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Thijs Weststeijn
M.A. Weststeijn@uva.nl

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THE SUBLIME AND THE “BEHOLDER’S SHARE”: JUNIUS, RUBENS, REMBRANDT

Thijs Weststeijn

One of the innovative elements in Franciscus Junius’s treatise *The Painting of the Ancients* (four editions, 1637–94) was the first discussion of Longinus’s concept of the sublime in the context of the figurative arts. Junius’s translation of his own treatise into English (1639) prepared the ground for the importance of the sublime in British aesthetics. Yet scrutiny of the underlying conceptions of *The Painting of the Ancients* reveals that his interpretation of this ancient concept was idiosyncratic. His interest in Longinus was not motivated by philosophy but rather by the painterly illusionism perfected in Netherlandish studios. This essay explores how Junius used the sublime to explain the “beholder’s share” in the artist’s evocation of a virtual reality. It points out the practical context in which his theory arose and how it relates to extant works, focusing on Rubens’s *The Andrians* and Rembrandt’s *The Blinding of Samson*. DOI:10.5092/jhna.2016.8.2.2

- 1 That is great indeed . . . which doth still returne into our thoughts, which we can hardly or rather not at all put out of our minde, but the memorie of it sticketh close in us and will not be rubbed out: esteeme that also to be a most excellent and true magnificence, which is liked alwayes and by all men.¹

This is Franciscus Junius’s definition of the sublime, the first time in the history of art theory that Longinus is quoted. Junius’s translation of his own treatise *De pictura veterum* (1637) into English (*The Painting of the Ancients*, 1639) prepared the ground for the importance of the sublime in British aesthetics. It may be evident, however, that his interpretation of Longinus was different from what happened among his later readers, from Dryden and Pope to, eventually, Burke.² A specific Anglo-Dutch setting explains Junius’s interest in the concept of the sublime. Besides being known as an “extremely learned and famous”³ philologist in seventeenth-century England and Holland, Junius collaborated closely with a circle of artists around the Earl and Countess of Arundel in London. Not only did Arundel House hold the most important collection of ancient art north of the Alps, for which Junius acted as the curator. It was also inhabited by artists, most of whom were, like Junius himself, of overseas extraction: they apparently asked him to translate his book not only into English but also into Dutch (*De schilderkonst der oude*, 1641).⁴ His project joined the scholar’s study to the aristocrat’s collection and the artist’s workshop. His success in making ancient theories relevant for craftsmen seems to be evident from the fact that Longinus’s statement on the sublime was picked up thirty years later by Samuel van Hoogstraten, one of Rembrandt’s pupils.⁵



Fig. 1 Frontispiece, from Philostratus, *Les Images ou tableaux de platte peinture, mis en François par Blaise de Vigenère* (Paris, 1637) (artwork in the public domain; photo: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam)

- 2 It is noteworthy, first of all, that Junius’s mention of Longinus signals a characteristic of his theory of art: he is the first to pay systematic attention to “the beholder’s share” in art theory. He uses a body of ancient literature, which had not been read by earlier authors, to make this possible. Longinus is, in fact, only a minor figure in his treatise, which draws particularly heavily on two other ancients, Philostratus the Elder and Philostratus the Younger (fig. 1). Junius made extensive notes to their work “when [he] was writing *de Pictura veterum* (in which treatise the elder and younger Philostratus are everie where quoted).”⁶ In order to locate Longinus in the larger framework of *The Painting of the Ancients*, it is the Philostrati who deserve our attention.
- 3 This article will explore Junius’s statement on the sublime in regard to the principles that guided his selection of ancient sources. The book is, after all, an attempt to reconstruct the ancients’ theory of painting that had not survived: “to collect the rules, which were, so to say, separated from their own corpus and scattered diffusely . . . and to arrange them in the frame of true art.”⁷
- 4 The following analysis begins with some general statements on the viewer’s reaction in seventeenth-century art theory that emphasize a generic lack of words (the aesthetic experience is apparently a pre-predicative one). Then, we will look more closely into the specific context that Junius provides for the sublime, connecting it closely to the faculty of the imagination: he differentiates the artistic imagination from the poetic one. The painterly imagination aims at the artist’s becoming present at the evoked scene, which is the only guarantee that the viewer may also become present at the same scene.
- 5 Ideally, this presence happens in a synaesthetic atmosphere involving all senses. Even more strongly, states Junius, painting is fully performative: looking at a painting means willingly or unwillingly *acting out the evoked scene*. The experience is corporeal rather than merely sensual. In the end, the painting leaves the viewer in physical pain. Is this the “true magnificence” of art?

Too Marvelous for Words

- 6 Junius’s treatise is the first in the tradition of art theory to give pride of place to the viewer’s reaction, which is construed as a—perhaps *the*—constitutive element of the artistic experience.

He tried to be concrete about what earlier authors described in essentially vague terms.



Fig. 2 Annibale Caracci, *Sleeping Venus with Cupid*, ca. 1603, oil on canvas, 190 x 328 cm. Chantilly, Musée Condé (artwork in the public domain; photo: Image Collection, Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam)

- 7 When other seventeenth-century texts on painting describe the public's reactions to works of art, these reactions often have little to do with assessments of stylistic qualities or choice of subject. They are generally phrased in terms of the viewer's "astonishment" that "strikes him dumb." A good example would be Annibale Caracci's depiction of a scene from ancient literature: the *Sleeping Venus* based on Philostratus the Elder and Claudian (fig. 2).⁸ Giovanni Battista Agucchi saw this painting in 1602 and penned a reaction. His statement appears in the context of a discussion of the adequacy of language to describe visual impressions. Agucchi believed that *ekphrasis* is fundamentally inadequate: some works of art are "so perfect that the pen is powerless to describe them."⁹ The description begins with set commonplaces: exclamations of desire to touch the painting on the one hand, and a professed reluctance to rouse the sleeping goddess on the other. The conflict this produces is characteristic of the state of confusion induced in the viewer, in which his sight and other senses are dazed. An impression unable to be evoked in words: "we can scarcely conjure up outstanding works of art in our mind, and we can certainly not express them with our weak faculty of intellect." Agucchi concludes that his description is "as if . . . the paintings were covered by a coarse-grained veil, so that viewers can see them only with difficulty: these descriptions may be appreciated in a similar manner by the reader."¹⁰ Just as a veil in front of a painting shields it from being seen completely, language intervenes between image and viewer.
- 8 In the Dutch literature, similar examples of this may be adduced from the concept of "astonishment" (*verwondering*) which cannot be further specified.¹¹ Samuel van Hoogstraten describes reactions to paintings in terms of an ineffable experience: the viewer perspires profusely, finding himself embroiled in a "terrifyingly confused inner struggle." Imbued with "a vivid sense of inexpressible joy," he is so moved that he is almost incapable of averting his eyes from the work, and on his way home, his eyes are "drawn back to the memory of that rare sight."¹²
- 9 Can we use Junius to give more shape to the disappointing, to art historians, formula of "inexpressible joy" as a reaction to a painting? Junius likewise refers to the viewer's reaction to a work

of art as an “incomprehensible pleasure”; the viewer is supposedly “speechless” or cast into a dream world. He describes how “great rings of amazed spectators together” are led “into an astonished extasie, their sense of seeing bereaving them of all other senses; which by a secret veneration maketh them stand tongue-tyed.”¹³ The moment of painterly *evidentia* clearly transcends rhetoric, and the reaction to it is therefore ineffable: “surpassing the power of speaking . . . uneasy also to them that are very eloquent . . . for every one of these things is apprehended by sense, and not by talke.”¹⁴ Apparently the significance of the visual arts lies precisely in their ability to appeal to this pre-predicative level of response. Seventeenth-century philosophy located this response not in the seat of the faculty of reason but in the “sensible” region of the imagination and the passions, which mediates between the physical and mental powers. Perhaps Simonides’s allusion to the art of painting as *muta poesis* can be construed in a positive sense. Paintings embody the rhetorical virtue of brevity in exemplary fashion: their “mute poetry” is so concise that they require no words at all.¹⁵ Junius writes of the effect of great works of art as transcending speech: “Incredible things finde no voice; . . . some things are greater, then that any mans discourse should be able to compass them.”¹⁶

- 10 When silence may be construed as the most eloquent—or at least the most appropriate—reaction to a masterpiece, our analysis seems to halt. Yet when Junius takes care to separate poetic license from the visual imagination, it appears that there is more to say about the “beholder’s share” in the artistic experience.



Fig. 3 Adriaen van der Werff, *Design for the title page of De pictura veterum*, before 1697, oil on canvas, 34 x 23.5 cm. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemaldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek (artwork in the public domain; photo: Image Collection, Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam)

Painting versus Poetry

- 11 Let us first examine the context in which Junius quotes Longinus: a discussion of the imagination, the central concept in his treatise, which is depicted on the treatise’s title page according to Cesare Ripa’s precepts: a female figure with tiny figures coming out of her head (fig. 3). This context, given the modern conception of the sublime, seems logical, but a closer look reveals that Junius formulates a significant difference between the literary and the painterly powers of imagination:

Yet must not the Artificers here give too much scope to their own wittes, but make with Dionysius Longinus some difference between the Imaginations of Poets that

doe intend onely “an astonished admiration,” and of Painters that have no other end but Perspicuitie . . . “[W]hat the Poets conceive, hath most commonly a more fabulous excellencie altogether surpassing the truth; but in the phantasies of Painters, nothing is so commendable as that there is both possibilitie and truth in them.”¹⁷

