Additions to


For the printed version of the article some notes and the last chapters had to be abridged. Here is the original version of those parts of the article.

Content:

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Diaetetica

The version of Rubens’s Medusa that Huygens described in the collection of the merchant Sohier does not seem to have had rhetorical associations of this kind. Instead Huygens’s account begins and ends with social moments. First his friend shows him the picture clearly in order to shock him by pulling back the curtain suddenly. Finally Huygens ends with the witty remark – fitting well for a relaxed table talk – that he prefers ‘to praise this painting rather in the house of friends than in my own’ and that in this context he remembered the anecdote of the barbarian envoy who had no appreciation of art because he could not distinguish between the value of paintings and the value of their subjects.

In this social framework the example can lead to a more general idea of the individual and common relevance of shocking pictures like this. Huygens’s textual framework still preserves an impression of an enjoyable conversation in the collection of his friend. The therapeutic relaxing effect of such jocular conversation, as it was described by medical scholars from antiquity as well as the early modern era in treatises on ‘diaeta’, can still be noticed between the lines of Huygens’s text. For Huygens the frightening effect of the picture is bound up with an exchange of friendship, from the first scare until the intellectual reflection of the painting and the experienced power of images to the relaxing repartee and later to the total recall of the experience of the painting and its intellectual reflection in his autobiography. In this regard Rubens’s Medusa and Huygens’s autobiographical notations apparently practice and reflect not only a compendium of concepts grounded in art theory, rhetoric, poetry and philosophy, with regard to the emotional pictorial effects of ictus, compassion, enärgeia and enérgeia, and even sublimitas, but are intended as intermediaries of a salubrious stress-cycles performed in sociable conversation.

Today it is well-known that cycles of escalation, relaxation and homoeostasis in the endocrine system are essential for physiological health and fitness and how the whole cycle of stress depends on mental images and often can be controlled by external stimuli. Mental images,

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81 See J. Verberckmoes, Schertsen, schimpen en schateren. Geschiedenis van het lachen in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, zestiende en zeventiende eeuw, Nijmegen 1998, 70–84; K. Bergdolt, Leib und Seele. Eine Kulturgeschichte des gesunden Lebens, Munich 1999, 179–222; Rubens was familiar with medical treatises on salubrious and dietetical aspects; see for example the relevant books in his library: Heinen, Garten, op. cit. (N. 12).

activated through perceptions or memories, are acting upon the endocrine system. This system triggers the health of body and soul. After successfully passing a moment of stress the concentration of adrenaline and cortisol, that suddenly had increased to prepare for reaction against the stressor, drops down deep under the original level. At the same time particularly in male viewers the concentration of testosterone shoots up. Endorphins are poured out mainly in the brain. Temporarily the senses of well-being, sexual desire and potency are strengthened. The homoeostasis of a low level of stress that appears in the feeling of success benefits success in future escalations of stress. When stress is low, the reserve of energetic molecules is built up again and can be activated in future moments of stress. The circuit recreates. But if disappointments – the reason may be real or only imagined – are stored as memories, the hormonal state of emergency persists for an indeterminate length of time. Digestion, growth, sexuality and memory are hindered. The circuit is permanently overloaded, immune defense weakened. Furthermore the ability of a stressed organism to react to the next stressors with new escalation effectively is lowered because enduring stress consumes the energy reserves. The circuit is exhausted. So stress has to be interrupted again and again by periods of homoeostasis. Stress has to be diminished and the consumption and production of energy-reserves has to come in balance again.

But a world without stress is not healthy either. If there are no exterior stimuli, paranoid imaginations of imaginary stressors may be produced. So the integration of horrifying paintings such as Rubens’s Medusa into the harmlessness of upper class everyday life apparently had the elementary function of prompting short cycles of stress that could be closed again in social laughter about the shocking joke. Those cycles of escalation, relaxation and homoeostasis are the condition for biological fitness and for the enduring ability for self-preservation and reproduction. Escalation, relaxation and homoeostasis, the whole cycle of stress, is accompanied by mental images. But in producing these interior images thalamus and hippocampus can be influenced or partly even navigated by external pictures or other stimuli from outside. So pictures can regulate and sometimes even control the emotional status that is responsible for individual health and productivity.

