Rubens and the Stoic Baroque:
Classical Stoic Ethics, Rhetoric, and Natural Philosophy in Rubens's Style

by

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B.A., University of Toronto, 1991
B.A., University of Victoria, 2005
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Abstract

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Rubens is known as a painter; he should also be defined as an art theorist. Following Robert Williams' theory that Early Modern art became philosophical, I believe that style can connote art theoretical interests and philosophical models, and that in Rubens's case, these included the classical Stoic. While it would be possible to trace Rubens's commitment to Stoicism in his subject matter, I investigate it in his style, taking a Baxandalian approach to inferential criticism. I focus on Rubens's formal choices, his varied brushwork, and his ability to create a vibrant picture plane.

My study is divided into chapters on Ethics, Logic, and Physics. In Chapter One I treat Stoic moral philosophy as an influence in the design of Rubens's paintings, consider similarities between classical and Early Modern interest in viewer/reader response, and argue that Baroque artists could use style to avoid dogma while targeting viewers' personal transformation. In Chapter Two I focus on Rhetoric, a section of the Stoic philosophy of Logic. Stoic Logic privileged truth: that is, it centred on investigating existing reality. As such, Stoic rhetorical theory and the classical literature influenced by it promoted a style that is complex and nuanced. I relate this to the Early Modern interest in *copia*, arguing that this includes Rubens's painterly style which, apropos *copia*, should be better termed the Abundant Style. In Chapter Three I explore similarities between Stoic Natural Philosophy and the Early Modern artistic interest in the unified visual field. The Stoics defined the natural world as eternally moving and mixing; with force fields, energy, and elements in constant relationships of cause/effect. The Stoic concept of natural sympathy was a notion of material/energetic interrelatedness in which the world was seen as a living body, and the divine inhered in matter. I consider ways that these classical Stoic concepts of transformation, realism, and vivified matter might be discerned in Rubens's style.

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Introduction to Dissertation

I. Thesis and Project.

An artist's *oeuvre* can be influenced, like a viewer's response is, not only by personal outlook, but also by the knowledge base through which art is perceived. My dissertation investigates how the *oeuvre* of Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) is connected with Stoicism, which was one of the defining features in his life. I build on the literature that links Rubens to Stoicism by examining possible connections between his *stylistic* choices and the classical Stoic philosophy available to him in texts and in common knowledge in seventeenth-century Antwerp. It is well known in the Rubens literature that, while he painted, Rubens had an assistant read aloud from Tacitus, Seneca, and other classical texts.[1] I demonstrate that Rubens's familiarity with classical Stoic theory provides an important lens for investigating his signature style, which includes his formal choices and his varied brushwork.

Although it is recognized that Rubens was interested in Stoicism, the scholarship has not articulated clearly how his artistic *forms* might relate to Stoic philosophies. Rubens's relationship with Stoicism has largely been treated in terms of the subjects he painted and the networks of scholars and friends with whom he communicated. For example, the scholarship of Mark Morford and Francis Huemer,

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[1] The physician Otto Sperling reported that when he and friends were travelling in Flanders in 1621, they went to Rubens's studio, where they found him painting and, according to Sperling, "at the same time he read from Tacitus, and dictated a letter. As we kept silent so as not to interfere, he began to speak with us himself and working continuously, continued reading…" Otto Sperling quoted in Max Rooses, "De vreemde reizigers Rubens of zijn huis bezoekende," *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1898, 1907, 321-322; Philip Rubens Jr. (1611-1678), the artist's nephew, had noted earlier in his *Vita Rubenii* that his uncle had classical authors including Seneca read to him while he painted. Philip Rubens the Younger, *The Life of Peter Paul Rubens (Vita Petri Pauli Rubenii)*, 1675, reprinted in L.R. Lind, trans. "The Latin Life of Peter Paul Rubens by his Nephew Philip, A Translation," *Art Quarterly*. Vol.IX, 1946, (37-43), 41; Julius Held, *Rubens and His Circle: Studies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, 167; For Seneca and Tacitus see pages 28 and 32, below.

fundamental to understanding Rubens's Early Modern mentality and his artistic project, focuses largely on NeoStoic members of his circle, but does not inquire into the effects of Stoicism on Ruben's style itself.[2] I do not relate Rubens's familiarity with Stoicism to his subject matter, nor do I treat the classical art objects that he collected, recorded, and drew inspiration from.[3] Instead, I build on this valuable existing literature to couple Rubens's knowledge of classical Stoic philosophy with his *style* of painting, a connection largely untreated in the vast scholarship on Rubens's *oeuvre*.

Style is culturally communicative, yet its expression originates inwardly, emerging as a visible trace of tightly melded intellectual, emotional, and physical processes that can be very subtle and deeply personal. Style materializes that which is subjective, and in so doing it affixes and renders visible the ephemeral actions and choices that make up artistic production. For an artist like Rubens, engaged in an intense, lifelong focus on improving his art practice, the hand of the artist is at the

[2] Held, 1982, 172-173; Roger Hulst, ed., *Rubens and His World: Studies*. Antwerp: Gulden Cabinet, 1985; Michael Jaffé, "Rubens's Roman Emperors," *Burlington Magazine*. 113, 1971, 300-303; Mark Morford contributes important scholarship on the students of Justus Lipsius (1547-1606, Belgian philosopher, humanist, classics philologist, and influential writer) and the depth of their learning as evident in their correspondence. Morford discusses Rubens's painting The Four Philosophers (1611-1612, oil on panel, 167x143 cm, Palazzo Pitti, Florence) in terms of related paintings and classical models, and contextualizes Rubens's title page designs in the light of Lipsisus's work on Seneca and Tacitus. Mark Morford, *Stoics and NeoStoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius*. Oxford and Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991; Frances Huemer discusses Rubens's Roman commissions with the Jesuits and Oratorians, and investigates the artist's connection with Justus Lipsius through his brother Philip Rubens. Frances Huemer, *Rubens and the Roman Circle: Studies in the First Decade*. London: Garland Publishing, 1996, 82; Frances Huemer, "Philip Rubens and his Brother the Painter," in Roger d'Hulst, ed., *Rubens and His World: Studies*. Antwerp: Gulden Cabinet, 1985, 123-128.

[3] Jeffrey M. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989; Jeffrey M. Muller, "Rubens's Museum of Antique Sculpture: An Introduction," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol.59, Issue 4, December, 1977, 571-582; Jeffrey Muller, "The 'Perseus and Andromeda' on Rubens's House," *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*. Vol.12, No.2/3, 1981-1982, 131-146; Philip Rubens the Younger, 39.

very nexus point of practical skill and theoretical knowledge. My study illuminates parts of that knowledge and practice, that is, I address how aspects of classical Stoic philosophy could potentially inform characteristic features of Rubens's style.

My method involves describing the central tenets of classical Stoicism that Rubens could have known, and outlining how classical Stoic ideas could have been accessed in Rubens's Antwerp, a city vibrantly connected with Italy and other scholarly humanist milieus. I highlight how classical Stoics and Early Modern artists alike theorized that style related to audience response, to meaning and knowledge, and to worldview. In the course of my exploration I discuss samples of Rubens's *oeuvre* that exemplify aspects of his style. My interpretive approach enquires into aspects of Rubens's artistic choices that can never be definitively known, in a subjective process of seeing traces of classical Stoic philosophy in Rubens's style, involving a method that Michael Baxandall terms "inferential criticism."[4] In the theoretical method he describes, the scholarly activity of inference brings into play one's own description of a work, together with an understanding of the culture in which it was made and the creative problems addressed by the artist. Baxandall explains that this can serve to maintain a dual focus on both the personal/particular and the broader/cultural. He writes:

> Art criticism typically works close to particulars. It takes its sense of reality from close contact with detail, both specific observation of the quality of a picture and, if it is inferential criticism, good gritty bits of causal circumstance.[5]

Rubens's stylistic choices were informed by the Early Modern humanist project in which issues of form were bound up with considerations about meaning. The conjoined ideals of Stoicism and Catholicism were at the heart of his artistic

[4] Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention. On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985, vi-vii, 33-34.
[5] *Ibid*., 74; and on the concept of visual interest, 43-44, 72.

project. My study focuses on the Stoic, with the awareness that Rubens trained, painted, and lived in a Catholic humanist milieu that was also influenced by an international network of correspondents who transmitted cutting-edge ideas and inquiries. As I discuss below, humanist artists in early *seicento* Antwerp treated the remains of classical architecture and sculpture as raw materials from which they could learn, and which they adapted for contemporary purposes.[6] Although Rubens travelled to see classical monuments and Early Modern art in churches and private collections, and although his art practice was significantly shaped by the Flemish and Italian artistic and Catholic traditions, I focus instead on Rubens's debt to classical Stoic ethics, rhetoric, and physics.

Rubens's practice of rendering classical Stoic wisdom visible and relevant took place within a broader Early Modern humanist process that engendered a new role for art, allowing art to take centre stage in the communication of artistic and non-artistic information. Art relates to knowledge in part because art can frame and signify

[6] Indeed, the classical Roman Stoic authors who Rubens read were humanists themselves, looking back to the Greek Stoa and modernizing style and content for Roman audiences. Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939; Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: the Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981; Alina Payne, Anne Kuttner, and Rebekah Smick, eds., *Antiquity and its Interpreters*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; Morford, 1991, 155-156; For the history of the term Christian humanism, first applied to Erasmus (1466-1536), see Hans Mooij-Valk and Simone Mooij-Valk, "Coornhert on Virtue and Nobility," in A.A. Macdonald, Z.R.W.M von Martels, and J.R. Veenstra, eds., *Christian Humanism. Essays in Honour of Arjo Vanderjagt*. Leiden: Brill, 2009, (155-170), 161; On humanism see F. Bottin, L. Malusa, G. Micheli, G. Santinello, and I. Tolomio, "Humanism and the Historicization of Ancient Thought," in *Models of the History of Philosophy: From its Origins in the Renaissance to the 'Historia Philosophica'*. Dordrecht: Springer Science and Business Media, 1993, 3-13; N. Mann, "The Origins of Humanism," in Jill Kraye, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, 1-19; see also Kristeller, Paul Oskar. "Humanism," in C.B. Schmitt, Q. Skinner, E. Kessler, and J. Kraye, eds., *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 173-198; Humanists in Ruben's milieu engaged in the study and revival of classical texts. For more on this see Dissertation Introduction Section II, below.

non-artistic material. In Early Modern Europe, as Robert Williams has demonstrated, there occurred a shift in artists' and theorists' understanding of the role of the image vis-à-vis culture, as they became increasingly aware that knowledge systems depended upon art.[7] Williams argues that because painting combines and contains all the arts and sciences, painting is "more elemental" than they are, and consequently can serve to "manage" or "superintend" the information that is represented. Early Modern artists and theorists came to recognize that art had the capacity to not only contain, but to manage, reposition, and contextualize other bodies of knowledge.[8] One characteristic example of the vast knowledge and active curiosity that Rubens brought to his painting can be seen in a letter of his to Peiresc, in which he discusses classical Greek poets, the Delphic tripod, Egyptian gods, nuptial rings, classical Roman cooking methods, French chafing dishes, Python-skin seats, and how air-holes enhance incense burning.[9] This superintending of information became particularly urgent in humanist culture, as Williams explains: "The range of knowledge artists felt called upon to engage extended potentially over the entire realm of human experience (…) in addition to natural science and the formalized disciplines we usually think of

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[7] Robert Williams, *Art Theory and Culture in Sixteenth-Century Italy. From Techne to Metatechne*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, 23; Robert Williams, "The Early Modern Period," *Art Theory, An Historical Introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004, (54-91), 71, 77.

[8] Williams' thesis is that in Early Modern Europe, "Because representation becomes so important, art redefines itself as a technique governing it; theory, in turn, becomes the necessary *metatechne* governing art." Williams, 1997, 23.

[9] Rubens, letter to Peiresc, August 1630, in Ruth S. Magurn, ed., trans., *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*. Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press, 1955, 365-367; Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, 1580-1637, was a French humanist and astronomer who communicated with many of the key researchers in Early Modern Europe and whose collection includes the more than 10,000 letters he received. He and Rubens corresponded actively from 1621 until Peiresc's death in 1637. For Peiresc's biography see Peter N. Miller, "When Humanity was in the Humanities: Peiresc in the 1630s," *Common Knowledge*. Vol.14, Issue 1, Winter, 2008, 136-142; Arnout Balis, "Rubens et la Républic des Lettres," in Blaise Ducos, ed., *L'Europe de Rubens*. Hazan: Musée de Louvre, 2013, (113-142), 118, 112.

as humanistic."[10] I argue that part of the knowledge that Rubens's art "managed" was Stoic philosophy, an insight that provides us with a new way to approach many of Rubens's artworks, as I will illustrate below.

Early Modern images functioned to redefine human experience within culture, and awareness of this power brought about a re-evaluation of the centrality of art to the making of meaning. Art could no longer be considered autonomous from society but instead constitutive, with the complexities of cultural codes delimited and communicated by art's power to represent. A work of art functions by virtue of its connection with a system of thought – a foundational system or worldview on which the artwork is based and to which the art can inadvertently point. As Williams explains: "A work points beyond itself to (…) a system of standards. (…) This system, in turn, points beyond itself to the order of the world: modes of representation correspond to modes of knowing and of being."[11] I build on Williams's discussion of Platonism and Aristotelianism in Renaissance art to focus on Stoicism in early-*seicento* Baroque art, in the case of Rubens.[12] Williams demonstrates that the defining

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[10] Williams writes: "The theoretical redefinition of art documents an important development in the evolution of its social function: and this development, in turn, documents a still larger process, a transformation of society as a whole in which the exercise of power through representation becomes a new and modern form." Williams, 1997, 5, 8, 59; Williams, 2004, 65, 75.