- 12 In painting, the products of the imagination are second to the artist’s striving for “evidence” or “perspicuity”: the ability of the artwork to virtually put things before the public’s eyes. The desired effect of astonishment is aroused by the work of art’s lifelike quality: viewers are struck by an “unspeakable admiration,” “beleeving that in these silent lineaments of members they doe see living and breathing bodies.”¹⁸ When Junius repeatedly states that his readers should train their imaginations, he is not trying to encourage developing a “great imagination” nor condoning trying out fantastic experiments. Although the capacity for forming strong mental images plays an essential role in his theory of art, Junius contends that it should be constrained in order to create convincing, lifelike pictures.
- 13 In Junius’s theory, the artist’s imagination is severely restricted: he holds the images originally provided by sense perception as the basis of all other deliberations. Approaching “life” means that the artist commits all his powers to conjuring up a virtual reality involving as many senses as possible—the better the sense input, the greater the beholder’s chance of effectively approaching the artist’s original mental image. The painter must, therefore, persuade his public that it is being confronted with reality and not fiction, by means of masterful trompe-l’œil techniques, line, color, composition, and the rendering of emotions. Junius concludes, referring to Longinus: “Perspicuitie is the chieftest thing our Phantasie aimeth at,” and he explains how this rhetorical virtue subtly leads the spectator to experience forceful images and violent emotions by seductive skill instead of force:

that Art by the helpe of that same Perspicuitie doth seeme to obtaine easily of a man what shee forceth him to, and though shee doth ravish the minds and hearts of them that view her workes; yet doe they not feel themselves violently carried away, but thinke themselves gently led to the liking of what they see: . . . this is questionlesse that same Perspicuitie, the brood and only daughter of Phantasie . . . for whosoever meeteth with an evident and clear sight of things present, must needs bee mooved as with the presence of things.¹⁹

- 14 The theoretical pattern established by Junius requires a similar imaginative act on the part of the viewer. Junius, however, does not say that the beholder should let the train of associations incited by the artwork inspire him to come up with his “own interpretation” or a purely subjective reaction. Rather, he should recreate the *original* reality that the artist had before him or conjured up before his mind’s eye. This is why being able to judge painting properly requires so much visual training and experience in forming mental images from sense impressions:

A sincere art-lover may store in his mind the living images of all kinds of things from nature, in order to compare them, when the moment is there, with the works of artists. Thus it is evident that one cannot effectuate this without the help of a

strong imagination ... “Fantasy,” says Michael Ephesius, “has been placed in our minds as a register or a record of what we have seen with our eyes or understood with our wits.” Thus also Apollonius Tyaneus maintains that “those who intend to look at paintings in the right way, have need of a rare imaginative faculty.”²⁰

- 15 What is revealing about Junius’s specific interpretation of his classical sources is that in this passage his “imaginative faculty” translates Philostratus’s term *μιμητικη* in his *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*.²¹ This seemingly minor change highlights a transformation that classical notions about the function of painting underwent before becoming part of Junius’s theory. The translation of mimesis as imagination shows how closely his concept of imagination is linked to the artist’s mimetic powers, the faithful representation of the visible world. Moreover, beholders need a strong imagination because they have to compare what they see in a painting to the stock of mental images of visible reality stored in their mind. The only guarantee that the viewer’s imagination can reconstruct the artist’s original mental image is the work’s lifelikeness or, in Junius’s words, an image’s “possibilitie and truth.”²²

Becoming Present

- 16 Junius, in adapting classical rhetorical theory to the art of painting, not only equates the parts of an oration to five “parts of painting,” he also adds a sixth part: “a certaine kinde of Grace,” relating to the pleasing effect a painting makes on the viewer. This illustrates the shift of his focus with respect to that of his sources, which may explain his interest in Longinus. Junius completes the rhetorical framework with a theory of the affective response to images.²³ On the one hand, such a shift in emphasis could be a result of the Arundels’ patronage: catering to the Earl and Countess’s implicit desires and elaborating a theory that championed the *liefhebber*’s learned eyes, Junius highlighted the beholder’s share as a constitutive element of the artistic experience. On the other hand, this new focus corresponded to certain transformations that had taken place in poetical and rhetorical theories in the Netherlands from the sixteenth century on. Broadly speaking, the ancient rhetoricians had developed ideas about every stage of the genesis of an oration, from the purely intellectual stage of *inventio* to the organization and ornamentation of the speech (the different *partes orationis* thus defined the chronological phases in the preparation of an address). In contrast, in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Netherlands, emphasis fell on the stage of *actio*, the concrete interaction with the public itself, rather than on these preliminary steps. This had far-reaching consequences, for example in Dutch neo-Latin poetry.²⁴ In antiquity, empathy with the protagonists in a narrative was seen as a prerogative of the poet. The Dutch author Janus Secundus redressed the balance: his poetical theory demanded a similar empathy with the narrative from the *reader*.
- 17 Junius’s treatise constitutes a key moment in this shift in focus from *inventio* to *actio*. To explore the theory of the “beholder’s share” in detail, he even introduced a new corpus of ancient texts into early modern art theory. This led to a Dutch revival of the ideas of the Second Sophistic, a school of philosophy and poetics from around AD 200. The writers of this period include Philostratus the Elder (ca. 170–244/249) and his grandson Philostratus the Younger (third century AD), Callistratus, and Lucian, in whose work *ekphraseis*, or descriptions of images, are crucial. The central text about the visual arts from this period, Philostratus the Elder’s *Images (Eikones)*, appeared in several editions in the sixteenth century, in Latin and in the Italian and French



Fig. 4 “Les Amours” (p. 41), from Philostratus, *Les Images ou tableaux de platte peinture, mis en François par Blaise de Vigenère* (Paris, 1637). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (artwork in the public domain)

vernaculars.²⁵ The text describes a gallery with sixty-four paintings in Naples that may or may not have actually existed (fig. 4). Its detailed verbal imagery directly inspired various sixteenth-century artworks, the most remarkable of which were Titian’s *Worship of Venus* (1518–19) and *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (ca. 1523–25). (figs. 5–6) Surprisingly, however, the text had not been used by previous authors interested in reviving ancient painting in word and image from the fifteenth century on.²⁶



Fig. 5 Titian, *The Worship of Venus*, 1518–19, oil on canvas, 172 cm x 175 cm. Madrid, Museo del Prado (artwork in the public domain; photo: Image Collection, Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam)



Fig. 6 Titian, *The Andrians*, 1523–26, oil on canvas, 175 x 193 cm. Madrid, Museo del Prado (artwork in the public domain; photo: Image Collection, Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam)

- 18 Junius was the first author after antiquity to use the *Images* as the cornerstone of a consistent theory of painting. In a rare aside to his readers revealing his philological efforts, the scholar explained, seemingly to excuse his novel additions, that works by Philostratus and Callistratus were widely available at the time of writing: “everyone may obtain full disclosure on this matter because one can acquire their books everywhere.”²⁷ Elsewhere, he was unambiguous about the

importance of the Second Sophistic for his ideas on the beholder's share: "The true way how to consider pictures and statues, is most plainly set downe in the books of *Images* made by the elder and younger Philostratus as also in Callistratus his *Description of statues*."²⁸ That Junius considered these authors essential to his project becomes especially clear from the fact that he collated a Greek Philostratus manuscript, borrowed from a colleague, together with his own sixteenth-century version in order to find the best readings.²⁹ He apparently worked on a new edition, which, however, never materialized.³⁰



Fig. 7 Peter Paul Rubens, after Titian, *The Worship of Venus*, oil on canvas, 210 x 195 cm. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (artwork in the public domain; photo: Image Collection, Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam)



Fig. 8 Peter Paul Rubens, after Titian, *The Andrians*, 1630s, oil on canvas, 200 x 215 cm. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (artwork in the public domain; photo: Image Collection, Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam)

19 As Junius was the first to use Philostratus the Elder and Younger so extensively, it is through his book that they became well-known figures in art theory. Bellori, for one, began his famous manifesto on "The Idea of Artists" with a passage from the *Images*, the first lines of which he derived directly from Junius.³¹ The question even arises whether there is any relationship between Rubens's visit to London in 1629–30 and two paintings of scenes from the *Images* that he made around the same time or afterward, which emulated the two paintings by Titian mentioned above.³² Rubens painted these large works when he was in his fifties, late in his career, and they remained in his own collection.³³ In the inventory of the artist's possessions drawn up by his associates in 1640, they are not listed among the copies but as his own creations. Philostratus, and not Titian, is mentioned as a source.³⁴ Junius may well have known the two Rubens paintings, which were of some repute in England; King Charles I himself considered buying them.³⁵ What follows explores the hypothesis that Rubens's interest in Philostratus was sparked by his confrontation with Junius's ideas, even before their publication.³⁶ Rubens visited the Arundel collections in 1629 and drew the ancient sculpture, concluding that he had "never seen anything in the world more rare."³⁷ It is likely that he spoke to Junius, the collection's curator who was wont to explain it in learned terms to visitors.³⁸ In any case, Rubens's acquaintance with Junius's ideas is testified to by his elaborate letter in praise of *De pictura veterum*, which was published in full the Dutch translation. His enthusiasm about the book was only tempered by his desire for illustrations, examples to "point to with one's fingers and say 'here they are.'"³⁹ His two paintings after Philostratus are visual

confirmation of the statement penned in this letter, supplementing the Junian theory (figs. 7–8).

- 20 Junius combined ancient rhetorical vocabulary and the Philostrati's ideas on evocative description to arrive at a coherent theory of artistic efficacy. As will be seen, this theory centers on the notion of empathy and conjoins the artist, artwork, and beholder in a single experience. One of Junius's central ideas is that the beholder's imagination takes the work of art as a starting point for constructing a mental image. Painterly elements, such as pigments and brushwork, line and color, fade away to make place for an illusion that also involves other senses than sight alone. Although Junius describes the construction of this mental image as a process prompted by the beholder's affective response to the artwork, he does not use a term like "empathy," deploying instead the concept of "presence" or, in Dutch, *teghenwoordigheydt*. This term merits some attention in the context of Junius's attempt to reconstruct the ancient rules of painting, and to finally "arrange them in the frame of true art."⁴⁰