The importance of external stimuli on the physiological regulation of individual and collective stress and particularly the influence of pictures and imaginations on health as well as the relaxing effect of jokes were already observed and interpreted physically since antiquity: Fear could concentrate blood and spirit in the heart; the regeneration of the circuit of blood could be experienced as revival after danger. Although the physiological background of the impact of external stimuli on the physiological regulation of individual and collective stress and particularly the influence of pictures and imaginations on physiological health as well as the relaxing effect of jokes was unknown in the antique and in early modern time, its effects were yet considered in medical or magical concepts. For instance, the Stoic Epictetus in his *Diatribe*es advised a kind of stoical imagination-therapy (2.18.25f.): Bad imaginings, that lead to destructive passions and vitiate well-being, can be expunged through beautiful and noble contra-visions, that can reinvigorate. Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) pointed to painted springs and brooks with regard to the water balance in the human body, when he described individual therapeutic effects of paintings. Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) announced that the gaze of beauty regulates the abundance of black bile and so cures melancholy. Thomas Fienus (1567–1631) stated in his *De viribus imaginationis tractatus* (Leuven 1608) that imagination influences the shape of the individual body. And the Paracelsian physician Johann Baptist van Helmont (1577–1644), living near Brussels, underlined in his *Ortus medicinae*, published posthumously in 1648, that even the imagination of a disease could endanger one’s health.

Particularly the relaxing effect of jokes was often considered in early modern medical literature. For instance, the physician Hieronymus Mercuriale (1530–1606) in his *De Arte Gymnastica*, which Rubens read, asserted the salubriousness of laughing. The Jesuit and Lipsius-correspondent Jacobus Pontanus (1542–1626) in his *Attica bellaria* (1610) referred to

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85 See Bergdolt, *op. cit.* (N. 81), 184.
87 See Bergdolt, *op. cit.* (N. 81), 233.
88 See ibid., 179–222.
89 H. Mercuriale, *De Arte Gymnastica Libri Sex*, Venice 1601 (1573), cap. 6.6 (‘De lectionibus, sermonis, risus, & fletus qualitatis’), 285–289. For Rubens and Mercuriale see Heinen, *Haut, op. cit.* (N. 69), 83. For Mercuriale’s thoughts on salubriousness see Bergdolt, *op. cit.* (N. 81), 204–205.
Cicero (de Or. 2.23), Seneca (Tranq. 17.8), and the humanistic literature on salutary life: Permanent strenuousness corrupts the powers of the soul; relaxation sometimes restores them. In his widely read *Progymnasmata* (1592–98) he advised the pupils of the Jesuits emphatically to jocoseness, because diversified jokes and gentle emotions could correct the humors. In his *Hygiasticon* (1613), written for his confreres as a guidebook to a salubrious life, the Antwerp Jesuit Leonardus Lessius (1554–1623), for whose *De iustitia et jure* Rubens designed the title page, specially illuminated the connection between visual imaginations and salubriousness. Rubens himself apparently was very interested in antique and early modern teachings like this. He organized his everyday life in compliance with these notions, he arranged his garden as a place of salubrious recreation, he owned books on these topics, and reflected on them in many of his paintings.

**Virtus**

Since paintings like Rubens’s *Medusa* excited the emotion triggering sites of the brain in communicative contexts, they also could coordinate groups of beholders. Thus Rubens and many other artists integrated the shocking motif of Perseus and the Medusa at many prominent and public places in emotional as well as intellectual visual discourses on political unity and actual political and military engagement.