[11] Williams states: "The relation of individual works of art to particular circumstances is important, but (…) the deeper, less obvious process, the constitution of representation as a system and the establishment of a new relationship between representation and the conditions of material life is still more important." Williams, 1997, 23, 10-11.

[12] If Baroque is a category of art beginning in Italy at the turn of the century, with the naturalism of the Carracci and Caravaggio, and continuing into the classicism of Sacchi, Poussin, and others in the 1630s to 1660s, then Rubens belonged to the middle period, the "High Baroque", which he shared with Cortona, Bernini, and Borromini. (Annibale Carracci, 1560-1609, Agostino Carracci, 1557-1602, and Ludovico Carracci, 1555-1619 were Bolognese; Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, 1571-1610, Italian; Andrea Saachi, 1599-1661, Italian; Nicolas Poussin, 1594-1665, French; Pietra da Cortona, 1596-1669, Italian; Gian Lorenzo Bernini, 1598-1680, Italian; Francesco Borromini, 1599-1667, Swiss-Italian.) Historians of Baroque art

features of Early Modern art included the centrality of theory, and that art became *philosophical*.[13] My task is to ascertain to what extent it became *Stoic*.

I will demonstrate that Rubens's philosophical and artistic interest in Stoicism went beyond depicting Early Modern NeoStoics and recording philosophical symbols in his subject matter, to developing aspects of style that could have been supported by philosophical tenets of classical Stoicism as it was received in seventeenth-century Antwerp. My approach is exploratory. I ask what it was about Stoic philosophy that relates to Rubens's art, aside from his subject matter. Rather than discussing Rubens's debt to classical theories of art, I investigate Stoic rhetorical, moral, and natural philosophies, considering how aspects of these might contribute to visible qualities in

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characterize the style of these High Baroque artists as sensual, voluptuous, emotional, and exuberant. Rubens played a fundamental role in popularizing this style, as Martin explains: "Italy's initial leadership was succeeded by that of Flanders and France." John Rupert Martin, *Baroque*. New York: Harper and Row, 1977, 28; Vernon Hyde Minor, *Baroque Visual Rhetoric*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016, 11-12; Charles Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci and the Beginning of Baroque Style*. Florence: Villa I Tatti, 1977; Williams demonstrates that the implications drawn by Plato (c.428-c.348BCE) and Aristotle (384-322BCE) on the relationship between art and knowledge were fundamental to subsequent theory. Williams, 2004, 17, 18, 22, 67; The question of Stoic philosophical influence upon Early Modern art theory and practice, underrepresented in the scholarship, was mentioned by Marc Fumaroli. He contends that *cinquecento* art, characterized by a spiritual and intellectual tone and an interest in nature and in history, must be attributed more to the reality of NeoStoicsm than to a debt to the Renaissance. Marc Fumaroli. "*Fra Italia e Francia: La 'querelle des anciens et des modernes' nelle arti visive*." Lecture, Universita da Bologna, November, 2003, cited in Paolo Prodi, "Introduction," *Gabriele Paleotti. Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*. (1582). William McCuaig, trans. Los Angeles, CA: Getty, 2012, (1-42), 41 note 61; Note that Stoic language appears in Early Modern biographies of Bernini, a Baroque *tour de force* whose style, like Rubens's, combines realism, learnedness, and passionate materiality. Robert Williams, "Always Like Himself": Character and Genius in Bernini's Biographies," in Maarten Delbeke, Evonne Levy, and Steven F. Ostrow, eds. *Bernini's Biographies: Critical Essays*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006, (181-200), 192.

[13] Williams writes: "The important point is not that art became either Platonic or Aristotelian, but that it was recognized to have become philosophical, to have achieved the stature of the most serious and exalted kind of intellectual activity." Williams, 2004, 70.

Rubens's paintings.[14] My study draws on classical Stoic works that Rubens read, while recognizing that he was also very much influenced by topics that support my close investigation of Stoicism, including other classical authors, his art theoretical milieu, Flemish visual and social culture, and the Italian artistic and Catholic practices that from early on set the standard for Baroque artists. I reassert the centrality of classical Stoic ideas within Rubens's practice. His knowledge of Stoicism was deepened through his artistic training, his close friendships with seventeenth-century thinkers who shaped contemporary thought, and his capacity to integrate Italianate art methods and theory into the Flemish religious, mythological, historical, and other commissioned works in which his mastery of painting flourished. Stoic ideas current in early seventeenth-century Europe and known in Rubens's Antwerp circle became integral to his revolutionary style.

My study is composite, bringing together classical and early-seventeenth-century notions about communication, viewer reception, and the individual's place in the world, as indeed they were brought together in the practice and theory of Early

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[14] My focus is on the Stoic, but it would be difficult to untangle the classical philosophical influences on someone as well-read as Rubens. Both Classical and Early Modern humanism were complex. For example, Ada Palmer notes that Renaissance Neoplatonism had already conflated into it elements of Stoicism and other classical philosophies. Ada Palmer, "The Recovery of Stoicism in the Renaissance," in John Sellars, ed., *Routledge Handbook of the Stoic Tradition*. New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2016, (117-132), 120; On this see also Helen Karabatzaki, "The Stoics on Poetry," in Konstantine Boudouris, ed., *Greek Philosophy and the Fine Arts*. Athens: Ionia Verlag, 2000, (65-87), 67, 70, which discusses classical Stoic theories of art. Similarly, although I do not treat the subject, Rubens read classical descriptions of classical art objects. Held writes: "While it is not always easy to establish Rubens's familiarity with specific ancient works of art there is no doubt that he knew thoroughly all that ancient writers (…) had to say about the creations of the great masters." Held, 1982, 109; For example, Rubens made mention to Junius of Orpheus's vision of his lover Eurydice. Rubens, letter to Junius, August 1, 1637, in Magurn, ed., 507, letter 241; C. Harrison, P. Wood, and J. Gaiger, eds., *Art in Theory 1648-1815. An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000, 28-29; Franciscus Junius, 1591-1677, was a German linguist, translator, and humanist. From the age of thirty he lived in England in the circle of Thomas Howard (1586-1646), 21st Earl of Arundel.

Modern humanist artists such as Rubens. This is not a comparative work. Although Rubens read additional classical philosophers besides the Stoics, I do not trace those paths. It is Stoicism that has been particularly noted in the Rubens scholarship, and my research aims to shed light on that. I highlight defining aspects of Rubens's style, and trace them to Stoic philosophy, illustrating that Stoicism was not antithetical to Rubens's Baroque style. Indeed, as I will demonstrate, Rubens's sensual, intellectual, deeply expressive art shares with Stoicism a commitment to viewer/audience response; a desire to develop effective, truthful means of communication; and a worldview that considers all matter-energy as an interconnected system.

I. A. Style Can Signify

Building on the recognition in the Rubens literature that *subjects* can symbolize spiritual identities and philosophical allegiances, my thesis is that Rubens's *style* indicates affinities with some of the classical Stoic concepts that he read in classical and Early Modern texts and that became fundamental to his worldview.[15] Rubens's style is an important addition to research into his Stoicism because style itself can signify not only context and mentality, but also personal vision, as Williams explains:

> Even when we use style to refer to the work of a "school" we think of it in subjective terms, as something that fixes the work in a particular time and place, that delimits it, but that also expresses a unity and an essential integrity of vision and values, a way of knowing the world.[16]

Rubens's style was a powerful integration of realism, emotional communication, and philosophical and visual knowledge, and his artworks convey a sincere investedness or "moral authenticity."[17] Rubens's art has lasting power not

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[15] Early Modern literature and visual art could stylistically embody the classical theory that contributed to it. For example, Cave contends that Erasmus was so successful at modernizing and transmitting classical rhetoric and pedagogy because his linguistic style itself embodied his critical inquiry into classical Latin's powerful efficacy. Cave states: "Far from being simply a didactic theorist, he wrote prodigiously, so that his theory often appears not only as a product of his activity as a writer but as a means of testing and questioning that activity." Terrence Cave, *The Cornucopian Text: Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979, x; Jeannine de Landtsheer, "Two Models of Humanist Letter-Writing: Desiderius Erasmus and Justus Lipsius," in *Erasmus and the Renaissance Republic of Letters*. Vol.24, Turnhout: Brepols, 2014, 297-323.

[16] Williams, 1997, 73; Hubert Jedin, "Catholic Reformation or Counter-Reformation?" in David Martin Luebke, ed., *The Counter-Reformation. The Essential Readings*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999, (19-45), 24, 37; H. Outram Evennett, "Counter-Reformation Spirituality," in Paul Luebke, ed., *The Counter-Reformation. The Essential Readings*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999, (47-63), 49.

[17] Williams discusses how style is at once personal and contextual: "We tend to think of style as an unconscious trace, either a direct reflection of an artist's psyche, or the residue of his training, or some combination of both, but in any case a set of features that characterize his work even when he is unaware of them. (…) <Style is>

only because of his erudition in designing subject matter, but also because of his signature style, a complex, emotional style that functions visually and psychologically. As Jeffrey Muller describes it, using an evocative metaphor,

> Rubens's personal style, the subjective force of his *ingenium* and temperament, was the crucible in which the various ores mined from nature and art were melted down into a new and more precious alloy. The physical energy, the *furia del pennello*, was channeled with mastery, subordinate to the purpose of art in the imitation of nature. His style is therefore both pervasive and transparent, an atmospheric medium, like aether, through which energy is transmitted.[18]

In seventeenth-century artistic circles, style was a contentious topic, and leading intellectual artists discussed style as representative of art theoretical concepts. This is evidenced by the burgeoning of terms for artistic form.[19] According to Cropper and Dempsey, although Renaissance artists seem to have *discovered* style, it was seventeenth-century artists who *critically investigated* style.[20] As a result of this shift, Baroque artists and poets discussed the ability to work in multiple styles, in a symbiotic relationship with learned viewers who understood the stylistic references.

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something at once distinctive and essential: it has value for us because it is a sign of individuality, thus, ultimately, a sign of moral authenticity." Williams, 1997, 8, 73.

[18] Muller investigates the theory aspect of the painter's work that could be discovered in Rubens's collecting. He considers Rubens to have been informed by theory, based on his theoretical notebook and his correspondence. Moreover, Muller demonstrates that Rubens's collecting priorities themselves show his "stance towards the art of the past." He argues that Rubens's work, particularly the façade of his Antwerp house, should be considered an informed and conscious statement about the nature of art. Jeffrey Muller, "Rubens's Theory and Practice of the Imitation of Art," *The Art Bulletin*. Vol.64, No.2, June, 1982, (229-247), 229, 244. Rubens's paintings on his courtyard friezes, tromp l'oeil paintings of low-relief sculpture, are his renditions of lost classical artworks that he knew from textual sources. Subjects included Zeus, Apollo, Hercules, Paris, Perseus and Andromeda, and Venus and Vulcan. Paul Huvenne, *The Rubens House, Antwerp*. Brussels: Credit Communal, 1990, 3, 21, 28.

[19] Philip Sohm, *Style in the Art Theory of Early Modern Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 10-11.

[20] Elizabeth Cropper and Charles Dempsey, "The State of Research in Italian Painting of the Seventeenth Century," in John Shapley, ed., *The Art Bulletin*. New York, 1987, (494-509), 506; Sohm, 2001, 36, 42.

Early Modern writers and artists drew on and combined divergent classical opinions. In the first century, Marcus Fabius Quintilian wrote that "As a man lives, so he speaks," yet he also wrote that the trained orator should be able to "manage" the fictional and historical characters through which he speaks.[21] Essentially, he claimed that style could have both natural and invented aspects. Early Modern Art theorists strove to model on classical treatises their theories of how an artist came to have style: either that style was so natural that it was uncontrollable, functioning almost biologically; or that style was an aspect of artistic training that an artist or writer could adopt. Sohm discusses both of these aspects of style: that style "subversively" leaks out of the body and the psyche, or that it could be consciously called upon to signal mentality, identity, or philosophical or other allegiances. In the sixteenth century, Giorgio Vasari amalgamated these two classically derived definitions of style when he argued in the *Vite* that style was both a sign of an artist's identity, and a visible mark of a conscious idea. He defined *disegno*, a concept closely related to style, as: "nothing other than a visible expression and declaration of our inner conception and that which

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[21] Marcus Fabius Quintilian (c.35-c.100) was a Roman rhetorician who taught Latin rhetoric in ancient Rome, and whose work influenced not only classical but also Early Modern rhetoric and education. Marcus Fabius Quintilian, *De institutione oratoria*, in *Quintilian's Institutes of Oratory, or Education of an Orator in Twelve Books*. John Selby Watson, trans. 2 Vols., London: George Bell and Sons, 1876, 11.1.30; See my Chapter Two, below. Joy Connolly, *The State of Speech. Rhetoric and Political Thought in Ancient Rome*. Oxford and Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007, 200; Sohm, 2001, 4, 27, 54; Several of Pliny the Younger's letters touch on elements of style as being learned rather than innate, and are consistent with Quintilian's teaching: style must be suited to subject and will vary within a speech; it can best be learned by imitation of good, skilled writers; imitation and composition can be learned through specific exercises; and the corrupted eloquence that once flourished, has been reformed to more austere styles, without precluding the decorative where appropriate. (Pliny the Younger, or Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus, 61-c.113, was a skilled Roman speaker and lawyer, and a student of Quintilian.) Pliny the Younger, *Epistles*, 2 Vols., Christopher Whitton, ed., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 1.2, 7.9, 3.18.8-10; George Kennedy, *The Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World 300 B.C. – A.D. 300*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972, 547.

others have imagined and given form to in their idea."[22] In the decades after Vasari's 1550 publication of the *Vite*, the definition of style remained stable, possibly because of the influence of Cicero, but in the seventeenth century, as artists sought to modernize and revitalize their practices by studying existing art and by delving into classical theories, style became a much-debated topic.[23]

Style became central to seventeenth-century art criticism, and to practical artistic experimentation, yet the concept of style was found to be a "fragmented, paradoxical set of competing ideas," and artists and writers experienced difficulty defining it.[24] The seventeenth century saw a proliferation of definitions of such style-related concepts as invention, design, colouring, imagination, *historia*, and

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[22] Giorgio Vasari, 1511-1574, was an Italian painter and art historian, active in Rome and Florence, who modelled humanist historiography in drawing on classical models of history writing, and influenced later artist biographies. He defined art history in terms of biography, ekphrastic techniques, and theories of stylistic periodization that assigned passive roles to both the artist and the art that was carried along by a teleological process. Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*. (*Le vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori*.) Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1550, 1568, Gaston du C. de Vere, ed., Philip Jacks, trans. New York: Modern Library, 2006, I:111; Sohm notes that Vasari did not mention his own "style" and rarely mentioned that of Michelangelo, whose style he thought was "natural." Sohm, 2001, 15, 34, 74; Denis Mahon, *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1971.