The Artist's Presence

- 21 Junius's term *teghenwoordigheydt*—a neologism no longer in use in modern Dutch—translates as the Latin *praesentia* and the English *presence* or *performance*.⁴¹ *The Painting of the Ancients* uses this word in at least three meanings. It refers to the physical presence of the artist in his work and that of the viewer in the depicted scene, as well as to the viewer's mind becoming involved in a story through confrontation with a dramatic moment in a narrative timeline. Furthermore, echoes of *teghenwoordigheydt* as referring to a kind of transubstantiation also resonate: the word becoming flesh, or fiction becoming reality.⁴² This means that Junius deploys the term on various levels for his theory of painting. It returns in his analyses of art's historical development; artistic invention; the making process; the art object itself; and finally the work's effect on its public. The power of painting is to "make present" absent figures, such as the deceased, figures of the imagination, or the pagan gods. Junius states that poets manage to evoke the *teghenwoordigheydt* of the deities.⁴³ Here, the term is literally translated from the Latin *praesentia*,⁴⁴ the statement comes from Philostratus the Younger's foreword to his book *Images*.⁴⁵
- 22 For the Dutch scholar, presence is first of all defined as a function of the imagination. This faculty may replace absence with presence: "Phantasie doth so represent unto our mind the images of things absent, as if we had them at hand, and saw them before our eyes."⁴⁶ Even more essential than this statement about making the absent present, which could be found in Alberti, is Junius's notion of "seeing something in the mind as if it were present" (*als teghenwoordigh aenschouwen*) in the context of rhetorical theory.⁴⁷ This theory held that the orator should use metaphors and imaginative language such that, in Quintilian's words, "the images of absent things are presented to the mind in such a way that we believe we are seeing these things with our own eyes and that we are present with them."⁴⁸ *Teghenwoordigheydt* refers more exclusively than the Latin term *praesentia* to the artistic and rhetorical ideal that the public should see a scene "happening before their very eyes," to quote Cicero.⁴⁹ This means that the painter or orator has to present a story as though he had been an eyewitness. Junius states that before putting brush to panel, the artist needs to evoke the scene he wants to depict in his mind's eye as a narrative acted out in front of him:

Painters in like manner [as orators] doe fall to their worke invited and drawne on by the tickling pleasure of their nimble Imaginations . . . they doe first of all passe

over every circumstance of the matter in hand, considering it seriously, as if they were present at the doing, or saw it acted before their eyes: whereupon feeling themselves well filled with a quick and lively imagination of the whole worke, they make haste to ease their overcharged braines by a speedie pourtraying of the conceit.⁵⁰

- 23 It should be noted that one of Junius’s English readers, William Sanderson (ca. 1586–1676), identified this manner of working as being Rubens’s method: the artist “usually would (with his arms a cross) sit musing upon his work for some time; and in an instant in the liveliness of spirit, with a nimble hand would force out, his over-charged brain into description . . . by a violent driving on of the passion.”⁵¹ Junius himself may have been thinking of Rubens when, in the context of this exercise of the mind’s eye, he lavished attention on Ovid’s account of Phaeton’s fall from his father’s carriage. This had only been possible because Ovid first “made himself present” in the narrative. Junius quotes Longinus verbatim:

would you not thinke then that the Poet stepping with Phaeton upon the waggon hath noted from the beginning to the end every particular accident . . . ? neither could he ever have conceived the least shadow of this dangerous enterprise, if he had not been as if it were present with the unfortunate youth.⁵²

- 24 Exploring virtual presence, Junius even coins a neologistic verb, not in use in modern Dutch, *sich verteghenwoordighen*, making oneself present. More literally than the English text, this term suggests that it takes a creative effort on the part of the artist to become an eyewitness, or even an actor, in the narrative.⁵³ The author must have been familiar with depictions of the theme in seventeenth-century art; his patroness Lady Arundel even had a ceiling painting representing Phaeton.⁵⁴ A drawing by Goltzius circulated in print; Rubens’s work, painted in Italy around 1604–5 was in an Antwerp collection at the time (figs. 9–10). In effect, the master may have been drawn to the theme through the Philostratean theory rediscovered by Junius, who describes “unbridled horses with their tossed and tottered waggons” as a vision of the poetic imagination, a challenge hardly to be captured in paint (fig. 11).⁵⁵ However, only a collaboration between Rubens and van Dyck (1636–38) bringing the theme closer to the foreground in visual terms, may be interpreted as an exploration of the idea that the artist had imagined himself present in Phaeton’s carriage (fig. 12).⁵⁶



Fig. 9 Unknown engraver, after Hendrik Goltzius, *The Fall of Phaeton*, ca. 1588, from the series *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, engraving, 17.7 x 25.2 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949, inv. no. 49.97.662 (artwork in the public domain; photo: Open Access for Scholarly Content [OASC])



Fig. 10 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Fall of Phaeton*, ca. 1604/5, probably reworked ca. 1606–8, oil on canvas 98.4 x 131.2 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Patrons' Permanent Fund, inv. no. 1990.1.1 (artwork in the public domain; photo: Image Collection, Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam)



Fig. 11 "Phaethon" (p. 90), from Philostratus, *Les Images ou tableaux de platte peinture, mis en François par Blaise de Vigenère* (Paris, 1637). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (artwork in the public domain)



Fig. 12 Attributed to Rubens and/or van Dyck, *Phaeton*, 1636, oil on panel, 28.1 x 27.6 cm. Brussels, Musée Royal des Beaux Arts (artwork in the public domain; photo: Image Collection, Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam)

25 This mental presence is closely linked to the artist's capacity to feel and recognize emotions. To Junius, imagining the presence of the figures in the narrative is connected to a satisfactory representation of emotions ("Affections and Passions"): "It is then in vaine an Artificer should hope to be both powerfull and perspicuous, unlesse he doe alwayes propound unto himselfe the worke in hand *as if all were present* [italics mine, TW]."⁵⁷ In effect, he follows rhetorical theory directly in stating that, to move his public, the artist himself must first feel the emotions he wishes to evoke. It is:

a maine point, to have a true feeling of [the passions], rightly to conceive the true images of things, and to be mooved with them, *as if they were rather true then* [sic] *imagined* . . . and it standeth an Artificer upon it, rather to trie all what may be tried, then to marre the vigorous force of a fresh and warme Imagination by a slow and coole manner of Imitation [italics mine, TW].⁵⁸

- 26 A striking feature of the Dutch reception of Junius's theory is that his followers interpreted literally rather than figuratively his exhortation that whoever wanted to move his audience with feigned feelings should himself first experience real affliction. Van Hoogstraten, for instance, advises the painter to look in the mirror to discover how to represent the motions of the mind:

If one wants to gain honor in this noblest area of art, one must transform oneself wholly into an actor. It is not enough to show [emotions] weakly in a History; Demosthenes was no less learned than others when the people turned their backs on him in disgust: but after Satyrus had recited verses by Euripides and Sophocles to him with better diction and more graceful movements, and he had learnt . . . to mimic the actor precisely, after that, I say, people listened to him as an oracle of rhetoric. You will derive the same benefit from acting out the passions you have in mind, chiefly in front of a mirror, so as to be actor and spectator at the same time.⁵⁹

- 27 Within the larger context of Dutch art, Junius's statements are in keeping with the way some masters stressed the importance of their own "presence" in the depicted scene, as eyewitnesses they had greater persuasive force. Rembrandt, for example, wrote to Constantijn Huygens, the stadtholder's artistic agent, that he had observed "the greatest [emotional] movement" in his *Passion Series* made for the princely patron. In these works he included himself twice, not only as a spectator, but even as an actor in the narrative of the Raising of the Cross and the Deposition (figs. 13–14).⁶⁰ We should note that Huygens, who had visited the Arundel collection in 1618 and owned a copy of *De pictura veterum*, may have introduced Rembrandt to the Junian theory even before the publication of the Dutch edition.⁶¹

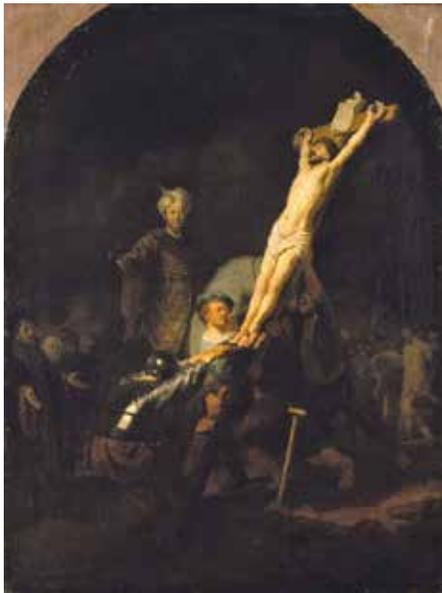


Fig. 13 Rembrandt, *The Raising of the Cross*, ca. 1633, oil on canvas, 95.7 x 72.2 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek (artwork in the public domain; photo: Image Collection, Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam)

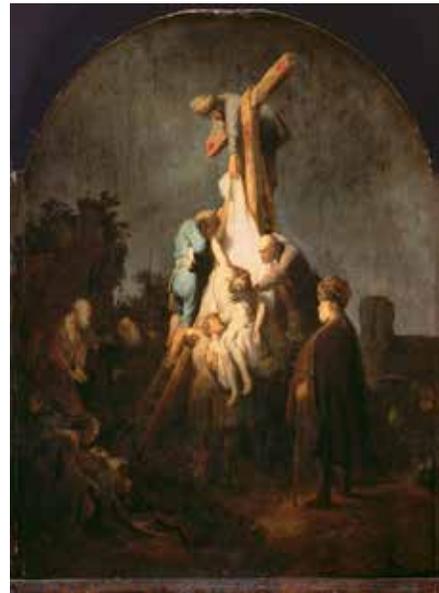


Fig. 14 Rembrandt, *The Deposition*, 1633, oil on canvas, 90 x 65 cm. Munich, Alte Pinakothek (artwork in the public domain; photo: Image Collection, Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam)

- 28 In relation to the stage of artistic invention, Junius also uses *teghenwoordigheydt* to instruct the artist to imagine that he is working in the presence of great predecessors and is subject to their judgment. The best results are achieved when the artist is in the “conceived presence of antient [*sic*], and the true presence of moderne masters.”⁶² For Junius, the fact that the painting of antiquity has not survived was an additional incentive to exercise one’s imagination. The concept of *teghenwoordigheydt*, thus, captures his book’s primary appeal, namely to make antiquity present, not through archeological study but through artistic imagination. Junius’s approach was eventually voiced in the Frisian painter Wybrand de Geest’s *The Cabinet of Statues* (1702), a treatise with illustrations of ancient statues in Rome, in which is stated “artists do not die . . . they live in the minds of men.”⁶³

The Beholder’s Presence



Fig. 15 “Les Isles” (p. 422), from Philostratus, *Les Images ou tableaux de platte peinture, mis en François par Blaise de Vigenère* (Paris, 1637). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (artwork in the public domain)