In the context of communication and conviviality, representations such as Rubens’s *Medusa* provide the focal point for a stress cycle that functions both individually and collectively. Such kind of paintings may make the emotional susceptibility of humanity observable. They provoked conversations about the nexus of pictorial illusions and the passions, and made it possible to calibrate the emotional and physiological effects of pictures. This emotional calibration of the response to paintings may be seen in connection with early modern cultural

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94 See the list in Evers, *op. cit.* (N. 1), 266. See also the many examples in Zech, *op. cit.* (N. 80); and F. Prims, *Rubens en zijne eeuw*, Brussels 1927, 109 ff.
theories. They often argue that society is founded and the scale of collective passions is calibrated with reference to horror and war and identify the basis for the constitution of culture and society in the collective memory of extreme passions. They constituted culture and society with reference to the experience of horror and war: For example, Leon Battista Alberti’s treatise on architecture sanctified the city wall as extreme fix point for the calibration of all levels of aesthetical ‘decorum’ in art and collective stress.95

Niccolo Machiavelli’s (1469–1527) Discorsi founded a solid society (stato) on a five year cycle of ‘ripigliare lo stato’ – which recalled to all citizens the fright and the fear of the cruelties that were done in the beginnings of those particular society.96 In his dedication to Moritz of Nassau Heinsius pointed out that tragedies are useful to society.97 Diego de Saavedra Fajardo (1584–1648) opined in his Idea de un principe politico cristiano that the arts have a civilizing effect on society: They mitigate the hardness of ruling and make the rulers more acceptable for the people.98 Lastly, Roger de Piles (1636–1709) presented the sublimeness of Rubens’s art as the pinnacle of individual and collective emotions.99 In his Saturnalium sermonum libri (1582) Lipsius praised the mortal combats of gladiators in the late Roman empire. Although, he considered these spectacles damnable, he nevertheless recognised that they were schools of bravery, the basis of imperial power and expansion of the Roman empire. Lipsius asks if such cruel scenes like executions may not have been schools of imperturbability, where beholders were educated to constancy against any extreme exertions of emotion.100

In Netherlandish art collections gruesome paintings such as the Medusa were juxtaposed with more serene and gentle scenes as well as with ironical refractions of pictorial pathos, which had more introspective and calmer effects on the beholder. Seen in relation to Rubens’s


97 See Mayer, op. cit. (N. 20), 168.


100 J. Lipsius, Saturnalium sermonum Libri duo, Qui de Gladiatoribus, Antwerp 1588, Lib. 2, Cap. 2. 21. 22. fol. 140 und 141; see Beise, op. cit. (N. 39), 110–111.
Medusa and Huygens’s reflections on his response to this painting, also emotionally contrasting paintings had a specific function in pictorially instigated stress cycles. The relaxation in front of paintings with harmless themes can be estimated with regard to the experience of this highest stress-escalations. Indeed, in the context of ‘cultivated stress’ one may define all objects of early modern collections as specific activators of a wide range of different passions aimed to stimulate various stages of more or less salubrious stress cycles and to provoke conversations about the emotional susceptibility of humanity and the stress-impact of illusionistic media.

Hence, religious as well as profane scenes, landscapes as well as still lifes, instruments of scientific research as well as weapons may function in this way. Thus the members of the elite could build and reflect the fundaments of community conversing about shocking or relaxing paintings in art collections. With the background of their visual and emotional experiences they could shape important features of the whole society applying their insights to public architecture, ephemeral decorations, theater, political debates etc. Therefore many aspects of their collections were also part of public communication. In this respect early modern collector’s cabinets may be viewed as assembly points, at which the elite and the humanists could test the individual and collective functioning of stress and control for further application.

All cultural development emerges from clusters of mental images. Because in some people images can be combined with similar somatical markers, paintings can help to organize, coordinate, synchronize or differentiate their conditions of stress in this social group. The dependence of individual and collective decisions and behaviors on emotional valuations of images and the possibility of navigating these processes by external stimuli leads individuals to cultural cooperation and synchronisation.