[23] According to Sohm, Baldassare Castiglione (1478-1529, Italian author and courtier), Virglio Malvezzi (1595-1654, Italian historian), and Agostino Mascardi (1590-1640, Italian historian), who all followed Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero, 106-43BCE, skilled Roman speaker, lawyer, and politician, whose influential letters, speeches, and treatises have been preserved), believed that style was "innate and hence stable," in contrast to Lorenzo Valla who wrote that "a new subject requires a new vocabulary." (Lorenzo Valla, 1407-1457, was an Italian humanist and Catholic priest who grew up in a Roman family associated with the papal court.) Between 1550 and 1700, definitions of style were written by Giorgio Vasari, Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665, French painter), Orfeo Boselli (1597-1667, Italian sculptor and restorer, active in Rome), Marco Boschini (1602-1681, Italian painter, engraver, writer, and art dealer, active in Venice), Filippo Baldinucci (1624-1697, Italian art historian), and Giovanni Battista Volpato (1633-1706, Italian painter and art theorist). Sohm notes that later, in contrast to the "semantic inventiveness" of the seventeenth century, there were only four new style-related terms created in the eighteenth century and all of them were anti-Baroque. Sohm, 2001, 10, 34, 67, 81.

[24] *Ibid.*, 11.

chiaroscuro, for example. Artists were very engaged in these debates about what style was and how to define it, and they and art writers became increasingly sophisticated at describing and perceiving stylistic trends, nuances, and references. Williams discusses Early Modern definitions of style, identifying it with the creative processes of invention, disposition, and elocution.[25] Sohm has catalogued two hundred terms used to modify the word style, for example: *maniera*, *forma*, *modo*, *carattere*, *gusto*.[26] Seventeenth-century artists and theorists employed metaphorical terms in their attempts to describe and respond to the new styles that were emerging. They explained style as a spice, as clothing, as expression, and as a stain, for example. Vincenzio Carduccio said of Caravaggio's popular but contentious realistic style that Caravaggio served "a new food seasoned with such a rich and succulent sauce that it has made gluttons of some painters, who I fear will suffer apoplexy in the true doctrine."[27] What is evident is that *seicento* artists and theorists cared deeply about style, and understood that it was at the heart of creativity.

Art relates fundamentally to human nature and culture, and an important achievement in Early Modern art theory was that people became aware that art was linked to the creation of meaning.[28] Rubens developed a deep understanding of style that derived not only from theory but also from his practice. Seventeenth-century art theoretical conceptions of style came to tie form to subject, context, meaning, and theoretical allegiance. Indeed, for Giovanni Pietro Bellori, in 1672, it was the intellect that allowed style to mean. According to him, viewers who "admire vulgarities and

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[25] Williams, 1997, 73.
[26] Sohm, 2001, 34.
[27] Vincenzo Carducci, 1576-1638, Italian painter and art theorist, active in Florence and Madrid; Vincenzo Carducci, *De las Excelencias de la Pintura or Dialogos de la pintura, su defensa, origen, essencia, definicion, modos, y differencias*, 1633, quoted at *Ibid.*, 75, 206.
[28] Williams writes: "Art, redefined, did in fact come to acquire a fundamental role in the constitution of all meaning." Williams, 1997, 5.

styles" see "the colours and the gold" with their eyes but do not grasp the meaning, since they fail to engage their intellects.[29] In contrast, he believed, viewers who considered art via their intellects could judge what in a painting actually existed, and possibly even how it functioned. In the seventeenth century, not only did style and authorship take on a market value, but style was also believed to frame psychology. The seventeenth-century painter Giovanni Battista Volpato explained style as pleasantly expressive: "Your style will be the perfect expression of the work; it gives the final visible existence; it first gives pleasure to the eye and then is judged by the intellect."[30] Seventeenth-century debates about style attributed more active roles to the artist than had Renaissance writers, for example concluding that artists chose and managed artistic and theoretical influences. For instance, the *maniera magnifica* as defined by the French artist Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665) embodied certain classical Roman values including the freedom of artists to choose their styles. Marco Boschini argued that style *originated* in the mind, not in considerations of surface or of visual

[29] Giovanni Pietro Bellori, 1613-1696, Italian painter, art historian, and curator, active in Rome. Bellori wrote: "Ma avanti di passare piu oltre dall'immagini di questa camera all'altre della Galerie, dobbiamo avvertire che la loro forma richiede spettatore attento ed ingegnoso, il cui giudicio non risieda nella vista ma nell'intelletto. Questi al certo non restera sodisfatto di comprendere in una occhiata tutto quello che vede, anzi dimorera nell'intendere la muta eloquenza de' colori, essendo la pittura di tal forza che non si arresta ne gli occhi come in suoi confini, ma si diffonde nella mente alla contemplazione. (…) Il che deriva, o dal fidarsi della loro apprensione e di quella prima vista, e molto piu dalla ruvidezza del loro intelletto, che non e atto alle cose belle, ammirando le vulgari e quelle maniere che si sono proposte." Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *Vite dei Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti Moderni Descritte da Gio. Pietro Bellori*. 1672, Tomo I. *Collezione di Ottimi Scrittori Italiani in Supplemento ai Classici Milanese*. Vol. 13. Pisa: Presso Niccolo Capurro, 1821, 49; Sohm, 2001, 5, 23, 27, 206.

[30] Giovanni Battista Volpato, *La Verita pittoresca svelata a dilettanti. Ove con peregrine ragioni scolasticamente spiegata si fa chiaramente vedere che cosa sia pittura come possa un huomo da per se steso acquistarla praticarla et intenderla*. Bassano: Biblioteca Communale, MSS 31 A 25, fol.66, 17th C.; Sohm, 2001, 43, 221.

aspects of models. According to him, the artists' "first oil sketches and rough outlines derive from the concepts in their mind without reference to nature or statues."[31]

Rubens, one of his era's leading and most learned artists, understood that style itself was symbolic of extra-artistic values. Significantly, in the context of investigating the *seicento* interest in classical Stoicism, Passeri, Testa, and Agucchi wrote that good style could represent certainties based on classical examples.[32] As such, style could not only signify political allegiance, regional identity, or an artist's social status, but it could also embody philosophical or personal values.[33] Style can represent artistic choices. Style can be used to help convey subject matter, but it can also function independently of subject, such as by moving the viewer emotionally, or by referencing other styles. Sohm believed that style could address the viewer as readily as could content, and he called style an "extralinguistic, non-narrative form of address."[34] As my subsequent chapters will explain, I believe that stylistic matters were as central to Rubens's Stoicism and his artistic project as were the Stoic subjects that have already been treated in the art historical scholarship.[35]

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[31] *Ibid.*, 160.

[32] Giovanni Battista Passeri, c.1610-1679, Italian painter, art historian, and art theorist, active in Rome and head of the Academy of Saint Luke there; Pietro Testa, 1611-1650, draftsman and printmaker, active in Rome, friend of Nicolas Poussin; Giovanni Battista Agucchi, 1570-1632, art theorist, papal diplomat, active in Bologna, Rome, and Venice. Sohm writes: "The mode of argumentation adopted by Agucchi and Passeri that used style as evidence of social and moral corruption were essentially Stoical, as were seventeenth-century criticisms of Mannerist art. (…) Stoics and seicento NeoStoics probed the ethics and psychology of style in ways that made style into a symbolic form of great diagnostic power." *Ibid.*, 23.

[33] For example, Marco Boschini wrote in 1660 that "The Venetian pictorial style carries with it the same liberty that everyone enjoys who lives in this city." Marco Boschini, *Carta del navegar pitoresco*. (1660) Anna Pallucchini, ed., Venice and Rome: Instituo per la collaborazione culturale, 1966, 98; Sohm, 2001, 24.

[34] *Ibid.*, 44.

[35] Rubens, Death of Seneca, 1612-1613, oil on panel, 185x154.5 cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich; Frances Huemer, *Portraits. CRLB*, Part 19. London: Harvey Miller, 1977; Ulrich Heinen, "Stoisch Sterben lernen – Rubens' 'Memorialbild auf Justus Lipsius und Philip Rubens,'" in Katlijne Van der Stighelen, Hannelore Magnus, and Bert

II. Stoicism in Context and in Theory:
Antwerp Humanism; and Stoicism's Lasting Influence

The visual styles in Rubens's *oeuvre* show not only that he was extremely accomplished in the practices of painting, but also that the complex theory of classical Stoicism was a meaning system of key relevance to his practice and theory of art. Humanists had diverse interests and beliefs, so humanism cannot be associated with a single value system, and Early Modern artists and writers favoured various classical models, but the humanism of Rubens's early-*seicento* Antwerp was informed by Stoicism.[36]

Watteeuw, eds., *Pokerfaced: Flemish and Dutch Baroque Faces Unveiled*. Turnhout, BE: Brepols, 2010, 25-68; Hans Vlieghe, *Rubens: Portraits of Identified Sitters Painted in Antwerp*. *CRLB*, Part 19. London: Harvey Miller, 1987, 128-130; Wolfram Prinz, "The Four Philosophers by Rubens and the Pseudo-Seneca in Seventeenth-Century Painting," *Art Bulletin*. Vol. 55, 1973, 410-428; Martin Warnke, *Kommentare zu Rubens*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1965, 22, 23; Michael Vickers, "Rubens's Bust of 'Seneca'?" *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol.119, 1977, 643-644; Rubens, Mantuan Friendship Portrait, 1602-1604, oil on canvas, 77.5x161cm, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne; Justus Muller-Hofstede, "Das Mantuaner Freundschaftsbild," *Peter Paul Rubens, 1577-1640*. Vol. I. *Rubens in Italien*. Cologne: Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Greven and Bechtold Publishers, 1977, 76-83; Eileen Reeves, "Portrait of a Stoic Circle," *Painting the Heavens: Art and Science in the Age of Galileo*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, 68-90; Lisa Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics, and Allegory in the Art of Rubens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 81-83; Balis, 2013, 115.

[36] According to Hans Vlieghe, "The humanism of Rubens's patrons in Antwerp was Lipsius's Stoicism." Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture 1585-1700*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, 30. Williams, 2004, 65; Sohm, 2001, 21; Huvenne, 1990, 28, 32; John J. Murray, *Antwerp in the Age of Plantin and Brueghel*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970; Elizabeth Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998; Zirka Filipczak, *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550-1700*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987; Christopher White, *Rubens and His World*. New York: Viking Press, 1968; M.A. Nauwelaerts, "Pieter Pauwel Rubens en het Antwerpse humanisme," in *Hermeneus*. Vol.49, 1977, 147-157; Mariet Westermann, "Introduction. Rubens and the Capital of the North," in Jan De Jong, ed., *Rubens and the Netherlands: Rubens en de Nederlanden*. *Netherlands Yearbook of the History of Art, 2004*. Zwolle: Waanders, 2006, 17-51.

Rubens was raised as a Catholic, and many of his cutting-edge paintings were created for Catholic religious environments.[37] Since Stoicism is the main subject of the present study, I refer interested readers to previous studies on Early Modern Catholicism.[38] Williams explains that Early Modern humanism and Catholicism shared the belief that the visual arts were integral both to ethics and to critical thinking. In his words, although the Catholic Reformation has sometimes been mistakenly vilified as reacting against humanism, in fact Early Modern Catholicism

> actually perpetuates a process that humanism had begun. (...) Humanism helps to create the environment in which the visual arts are able to redefine themselves in ideal terms as a set of practices

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[37] Jeffrey M. Muller, *Saint Jacob's Antwerp Art and Counter Reformation in Rubens's Parish Church*. Brill: Leiden and Boston, 2016; Jeffrey Muller, "Communication visuelle et confessionnalisation a Anvers au temps de la Contre-Reforme," *Dix-septieme siècle*. 2008, Vol. 240, Issue 3, 441-482; Jeffrey M. Muller, "Jesuit Uses of Art in the Province of Flanders," in John W. O'Malley, G. A. Bailey, S. J. Harris, and T.F. Kennedy, eds., *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006, 113-156; John Rupert Martin, *Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*. *CRLB*, Part 1, London and New York: Phaidon, 1968; John Rupert Martin, *Rubens: The Antwerp Altarpieces*. London: Norton, 1969.