- 29 Junius cites ancient authors who may “informe [the reader’s] judgment in the right manner of examining workes of Art” to elaborate his idea that not only artists but also their viewers should become virtually present in the imagined narrative. He refers approvingly to Claudian (ca. AD 370–404), who addresses the readers of a scene with people frightened by an erupting volcano as follows: “Doe not you see how the old man pointeth to the fire?”⁶⁴ Here, the reader is invited to virtually join the protagonists and see what they see. Most frequently, however, Junius refers to authors from the Second Sophistic. He explains how before looking at a painting of distant islands, Philostratus the Elder urges his listeners to first imagine that they are on a ship and that their surroundings have changed into a sea (fig. 15):

Philostratus, a man exceeding well skilled in these things, taketh the spectator along with himselfe a ship boord, willeth him forget the shore and view every one of the represented circumstances as out of a ship; esteeming that his mind could not apprehend the severall parts of the picture rightly, unlesse with an imaginary presence it should first saile about, conferring the fresh and newly conceived Images with the picture it selfe.⁶⁵

The viewer should direct his mind to his own “imaginary presence” to become fully part of the story (and here the Dutch states “als van het schipboord teghenwoordighlick te aenschouwen” [to behold as if one were present on board]). The quotation clarifies that not just the physical eyes are involved in the artistic experience but also the mind’s eye. This is in line with the Philostratean theory of *ekphrasis*, which assumes that a work of art is fundamentally incomplete. Supposedly, the artist records a mental image in the work of art, which must be conjured up by means of an imaginative effort on the part of the viewer.

- 30 The work of art acts as a stimulus for the imagination. Aspects of the painter’s craft, especially color, are secondary; when the original mental image is evoked again, the work of art itself—as no more than a medium—effectively fades away. To illustrate this, Junius draws attention to a passage from the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (2.22), in which Philostratus explains that it is possible to draw a black man without actually making the skin color dark; the painter can rely on his evocative powers to suggest the hue.⁶⁶ In Junius’s response theory, aspects of craftsmanship, such as color, are secondary. All that counts is that the artwork stimulates the imagination and activates a chain of associations: the viewer’s experience of a painting becomes an immersion in a virtual reality. As we shall see, moreover, not only sight but also the other senses are deemed to be affected by the reality evoked in the painting. These notions suggest that the viewer’s reaction must fulfill the role of a necessary complement, for the virtual reality of the artistic moment to take effect.
- 31 In even stronger terms, Junius explains that looking at a work of art is ideally a performative act, in which the moment of seeing turns into virtually being present in the narrative or even becoming an agent in it. Seeing becomes experiencing:

This ought therefore to be our chiefest care, that wee should not onely goe with our eyes over the severall figures represented by the worke, but that we should likewise suffer our mind to enter into a lively consideration of what wee see expressed; not otherwise then if wee were present, and saw *not the counterfeited image but the reall performance of the thing* [italics mine, TW].⁶⁷

Even in the context of landscape painting, Junius inserts long passages on how a *liefhebber* contemplates various elements in a landscape: forests, mountains, villages, and the sound and chill of rivers—so that when he is later confronted with a landscape painting, it will trigger a chain of associations invoking all of his senses.⁶⁸ In the virtual reality thus engendered, both the artist and the beholder meet each other, as it were:

for as the Artificers that doe goe about their workes filled with an imagination of the presence of things, leave in their workes a certaine spirit drawne and derived out of the contemplation of things present; so is it not possible but that same spirit transfused into their workes, should likewise prevaile with the spectatours, working in them the same impression of the presence of things that was in the Artificers themselves.⁶⁹

Synaesthesia

- 32 We have seen that Junius’s ideal of artistic contemplation consists in empathizing with the charac-

ters in a story and evoking the narrative in the mind's eye, "not otherwise then if wee were present, and saw not the counterfeited image but the reall performance of the thing." In his theory, painting, just like rhetoric, is a performative art, one in which speaking is doing. Representing the scene is acting it out—an activity ultimately involving one's own body and sensory faculties.

- 33 Several senses of the term *performative* apply here. In an abstract sense, according to Junius's theory, "painting" is "doing." Making art is bringing figures to life and experiencing emotion itself, just as looking at art equals immersion in another reality. Junius speaks of how the artistic experience leaves us with the impression "as if we were doing rather than thinking."⁷⁰ The English edition explains how images of foreign countries bring about the experience of real travel, images of battles provoke real anguish, and images of political scenes inspire our own speeches:

wee shall with much ease attaine to [conjure up mental images] . . . if wee are but willing: for as among the manifold remissions of our minde among our idle hopes and wakefull dreames, these Images do follow us so close, that wee seeme to travell, to saile, to bestirre our selves mightily in a hot fight, to make a speech in the middest of great assemblies, yea wee doe so lively propound all these things unto our minds, *as if the doing of them kept us so busie, and not the thinking* [italics mine, TW].⁷¹

The Painting of the Ancients uses the term "performance" in a manner close to the modern meaning of "performative": just as words become deeds in a speech act (to use the technical term related to performativity), in Junius's theory, images become actions. Most obviously, however, painting is performative in the sense that the beholder becomes involved in the depicted story as a spectator or even as an agent in the narrative. Since looking at a painting is ideally the mental re-creation of an event as if it were staged or play-acted, the beholder "makes himself present" and becomes part of the work of art. Hence it is the visual arts that allow ancient masters and modern beholders to share the same virtual reality. Ideally, appreciating art is a synesthetic experience in which movement, sound, and even smell are conveyed. This is essentially Philostratan theory. To quote Philostatus the Elder on a scene of cupids frolicking in a garden, which with its colors, scents, and movements invites the spectator himself to take a walk and lie down "in" the painting (from *Images* 1.6):

Do you smell the fragrance that spreads through the garden, or haven't your senses responded yet? But listen carefully, for along with my description of the garden the fragrance of the apples will come to you. Our senses fully alerted, we then follow the description through the orchard: Here the trees grow straight, and there is space between them to walk in, and tender grass covers the paths, fit to be a couch to lie upon.

- 34 In effect, this quotation is part of Philostratus's description of "Amori" or cupids (see fig. 4), which was the basis for Titian's painting *The Worship of Venus* (see fig. 5). When Rubens, in turn, imitated Titian's work, it may have been a conscious exercise in that kind of evocative art that appeals to the eye only to make an impact on the mind—and virtually engages all the senses (see figs. 6–8). As David Rosand noted, whereas Titian's experiment with *ekphrasis* involved turning

the poets' words into paint, Rubens did not content himself with simply copying this facture and palette but rather took up the challenge to get inside Titian's original mental image, complete with its movements, sounds, and scents. Stylistic and technical comparison confirms this contention; for Rosand, "there is hardly a motif in Titian's *Andrians* that is not modified in some degree by Rubens."⁷² Jeremy Wood has studied in greater detail how Titian's originals' "dense and opaque surfaces . . . are quite unlike the transparency of pigment found in . . . Rubens," who introduced a bluish element to the flesh tones that made the copies look paler and more "silkish" than the Titians.⁷³ This manifest lack of concern with his great predecessor's brushwork may have been related to the classical theory reconstructed by Junius. The proper reaction to a great work of art was apparently not a consideration of lines and colors but an exploration of its "mysteries"—which, in Junius's theory, means a profound mental evocation of people, movements, sounds, scents. Only the ignorant, when imitating someone else's works, "fall to worke upon the first sight, before ever they have sounded the deep and hidden mysteries of Art, pleasing themselves wonderfully with the good successe of their Imitation, when they seeme onely for the outward lines and colours to come somewhat neere their paterne."⁷⁴ Rubens was reputed to take such statements seriously; van Hoogstraten notes that in contrast to his contemporaries, when the master was confronted with the masterpieces of Rome, he refrained from making drawings of them and tried to capture their essence in his mind.⁷⁵

- 35 Via Junius, van Hoogstraten also knew Philostratan synaesthetic theory. He quotes, for instance, from a passage describing such a lifelike representation of horses that one sees their nostrils flaring, hears their whinnying, and senses their excitement: "They whinny fast, nostrils raised, or do you not hear the painting?" The painter repeats Philostratus's astonishment "that art brings forth so much that from the flared nostrils [of these horses], from their pressed-down ears and taut limbs, one perceives their keen desire to flee, even though one knows that they are motionless."⁷⁶ To explain how the artistic experience may engage other senses than sight alone, Junius repeats a well-known ancient anecdote about the artist Theon, who had a trumpet sounded at the unveiling of his painting of a soldier: "The most excellent Artificer conceived very well that the phantasie of the beholders would fasten soonest upon such a representation, if it were first mooved by this dreadfull noise."⁷⁷ Once again, the Dutch edition is more elaborate when it comes to the "living presence of the represented thing" (de levendighe teghenwordigheyt van d'afghebeelde saecke). The passage illustrates how image and sound could ideally be combined to evoke an even more persuasive virtual reality. The common practice in the seventeenth century of putting paintings behind curtains made real this ideal of art as a scene "acted out before [one's] eyes." Van Hoogstraten took Junius's theory to heart when he stressed the affinities between stage and studio; he went so far as to train his pupils in play-acting, the scripts for which he wrote himself.⁷⁸

Painted Pain

- 36 Although van Hoogstraten may have taken this ideal of mental staging more literally than Junius himself intended it, such linking of painted stories to the actual stage was actually close to the intent of Junius's ancient sources. There was a certain continuity whereby the original import of the latter was still understood in the early modern age as being essentially linked to a practice of "real performance." That scenes of history and mythology should be conjured up in such a manner that viewers thought they were present at the scene, reflected the public performance of "mythological exhibitions." Martial's *Book of Spectacles* (first century AD), to give one example, describes scenes

that took place in the Flavian amphitheater (the Colosseum). Live enactments of mythological events took place here, such as Pasiphae copulating with a bull or Prometheus being eviscerated: the execution of criminals was thus staged as a grisly performance.⁷⁹ The ancients' theory of emotional arousal through confrontation with real performance seems to have been inspired by what was concrete staging practice. Echoes of this time-honored tradition resonate in Junius's book, for instance when he recalls an anecdote from Seneca the Elder's *Controversies* (10.5): after painting Prometheus's punishment by the gods, the artist Parrhasius was accused of torturing a slave to serve as his model.⁸⁰