The elements of cultural information – Richard Dawkin’s (*1941) ‘memes’ – and their complexion to specific clusters of cultural symptoms (memeplexes) are linked to evolutionary

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101 See for instance the wide range of passions, reflected in interposed portraits of philosophers and mythological figures, in Rubens’s concept for the Torre della Parada: Heinen, Garten, op. cit. (N. 12), 136–137.


mechanisms. The collective coordination of their stress-status gives correlated impulses on the will and on the behavior of every individual of this group. Through the perception of stress-cooperations in which individual stress cycles are co-ordinated as impulses on the will and on the behavior of a couple of stress-coordinated individuals, the intensity of escalation, relaxation and homoeostasis in every individual in this group is strengthened and controlled. So stress-cooperation amplifies the chance of success in individual and collective confrontations with stressors. Stress-coordinated groups are more successful than separated individuals in convincing a real stressor through cooperative association and division of action and in the suggestion of mental images of individual or collective success. Cultural artifacts and attitudes – pictures, music, dance, theater, sports, military exercises et cetera – are not only symbolical representations, ready for cortical, semiotic analysis. But they are also working in the emotion triggering sites of the brain and in the body as stimuli on the regulation of stress and – if they are perceived by many individuals – are enabling the stress-cooperation of a social group of people.

So symbolical representations in cultural artifacts and behaviors are valued by ‘somatcal markers’ in a feedback. If mental images, enabled by public symbolical representations in artifacts and attitudes – painting, music, dance, theater, military exercise et cetera –, fit with the clusters of mental patterns and somatical markers in an individual’s memory, the individuals may be integrated in social stress-coordination and -cooperation. So the cultural coordination of symbolical systems, that are represented and analyzed cortically, is clustered again and again through the actual stimulated ‘somatcal markers.’ If cultural stress-coordinated action fits to the environment of the individuals the cultural shaped cluster of mental images and their ‘somatcal markers’ succeeds. The chance for preservation and dissemination of cultural symbolical systems and their items increases if the associated clusters of mental images and ‘somatcal markers’ provoke stress-cooperations, that are – real or mental – successful in passing moments of stress in ever-changing environments.

Not only in individuals but also in social groups pictures might help to activate the phases of a healthy cycle of stress from escalation to relaxation and regained homoeostasis. They can support the collective regulation of emotional conditions, which is constitutive for the symbolically represented - identity as well as for the self-assertiveness of any cultural system. Hence for the success of cultural artifacts and behaviors and so for their persistence and dissemination as particular features of a culture the following conditions are crucial:

32.1 (2001), 225–255; Dawkins’s theory transferred to art history in: Changeux, op. cit. (N. 28), 196–199; Elbs, op. cit. (N. 5), 31, 43.
(1) the fitness of mental images and the ‘somatical markers’ stimulated by those artifacts and behaviors to the established individual clusters of memories and ‘somatical markers’;
(2) their contribution to the enabled stress-cycles in the individuals;
(3) the – real or only mental – success of the enabled stress-coordination and -cooperation, that is enabled by the cultural artifacts and behaviors, in particular environments.

So cultural artifacts and behaviors as stimuli of mental images and ‘somatical markers’, triggering stress-coordination and -cooperation, are multipliers and indicators of cultural success. Culture evolves.

Hence the cycle of stress reciprocally links brain and body, connects symbolical representations with actions of individuals and groups in particular environments.

Analyzing stress-impacts of cultural artifacts and behaviors and their physiological basics is the missing link in today’s theory of cultural evolution. This concept which was founded by Heiner Mühlmann in the late 1980s\textsuperscript{104} completes the causal connection of the cortical representations of symbolic systems and individual or collective actions. A crucial feedback of success and failure inserted in the causal system of cultural evolution with this connection of cultural artifacts of behaviors, mental images, ‘somatical markers’, stress-coordination and the individual and collective decisions and actions. The response of the human stress-system to visual media is connected to the health of the individual as well as to the evolutionary success or failure of cultures.