[38] John W. O'Malley, *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*. Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press, 2000, 5, 7, 9, 126, 140-141; John W. O'Mally, "Was Ignatius Loyola a Church Reformer? How to Look at Early Modern Catholicism," in David Martin Luebke, ed., *The Counter-Reformation. The Essential Readings*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999, (65-82), 73, 81; Judith Pollman, "Being a Catholic in Early Modern Europe," in Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013, (165-182), 166; Ted A. Campbell, "Catholic Religious Movements in the Baroque Age," *The Religion of the Heart. A Study of European Religious Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1991, 18-41; Further research needs to be done into how Rubens's interest in classical Stoicism melded with his spiritual life in Early Modern Catholic Antwerp, and how Early Modern Catholicism promoted the humanist study of Stoicism that would come to support Baroque art. Leopoldine Prosperetti writes of the difficulty of defining Early Modern Christian Stoicism and outlining the scholarship on it. She defines Christians Stoicism as "the natural sympathy between two traditions that valued intuitive thoguth as the most direct route for finding spiritual wisdom," and writes: "Christian Stoicism as a cultural phenomenon has escaped a proper historiography, not because it is obscure and unknown, but because it is so integrated into the literature and visual culture of the Christian West." Leopoldine Prosperetti, *Landscape and Philosophy in the Art of Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568-1625)*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009, 39.

> that embrace both speculative thought and moral conduct, as something implicit in and fundamental to all the operations of human nature.[39]

Rubens's humanist interest in the classics became integral to his art theory and practice. Rubens articulated the connection between classical aesthetics and the visual culture that surrounded him when he discussed what Muller has characterized as a contemporary "revolution in style."[40] Rubens wrote:

> We see in this region the gradual obsolescence and rejection of the manner of architecture called Barbaric or Gothic, and that several of the finest minds introduce the true symmetry of that style conforming to the rules of the ancients, Greek and Roman, with the greatest splendour and ornament for the country; as is evident in the famous temples recently constructed by the venerable Society of Jesus, in the cities of Brussels and Antwerp.[41]

Despite differences in Baroque style, what many Baroque artists had in common was an active interest in ancient Rome as well as in Renaissance and contemporary art in Italy. The classical schools provided resources that Early Modern philosophers, artists, and others used in their scholarly and artistic projects, and as guidance in their daily lives, and in Catholic Antwerp the revival of classical knowledge was widely accepted.[42] The long tradition of humanism in Burgundian courts and their areas of influence including the cosmopolitan port city of Antwerp

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[39] Williams, 2004, 77; On Early Modern Catholic humanism, see Peter Partner, "The Spirit of a City and the Spirit of an Age," *Renaissance Rome 1500-1559. A Portrait of a Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976, 1979, 201-226; Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998.
[40] Muller, 1999, 130.
[41] Rubens, "*Al Benigno Lettore*," *Palazzo antichi di Genova, Palazzi moderni di Genova*. Antwerp, 1622; Muller, 1999, 152 note 53; John W. O'Malley, "The First Hundred Years," *The Jesuits: A History from Ignatius to the Present*. London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014, 27-54; John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits*. London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993, 208, 225, 253-263.
[42] For example, according to Held, "The poetic exercises of even the most devout Jesuit poets were patterned after, and freely acknowledged their indebtedness to Roman literary models." Held, 1982, 173; Stephen Menn, "The Intellectual Setting," in D. Garber and M. Ayers, ed., *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*. Vol.1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, (33-86), 56.

created a multi-generational culture of learning the classics in original languages and incorporating them in genuinely useful ways into the literary, philosophical, and artistic practices of Early Modern Flanders.[43] Rubens's knowledge of the classics was phenomenal. Judson explains Rubens's understanding of the applicability of classics to modern matters:

> His assimilation of all things ancient, both the images and the learned concepts, whether in art or literature, makes Rubens's work different from that of the sixteenth century in the Netherlands or, for that matter, from the seventeenth century in the Netherlands. He was the only artist in the Netherlands, North or South, who came from a truly humanist environment and who succeeded in combining ancient art and literature to produce vivid imagery so appropriate for the themes he chose.[44]

In this climate of interest in the classics, it was Stoicism that particularly interested Rubens and his circle. The current scholarship relates Rubens's Stoicism to that of his brother Philip and the circle of Justus Lipsius.[45] Huemer notes that Lipsius

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[43] Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des ceremonies: Essai sur la communication symbolique dans les anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons*. Brepols: Turnhout, 2004; Rolf Strom-Olsen, "Dynastic Ritual and Politics in Early Modern Burgundy: The Baptism of Charles V," *Past and Present*. Issue 175, 2002, 34-64; H.P.H. Jansen and A.G. Jongkees, "Een nieuwe Barante," *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*. Vol.90.1, 1975, 59-70; Wim De Clerq, Jan Dumolyn, and Jelle Haemers, "*Vivre Noblement*: Material Culture and Elite Identity in Late Medieval Flanders," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. Vol.38, No.1, Summer, 2007, 1-31; R. Walsh, "The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries. Some Italian Influences at the Court of Charles the Bold," *Humanistica Lovaniensia*. Vol.25, 1976, 146-197; and for an alternate reading, see A.J. Vanderjagt, "Classical Learning and the Building of Power at the Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Court," in J.W. Drijvers and A.A. MacDonald, eds., *Centres of Learning. Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*. Leiden: Brill, 1995, 267-278; Jeroen Duindam, "L'Europe des Cours Princièrs: Entre Renaissance et premier XVIIe Siècle," in Blaise Ducos, ed., *L'Europe de Rubens*. Hazan: Musée de Louvre, 2013, 73-112.
[44] J.R. Judson, "Observations on the Use of the Antique in Sixteenth-Century Netherlandish Art," in Roger d'Hulst, ed., *Rubens and His World: Studies*. Antwerp: Gulden Cabinet, 1985, (49-59), 59.
[45] On Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), see above, page 2, note 2. On Philip Rubens, 1574-1611, Belgian writer, pupil and friend of Lipsius, who obtained a doctorate in law in Rome as his father had done, and became secretary to the City of Antwerp, see Jeannine de Landtsheer, "Rubens (Rubenius), Filip (Philippus), filoloog en

had "enormous significance" for Early Modern Europe, and that his sixteenth-century publications had a pivotal influence on the seventeenth century.[46] For example, Lipsius argued that Stoic philosophy should be taught at universities. Jan Papy demonstrates that Lipsius's systematization and explanation of Stoicism, including the Stoic paradoxes, helped "rehabilitate" Early Modern interest in Stoicism. In Papy's opinion, for Lipsius this was not a dispassionate philological project but rather a sincere "quest for wisdom."[47] Many scholars who investigate Rubens's relationship with Stoicism note the connection of the artist's circle with Lipsius's *De Constantia* of 1584. Although it has been noted that Lipsius's *On Constancy* was "central in the Early Modern appropriation of Hellenistic moral philosophy," the importance of Lipsius for the Early Modern understanding and popularity of Stoic texts and ideas extends beyond that one text.[48]

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oudheidkundige," in *Nationaal biografisch woordenboek*. Vol.17, Brussels: Koninklijke academien van Belgie, 2005, 417-421.

[46] Frances Huemer, "A New View of the Mantuan Friendship Portrait," in W.H. Wilson, ed., *Papers Presented at the International Rubens Symposium, 1982*. Sarasota, FL: Ringling Museum of Art, 1983, (94-105), 195; Marc Laureys, *The World of Justus Lipsius: A Contribution Towards his Intellectual Biography*. *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*. Turhout, BE: Brepols, 1998; Jacqueline Lagreé, "Justus Lipsius and NeoStoicism," in John Sellars, ed., *Routledge Handbook of the Stoic Tradition*. New York: Routledge, 2016, 160-173; For Lipsius's early publications see Claude Sorgeloos, *Labore et Constantia, 1589-1989. A Collection of 510 Editions Issued by Christopher Plantin from 1555 to 1589*. Brussels: Eric Speeckaert, 1990, 283-295; Jeanine de Landtsheer, Sylvette Sué, *et alia*. eds., *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae*. Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren, en Schone Kunsten van Belgie, 1978-ongoing.

[47] Jan Papy, "The First Christian Defender of Stoic Virtue? Justus Lipsius and Cicero's *Paradoxa stoicorum*," in A.A. Macdonald, Z.R.W.M von Martels, and J.R. Veenstra, eds., *Christian Humanism. Essays in Honour of Arjo Vanderjagt*. Leiden: Brill, 2009, (139-154), 153.

[48] Aaron Garrett, "Seventeenth-Century Moral Philosophy: Self-Help, Self-Knowledge, and the Devil's Mountain," in Roger Crisp, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Ethics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, (229-279), 242; Lipsius's *On Constancy*, written in dialogue form, outlines practical methods for comforting and improving the spirit by attaining constancy, many of the techniques drawn from Epictetus, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius. Justus Lipsius, *De Constantia Libri Duo*, Antwerp: Plantin Press, 1584; Justus Lipsius, *Two Bookes of Constancie*.

In the *Physiologia Stoicorum* and the *Manuductio*, both published in 1604, Lipsius systematically described Stoicism and commented on it.[49] In the *Physiologia Stoicorum*, Lipsius gave a comprehensive account of Stoic natural philosophy, discussed the Stoic belief that ethics and physics are inseparable, and explained the Stoic belief that to live a life of virtue required an understanding of the everyday world around us. Lipsius's *Manuductio* deals with ethical questions and provides a useful review of the sources for ancient Stoicism. He discusses an array of issues, including friendship, the notions of the Stoic *sapiens* and *proficiens*, and the distinction between things that are truly good and things that are indifferent. Papy demonstrates that the *Manuductio* introduced Stoicism and Seneca systematically and philosophically for the first time, and that the publication became the standard text on Stoic philosophy for more than 150 years.[50]

Rubens's close connection with the circle of Lipsius opened doors for him, putting him in the creative milieu of Early Modern thinkers who actively discussed the relevance of Lipsius's clear, accurate versions of classical Stoic texts. Lipsius's scholarship on and interest in Stoicism influenced Rubens through his brother Philip,

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(1595) John Stradling, trans., Rudolf Kirk, ed., New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1939; Jason L. Saunders, *Justus Lipsius; The Philosophy of Renaissance Stoicism*. New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1955; Kirk argues that Lipsius's argument in *On Constancy* was original, even though he supported it in an eclectic manner. Kirk writes: "He borrowed from the ancient Stoics their concept of constancy and supported it with precepts drawn from their moral books. His method was eclectic – he did not reproduce the thought of any one writer but chose from the characteristic thought of Stoicism as a whole." Kirk, 47.

[49] Justus Lipsius, *Manuductio ad stoicam philosophiam libri tres: L. Annaeo Senecae aliisque scriptoribus illustrandis*, Antwerp, Ioannes Moretus, 1604; Justus Lipsius, *Physiologiae stoicam libri tres: L. Annaeo Senecae aliisque scriptoribus illustrandis*. Antwerp: Ioannes Moretus, 1604; Morford, 1991, 160, 169; Papy, 2009, 153.

[50] Jan Papy, "The *Manuductio ad Stoicam Philosophiam* (1604): On Lipsius and the Reception of Stoicism and the Stoic Tradition at the Beginning of Modern Europe," in *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*. 2002, 58 (4): 850-872; Papy: "Lipsius was the first to take Stoic virtue and the equality of all the virtues seriously in his *Manuductio ad Stoicam philosophiam*." Papy, 2009, 153.

who was Lipsius's student, and through the Rubens brothers' friends Jan Woverius, Balthasar Moretus, and others, who were *contubernales* (house mates and fellow students) of Philip Rubens with Lipsius.[51] In Antwerp, Lipsius and the Rubenses were connected to the Plantin-Moretuses, who were central to the network of Antwerp intellectuals and civic leaders, and who operated the most successful European publishing house at the time.[52] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the family of printers published classical texts, Catholic Reformation texts for Philip II, and critical editions on the Church Fathers, among many other subjects. Balthasar Moretus, head of the firm from 1610 to 1641, was a close friend of Rubens. Publications by Lipsius and others rendered Stoicism available and vitally important to Rubens's generation, including his brother Philip and members of his circle in Flanders and Rome. The

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[51] Joannes Woverius 1576-1636; Balthasar Moretus 1574-1641; Morford, 1991, 45-51, 187, 223; Rubens painted Woverius in mid-discussion with the artist, Philip Rubens, and Justus Lipsius, at a table strewn with books, in front of a classical bust owned by Rubens. Upon Lipsius's death, Woverius took on the important tasks of seeing through publication Lipsius's works on Seneca and Tacitus and volumes of his letters, and of caring for Lipsius's dog. Rubens, The Four Philosophers, 1611-1612, oil on panel, 167x143 cm, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, Italy. Morford, 1991, 4; Mark Morford, "Justus Lipsius en zijn contubernales. De 'vier filosofen' van Pieter Paul Rubens," in *Lipsius en het Plantinjse Huis*, 1997, 138-145; Hugo Peeters, "Le Contubernium de Lipse a Louvain a travers sa correspondance," in Gilbert Tournay, ed., *Iustus Lipsius, europae lumen et columen: Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven, 1997*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999, 141-168.