Fig. 16 Peter Paul Rubens, with Frans Snyders, *Prometheus Bound*, begun ca. 1611–12, completed by 1618, oil on canvas, 242.6 x 209.5 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Purchased with the W. P. Wilstach Fund, 1950, inv. no. W1950-3-1 (artwork in the public domain; photo: Image Collection, Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam)



Fig. 17 Michiel Coxie, *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, central panel of the *Triptych of the Guild of the Oude Voetboog*, oil on panel, 267.2 x 235 cm, signed below right: MICHEL D. COXSCYIN AETATIS SVAE 76 FECIT. Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts (artwork in the public domain; photo: Image Collection, Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam) Originally in the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp

37 Parrhasius, of course, had been faithful, to the letter, to the notion that the artist should make himself present at the very event he wants to evoke for the affective arousal of the public. Rubens, in focusing his *Bound Prometheus* (1611–12) on the precise moment when the eagle tears out Prometheus's liver, may have taken Seneca's statement to heart—after all, this was one of the authors he reportedly had read to him while he painted (fig. 16).⁸¹ He probably also knew an *ekphrasis* of the Prometheus theme by Achilles Tatius, who said that “you cannot help feeling pity even for what you know is only a picture.”⁸² For Junius, who may have come across this painting after Sir Dudley Carleton acquired it in 1618,⁸³ the idea would clearly be that the *beholder* is ultimately physically repulsed by such an image. According to his response theory, the artist, the depicted figures, and the beholder share the same affective involvement. In relation to the viewer, there seems to have been a forerunner to his idea in Antwerp humanism: Carolus Scribanius wrote about a painted *Saint Sebastian* that “those who look at the martyr's wounds, are wounded themselves” (fig. 17).⁸⁴

38 An even more striking example is to be found in Rembrandt's studio. Perhaps after Rembrandt discussed this matter with Huygens, his works of 1635–36 show a remarkable adherence to the

ideal of the engagement of the viewer, as discussed above. To Junius (quoting Longinus) painterly narrative is, first of all, effective when avoiding “fabulous excellencie” and striving after “possibilitie and truth”: Rembrandt embraced a similar ideal with his *Danaë* (1636, St. Petersburg), which famously involves Cupid only as a sculpted figure in the woodwork decoration; likewise his *Rape of Ganymede* (1635, Dresden) features not a stylish young man but a toddler recognizable to any Dutch parent, crying and urinating from fright as he is lifted by an eagle. In a further exploration of physically engaging art, Rembrandt seems to have been trying to virtually hurt the viewer. In 1636 he painted his *Blinding of Samson*, probably an emulation of Rubens’s *Prometheus*.⁸⁵ He foregrounded a scene of torture, making it all the more discomfoting for his public because it is the eyes that are being put out—in a grating visual counterpoint with Delilah’s unflinching gaze directed at the viewer (fig. 18).



Fig. 18 Rembrandt, *The Blinding of Samson*, 1636, oil on canvas, 236 x 302 cm. Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut (artwork in the public domain; photo: Image Collection, Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam)

- 39 Such blurring of the line between fiction and an individual’s felt reality is also evident in Junius’s high regard for the ancient actor Polus, who was not content with showing feigned sorrow on the stage. When he had to play Electra carrying her son’s urn he went so far as to have the grave of his own child opened up: “having digged up the bones . . . and bringing them upon the stage . . . hee found himselfe forced to play the mourner after a most complete and lively manner.” Hence, he filled the theater “not with an affectation of weeping and wailing, but with true and naturall teares.”⁸⁶ In this, Junius’s stance is corroborated by modern aesthetics: in contrast to the fiction of art, emotions are real experience, and therefore constitute the strongest form of persuasion. It is here that the full import of Quintilian’s statement that orators who want to move their audience should first experience the emotion themselves becomes clear:

A minde rightly affected and passionated is the onely fountaine whereout there doe issue forth such violent streames of passions, that the spectator, not being able to resist, is carried away against his will . . . “Afflicted folks, their grieffe beeing as yet fresh,” sayth Quintilian, “seem to cry out some things most eloquently . . . If therefore we do desire to come neer the truth, it is requisite that we should finde *our selves even so affected as they are who suffer indeed* [italics mine, TW].”⁸⁷

40 We now understand better Junius's statement that the viewer's confrontation with art's physical reality may strike fear into him,⁸⁸ or a remark by Gerardus Vossius, the Dutch Republic's foremost rhetorician, that the works of Protogenes were so lifelike they could not be seen without inspiring terror (*quodam horrore*).⁸⁹ Samuel van Hoogstraten, who may have encountered Junius's book in Rembrandt's studio, follows the lead of these luminaries of classical learning when he describes paintings the sight of which made viewers turn pale, and others that people did not dare to touch.⁹⁰ Writing for an audience of young artists, he quotes Longinus on the "truly great" (*waarlijk groots*), as "that which appears before our eyes each time anew as if fresh; which is difficult, or rather impossible, to banish from our thoughts; the memory of which seems to be constantly, and as if indelibly, engraved on our hearts."⁹¹ Here it seems to be the Junian reaction to art, leaving the viewer *in extremis* in physical pain, that is being understood.

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Thijs Weststeijn is Associate Professor of Art History at the University of Amsterdam. He recently published *Art and Antiquity in the Netherlands and Britain: The Vernacular Arcadia of Franciscus Junius (1591–1677)* (2015), and a chapter on Junius in *Translating Knowledge in the Early Modern Low Countries*, edited by H. J. Cook and S. Dupré (2013). M.A.Weststeijn@uva.nl

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Fig. 17 Michiel Coxcie, *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian*, central panel of the *Triptych of the Guild of the Oude Voetboog*, oil on panel, 267.2 x 235 cm, signed below right: michel d. coxsc-yin aetatis suae 76 fecit. Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts (artwork in the public domain; photo: Image Collection, Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam) Originally in the Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp.

Fig. 18 Rembrandt, *The Blinding of Samson*, 1636, oil on canvas, 236 x 302 cm. Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut (artwork in the public domain; photo: Image Collection, Institute of Art History, University of Amsterdam)

¹ Franciscus Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients: De pictura veterum, according to the English Translation (1638)*, vol. 1 of *The Literature of Classical Art*, eds. Keith Aldrich, Philipp Fehl, and Raina Fehl (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 218. Compare: “Dat is waerlick groot, seght [Longinus], ‘t welck ons telcken weder om versch voor de oogen verschijnt; ’t welck ons swaer valt, ofte liever onmoghelick is, uyt den sin te stellen, welckers gheduersaeme ende onuytwisschelike ghedachtenisse diep in onse herten inghedrukt blijft. Immers behooren wy dat altijdt voor een gantsch treffelicke ende waerachtighe hoogh-staetelickheyd te houden, dae alle menschen overal een goed behaeghen in hebben.” Franciscus Junius, *De schilder-konst der Oude* (Middelburg: Zacharias Roman, 1641), 233. Note that Junius does not translate the Latin term *sublimitas/sublime* with *sublime* (English), *subliem* (modern Dutch), or *het verhevene* (Dutch). In Dutch, he characteristically deploys a range of synonyms such as *rechtige magnificentie*, *staetelickheyd*, *waerlick groot*, *waerachtighe hoogh-staetelickheyd* (a neologism), and *hooghdraeghende dinghen* (see p. 233).

² Dryden’s and Pope’s acquaintance with Junius is suggested by the reference in Charles Alphonse du Fresnoy, “Observations on the Art of Painting,” in *The Art of Painting*, trans. John Dryden, intro. Alexander Pope (London, 1716), 115.

³ Joannes Schefferus, *Graphice, id est, de arte pingendi liber singularis* (Nuremberg, 1669), in the preface: “vir longe celeberrimus et doctissimus.”

⁴ Junius’s correspondence reveals that artists “pressed” him to translate his work and that he started with the Dutch version: “Primo per otium in vernaculam nostram linguam ea, quae Latine dedi, transfero; quin etiam hortatu multorum in hoc regno Brittanice dedior . . . Urgent admodum artefices, et quotquot artes illas delicatas amant.” Junius to Gerard Vossius, I June 1635. See Sophie van Romburgh, “For My Worthy Freind [sic] Mr Franciscus Junius”: *An Edition of the Complete Correspondence of Franciscus Junius F.F. (1591–1677)* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2004), no. 102c.

⁵ The relations between scholarship and painting practice in Junius’s Anglo-Dutch surroundings are the topic of my *Art and Antiquity in the Netherlands and Britain: The Vernacular Arcadia of Franciscus Junius (1591–1677)* (Boston and Leiden: Brill, 2015). <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/9789004283992>

⁶ Junius to Dugdale, March 2, 1657, van Romburgh, *Correspondence of Franciscus Junius*, no. 195b.

⁷ Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, 319.

⁸ See Geraldine Dunphy Wind, “Annibale Caracci’s *Sleeping Venus*: A Source in Claudian,” *Source*:

Notes in the History of Art 10, no. 3 (1991): 37–39. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/sou.10.3.23203017>

⁹ “[I]ngannatone il senso e la vista, ed istupidito egli [i.e., the viewer] dello accoppiamento di sì differenti qualità, talora di sperimentare ciò ch’èlle sieno in toccandole, averà desiderio; talora nell’avvicinarsene dubiterà di non turbare quel dolce sonno, e paventerà talvolta quella maestà di Dea, che ella gli si raffigura . . . le opere singolari a pena immaginare, non che isprimer si possono da un debole ingegno,” Agucchi, *Descrizione della Venere dormiente di Annibale Carracci*, recorded by Malvasia, quoted in Ricardo de Mambro Santos, *La civil conversazione pittorica: Riflessione estetica e produzione artistica nel trattato di Karel van Mander* (Sant’Oreste: Apeiron Editori, 1998), 97.

¹⁰ “Onde, conoscendo io di non essermi avvicinato, né per molto spazio al vero; assai crederei d’aver fatto, se nella maniera, che le pitture da un grosso velo coperte malagevolmente si discernono da’ riguardanti: così potessero le presenti [descrizioni] essere egualmente dai lettori apprese,” Agucchi, *Descrizione della Venere dormiente di Annibale Carracci*, recorded by Malvasia, quoted in Mambro Santos, *La civil conversazione pittorica*, 97.