Already antique and early modern authors have noted the nexus of cultural artifacts or behaviors, the enabled status of stress and its consequences for individual health, the provoked actions of individuals and groups and the success of a community. Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558) in 1561 for instance refers to the antique consciousness of the emotional power of music, particularly of the music of war. With reference to Plutarch he pointed to a connection between salubriousness, that can be strengthened or even revived, and individual fitness for war. For Scaliger music – supporting psychic and bodily salubriousness – has always had an important role in self-assertiveness of individuals and communities.\textsuperscript{105}

\textsuperscript{104} See Mühlmann, \textit{Nature, op. cit.} (N. 5).
\textsuperscript{105} Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558) in 1561 for instance refers to the antique consciousness of the emotional power of music, particularly of the music of war. With reference to Plutarch he pointed to a connection between salubriousness, that can be strengthened or even revived, and individual fitness for war. For Scaliger music – supporting psychic and bodily salubriousness – has always had
Whether at the home of the merchant Sohier or at the Duke of Buckingham, whether addressed to mental reflection or to spontaneous stress-responses, Rubens’s Medusa may be seen as an important contribution to the cultural regulation and coordination of stress, preparing the individual as well as the collective community of beholders for the emotional and cultural challenges of their time. The painting must have evoked clusters of mental images with many symbolical and somatical connotations and must have connected them with recent ‘somatical markers’, accentuated by particular means of pictorial representation.

Rubens’s gruesome paintings, such as Medusa, and contemporary responses by authors like Huygens contributed evidently to the regulation, coordination and cooperation of stress and so to the fitness of a European elite which in the midst of global expansions and wars valued a life centered upon the idea of uprightness, constancy and homoeostasis as power reserve. So the interplay of extremes within the physiology of stress, as it is documented in the overall artistic production and reception of both northern and southern Netherlands, must have been important for the emotional and cultural core of individual and collective success in early modern Netherlands.

Call it ‘process of civilization’ or whatever you like: First of all the northern as well as the southern Netherlands had been cultural systems of political, economical, military and cultural success. Only when one recognizes cultures as the subtle control and formation of efficient collective cooperations of stress, can one understand the connection between the friendly

an important role in self-assertiveness of individuals and communities: Plutarch tells that an oracle counseled a diseased woman that ‘her health would be restored if she venerated the Muses. She did this with effort again and again. So she recovered and gained not only good health but also power and the courage of a military commander: The Muses do not only sing about military success, they also prepare for it.’ See J. C. Scaliger, Poetices libri septem. Sieben Bücher über die Dichtkunst, ed. L. Deitz and G. Vogt-Spira, 4 vol., Stuttgart 1994/95, vol. 1, 81–82 Kap. 1.2; (English transl. U. H.); refs. for Plutarch, Mul. vir. 4.245 c–f. For the therapeutical effects of music in antiquity see Bergdolt, op. cit. (N. 82), 66–67. For the antique tradition of music as instrument for education and harmonization of the irrational parts of the soul in Plato and the Stoics Posidonius (135–51 BC) and Diogenes of Babylon (240–150 B. C.) see also Nussbaum, Stoic views, op. cit. (N. 20), 112–120.


107 See Heinen, Bildverständnisse, op. cit. (N. 50).
general appearance of Dutch visual culture with the harsh reality of northern Netherlandish society. Only then do all the harmless details of Dutch still life or genre paintings, or the demonstrable empathy or irony of the mature Rembrandt fit in functionally with the brutal repression and persecution of the political and religious oppressed majority of champions of parliamentarianism, of Roman Catholics, or of the many non-Calvinistic Protestant groups, with the brutal conquest and exploitation of overseas colonies as much as with the decisive promotion of global slave trade, and with the destructive campaign that the Dutch establishment conducted against their own Catholic brethren in the Southern Netherlands. The emotional divergences of cabinets of art made the entire emotional gamut accessible which permitted an analytic and synthetic training of combinations of individual or collective stress phases. An elite which was emotionally attuned in this way was able to cultural task-sharing and to change in a controlled, yet swiftly manner their emotional engagement depending on location and opportunity, oscillating between being pacifist or belligerent, tolerant or assertive, modest or triumphal. Trained by interrelated cultural strategies of emotional modulation and reflection the members of the elite were able to control individual and collective emotions and to remain calm in every situation – fundamental sociobiological conditions for individual and collective sobriety, assertive fitness and escalating power in future conflict.