[52] Christopher Plantin c.1520-1589 became one of the most important printers in Europe, producing exceptionally high quality editions in religion, law, natural philosophy, history, and humanism. Sorgeloos writes that the Plantin editions were "the best a scholar could find on the market in the 1560s to 1580s but also until the following century." Upon the death of Plantin, the printing company passed to his son-in-law Jan Moretus (1543-1610), and then to Jan Moretus II and Balthasar Moretus, friend of Rubens. Claude Sorgeloos, "Plantin's Everlasting Fame," 1990, (13-32), 15, 17; Balis, 2013, 116; Jeannine de Landtsheer, "Een auteur en zijn drukker: Justus Lipsius en de Officina Plantiniana," *Acta selecta van de studiedag voor Neolatijn*. Antwerp, December 17, 2004; R. Dusoir, J. de Landtsheer, and D. Imhof. *Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) en het Plantijnse Huis*. Antwerp: Museum Plantin-Moretus, 1997; Jeannine de Landtsheer, "Iam illustravit omnia: Justus Lipsius als lievelingsauteur in het Plantijnse Huis," in J. de Landtsheer and P. Delsaerdt, eds., *Gulden Passer*. Antwerp: Association of Antwerp Bibliophiles, 2006; Murray, "Arch-Typographer of the King," 68-95.

Rubens brothers lived in Italy for several years at a crucial time, when being connected with the Lipsian NeoStoic circle put the artist in touch with the most modern thinkers.[53] Johan Faber, writing about his collection of animals near the Roman Pantheon, mentioned friends who frequented it, including the Rubens brothers. He praised the artist's learning, noting that Rubens was celebrated throughout Europe, and referring figuratively to him as a student of Lipsius. Faber wrote that Rubens was "an enlightened amateur of antique bronzes and marbles, who, like his brother Philip, celebrated for his literary works, was a pupil of Justus Lipsius, of whom they both deserve to be the worthy successors."[54] Faber did not mean that Rubens was literally Lipsius's pupil, as his brother Philip had been, but that Lipsius inspired and contributed to Rubens, personally and through his writing. Rubens studied classical sources directly and repeatedly, and I consider Rubens and Lipsius to both be students of Stoicism. Rubens was an original thinker whose understanding of Stoicism was supported by but not dependent upon Lipsius's scholarship and attitudes. For example, Rubens's expertise in the classical languages predates Philip's training with Lipsius. The *contubernium* of Philip Rubens, Woverius, and Balthasar Moretus at Leuven was late in the sixteenth century, by which time Rubens had

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[53] Huemer explains that because of the close ties between Lipsius and the Italian proto-scientists, Lipsian NeoStoic concepts of nature merged with Lincean ideas, and that Rubens was part of this. According to Huemer, "In the widespread seventeenth-century revival of Stoic philosophy, the genesis of the NeoStoic movement took place while the brothers were in Rome and in contact with Lipsius." Huemer, 1996, xviii; Morford, 1991, 187; Balis, 2013, 115-115; Jeannine de Landtsheer, "Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) and the Jesuits in Rome," in *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch: Journal of Neo-Latin Language and Literature*, 2012, 319-331; David Lux, "Societies, Circles, Academies, and Organizations: A Historiographic Essay on Seventeenth-Century Science," in Peter Barker and Roger Ariew, eds., *Revolution and Continuity. Essays in the History and Philosophy of Early Modern Science*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1991, 23-43.
[54] Johan Faber quoted in Giuseppe Gabrieli, "Ricordi romani di P.P. Rubens," *Bollettino d'Arte*. Series 2, Vol.7, No.12, 1928, (596-609), 597; Max Rooses, *Rubens*. Harold Child, trans., London: Duckworth, 1904, 95-96.

already completed his scholarship in classics and his artistic training. He was admitted into the artists' Guild of Saint Luke in 1598. Just as Lipsius had developed and contextualized classical Stoicism, Rubens created his own Stoic-inspired modernism, using classical Stoic sources in terms of their relevance for his age.

Although Rubens read widely, I focus on his Stoic sources, in order to illuminate his relationship with classical Stoicism. From the early Renaissance on, art theory and practice had been influenced by the many classical texts that were increasingly prized, collected, and re-published.[55] Stoicism was important in antiquity, and in the history of human thought more broadly. Hunt demonstrates that scholarship increasingly recognizes the central role of Stoicism in the Hellenistic period, and asserts that it was the "most vital" philosophy and that it "occupied men's thoughts."[56] Classical Stoicism has been characterized as "the most widely accepted world view in the Western world" at the time, one whose theories permeated society, government, law, science, medicine, religion, theology, drama and poetry; and transformed people's worldviews, as Hahm writes:

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[55] Mack describes the themes of his book: "the consequences of greater knowledge of ancient literature and the classical world; the place of knowledge of rhetoric in education; the impact of ideas from dialectic on rhetoric and vice versa; and the adaptation of the tenets of classical rhetoric to a changed world." Peter Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric, 1380-1620*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011, 1-4, 315. Many of these classical texts influenced Early Modern art theory and debates through their treatments of poetic theory. For example, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, translation of Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Poetics* had contributed to the terms of debate on the *paragone* between painting and poetry. Thomas Puttfarken, *Titian and Tragic Painting. Aristotle's Poetics and the Rise of the Modern Artist*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005, 12; For Early Modern publications of classical Stoic texts see below, pages 29-32.

[56] Harold Hunt, *A Physical Interpretation of the Universe. The Doctrines of Zeno the Stoic*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1976, xi, 74; For example, the Stoics pioneered the systematization of language that we still currently use, including nominative and accusative adjectives and the temporal relations among verbs. Anthony A. Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy. Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974, 131, 138; Michael Frede, "The Origins of Stoic Grammar," *Essays in Ancient Philosophy*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.

> For a variety of reasons the Stoic outlook, both physical and ethical, captivated a large number of people in the ancient world, probably many more than we shall ever realize; and in view of its pervasiveness, it may not be much of an exaggeration to say that the Stoic physical world view was the ancient counterpart to our current, popular, scientific world view.[57]

Stoic ideas were known to Rubens through his Antwerp and Italian scholarly milieus, aided by his mastery of Italian, and through the classical texts he had access to. He was fluent in Latin and he also read Greek. As I discuss below, his collection of classical texts was very sizeable, and it was vital to his work. Stoic sources were available in Early Modern Europe through the publication of classical letters, compendia of maxims, books of emblems that mixed classical and Christian proverbs, and as they also inhered in the Christian values that had been influenced by classical Stoicism.[58]

Aspects of our modern science, ethics, and language show the lasting influence of Stoicism, through the writing of its founder Zeno, and later Stoics Cato, Chrysippus, Epictetus, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius, and of Tacitus. An important source of information on classical Greek Stoic philosophers is Diogenes Laertius,

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[57] Hahm: "It left its mark on Christianity, Gnosticism, Neo-Pythagoreanism, and neo-Platonism." David E. Hahm, *The Origins of Stoic Cosmology*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1977, xiii, 212.

[58] Clement of Alexandria studied with the 2nd-century Stoic Pantaenus who had converted to Christianity. Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine praised aspects of Stoicsism. Saunders, 80; Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "Stoicism in the Apostle Paul: A Philosophical Reading," in Steven K. Strange and Jack Zupko, eds., *Stoicism. Traditions and Transformations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 52-75; For the influence of the Stoic theory of the passions on the teachings of the influential fourth-century monk Evagrius Ponticus the Solitary, see Richard Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, Part IV; William J. Bouwsma, "The Two Faces of Humanism. Stoicism and Augustinianism in Renaissance Thought," in Heiko A. Oberman and T.A. Brady, eds., *Itinerarium Italicum. The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations*. Leiden: Brill, 1975, 3-60. Marcia L. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*. Vol.II. *Stoicism in Christian Latin Thought through the Sixth Century*. Leiden: Brill, 1985, (169-212), 9, 37, 48-91, 142, 198, 206.

who in the second century wrote the *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*. His “Book Seven: Stoics” provides information on the heads (or schoolarchs) of the Stoic school and detailed summaries of Stoic philosophies.[59] As Hadas explains, “the progress of Stoicism from revolution through amelioration to private edification corresponds to three well-marked phases. (...) The Early Stoa is represented by its founder Zeno and his disciples; the Middle Stoa by Panaetius and his principal pupil Posidonius; the Late Stoa by Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius.[60] Zeno of Citium (c.334-c.262BCE) was a Cypriot Greek who studied with Crates the Cynic (c.365-285BCE) and was influenced by Diogenes the Cynic (c.410-323BCE). The Stoic school of philosophy was founded when Zeno began publicly lecturing in a colonnade, or porch (a *stoa*).[61] He is credited with having developed an “original and seminal” philosophy characterized by hopefulness and equality.[62] The philosophies and texts of the Early

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[59] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*. (3rd C.) R. D. Hicks, ed., trans., Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press, Loeb Classical Library, 1925, 1972; Diogenes Laertius, “Life of Zeno,” C.D. Yonge and Moses Hadas, trans., in Moses Hadas, ed., *Essential Works of Stoicism*. New York: Bantam, 1961, 1-47; Japp Mansfeld, “Diogenes Laertius on Stoic Philosophy,” *Elenchos*. Vol.7, 1986, 295-382; Papy, 2009, 149. Rubens collected his copy of Diogenes Laertius from the Plantin-Moretuses, along with ten other publications, on February 2, 1615. Prosper Arents, “Aankopen bij de Officina Plantiniana,” (Purchases at the Officina Plantiniana) *De Bibliotheek van Pieter Pauwel Rubens: een Reconstructie*. Antwerp: Vereniging der Antwerpse Bibliofielen, 2001, 133-207.

[60] Hadas, 1961, x.

[61] The earliest Stoics, the followers of Zeno, were first called Zenonians. From an art historical point of view it is interesting to note that the walls of the colonnaded porch contained paintings, by Polygnotus. The 5th-century BCE artist’s work there included The Taking of Troy. Among other texts, Zeno authored: *On Art; On Styles; On Sight; On Signs; On Passions; On the Usual Education of the Greeks; Life According to Nature; The Nature of Man; On Becoming; On the Whole; On Law; On the Nature of Things in General; On Problems Relating to Homer in Five Books; On the Doctrines of the Pythagoreans; On the Bearing of the Poets; Memorabilia; and the Ethics of Crates*. Diogenes Laertius, “Life of Zeno.” 1961, 3-4; Hadas, 1961, 49.

[62] *Ibid*., xi; H. Hunt, H. “The Importance of Zeno’s Physics for an Understanding of Stoicism during the Late Roman Republic,” *Apeiron. A journal for Ancient Philosophy and Science*. Vol.1, Issue 2, March, 1967, 5-14.

and Middle Stoics are known through the surviving texts of the Roman Stoics.[63] Lucius Annaeus Seneca (c.4BCE-65CE) grew up in Rome, where from the second century BCE there had been Greek teachers of philosophy, including the Stoic Panaetius (c.185-110 BCE).[64] Seneca's epistles were not intended to be systematic analyses of Stoic philosophy.[65] As such, they describe Stoic ethical practices, flavoured with Seneca's opinion of how to use these to cheer, console, or motivate the addressee of his letters. His *Naturales Quaestiones* preserve important aspects of the Stoic philosophy of nature, and were widely paraphrased and reproduced.[66] Epictetus

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[63] Zeno's successor, Cleanthes (c.301-232 BCE), renowned for theology, wrote fifty texts, the most important remaining one being *Hymn to Zeus*. His student, who became the third scholarch, Chrysippus (c.280-206 BCE) was a popular teacher and a prolific writer who commented and expanded upon Zeno's teachings. He wrote over 700 texts, more than 100 of them on logic. Hadas, 1961, 49; William L. Davidson, "The Stoic Masters and their Writings," *The Stoic Creed*. (*Religion in Literature and Life* Series) Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1907, 20-35. Cato the Younger, 95-46 CE, was a Stoic and a gifted speaker renowned for his criticism of powerful Roman rulers. Rex Stem, "The First Eloquent Stoic: Cicero on Cato the Younger," *The Classical Journal*. Vol.101, No.1, 2005, 37-49; Haviland Nelson, "Cato the Younger as a Stoic Orator," *The Classical Weekly*. Vol.44, No.5, 1950, 65-69; H.B. Timothy, *The Tenets of Stoicism, Assembled and Systematized from the Works of L. Annaeus Seneca*. Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert Publisher, 1973; Sellars discusses students of Roman Stoicism reading texts by early Stoics. John Sellars, "The *Meditations* and the Ancient Art of Living," in Marcel Van Ackeren, ed., *A Companion to Marcus Aurelius*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, (453-464), 457.

[64] Hadas, 1961, xiii; Davidson, 45; and see Moses Hadas, trans., ed., *The Stoic Philosophy of Seneca. Essays and Letters of Seneca*. Glouster, Mass: P. Smith, 1965, 19; Matthias Laarman, "Seneca the Philosopher," in G. Damschen and A. Heil, eds., *Brill's Companion to Seneca*. Leiden: Brill, 2014, 53-72; Colish writes that although the Roman Stoics drew on earlier Stoic ideas selectively, and although Seneca was never head of the Stoic school, nevertheless, "Seneca decidedly saw himself, and was seen by antiquity, as an exponent of Stoicism." Marcia Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*. Vol.I. *Stoicism in Classical Latin Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 1985, 4, 9-15, 19-21.

[65] Note, for example, Seneca's statement: "The answer could more conveniently be supplied in an organized treatise in the course of which we would demonstrate that providence rules all things and that god is concerned for our welfare. But since it is your pleasure to pluck one member from the whole and reconcile a single objective without impinging on the problem in its totality, I shall acquiesce." Seneca, *Providence*, 1.1, 1965, 28.