¹¹ Junius, *Painting of the Ancients*, 50.

¹² “Het zweet brak my aen alle kanten uit, zegt Damascius, doen ik de Venus, die Herodes Atticus gewijt hadde, gezien had; van weegen den schroomelijk verwarden zinnestrijdt [*sic*], dien ik in mijn gemoed gewaer wiert. Mijne innichste gedachten wierden door ’t levendig gevoelen van een onuitsprekelijke vermakelijkheid zoo gekittelt, dat dat het my byna onmogelijk was t’huis te gaen, en schoon ik my derwaerts spoede, zoo wierden mijn oogen nu en dan, door de gedachtenisse van zulk een zaltzaemen gezicht, te rug getrokken,” Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst: anders de zichtbaere werelt* (Rotterdam: François van Hoogstraten, 1678), 290.

¹³ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 290; “sich aen de selvighe stucken met sulcken diepen verwonderinghe vergaepen, datse als door een verruckte verslaegenheyd en heymelicke beduchtheyd stock-stille blijven staen; ende . . . met een domme en stomme onghewoeligheyd schijnen gheslagehen te sijn,” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 323–24.

¹⁴ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 66–67; “[het valt] d’aller welsprekenste swaer ghenoech de reden daer van te gheven . . . wy begrijpen alle dese dinghen door ick en weten niet wat ghevoelen, en niet door’t behulp van woorden-konst,” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 60–61.

¹⁵ Jeroen Jansen, *Brevitas: Beschouwingen over de beknoptheid van vorm en stijl in de Renaissance* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995).

¹⁶ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 290; “[e]euwighe dinghen sijn van grooter ghewicht, dan dat de ghemeyne maete der menschelicker welsprekenheyd de selvighe soude kunnen omvanghen,” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 324.

¹⁷ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 57–58; “Staet de Konstenaers maer alleen daer op te letten, dat sy haer selven in dit stuck niet al te vele toe geven, met Dionysius Longynus wat onderscheydt maeckende tusschen de verbeeldens kracht die de Poeten gaende maect, en d’andere die de Schilders te werck stelt. De Poetische fantasije en heeft anders gheen ooghenmerck, als een ’onsinnigheydt der verwonderinghe’ te verwecken: de Konstenaers daer en teghen sijn maer alleen op de ’uytdruckelickheydt uyt. Soo en soecken ’t oock de Poeten alsoo te maecten,’ seght den selvighen Autheur, ‘dat haere ghedichten fabelachtigh en de waerheydt onghelijck soudensichijnen te sijn; ’t fraeyste daer en teghen’t welck in de fantasije der Schilders aen ghemerckt moet worden, bestaet daer in, dat haer verbeeldinghen krachtigh sijn en met de waerheydt over-een komen.’” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 50.

¹⁸ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 53; “spraeckeloose verbaestheydt . . . achtende dat sich in dien stommen omtreck der leden levende lichaemen vertoonen,” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 45.

¹⁹ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 58; “De Schilders worden insghelijcks door dese en dierghelijcke fantasijen meer niet anders ontroert, als of sy de gantsche gelegentheydt deser dinghen voor haere ooghen aenschouwden . . . Waer uyt het dan blijktt dat dien Konstenaer maer alleen duydelick ende uytdruckelick wercken kan, de welcke de dinghen die hy ter handt treckt als teghen-woordigh aenschouwt. ’t Welck meest van allen in de herts-tochten ofte in de inwendighe beweginghen onses ghemoeds plaetse heeft: want overmidts de selvighe al te mets in de waerheydt bestaen, seght Quintilianus, en de al te mets in de imitatie; soo is’t dat de waere beroeringhen naturelick uytbersten, maer’t ontbreekt hun aen de Konst, dies moetense oock door de leeringhe soo ghefatsoeneert worden. De gheimiteerde beroeringhen daer en tehgen, ghelijckse de Konst hebben, soo ontbreekt het hun aen de nature; en daerom is dit alhier’t voornaemste, dat men sich recht wel bewoghen vinde om de verbeeldinghen niet anders te vatten, als of het waerachtighe dinghen waeren daer mede wy ons selven besich houden . . . Staet de Konstenaers maer alleen daer op te letten, dat sy haer selven in dit stuck niet al te vele toe geven, met Dionysius Longynus wat onderscheydt maeckende tusschen de verbeeldens kracht die de Poeten gaende maect, en d’andere die de Schilders te werck stelt. De Poetische fantasije en heeft ander gheen ooghen-merck, als een onsinnigheydt der verwonderinghe te verwecken: de Konstenaers daer en teghen zijn maer alleen op de uytdruckelickheydt uyt. Soo soecken ’t oock de Poeten alsoo te maecken, seght den selvighen Autheur, dat haere ghedichten fabelachtigh en de waerheydt onghelijck souden schijnen te sijn; ’t fraeyste daer en teghen ’t welck in de fantasije der Schilders aen ghemerckt moet worden, bestaet daer in, dat haere verbeeldinghen krachtigh sijn en met de waerheydt over-een komen . . . ghelijck d’oprechte Konstenaers tot het werck worden aenghedreven door een krachtige verbeeldinghe der dinghe die sy als teghenwoordigh aenschouwen, soo vindtmen alstijdt in haer wercken een klaer afdrucksel van dese verbeelde teghenwoordigheydt, daer vertoont sich selven allenthalven eenen levendichen Gheest die sich in de herten der beschouwers soo verdighlick uyt-stort dat sy in’t beschouwen der Konste den selvighen inval deser tegenwoordigheydt gewaer worden die den werk-meester in’t werken ghevoelde.” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 49–51.

²⁰ The Dutch edition is more explicit than the English one. The full quotations are: “so must wee . . . endeavour to conceive the whole shew of the represented matters with a large and freely diffused apprehension; to the end that wee might compare the chieffest circumstances of the Argument with our premeditated and fore-conceived images: ‘Phantasie,’ saith Michael Ephesius, ‘is like a register unto our minde’: meeting then with one or other master peece that seemeth to deserve their care and consideration, they find alwayes in this register of theirs a true Image of the thing imitated: ‘such as doe contemplate the workes of the Art of painting,’ saith Apollonius, ‘have great need of the imaginative facultie; for no body can with any good reason praise a painted horse or bull, unlesse hee doe conceive that same creature in his mind, whose similitude the Picture doth expresse.” Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 60; “Want aenghesien het een oprecht Lief-hebber toe-staet de levendighe verbeeldinghen van allerley naturelicke dinghen in sijn ghemoedt op te legghen, ten eynde dat hy de selvighe te sijner tijdt met de wercken der Konstenaeren mocht verghelijcken; soo is’t klaer dat men slucks niet en kan te weghe brenghen sonder het toe-doen van een stercke imaginatie . . . : oversulcks plachten oock vele treffelicke Konst-lievende mannen haeren ledigen tijdt somwijlen door te brenghen met het oeffenen ende verrijcken haerer fantasije.

‘De fantasije,’ seght Michael Ephesius, ‘is on ons gemoedt ghestelt als een Register ofte aenwijser van’t gunt wy oyt met onse ooghen gesien ofte met ons verstandt begrepen hebben.’ Daerom houd oock *Apollonius Tyaneus* staende, dat ‘daer een sonderlinghe verbeeldens kracht vereyscht wordt in die ghene de welcke de wercken der Schilder-Konste recht wel meynen te besichtighen. Want het onmoghelick is,’ seght hy, ‘dat yemant een bequaem oordeel strijcken sal van een gheschildert Paerdt ofte Stier, ten sy dat hem sijn gemoedt een ware verbeeldinghe der nae-gheboetster dinghen vaerdighlick voordraeghe.’” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 52. The reference is to Michael Ephesius, “Commentaria in Aristoteles Parva Naturalia” in *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, vol. 22, ed. Paulus Wendland (Berlin: Reimer, 1904), pt. 1, pp. 8–9 (449b30).

²¹ Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii Tyanensis* 2.22; see also Franciscus Junius, *De pictura libri tres, tot in locis emendati, et tam multis accessionibus aucti, ut plane novi possint videri* (Rotterdam: Leers, 1694), 35. For the Latin edition, the Greek was not translated by Junius himself, but by Isaac Vossius and Gerardus Vossius the Younger. In writing the English and Dutch books, however, Junius most likely followed his own preferences.

²² Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 58; “met de waerheydt over-een komen,” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 50.

²³ This divergence is revealed most clearly in the Dutch edition, with its specific terminology and extended explanatory passages.

²⁴ On Secundus’s ideas about ekphrasis and their reception, see Jean-Pierre Guépin, “Le monde autonome de la poésie chez Jean Second,” in *La Poétique de Jean Second et son influence au XVIe siècle*, Les Cahiers de l’humanisme 1 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres/Klincksieck, 2000), 109–23; and Perrine Galand-Hallyn, ‘L’Art de l’ekphrasis en poésie: l’Élégie III,17 de Jean Second,’ in *La Poétique de Jean Second et son influence au XVIe siècle*, op. cit., 147–68.

²⁵ The *editio princeps* of Philostratus’s *Eikones* in Greek was published by Aldus Manutius in Venice (1503); later editions were published in Milan (1521) and Antwerp (1528). An Italian translation was made for Isabella d’Este in 1508. The Latin translation was published in 1521. Rubens owned the French edition by Blaise de Vigenere, *Les images ov tableaux de platte peinture* (Paris: Jean Branchu, 1637).

²⁶ The chief exception was Pomponius Gauricus, a Neapolitan who quoted the *Images* fragmentarily in his treatise on sculpture; his example, however, was not followed in Italy. J. de Laet, ed., *M. Vitruvii Pollionis De architectura libri decem . . . Accedunt . . . De sculptura excerpta maxime animadvertenda ex dialogo Pomponii Gavrici . . .* (Amsterdam, 1649).

²⁷ “[Y]eder een magh sich selven daer in voldoen, dewijl men haere Boecken overal bekomen kan.” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 87.

²⁸ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 301.

²⁹ Van Romburgh, *Correspondence of Franciscus Junius*, no. 195b.