Not only Rubens’s dedication to diplomacy but also his important contributions to this kind of cultural regulations may be meant when Hugens – just before his report on Rubens’s Medusa – pointed to the painter’s erudition and to his mission for the common good: ‘To the head and the Apelles, Petrus P. Rubens, I give a place under the miracles of our world; to the painter, “who is erudit in all sciences“ – which surpasses the eulogy on the Macedonian Pamphilus –; to the man, whom the Spanish Archdukes taught that he was not born to push a screen before the sun, but whom they instructed that – particularly because he earned a larger area for his fame – to dedicate the gifts of his divine genius to the service of the common good after he had given pleasure in abundance.’

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Rubens’s gruesome paintings were addressed to a wide variety of emotional responses.\textsuperscript{109} They could be part of a rhetoric persuasio, or instruments for experimental exercises in the regulation of the passions and stress, initiating ethical, poetical, aesthetical or dietetic results or reflections – all this historical concepts of response to pictures can be reflected in terms of contemporary neuroscience, an insight that vice versa detects some fundaments of contemporary thought in the history of ideas. Ultimately, however, paintings such as Rubens’s \textit{Head of Medusa} and the contemporary responses to them by authors like Huygens not only demonstrate the passions and their reflection and not only lead to reflecting the passions, but – extreme calibration parameters of emotional responses to pictures – can open a window to the emotional functionality of entire cultures and their imaginations. In this regard they are important contributions to the cultural regulation and coordination of stress, preparing individuals as well as the community for the emotional and cultural challenges of their time.

\textsuperscript{109} For a theory of polyvalent addressing in the image-theory of early modern time see Heinen, \textit{Hochaltar, op. cit.} (N. 19), esp. 29–44.
II. additions to notes
(referring to the original published article)

note 1


note 4

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For a comprehensive and always updated bibliography by Oliver Elbs see also http://www.mapology.org/en/References (accessed on 28 September 2008).

note 8

note 9
See Koslow, Gorgon, op. cit. (N. 1); ead., Postscript, op. cit. (N. 1). Koslow mentions that Lucan is listed on p.18 of an sales catalogue that was published in 1658 after the death of Rubens’s son Albert (see Prosper Arents, De Bibliotheek van Pieter Pauwel Rubens. Een reconstructie, ed. Frans Baudouin et al., Antwerp 2001, 357). This entry (‘Lucanus cum notis Bersmanni’) may be M. Annaei Lucani Pharsalia sive de bello civili Caesaris et Pompeii libri X. ex emendatione Hugon. Grotii cum eiusdem ad loca insigniora notis. Accesserunt variarum lectionum libellus et index opera
Theodori Pulmanni [Theodor Poelmann, 1510–1607?] et aliorum concinnati, Leiden (Ex officina Plantiniana Raphelengii) 1614 (11564).


note 11


note 12


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note 24
See Rosenmeyer, op. cit. (N. 19). Similar in Seneca’s philosophical writings; see: Maurach, op. cit. (N. 12), 63–64, 71. Similar is the concept of ‘consolatio’ in the poetics of Minturno, op. cit. (N. 20); see Schings, Consolatio, op. cit. (N. 20), 36.

note 27


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Note 41

Note 43
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note 49
Agricola for instance noticed that passions, such ‘as benevolence, anger and compassion add to the auditor’s mind an intense compulsion to believe,’ Agricola, op. cit. (N. 37), 309. Later the theory of tragedy followed this interpretation; for Jacob Masenius, Palaestra Eloquentiae ligatae, Cologne 1657, see Beise, op. cit. (N. 39), 117. Some modern ideas, how Rubens’ Head of Medusa provokes high intensity in actual perception and in memory are reflected in Pieters, op. cit. (N.1), 42–44.

