engraving (behind the branches held by the elephant-rider). A drawing by Poussin, private collection, Paris, showing two of the three elephants confirms this engraving as Poussin's source since they are also copied from this print – for this drawing see BLUNT, *Drawings*, *op.cit.* at note 5 above, p. 42, no.347 and *idem*, *The Drawings of Poussin*, cited at note 22 above, p.142.

<sup>32</sup>The quotation from Mantegna might also weaken the attribution of the painting to Andrea da Lione, who cannot be shown to have had a strong interest in Mantegna; see M. CÓNDOZ ORDUÑA: 'Algunas fuentes compositivas para las obras de Andrea da Lione en el Museo del Prado', *Boletín del Museo del Prado* VIII, no.22 [1987], pp.19–31.

<sup>33</sup>The minor 'still-lives' of Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione seem, as I will show in my study to be inspired by Poussin's example, although far more luxuriant and unrestrained.

<sup>34</sup>SCHNEIDER, *loc.cit.* at note 27 above, p.287.