³⁰ His annotations have survived in a 1550 example, now at Leiden University, see Colette Nativel, *Franciscus Junius: De pictura veterum; édition du livre I* (Geneva: Droz, 1996), 60.

³¹ Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Le vite de’ pittori scultori e architetti moderni* (Turin: Einaudi, 2009), 11.

³² Rubens was in London from May 1629 to February 1630. A range of dates for the paintings, from 1628 to 1638, has recently been proposed, see Jeremy Wood, *Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists: Italian Artists; I. Raphael and His School*, *Corpus Rubenianum* Ludwig Burchard 26 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 2:51.

³³ Rubens’s copies “must date from the 1630s,” when he worked second-hand, from copies—possibly his own or those by van Dyck. Titian’s works were in the Aldobrandini collection in Rome

when Rubens visited there (1601–8), but few artists were allowed admittance; see Görel Cavalli-Björkmann, ed., *Bacchanals by Titian and Rubens* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1987), 86, 93; Wood, *Copies and Adaptations*, 1:52.

³⁴ “Une piece des Cupidons s'esbatants, prise de Philostrate,” “Une piece des Bacchanales des bergers et bergeres dansans et bevvant aussi de Philostrate.” Inventory of 1640 reprinted in Cavalli-Björkmann, *Bacchanals by Titian and Rubens*, 78.

³⁵ Cavalli-Björkmann, *Bacchanals by Titian and Rubens*, 79.

³⁶ After 1637 (when the paintings and Junius's treatise had been finished), Rubens also acquired the French edition by de Vigenere, *Les images ou tableaux de platte peinture*; see Prosper Arnts, *De bibliotheek van Pieter Pauwel Rubens: Een reconstructie* (Antwerp: Vereniging der Antwerpse Bibliofielen, 2001), 141.

³⁷ Rubens to P. Dupuy, August 8, 1629, reprinted in Mary F. S. Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collections of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), 282–83.

³⁸ The visit by the Leiden physician Jan Jonston (1603–1675) around 1632 sheds light on how Junius was expected to show guests the works. The doctor's report in Latin praises Junius's knowledge, not only in identifying a great many ancient figures but also in discussing the objects' “lineaments,” their being “sculpted after life” (*ad vivum sculptas*). It even uses a rare Greek term, *eurythmia*, to describe a well-proportioned statue of Hercules. The report demonstrates not only how ancient terminology could be applied directly in genteel conversations in the Arundel galleries but also the curator's affinity with the individual objects and their relevance to modern artists. Jonston noted that visiting draftsmen used the collection as a basis for their own work. Jan Jonston, *Naturae constantiae seu diatribe, in qua, per posteriorum temporum cum prioribus collationem, mundum, nec ratione sui totius, nec ratione partium, universaliter & perpetuo in pejus ruere, ostenditur* (Amsterdam: Janssonius, 1632), 94–95; see also Allan Ellenius, *De arte pingendi: Latin Art Literature in Seventeenth-Century Sweden and Its International Background* (Uppsala and Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960), 47. Vossius wrote to Junius about Jonston's visit; see van Romburgh, *Correspondence of Franciscus Junius*, no. 92, n. 7.

³⁹ David Rosand, “An Arc of Flame: On the Transmission of Pictorial Knowledge,” in Cavalli-Björkmann, *Bacchanals by Titian and Rubens*, 81–92, esp. 88–89; and Philipp Fehl, “Imitation as a Source for Greatness,” in Cavalli-Björkmann, *Bacchanals by Titian and Rubens*, 107–32, esp. 112–13.

⁴⁰ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 319.

⁴¹ The term survives in a sole idiomatic expression in modern Dutch, where it has a different, although not entirely unrelated, meaning: the expression “tegenwoordigheid van geest” means alertness of mind, which seems to distantly reflect Junius's usage, as he at times connects “making oneself present” with terms like “attentive” (*aendachtigh*). When contemplating a work of art, only concentration of mind can bring about that state in which one is transported into another reality.

⁴² In defence of devotional imagery, Rhenanus Benedictus uses “tegenwoordich” and “tegenwoordicheyt” to describe how the sacred is evoked through the materiality of artworks: “[H]et beelt genomen voor so vele als een beelt en betekenis, niet oft van goud, silver, steen, oft van een andere substantie sy, is het middel van het aenmercken ende begrijpen des menschen: en het gheen dat absent is, dat daer in het beelt beteekent is, den doel, eynde, leste, en objectie van tselfde, en het is daer aengesien, als teghenwoordich in zijn beelt ... het aenbidden en eeren des cruyces, is die aenbedinge ende eere Jesu Christi gecruyst, dewelck door het cruyce beteekent is en voorghestelt

als tegenwoordich . . . want overmits de tegenwoordicheyt des beelts, het selfde dat daer beteekent wort niet tegenwoordich is, wort in ons gedacht ghebrocht: en zo wortet aengeboden en gheeer recht oft tegenwoordich ware.” Rhenatus Benedictus, *Een Catholic tractaet van de beelden ende van het rechte gebruyck dier selfder* (Antwerp, 1567), unpaginated [pp. 23–24].

⁴³ “De poeten brenghen de teghenwoordigheydt der Goden in haere wercken te passe.” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 48.

⁴⁴ “Poëtae aenim Deorum praesentiam in scenam suam inducunt.” Franciscus Junius, *De pictura veterum* (Amsterdam: Johannes Blaeu, 1637), 35.

⁴⁵ Bellori, *Le vite*, 11, also quotes it (using *presenza*) on the first page of his treatise, apparently understanding its central role in Junius’s theory.

⁴⁶ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 265.

⁴⁷ Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 50. Alberti, *De pictura* II, § 25: “painting has a truly divine power . . . because a painted work . . . makes the absent present.”

⁴⁸ “[P]er quas imagines rerum absentium ita repraesentantur animo, ut eas cernere oculis ac praesentes habere videamur.” Quintilian, *Institutiones oratoriae* 6.2.29–30.

⁴⁹ “[D]emonstratio est cum ita verbis res exprimitur ut qui negotium et res ante oculos esse videatur.” *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, IV, lv, 68. Junius attributed *Ad Herennium* to Cicero.

⁵⁰ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 57; “De Schilders worden insghelijcks door dese en dierghelijcke fantasijen meer niet anders ontroert, als of sy de gantsche gheleghenheydt deser dinghen voor haere ooghen aenschouwden; soo en kunnen sy oock niet rusten voor ende al eer sy de diepsinnigheydt haerer verbeeldinghen nae haeren wensch ter deghe afteycken.” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 49–50.

⁵¹ Quoted by Anne-Marie S. Logan, *The “Cabinet” of the Brothers Gerard and Jan Reynst* (Amsterdam and New York: North-Holland Publishing, 1979), 250. William Sanderson, *Graphice: The Use of the Pen and Pensil: Or, the Most Excellent Art of Painting; in Two Parts* (London: Crofts, 1658), is based to a large extent on *The Painting of the Ancients*.

⁵² Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 56; “Als Ovidius den roeckeloosen jongelingh, die sijnes Vaders vierighen waeghen verlanght hadde te betreden, nae ’t leven beschrijft, dunckt u dan niet dat hy selfs mede met Phaeton op den waeghen ghestapt sijnde het selvige ghevaer van’t begin tot het eynde toe uyt ghestaen heeft? want het en hadde hem andersins niet moghelijk gheweest de minste schaduwe van soo een vreeselick verwerde noodts-praeme door ’t verbeelden t’achter haelen, ’t en waer saecke dat hy sich selven aldaer in maniere van spreken, ver-teghenwoordighet hadde om elcke bysondere gheleghenheyd des perijckels aen te mercken.” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 49 (see the Latin original: “Ovidius certe . . . non videtur tibi cum ipso Phaëtonte praesens quasi conscendisse currum”).

⁵³ This is very different from the modern meaning of the intransitive Dutch verb *vertegenwoordigen*, which means to represent, in the strict sense of representing an organization or a country.

⁵⁴ Elizabeth V. Chew, “The Countess of Arundel and Tart Hall,” in *The Evolution of English Collecting: Receptions of Italian Art in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, ed. Edward Chaney (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 285–314, esp. 301.

⁵⁵ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 56.

⁵⁶ Van Dyck’s work of 1636–38, oil on canvas, 195 x 180 cm, Madrid, Museo del Prado.

⁵⁷ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 57; “Waer uyt het dan blijkt dat dat dien Konstenaer maer alleen duydelick ende uytdruckelick wercken kan, de welcke de dinghen die hy ter handt treckt als teghenwoordigh aenschouwt. ’t Welck meest van allen in de herts-tochten ofte in de inwendighe

beweghingen onses ghemoedts plaetse heeft.” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 50.

⁵⁸ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 57; “[D]it alhier [is]’t voornaemste, dat men sich recht wel bewoghen vinde om de verbeeldinghen niet anders te vatten, als ofhet waerachtighe dinghen waeren daer mede wy ons selven besich houden. Soo moeten dan dese beroerten in alderley manieren uyt de waerheydt der dinghen getrocken worden; ende een rechtsinnigh Konstenaer behoort liever te versoecken al wat daer erghens te versoecken is, dan dat hy de verbeeldingen sijnes vruchtbaeren ghemoedts door een bedwonghen ende koele imitatie soude laten verdwijnen.” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 50.

⁵⁹ “Wilmen nu eer inleggen in dit alledelste deel der konst, zoo moetmen zich zelve geheel in een toneelspeeler hervormen. Ten is niet genoeg, datmen flaeuwelijk in een Historye kenbaer make, Demosthenes was niet ongeleerder als anders, toen hem het volk walgelijk den rug toe keerde: maer sedert Satyrus hem Euripides en Sopohokles vaerzen met beeter toonen en bevallijker bewegingen had voorgezeyt, en hy hem zelve . . . geheel den komediant leeren nabootsen hadde, sedert, zeg ik, hoorde men hem als een orakel der welspreketheit. Dezelve baet zalmen ook in’t uitbeelden van diens hartstochten, die gy voorhebt, bevinden, voornaemlijk voor een spiegel, om te gelijk vertooner en aenschouwer te zijn.” Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 109–10.

⁶⁰ Rembrandt to Constantijn Huygens, January 12, 1639; reprinted in *Seven Letters by Rembrandt*, ed. H. Gerson (The Hague: L. J. C. Boucher, 1961), 34.