note 51

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note 53
‘Meritò postulat hic Cassiodorus, ut >graphikòs operam det libris antiquorum< quemadeummodum enim supra ostendimus ingenium multijugâ lectione mirificè ali atque focundari, ita & hic liquebit judicia eorum qui Picturas inspiciunt plurimum juvari, si eximiae artis opera cum imaginibus qua lectio suggesserit conferant, atque ad hoc quasi archetypum examinant. Restat igitur, ut demonstremus scriptores veteres usque adeò exactis verborum coloribus, boum, equorum, hominum denique imagines delineasse, ut omnino aliter ab artificibus nec potuerint pingi, nec debuerint.’ Junius, *Pictura 1637, op. cit.* (N. 14), 221, cap. 3.7.13; id., *Literature, op. cit.* (N. 11), vol. 1, 334; see Heinen, *Hochaltar, op. cit.* (N. 12), 301, note 39–40; 303, note 52; see also Junius, *Pictura 1637, op. cit.* (N. 14), 38–41, cap. 1.5.2; 215–216, cap. 3.7.8; id., *Painting 1638, op. cit.* (N. 11), cap. 1.5.2, 3.7.8, 3.7.12, in: Id., *Literature, op. cit.* (N. 11), vol. 1, 60–64, 303–304, 309.

note 54
‘Quamombre etiam ommissis frivolis, universam rerum adumbratarum speciem, & quidquid in iis notabilius, latiore quadam comprehensione animo semper complecti studeamus, quò singula delineatarum rerum momenta cùm animo præconceptis imaginibus rectè atque ordine contendere possimus. quod quàm sit facièl, pereleganter docet Maximus Tyrius Dissertat. XXVIII, […] inquit [...] agilis & expedita res est reminiscencia. Sicut enim ea quae facile movent corpora, motum tamen impulsumque manus postulant, ut initio motus inde accepto, diutissime conservent eum; sic mens nostra, occasione reminiscencias, quam sensus suggerit semel amplexia, ab hoc initio longè lateque recordando progreditur. & quemadeummodum in longà tenuique hastâ fieri videmus, ut extremam partem movens, motum istum per totam hastam usque ad ipsam cuspidem diffundat; in longo quoque proternoque fures fui, quin primam ejus partem quátit, totum necessario, eunte ad finem usque motu illo, movet: ita menti exilium tardium ad reminiscensiam totius rei operis est initio. […] Pictum naufragium intuentem, multiplices quoque navem frangentium horrosus circumstant. Fracti vento fluctus undiqueaque incaecescunt; piceae nubes coemum ex oculis, inhorrescente interim mari, eripien; ut ne proram quidem totam gubernator in tam spissis tenebris conscipere valeat. discurrunt nautae ad officia terribilis; vela tempestati subducere parant: & quamvis eos iatrium mare velis succurrere velit, non cessant tamen pro communi luce toto robore niti; exhausurium fereum; rudentes disjectos aptant. viribus denique ventorum ex diverso furentium diu multumque jactatae nave, vexantur armamenta, funes turbatur, velorum sinus scinduntur; & saeva nimium tempestas, peragens mandata fatum, infestore procellá insurgit, tenues quassae jam navis reliquias penitus expugnatura: non relinquitur arbor, non gubernacula, non funis, non remus: examnata navis, quasi rudis atque infecta materia, it cùm fluctus: nauitandi tandem, malo audaces, nave in desertum aliquod littus impacta; naufragio cùm ipsa tempestate decidunt; abundè felices, si vel minimam lacerae navis tabulam amplexi in terram enatere possint.’ Junius, *Pictura 1637, op. cit.* (N. 14), 3. 7. 7, 213–215 (other impressive examples are following); in the English edition this chapter unfortunately is cancelled after the Maximus’s example: Id., *Painting 1638, op. cit.* [N. 11], 3. 7. 7, in: Id., *Literature, op. cit.* [N. 11], vol. 1, 302). For recent theories on this kind of remembrance see J. H. Mace, *Involuntary memory*, Malden (MA) 2007.