[66] Lucius Annaeus Seneca, "On Tranquility," W.B. Langsdorf, trans., in Hadas, 1961, (53-81), 53; Brad Inwood, *Reading Seneca: Stoic Philosophy at Rome*. Oxford:

(50-135), a Greek Stoic philosopher who lived for a time in Rome, became central to later studies of Stoic ethics, his speeches on this having been transcribed by a pupil.[67] Marcus Aurelius (121-180), emperor of Rome, wrote *To Himself* (alternatively titled *Meditations*) as part of his personal practice of Stoicism.[68] His insightful reflections on the nature of life and human nature were preserved in Greek.[69]

The loss of classical Stoic texts was extensive, but early Stoic theory can be gleaned, as it could in Rubens's time, from discussions of it by later writers, including authors who were hostile to Stoicism. As Sambursky explains, when reading classical quotations of early Stoics such as Chrysippus, "one cannot get rid of the agonizing thought how enormously richer our insight into Stoic philosophy would have been had the works of the Stoics survived to the same extent as those of Plato and Aristotle."[70] The unified and coherent nature of Stoic theory allows for lost or omitted aspects to be accurately inferred from surviving Stoic texts. Christensen theorizes that

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Oxford University Press, 2003; Katarina Volk and Gareth Williams, eds., *Seeing Seneca Whole: Perspectives on Philosophy, Poetry, and Politics*. Leiden: Brill, 2006.

[67] Hadas argues that Epictetus's belief system has a "more positive, loftier side" than some of the earlier Stoic philosophers. Hadas, 1961, xv; Epictetus. "The Manual," George Long and Moses Hadas, trans., in Hadas, 1961, 83-101; Epictetus. *The Discourses of Epictetus*. Transcribed with commentary by Arrian. George Long, trans. New York: A.L. Burt. 1878.

[68] Marcus Aurelius, "To Himself (Meditations)," George Long and Moses Hadas, trans., in Hadas, 1961, 103-205; on Marcus Aurelius see Geoff W. Adams, *Marcus Aurelius in the "Historia Augusta" and Beyond*. Toronto: Lexington Books, 2013.

[69] The *Meditations* were preserved and discussed in the Orthodox Church, and in the ninth century were re-transcribed with commentary by Arethas of Caesarea, Greek Orthodox Archbishop. Pierre Hadot, *The Inner Citadel. The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001; Gerard Verbeke, "Medieval Acquaintance with Stoicism," *The Presence of Stoicism in Medieval Thought*. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1983, 1-20; Between 1528 and 1634 the *Meditations* were printed ten times. Palmer, 127-130.

[70] According to Sambursky, Plutarch's and Cicero's contextualization of and objections to Stoic passages were skewed by their strong biases against the Stoics and their inability to comprehend Stoic theories. For example, Cicero and Plutarch misunderstood the important Stoic work on causality and conditionality. Samuel Sambursky, *Physics of the Stoics*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959, x, 14, 55, 112; Susanne Bobzien. *Determinism and Freedom in Stoic Philosophy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, 28.

since Stoicism is a coherent system we can infer that the Old Stoics did not differ significantly on fundamental points; that the Middle and Later Stoics agreed with original Stoic doctrine; and that technical expositions by Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius should be considered orthodox.[71]

In terms of availability, the main classical sources for Stoic texts included Diogenes Laertius, the Sceptics, and Stoic writers who quoted earlier Stoics, including Seneca. Rubens read these and other sources.[72] Diogenes Laertius had been translated into Latin in the early fifteenth century, and was printed and reprinted in the

[71] Also, Christensen argues, reformulations of Platonism from Plotinus and later, where it differs from earlier Platonic philosophy, often answers problems raised by Stoics, and so can reveal Stoic problems, terminology, and definitions. Johnny Christensen, *An Essay on the Unity of Stoic Philosophy*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, Scandinavian University Books, 1962, 9, 79-80; On the systematicity of the Stoics see Victor Brochard, *Études de philosophie ancienne et de philosophie moderne*. Paris: Vrin, 1926, 226; Octave Hamelin, “Sur la logique des Stoiciens,” *L’Année Philosophique*. Vol.12, 1901, (13-26), 13; G.B. Gourniat, *La dialectique des stoiciens*. Paris: Vrin, 2000, 223-228; Christopher Gill, “Marcus and Previous Stoic Literature,” in Marcel Van Ackeren, ed., *A Companion to Marcus Aurelius*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, 382-395; The scholarship of Anthony A. Long is fundamental to my research on the Early Modern debt to classical Stoicism, not only because of his valuable translations of primary sources, but also because of his thought-provoking discussions of the Stoic treatments of issues at the core of human nature, such as freedom, thought, and knowledge. Anthony A. Long, and David N. Sedley. “Stoicism,” *The Hellenistic Philosophers*. Vol.1. *Translations of the Principle Sources with Philosophical Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, 158-437; Anthony A. Long and David N. Sedley. “Stoicism,” *The Hellenistic Philosophers*. Vol.2. *Greek and Latin Texts with Notes and Bibliography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987 and 2012, 163-431. I also rely on Brad Inwood, *Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003; Brad Inwood and L.P. Gerson. *Hellenistic Philosophy: Introductory Readings*. Indianapolis, IN: Hackett, 1997.
[72] Sambursky, 1959, x; Peter Barker and Bernard R. Goldstein. “Is Seventeenth Century Physics Indebted to the Stoics?” *Centaurus*. Vol. 27, July, 1984, (148-164), 150; K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld, and M. Schofield, eds., “Editions of Sources and Fragments,” *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 805-819; Japp Mansfeld, “Sources,” in K. Algra, J. Barnes, *et alia*., eds., *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 3-30; A.H.T. Levi, “The Relationship of Stoicism and Scepticism: Justus Lipsius,” in Jill Kraye and M.W.F. Stone, eds., *Humanism and Early Modern Philosophy*. London: Routledge, 2000, 91-106.

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including an edition commissioned by the pope.[73] The most important classical source for Stoic theory in the sixteenth century was Seneca: this was accessible to Rubens in Latin.[74] Seneca had been read in the Middle Ages, and by the end of the sixteenth century his philosophy and literary forms were apparent in Early Modern thought.[75] That Marcus Aurelius was available to Rubens is known from his *Vite*: when Rubens travelled to Madrid he was asked to translate *The*

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[73] Louise Fothergill-Payne, "Seneca's Role in Popularizing Epicurus in the Sixteenth Century," in Margaret J. Osler, *Atoms, Pneuma, and Tranquility. Epicurean and Stoic Themes in European Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, (115-133), 126.

[74] Citti writes that the seventeenth-century was "the acme of the diffusion of Seneca's works and more generally of Stoic thought throughout Europe." Francesco Citti, "Seneca and the Moderns," in S. Bartsch and A. Schiesaro. *The Cambridge Companion to Seneca*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, (303-317), 303-305; Eddy De Jongh, *Questions of Meaning: Theme and Motif in Dutch Seventeenth- Century Painting*. Leiden: Primavera, 2000, 221; Judson and Van de Velde, 154-156, 165; Bart Ramakers, ed., *Understanding Art in Antwerp. Classicizing the Popular, Popularizing the Classic (1540-1580)*. Leuven: Peeters, 2011, 182; Rubens owned the versions of Seneca that had been edited by Lipsius. Seneca, *Lucii Annaei Senecae philosophi Opera, quae exstant omnia: a Justus Lipsio emendata et scholiis illustrata*. Antwerp: Joannes Moretus, 1605; Seneca, *Seneca Philosophus cum Commentaris Lipsii Anverpiae*. Antwerp: Balthasar Moretus, 1632; Plantin-Moretus Museum, *La Passion des Livres: Rubens et sa Bibliotheque*. Antwerp: Stad Antwerpen, 2004, 2, 42, 81; Jeannine De Landtsheer, "Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) and Lucius Annaeus Seneca," in *Annales Societatis Litterarum Humaniorum Regiae Upsaliensis*. Uppsala: Swedish Science Press, 1999, 217-238; Plantin-Moretus Museum document number R26.4; Arents, 2001, M3, S249, 81, 128-130, 203-204.

[75] Rudolf Kirk's scholarship provides insight into the introduction of Stoic ideas in Europe, 1491-1675. Kirk, "Introduction," in Justus Lipsius, *Two Bookes of Constancie*. John Stradling, trans., 1595, Rudolf Kirk, ed., New Brunswick, NJ: Rutger's University Press, 1939, (3-62), 13-15, 22; Barker and Goldstein, 150; The Stoic philosophy that existed in Cicero's *On the Nature of the Gods* had become known at the earliest stages of Early Modern Humanism, when it was quoted extensively in Francis Petrarch (1304-1374, Italian poet scholar), according to E. Cassirer, P.O. Kristeller, and J.H. Randall, eds., *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948, 47-48; For example, Petrarch's wide readership rendered ubiquitous the Stoic concept of the interconnected cosmos and the human place within it. Barker argues that Petrarch's "celebrity status" and Rabelais's extensive readership prove the widespread familiarity with Stoic doctrines by the sixteenth century. Barker, 1991, 141-143.

Meditations from Greek into Latin.[76] These and other classical texts were available in Rubens's time.[77]

Classical sources were advanced both as wondrous repositories of priceless wisdom, and as sources of knowledge from which Early Modern thinkers could develop and communicate timely theories to be expressed in print and in visual art. It is in this vein that I include in Rubens's humanist project of learning and integrating Stoicism the classical author Tacitus.[78] Cornelius Tacitus (c.55-c.117) was a Roman

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[76] Marcus's *Meditations* was in Rubens's library. On December 28 1628 Rubens wrote to his beloved friend Jan Gaspar Gevaertius (1593-1666), Flemish humanist and Antwerp municipal secretary, that the works of Marcus Aurelius in the Saint Lawrence Library in the Escorial were "works already widely known." Gevartius wrote on Marcus Aurelius, did extensive research for a still unpublished commentary on Marcus's *Meditations*, and was painted in the company of a classical bust of Marcus Aurelius. See Rubens, Portrait of Gaspar Gevartius, 1628, 119x98 cm, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. Emile Michel, *Rubens: His Life, His Work, and His Time*. 2 Vols., E. Lee, trans. London: Heinemann, 1899; Jill Kraye, "Marcus Aurelius and Neostoicism in Early Modern Philosophy," in Marcel Van Ackeren, ed., *A Companion to Marcus Aurelius*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, 515-531.

[77] Early Modern publications of classical sources included Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, published sixteen times between 1433 and 1620; Cicero's works, almost forty times between 1405 and 1579; Seneca's *Epistulae, Dialogi*, and others, five times between 1475 and 1582; Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones*, in 1490 and 1522; Seneca, *De constantia sapientis, De providentia, De vita beata*, and others, six times between 1491 and 1578; Seneca, *Opera Omnia*, in 1515, 1528, 1590, and 1605; Epictetus's *Manual*, seven times between 1493 and 1609; Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, more than a dozen times between 1450 and 1600; Plutarch, *Morals*, 1509; Marcus Aurelius (and pseudo-Marcus), *Meditations*, ten times between 1528 and 1634; Of particular note are Lipsius's *De Constantia*, 1584, his Seneca in 1605, his Tacitus, completed in 1572, Erasmus's editions of Seneca (1515 and 1529), and Guillame Du Vair's *La Philosophie Morale des Stoïques* in 1586; Jaap Mansfeld, "Sources," in K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld, and M. Schofield, eds., *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 3-30; Ada Palmer, "Chronology of Textual Multiplication," 124-130; Anthony Grafton, "The Availability of Ancient Texts," in C.B. Schmitt, Q. Skinner, E. Kessler, and J. Kraye, eds., *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, (767-791), 774, 775, 781.

[78] Tacitus was available in Early Modern Europe. Tacitus's *Dialogue on Orators* was printed in combination with Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* in Paris in 1530. There were five reprints of this combined edition before 1620, as well as a 1564 edition that combined the *Dialogue* with Cicero's *Brutus*. Mack, 2011, 23; Rubens owned works by Tacitus. Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *Historiarum et annalium libri qui exstant*. Justus Lipsius, ed., Antwerp: Christophe Plantin, 1574; Justus Lipsius, *Cornelii*

senator and historian, whose texts preserve information about Seneca and others, and whose approach to virtue, prudence, and exemplary behaviour have been linked to Stoicism.[79] Tacitus shares with Stoicism not only the belief that people can transform, but also the commitment to elucidating the inherent complexity of human nature. This results in a non-dogmatic approach that requires that a reader reflect on the subject and draw his own inferences and moral conclusions. As Turpin points out,

> Tacitus's approach to *exempla* is illuminated, and possibly informed, by the use of *exempla* in some of the Stoics, particularly Seneca. Although many scholars reject the notion that Tacitus is in any sense a Stoic (…) this view stems in some cases from a failure to recognize how flexible and interactive Stoic moral teaching could be. Stoics could urge you to remember that virtue was the proper goal in life, but they were remarkably open-minded about what that meant in practice. (…) Stoics believed they could provide inspiration. (…) They could also help you decide on the right course of action, given your particular situation and character. They would use the best teaching tools at their disposal: philosophical arguments and individual precepts, certainly, but also *exempla*. Tacitus, in my view, is doing much the same thing.[80]

Taciti. Opera Omnia. Antwerp: Plantin Press, 1581; Rubens collected from the Plantin-Moretus Printers Tacitus's *Batavorum cum Romanis bellum* on February 27, 1620. This volume had been printed in Antwerp in 1612 with both Flemish and Latin text, and was illustrated by Van Veen. Arents, 2001, E90, 169; Plantin-Moretus Museum, 21, 81.