⁶¹ W. P. van Stockum, ed., *Catalogus der bibliotheek van Constantijn Huygens verkocht op de Grootte Zaal van het Hof te ’s Gravenhage 1688* (The Hague, 1903), 39, no. 502: “The Painting of the Ancients by Junius, London 1638.”

⁶² Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 223.

⁶³ “[D]e konstenaers en sterven niet . . . maar leven in alle gemoederen der menschen.” Wybrand de Geest, *Het kabinet der statuen*, Amsterdam, 1702, reprint with an explanatory text by Jochen Becker (Hamburg: Conferencepoint Verlag, 2003), 110.

⁶⁴ “Nonne vides ut saevae senex incendia monstret?” Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 301–2; the original verses from Claudian are translated into prose in the Dutch (p. 337) and English (p. 301) editions.

⁶⁵ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 304; “Philostratus, achtervolghens d’ondervinding die hy in dese Konsten ghehadt heeft, den jonghelingh met sich t’schepe nam, willende dat hy het land met opset uyt den sin soude stellen, om de bysondere omstandigheden van sulcke lustbaere eylanden als van het schipboord teghenwordighlick te aenschouwen, want hy oordeelde dat het ghemoed deses jonghelinghs de gantsche gheleghenheyd deser afbeeldinghe beter soude begripen, in dien het de voornoemde eylanden door een levendighe inbeeldinghe omgheseylt hebbende, het beeld selver met sijne versche verbeeldinghen bestond te verghelijcken.” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 342.

⁶⁶ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 239; “Het en magh niet gheloochent worden of de linien,’ seght [Philostratus], ‘die sonder eenighen verwen-prael maer alle[e]n in licht en schaduwe bestaen, verdienen den naem van een Schilderye; vermids wy in de selvighe niet alleen de ghelijckenisse van d’afghebeelde personagien beschouwen, maer oock haere beweghingen selver, ’t sy datse door een schroomhertighe schaemte erghens van afghekeert of door een vrymoedighe voordvaerenheyd erghens toe aenghedreven worden; ende alhoewel dese linien op’t aller eenvoudigste t’saemenghestelt sijnde de vermenghinghe van’t bloedt als oock de jeughdigheyd van ’t hayr en den baert in ’t minste niet uyt en drucken, nochtans ghevense ons de volmaeckte ghestaltenis van eenen swarten ofte witten mensche bescheydenlick te kennen. Indien yeman oversulcks eenen

Indiaen in witte linien bestaet te trecken, hy sal niet te min swart schijnen; ghemerckt sijnen platten neus, sijn staende hayr, sijne bolle kaecken, ende een sekere soorte van dommigheyd ofte versufftheyd omtrent sijne ooghen de gantsche gheleghenheyd der voorghestelder ghelijckenisse plaght te verswarten ende eenen Indiaen allen den ghenen uyt te wijzen die sodaenighen Tecken- ingh niet onvroedsaemlick beschouwen.” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 259.

⁶⁷ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 300; “dat wy de bysondere figuren, die ons in’t werck sijn voorgesteld, niet alleen met onse ooghen haestighlick behooren t’overloopen; maer dat wy de selvighe insghelijcks door den gantschen aendacht onses Konst-lievenden ghemoeds moeten insien, als of wy met de levendighe teghenwoordigheyd der dingen selver, ende niet met haere gekontrefeyte verbeeldinghe te doen hadden.” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 335. Compare Junius, *De pictura veterum*, 221: “Praecipuam igitur in eo semper curam collocabimus, ut non oculis tantum nuda schemata percenseamus; sed animo quoque velut in rem praesentem deduci nos patiamur.”

⁶⁸ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 61; Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 54–55.

⁶⁹ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 58; “want ghelijck d’oprechte Konstenaers tot het werck worden aenghedreven door een krachtighe verbeeldinghe der dinghen die sy als teghenwoordigh aenschouwen, soo vindtmen altijd in haere wercken een klaer afdrucksel van dese verbeelde teghenwoordigheydt, daer verthoont sich selven allenthalven eenen levendighen Gheest die sich in de herten der beschouwers soo vaerdighlick uyt-stort dat sy in’t beschouwen der Konste den selvighen inval deser tegenwoordigheydt gewaer worden die den werck-meester in’t wercken ghevoelde.” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 51.

⁷⁰ “[A]ls of wy niet met het dencken, maer met het doen besig waren.” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 18.

⁷¹ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 26.

⁷² Rosand, “An Arc of Flame,” 91.

⁷³ Wood, *Copies and Adaptations*, 1:53.

⁷⁴ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 35; “[zij die] de deughden van de groote Meesters niet wel doorgrondet hebbende [gaan] op ’t eerste gesicht te werck, meynende dat hun d’Imitatie wonderlick wel gheluckt is als sy d’uytgelesen wercken der ouder Konstenaeren eenigher wijze in’t nae-trecken van Linien en ’t opsmeeren van Coleuren hebben afghebeeldet, daer sy nochtans verde van de rechte kracht der selvigher verscheyden sijn.” Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 27–28.

⁷⁵ Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 194.

⁷⁶ “[D]at de konst zoo veel te weeg brengt, dat men uit [de] . . . rond gefronste neusgaten, uit haere nedergedrukte ooren, en samen gedrongen ledematen een gereede begeerte bespeurt om’t aen’t loopen te stellen, schoon men weet dat ze onbeweeglijk sijn.” Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 167. Compare: “The one standeth stil, shewing himself loth to stand: the other goeth about to carvet. In the third you may see a ready willingnesse to obey. The fourth rejoyceth in Pelops his beauty, inlarging his nostrils as if he were a neighing.” Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 282. Goeree expressly credits Junius for culling this from antiquity, as it demonstrates the importance of the imagination, Willem Goeree, *Inleyding tot de practijck der algemeene schilderkonst* (Middelburg: 1697), 64–65.

⁷⁷ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 303–4; “[W]anneer hy eenen ghewaependen krijghs-man ghemaect hebbende, ghelijck den selvighen ghereed stond om eenen uytval te doen op de vyanden die ’t omringende platte land affliepen, niet goed en vond datmen dese sijne Schilderye te voorschijn soude brenghen, sonder eerst eenen Trompetter heymelick by der hand te hebben

die zijn Trompette stekende eenen loosen alarm op den selvighen ooghenblick soude maecken als men de gordijne die 't stuck bedeckt hield beghost te verschuyven. 't Schickelicke ghecklanck der Trompette heeft ghedient,' seght Aelianus, 'm d'opgheweckte fantasijne [*sic*] der aenschouwers krachtighlick te vervullen met den levendighen inval van een kloeck Soldaets-hert 't welck sich door 't ghesicht synes verwoesten vaderlandts ghedwonghen vond daedelick te hulpe te loopen.' Den treffelicken Konstenaer heeft het recht voor ghehad, als hy sich daer van versekert hield, dat het ghemoed der aenschouwers door't hooren deses alarms aller best daer toe konde aengheleyt worden om anders niet dan't ghesicht van wel toegeruste en strijdvaerdighe mannen te verwachten, dat oock dese verwachtinghe aller bequaemst was om haere fantasije met de levendighe teghenwordigheyt van d'afghebeelde saecke te vervullen." Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 341.

⁷⁸ See Thijs Weststeijn, *The Visible World: Samuel van Hoogstraten's Art Theory and the Legitimation of Painting in the Dutch Golden Age* (Amsterdam: AUP, 2008), 29, 36.

⁷⁹ *Liber spectaculorum*. On this topic, see Kathleen M. Coleman, "Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments," *Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990): 44–73. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/300280>

⁸⁰ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 26; Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 29.

⁸¹ "Reubens . . . while he is at worke, he useth to have some good historian or Poet read to him." H. Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1634), 110.

⁸² Charles Dempsey, "Euanthes Redivivus: Rubens's Prometheus Bound," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967): 420. <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/750762>

⁸³ Fiske Kimball, "Rubens' Prometheus," *Burlington Magazine* 94 (1952): 66.

⁸⁴ Carolus Scribanus, *Antverpia* (Antwerp, 1610), 39.

⁸⁵ Simon Schama, *Rembrandt's Eyes* (New York: Knopf, 1999), 420–21.

⁸⁶ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 57; Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 50: "hy heeft de doots-beenderen van sijn eyghen Sone, dien hy krachtighlick bemint hadde, wederom opgegraeven ende met sich op de stellagie ghebracht, alwaer hy de selvighe beschouwende den droevaerdt op 't alder natuerlickste ghespeelt heft"; "den schouw-plaetse met een ongheveynsde rouw-klacht te vervullen."

⁸⁷ Junius, *The Painting of the Ancients*, 264–65; Junius, *Schilder-konst der Oude*, 290–91.

⁸⁸ "[M]y quam een verbaesde bangigheyt over, seght [Petronius Arbitr], als ick my selven de rouwe afschetsels van Protogenes voor d'ooghen stelde, vermids deselvighe met de waerheyd der nature selver in eenen strijd schenen te treden." Junius, *Schilderkonst der oude*, 295.

⁸⁹ Gerardus J. Vossius, "De graphice, sive arte pingendi," in *De quatuor artibus popularibus, grammaticae, gymnasticae, musicae, et graphicae, liber* (Amsterdam, 1650), par. 17.

⁹⁰ "De braeve geesten des ouden tijds mocht het koude zweet van angst ten hoofde afdruipen, als zy te Rhodus den schoonen Jalyzus van Protogenes beschouden, daer Apelles zelf van verstomde, jae daer nae uitbarstte, dat hy een wonder in de kunst zach: of andere, als zy aen de bevallijcke Venus te Koos geheylicht geen hand dorsten slaen, om iets weynichs, dat'er noch aen ontbrak, te voltooyen. De Beeltsnyders oock, mochten zich over den Jupiter Olympius ontzetten, en in't zien van de statue van Doryphorus bleek worden," Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 215–16.

⁹¹ "[D]at is waerlijk groots . . . 't welk ons t'elkens wederom als versch voor d'oogen verschijnt; 't welk ons zwaer, of liever onmogelijk is uit de zin te stellen; welkers gedachtenisse geduerich, en als onuitwisselijk, in onze herten schijnt ingedrukt." Van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding*, 179.

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