For the reception of this thoughts of Aristotle and the relation to the idea of the sublime in Rubens’s *Head of Medusa* see Pieters, *id.* (N.1), 54–56; J. Pieters., ‘Rubens, tijdgenoot?’, *Dietsche Warande en Belfort* 149 (2004), 38–46, esp. 41, 44–46.

note 59 ‘De versiersche vertellinghe van *Perseus* en *Medusa* wijst aen, en is te verstaen, dat *Perseus* is te ghelijken, oft beduydt de redelijckheyt, oft het verstandt onser Sielen, en *Medusa* de vleeschelijke quade ghegenghentheyt, oft natuurlijke wellusticheyt, die den Menschen allencx benemende alle redelijckheyt, voorschichticheyt, en wijshydt doet veranderen, en worden gelijck onbevoelijcke steenen, in quade ghewoonten verhardt […]’ K. Van Mander, *Uutlegginghe, en sin-ghevende verclarininge, op. den Metamorphosis Publij Ovidij Nasonis*, Haarlem 1604, vol. 4, fol. 39’; see Sutton, *Age of Rubens, op. cit.* (N. 1), 245–246; Pieters, *id.* (N.1), 48–49; for Rubens’s reading of Van Mander see Heinen, *Hochalter, op. cit.* (N. 12), 193, note 94. On this note already in 1565 Ludovico Dolce (1508–1568) commented with regards to Dante (1265–1321) and Petrarch (1304–1374) that the donee to whom a *Gorgone di Medusa* is presented should be armed against the lasciviousness of the world, that turns men into stone and dispossesses the human senses: ‘Dinoterebbe che colui a cui manasse


Similar to van Mander’s thoughts on the petrifying impact of horror Michel Eyquem de Montaigne explains that Niobe was transformed into a rock when seeing all her children killed (Michel de Montaigne: Essais, erste moderne Gesamtausgabe von Hans Stilett, Darmstadt 2004, book 1, chap. 2, 11). Philipp Rubens, the brother of the painter, pointed to this example on 21st of May 1601 in a letter to his teacher Justus Lipsius. Peter Paul Rubens enclosed this letter in the memory edition on his brothers’ death (S. Asterii Episcopi Amaseae Homiliae..., ed. Philip Rubens, Antwerpen 1615, 242–243; see Correspondance de Rubens et Documents Épistolaires concernant sa Vie et ses Œuvres Publiés. Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus, ed. Charles Ruelens und Max Rooses, 6 vols., Antwerp 1887–1909, vol. 1, 5).

note 62
That kind of elegance may be compared with the signature of Jan van Kessel (ca. 1626–1679) of 1657, assembled from snakes, spiders, and worms: Jan van Kessel, Signature (snakes, spiders, and worms), Coll. Kötsler, Zurich (Bodart, Padua 1990, op. cit. [N. 1], 118, with reference to Rubens’s Medusa); see also the snake, influenced by Rubens’s Medusa in: Jan van Kessel, Angola, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (K. Renger and C. Denk, Flämische Malerei des Barock in der Alten Pinakothek, Munich/Cologne 2002, 239–240, inv. 1911.10, with reference to Rubens’s Medusa).

note 67

note 68

note 69
For magnanimitas see Lipsius, Constantia, op. cit. (N. 17), 538, cap. 1.9; id., Manvdvctio, op. cit. (N. 13), 672, cap. 1.16; 762, cap. 3.6; id., Physiologia Stoicorum libri tres, Antwerp 1604 (we used the Opera omnia, Wesel 1675), 836, cap. 1.2; see H.-J. Schings, Die patriotische und stoische Tradition bei A. Gryphius. Untersuchungen zu den Dissertationes funebres und Trauerspielen, Cologne 1966, 250–252; Raupp, Landschaft, op. cit. (N. 26), 172–176; U. Heinen, ‘Haut und Knochen – Fleisch und Blut. Rubens’ Affektmalerei’, in: Heinen/Thielemann, op. cit. (N. 1), 70–109, esp. 73, 101–103 and passim.

note 70

note 72

note 73

note 76

note 80

note 82
See note 82 in the additions to chapters.

note 90
See note 105 in the additions to chapters.

note 93
See note 106 in the additions to chapters.