[79] William Turpin, "Tacitus, Stoic *exempla*, and the *praecipuum munnus annalium*," *Classical Antiquity*. Vol.27, No.2. October, 2008, 359-404; J.H.M. Salmon, "Stoicism and Roman Example: Seneca and Tacitus in Jacobean England," *Journal of the History of Ideas*. Vol.50, No.2, April-June, 1989, 199-225; M. Zimmerman, *De Tacito Senecae philosophi imitatore, pars prior: de Senecae philosophi a Tacito expressa*. Breslau: Koeber, 1889; Michael Brinkman, *Seneca in den Annalen des Tacitus*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany, 2002; Torrey James Luce, "Tacitus on 'History's Highest Function:' *praecipuum munus annalium* (*Ann*. 3.65)," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Romischen Welt*, Berlin, Vol.2, 1991, 2904-2927; Torrey James Luce, "Tacitus' Conception of Historical Change: The Problem of Discovering the Historian's Opinions," in I.S. Moxon, J.D. Smart, and A.J. Woodman, eds., *Past Perspectives: Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 143-158; Mark Morford, "Tacitean *Prudentia* and the Doctrines of Justus Lipsius," in Torrey James Luce and Anthony John Woodman, eds., *Tacitus and the Tacitean Tradition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, 129-151.

[80] Turpin, 360.

Moreover, the scholarship on Lipsius and on Early Modern Neo-Stoicism associates the study of Tacitus with the study of Stoicism. Colish has written: "Tacitus conveys more about Stoicism to his readers than is true for any of the other Roman historians."[81] Kirk, discussing Lipsius's scholarship on Stoicism, begins with Lipsius's study of both Tacitus and Seneca, and attributes interest in Tacitus and Seneca to Lipsius's turning away from an attitude of conservatism to what he calls "the freer outlook of the great Stoics."[82] That Rubens considered Tacitus central to Early Modern awareness of Stoicism and to Lipsius's Neo-Stoic legacy can be seen in the visual cultural record, specifically in Rubens's work for the Plantin-Moretuses. For example, Morford argues for the significance of Rubens's and Moretus's decision to alter the Plantin-Moretus press device in early 1630. When Rubens designed the new visual device to accompany the Moretus logo of *Labore et Constantia*, he revised the figure of labour from a farmer to Hercules. According to Morford, when the figure of Hercules came to appear on Plantin-Moretus publications including on their new editions of Tacitus's texts, "Tacitus became more closely identified with one of the mythical heroes of Stoicism."[83] Then, in 1637 when Rubens designed the title page of Lipsius's *Opera Omnia*, he rendered Tacitus equivalent with Seneca, visually. The work's title is framed by figures of Philosophy and Politics, as well as Minerva,

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[81] Colish, 1985, Vol.I, 313.

[82] Lipsius studied Tacitus closely in the 1560s and 1570s, while he lived in Cologne and Louvain, resulting in the publication of his *Commentaries* on Tacitus in 1581. Kirk, 7-8; While Lipsius was at Louvain University from 1592 to 1606, as well as writing two books on Stoic philosophy in 1604, the *Manuductio ad Stoicam Philosophicum* and the *Physiologia Stoicorum*, he edited the works of Seneca, the first volume of which appeared in 1605. Morford, 1991, 119; Jeannine de Landtsheer, "Annotating Tacitus: The Case of Justus Lipsius," in *Transformations of the Classics via Early Modern Commentaries*. Leiden: Brill, 2014, 279-326.

[83] Morford, 1991, 45-46; See Rubens, Printer's Device for the Plantin Press, 1630, drawing, Plantin-Moretus Museum doc. No. 74a, in J. Richard Judson and Carl Van de Velde. *Book Illustrations and Title Pages*. *CRLB*, Part 21, Brussels: Arcade Press, 1978, Vol.II, Fig. 255, and Fig. 254.

Mercury, Virtue and Prudence. On either side of the triumphal arch, highlighting Lipsius' work, stand two herms, one of Seneca, and the other of Tacitus.[84]

As I delineate further below, my investigation into Rubens's Stoicism finds that classical Stoic philosophy was highly sophisticated and complex, its method of inquiry was radical, and in important ways it relates to modern and early-seventeenth-century thought.[85] I discuss in Chapters One and Two aspects of Stoic ethical and rhetorical philosophy that were accessible to Rubens, and in Chapter Three I describe the Stoic unified, coherent conception of the world and of human reality within it. The question of Rubens's Stoicism can shed light on the nexus point of Early Modern

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[84] Rubens, Iusti Lipsi Opera Omnia, Title Page, 1637, drawing on paper, Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp; Judson and Carl Van de Velde, Vol.II, Fig. 247 and Figs. 246, 248, 249; Morford: "Rubens rightly placed Tacitus and Seneca at the centre of Lipsius's achievements, for Lipsius's lifelong study of these two authors was the foundation of his influence. They were, to use Rubens's symbolism, the pillars of his triumphal arch." Morford, 1991, 143.

[85] Christensen writes: "The conscious separation of subjective and objective aspects of science and philosophy shows that with Stoicism we enter that phase of Western philosophy which finds expression in the systems of Descartes, Spinoza, Leibniz, and Kant." Christensen explains that the Stoics considered any aspect of existence a possible object of inquiry, and that their method of analysis and explanation is tantamount to experimental science. Christensen, 9, 16; (René Descartes, 1596-1650; Spinoza, 1632-1677; Gottfried W. Leibniz, 1646-1716; Immanuel Kant, 1724-1804) As Sambursky explains, the Stoics' "negative formulation of empirical relations is actually the starting-point of the great laws of modern physics, as these laws are implicit expressions of experimental impossibilities." Sambursky, 1959, 79, 84; This is not to imply that these Early Modern thinkers were NeoStoics; rather, I wish to demonstrate that Stoic-derived notions were current in Early Modern learned circles. Anthony A. Long, "Stoicism in the Philosophical Tradition: Spinoza, Lipsius, Butler," in Jon Miller and Brad Inwood. *Hellenistic and Early Modern Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 7-29; Jon Miller, "Spinoza and the Stoics," in John Sellars, ed., *Routledge Handbook of the Stoic Tradition*. New York: Routledge, 2016, 218-225; Daniel Collette, *Stoicism in Descartes, Pascal, and Spinoza: Examining NeoStoicism's Influence in the Seventeenth Century*. PhD Dissertation, University of South Florida, 2016; Donald Rutherford, "On the Happy Life. Descartes vis-à-vis Seneca," in Steven K. Strange and Jack Zupko, eds., *Stoicism. Traditions and Transformations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004, 177-197; Michael Moriarty, "Stoic Themes in Early Modern French Thought," in John Sellars, ed., *Routledge Handbook of the Stoic Tradition*. New York: Routledge, 2016, (204-217), 208-210; Christopher Brooke, *Philosophic Pride: Stoicism in Politial Thought from Lipsius to Rousseau*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012; Davidson, 70.

humanism, style, and art theory. Indeed, Early Modern humanism itself has been directly associated with the Stoicism of classical Rome. According to Ada Palmer,

> The classical revival, which we now call humanism, with its expectation that philosophy would have an immediate and practical public effect, found some precedent in the political applications of Roman Stoicism.[86]

[86] Palmer, 117.

III. Painted by a Good Hand: Rubens Reading, Writing, and Painting Theory

In a letter to Peiresc in which he used the notion of the artistic hand, Rubens discussed theoretical issues including perspective. Commenting on a painting done after his own drawing Landscape with the View of the Escorial (1628), Rubens wrote:

> The picture appears to have been painted by a good hand, but as far as optics are concerned, certain rules are not too accurately observed, for the lines of the buildings do not intersect at a point on a level with the horizon – or, to put it in a word, the entire perspective is faulty.[87]

My dissertation builds on the scholarship on Rubens to situate him as an art theorist. That he theorized about art is evident in the above letter, but it is also borne out by his artistic choices, as I will elucidate in the chapters below. Rubens has been called "*the* most learned artist ever."[88] Art in Rubens's early-seventeenth-century Antwerp milieu could be very theoretical, developing from the examples of sixteenth-century humanists and artists, and from classical theory. Rubens was a critical thinker who integrated his study of classical texts and his observation of Renaissance and Baroque art into practical theories about *chiaroscuro*, *colore*, and *disegno*.

Period testaments to Rubens's learning are preserved in the Plantin-Moretus archives in Antwerp. For example, in 1617 the Jesuit poet Bernardus Bauhusius wrote to the publisher Balthasar Moretus, "I know that Rubens with his divine genius, will find something for that page, suitable to my poetry, the order to which I

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[87] Rubens to Peiresc, Antwerp, 16 March, 1636, in Magurn, ed., 404; See the painting after Rubens's drawing, by the Flemish landscapist and engraver, Lucas van Uden (1595-1672), The Escorial from the Foothills of the Guadarrama Mountains, oil on panel, 49x74cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

[88] Held, 1982, 167; Frans Baudoin, "Rubens *pictor doctus*, zijn bibliotheek en zijn lectuur," in Alfons K.L. Thijs, ed., *Prosper Arents: De Bibliotheek van Pieter Pauwel Rubens: een Reconstructie*. (*De Gulden Passer*. 78/79). Antwerp: Vereniging der Antwerpse Bibliofielen, 2001, (47-80), 47; Rubens's learnedness was also mentioned in his epitaph, written by his friend Jan Caspar Gevartius (1593-1666, Flemish poet, philologist, registrar of the city of Antwerp). See Philip Rubens the Younger, 41.

belong, and to piety."[89] Rubens took time to work out how best to fit form to meaning, although not usually the six months that Balthasar Moretus budgeted for him to reflect on and design a title page. Notes in Rubens's handwriting show his knowledge of symbolism and his creativity in applying it, and in 1639 an author wrote to Moretus that a frontispiece for his text should be designed "such as the learned Rubens will suggest, and I prefer his invention and your judgment to my own thoughts."[90]

Biographies, or *vite*, of Rubens written in the late seventeenth century not only provide useful information on his activities, education, and major commissions, but also reveal much about how he was perceived in his lifetime and shortly after. *Vite* of Rubens were published by Giovanni Baglioni in 1642, Giovanni Pietro Bellori in 1672, Joachim von Sandrart in 1675, Philip Rubens the Younger in 1675, and Roger De Piles in 1681.[91] In some cases these *vite* are derived from eye witness accounts.

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[89] Balthasar Moretus correspondence, September 13, 1630, quoted in Held, 1982, 168, 170. (Bauhusius, 1576-1619, Flemish poet and songwriter active in Antwerp.)
[90] Seventeenth-century writer Philippe Chifflet quoted in Held, 1982, 171. In a note related to his design for the title page to Jacob Bidernman's *Heroum Epistolae*, Rubens wrote, "The altar, the libation dish, and the jug symbolize religion and sacred ritual; the lyre and the ivy wreath, poetry." Jacob Biderman, *Heroum Epistolae, Epigrammata & Herodias*. Antwerp: Moretus, 1634; Julius Held, ed., *Rubens and the Book. Exhibition*. Williamstown, MA: Chaplin Library, 1977, 66, no.8; and figs. 47 and 48; Judson and Van de Velde, Vol.1, 281-283, no. 67, Vol.2, figs. 225-226; Morford, 1991, 205, ft.106. Rubens's erudition can also be seen in his international network of correspondents. Held, 1982, 109; For example, Rubens and Junius corresponded on many subjects, including discussing Junius's *De Pictura Veterum*, a copy of which he had sent to Rubens. Franciscus Junius, *De Pictura verterum libri tres*. Amsterdam: Blaev, 1637.
[91] Giovanni Baglione, "The Life of Peter Paul Rubens, Painter," *Le vite de' pittori, scultori, et architetti moderni*. 1642, in Jeremy Wood, ed., *Lives of Rubens*. London: Pallas Athene, 2005, 23-32; Baglione (1566-1643) was an Italian painter and art historian active in Rome; Joachim von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der Endlen Bau-, Bild-, und Mahlerey-Kunst…* (*The German Academy of the Noble Arts of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, including Artists Egyptian, Greek, Roman, French, English, German, and Belgian, and other Lives and Encomiums*). 3 Vols., Nuremberg: J.P. Miltenberger, Printers, 1675-1680, reissued Munich: A.R. Peltzer, 1925; Sandrart (1606-1688) was born in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, to a Flemish

For example, Sandrart had met Rubens, and the *vita* written by De Piles is based on a statement sent to him by Rubens's nephew. These Early Modern *vite*, although potentially occluded by period biases, can help us not only to situate Rubens within lineages of artistic training, but also, to the extant that they retain accurate testaments of Rubens's artistic intentions and written treatises, begin to position him as an art theorist. For example, we know from Bellori and De Piles that Rubens wrote about problems of optics and light.[92] As for Rubens's learnedness, Bellori discussed the artist's interest in observation, his linking of gesture with emotion, and his interest in

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family that originated from Southern Belgium. He painted portraits and genre works, and travelled within Europe; On Philip Rubens the Younger see note 1 above; Roger De Piles, "La Vie de Rubens," *Dissertation sur les ouvrages des plus fameux Peintres, avec la vie de Rubens*. Paris: 1681. Reprinted: Farnborough, UK: Gregg, 1968, 1-39. The scholarship of De Piles, 1635-1709, French painter and art theorists, is fundamental to articulating how Rubens's work functions visually because De Piles was one of the first to emphasize visuality and form, over subject. On him see pages 76-78, below. On Bellori see page 15 note 29, above. Rubens was one of only nine painters discussed in the first edition of Bellori's *Vite*. Bellori is one of the most important *seicento* art theorists, partly because he trained as a painter, had access to one of the largest Roman collections of antiquities, and met many leading art writers and archaeologists. In my view, Bellori, whose life overlapped with Rubens's by almost thirty years, was investigating some of the same issues of theory and practice that engaged Rubens and Bernini, as well as verbalizing the accomplishments that Rubens had made. Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *The Idea of the Painter, Sculptor, and Architect*. 1664. Joseph Peake, trans., in Erwin Panofsky. *Idea, A Concept in Art Theory*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1968, 155-175; Tomaso Montanari, "Introduction," in Giovanni Petro Bellori. *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*. 1672. Alice Sedgwick Wohl, Helmut Wohl, Tomaso Montanari, trans., eds., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, (1-40), 21; R. Enggass and J. Brown. *Italy and Spain 1600-1750: Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1970, 5.

[92] Bellori, 1672, 2010, 205; Huemer, 1983, 185; Barasch discusses the significance of Bellori, noting that Johann Winckelmann (1717-1768) was indebted to him. Barasch: "Nowhere in seventeenth-century literature is the academic notion of the artist, of the process of creation, and of what the work of art should be more clearly stated than in <Bellori's> lecture." (…) "The disposition of the age out of which the classical idea emerged was radically different from the atmosphere that had prevailed a century earlier, when Vasari wrote his *Vite*." Mosche Barasch, "Classicism and Academy," *Theories of Art*. Vol.1. *From Plato to Winckelmann*. New York: New York University Press, 1990, (310-377), 315-322.

comparing Early Modern painting with classical sculpture and classical textual descriptions. Bellori wrote:

> About the ways he maintained in art; he was not a simple practitioner but erudite, for we have seen a book by him that contains observations about optics, symmetry, proportion, anatomy, architecture, and a study of the principle *affetti* and actions drawn from descriptions by poets, with demonstrations of these by painters. (…) There are transcriptions of some verses of Virgil and others, with comparisons taken mainly from Raphael and the antique.[93]

Rubens's humanist education prepared him to become a learned artist. Born into a learned family well versed in the classics, he was first taught by his parents.[94] Then, until the age of thirteen he studied at the Antwerp school of Rombout Verdonck, where he developed fluency in Latin, which he had begun studying at home, and he became conversant with key classical authors including Seneca, Vergil,

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[93] Bellori: "Restaci a dire alcuna cosa dei modi suoi tenuti nell'Arte. Non era egli semplice pratico, ma erudtio, essendosi veduto un libro di sua mano, in cui si contengono osservazioni di Ottica, Simmetria, Proporzioni, Anatomia, Architettura, ed una ricerca de' principali affetti, ed azioni cavati da descrizioni di poeti, con le dimostrazioni de' pittori. Vi sono battaglie, naufragj, giuochi, amori, ed altre passioni, ed avvenimenti, trascritti alcuni versi di Virgilio, e d'altri, con rincontri principalmente di Rafaelle, e dell'antico." Bellori, 1672, 1821, 254; Bellori, 1672, 2010, 205; Elizabeth McGrath, "Words and Thoughts in Rubens's Early Drawings," in Michael Jaffé and Elizabeth McGrath, eds., *Rubens, A Master in the Making*. London: National Gallery, 2005, (28-37), 35.

[94] Roger De Piles, "Life of Peter Paul Rubens," *Abregé de la Vie des Peintres avec des réflexions sur leurs ouvrages*. Paris, 1699. in Anonymous trans. *The Art of Painting with the Lives and Characters of above 300 of the Most Eminent Painters*. 2nd edition. London: Charles Marsh, 1744, 250-262; The family was temporarily exiled in an area of Germany populated by Flemish immigrants. Cologne, near where Rubens spent his early childhood, was a major Roman outpost, along with Trier, Bonn, and Maastricht, and ancient monuments survived there. Judson, 49; Rubens's father Jan (1530-1587) was himself a humanist. He had lived in Italy for several years and had obtained a law degree there. Baudoin, 2001, 48-49; Frans Baudoin, "Rubens's kinderjaren in Keulen en in Antwerpen," in *Provinciale Commissie voor Geschiedenis en Volkskunde*, Jaarboek, 1990-1991, 133-159; Julius S. Held, "Thoughts on Rubens's Beginnings," in William H. Wilson, ed., *Papers Presented at the International Rubens Symposium, 1982*. Sarasota, FLA: Ringling Museum Foundation, 1983, 14-35; Philip Rubens the Younger, 37.

Livy, and Ovid.[95] After the Verdonck school, Rubens was placed in the court of Lady Marguerite de Ligne, Countess of Lalaing, at Hainault on what is now the Belgian-French border. There he had the opportunity to see and copy works by Holbein, Dürer, and other German masters, as well as copying Bible woodcuts and sketching the medieval Lalaing tombs. When Rubens returned from the court, the Antwerp School of painting was flourishing, and successful painters who were still active included Martin de Vos, Frans Francken, Jan Brueghel, Paul Brill, and Joos de Momper.[96] Rubens first studied with the painter Tobias Verhaecht, from whom he learned landscape composition, and then with the skilled portraitist Adam van Noort.[97] Van Noort painted portraits and religious scenes, and Rubens benefited from

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[95] Rubens was a pupil at the Latin school of the Cathedral Chapter of Our Lady, in Antwerp from 1589. Baudoin, 2001, 76; Murray, 100; Max Rooses, "Petrus-Paulus Rubens en Balthasar Moretus," *Rubens-Bulletijn: jaarboeken der ambtelijle commissie ingesteld door den Gemeenteraad der stad Antwerpen voor het uitgeven der bescheiden betrekkrlij*. Vol.II, 1883, 176-207. Rooses attempted to create a list of the books used by Rubens when he attended Latin school. Rooses, 1904; The syllabus included Plutarch's *On the Education of Children* and Virgil's *Aeneid* and *Bucolics*. In school Rubens learned Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Horace's *Odes*, and works by Livy, Seneca, Tacitus, Pliny, Philostratus, Cicero, and Early Modern writers including Boccaccio. Christopher White, *Peter Paul Rubens. Man and Artist*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, 4; Morford, 1991, 187; Mack, 2011, 178; Emidio Campi, Simone De Angelis, Anja-Silvia Goeing, and Anthony T. Grafton, eds., *Textbooks in Early Modern Europe*. Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2008, 252; A.A. MacDonald, "The Renaissance Household as Centre of Learning," in J.W. Drijvers and A.A. MacDonald, eds., *Centres of Learning. Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East*. Leiden: Brill, 1995, 289-298.

[96] On the Antwerp School and Quentin Massys (1460-1530), Frans Floris (1517-1570) and Pieter Brughel the Elder (1525-1569), see Murray, 154-163; Ramakers, 17; Paul Huvenne, "L'héritage Flamand de Rubens," in Blaise Ducos, ed., *L'Europe de Rubens*. Hazan: Musée de Louvre, 2013, 167-184; Rijser, David. "After the Flood. Luxurious Antwerp and Antiquity," in Bart Ramakers, ed., *Understanding Art in Antwerp. Classicising the Popular, Popularising the Classic (1540-1580)*. Leuven and Paris: Peeters, 2011, 25-35.

[97] The Flemish landscapist Tobias Verhaecht (1561-1631) was partly indebted to the work of fellow Flemings Joachim Patinir (1480-1524) and Pieter Bruegel, but he also studied and worked in Florence before returning to Antwerp, where he joined the Chamber of Rhetoric and became a master in the Guild of St. Luke. Adam van Noort (1561-1641) was a Flemish portraitist, history painter, and teacher, active in Antwerp. Philip Rubens the Younger, 38; De Piles, "Life of Van Noort," *Abregé de la Vie des*

his training there not only in terms of his treatment of the face and figure, but also because Van Noort modelled active engagement in society and in artistic networks, collaborating with other leading artists, working on the decorations for the Triumphal Entry into Antwerp of Archduke Ernest of Austria, and going on to become Dean of the Guild of Saint Luke. Rubens's final art instructor, Otto van Veen (1556-1629), was a friend of Lipsius, was educated in Latin language and classical literature, was well travelled, and had been a pupil of artist-theorist Federico Zuccaro (1540-1609), the Italian painter, architect, and internationally influential teacher who was active in Rome.[98] In my opinion, Van Veen's treatment of the human figure and his knowledge of classical and Early Modern art theory were very formative for Rubens.[99] Van Veen's *oeuvre* includes biblical and historical scenes, mythological allegories, and popular emblem books; and while he was Rubens's teacher he too was a Master of the

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Peintres avec des réflexions sur leurs ouvrages. Paris, 1699. *The Art of Painting with the Lives and Characters of above 300 of the Most Eminent Painters*, Anonymous trans. 2nd edition. London: Charles Marsh, 1744, 248-250; In my opinion, Rubens's landscapes show a debt more to Verhaecht's sketches than to his finished works. For example, see Verhaecht, Landscape with Trees, River, House, ink, chalk, and gouache on paper, Morgan Library, New York. Rubens is also indebted to the Antwerp painter Jacob de Backer (1555-1585). M. Ia. Varshavskaia, *Rubens and the Flemish Baroque*. Saint Petersburg: Hermitage, 1978, 17-18; E. Michel, *Flemish Painting in the XVII Century*. Prudence Montagu-Pollock, trans. New York: Hyperion Press, 1939, 7-12.

[98] Rubens's nephew called Van Veen "the best of the Flemish painters of that time." Philip Rubens the Younger, 38; Bellori, 1672, 2010; Roger De Piles, "Life of Otho Venius," *Abregé de la Vie des Peintres avec des réflexions sur leurs ouvrages*. Paris, 1699. in Anonymous trans. *The Art of Painting with the Lives and Characters of above 300 of the Most Eminent Painters*. 2nd edition. London: Charles Marsh, 1744, 248-250; Mark Morford, "Toward an Intellectual Biography of Justus Lipsius: Peter Paul Rubens," in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, LXVIII, 1998, 387-389; Murray, 142; Hans Vlieghe connects Van Veen to Stoicism. He writes that Van Veen's emblemata have a "NeoStoic undertone." Vlieghe, 1998, 19.

[99] This is an area for further art historical research. Justus Muller Hofstede, "Zum Werke des Otto van Veen 1590-1600," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. Vol.6, 1957, 142-151; Hans Vlieghe, "Rubens and Van Veen in Contest, A Marginal Note," in *Ars Auro Prior, Studia Ioanni Bialostocki Sexagenario Dicata*. Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1981, 477-482; Vlieghe 1998, 283 note 19.

Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke, later becoming its Dean.[100] Although few paintings remain from Rubens's early years, his mother's will indicates that there were many of them.[101] Rubens studied colour with Van Veen, and in Venice and Rome beginning in 1600, he actively investigated *disegno* and *colore* in the work of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century artists.[102] Rubens was very interested in the work of artists practicing in his own lifetime, and made copies after many turn-of-the-century works in churches and in palace collections.[103]

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[100] Van Veen was court painter to Governor Farnese and to Archduke Ernest, and worked on the decorations for the triumphal entry of Archdukes Albert and Isabella. He was well respected among Early Modern artists and writers, and his *oeuvre* contributed to the spread of his style in the Netherlands and beyond. White, 1987, 4-8; A. Woolett and A. van Suchtelen, eds., *Rubens and Brueghel, A Working Friendship*. LA: Getty Museum; and The Hague: Mauritshuis Royal Picture Gallery, 2007, 9.

[101] Maria Pypelinx wrote that "all the other paintings" in the house were "the property of Peter Paul, who painted them." Maria Pypelinx's will, in C. Reulens, "La Vie de Rubens par Roger de Piles," *Bulletin-Rubens*, II, Antwerp and Brussels, 1883, 166; White, 1987, 8.

[102] Among the most important were Leonardo (1452-1519), Michelangelo (1475-1564), Antonio da Correggio (1489-1534), Titian (1490-1576), Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), and Tintoretto (1519-1594), according to Bellori, 1672, 2010, 206; Rubens owned works by many of these masters as well as by Jan van Eyck and others. Huvenne, 1990, 12.

[103] Bellori noted Rubens's debt to Italian painting. Bellori, 1672, 2010, 206; In Rome Rubens also saw the work of Michelangelo da Caravaggio (1571-1610), Federico Barocci (c.1535-1612) and the Carracci (see above). Rubens wrote to the Duke of Mantua that the Chiesa Nuova was "decorated by all the most talented painters in Italy." Ian Verstegen, *Federico Barocci and the Oratorians. Corporate Patronage and Style in the Counter-Reformation*. Kirkville, Missouri: Truman State University Press, 2015, 40, 34, 50-53; Michael Jaffé, *Peter Paul Rubens and the Oratorian Fathers*. Florence: Sansoni, 1959. Barocci had worked in Zuccaro's studio in Rome; Michael Jaffé, "Working for the Oratorians 1606-1608," and "Italy and Rubens in the Seventeenth Century," *Rubens and Italy*. Oxford: Phaidon, 1977, 85-99 and 100-103; Muller, 1982, 239, 242; White, 1987, 11-13; Dempsey, 1977, 86-87; Stuart Lingo, *Federico Barocci. Allure and Devotion in Late Renaissance Painting*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008, 2, 17, 125; Pamela Jones, *Altarpieces and their Viewers in the Churches of Rome from Caravaggio to Guido Reni*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2008; Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque. Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565-1610*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003. Hans Vlieghe, "Rubens Back in Antwerp. Reflections on the Change of his Style and the Taste Pattern of his Public," *Actes du XXVIIe Congres International d'Histoire d l'Art*. Strasbourg, 1992, 49-54.

Early Modern artistic observation of existing works was carried out in tandem with the study of classical texts on such topics as poetics and mythology, as we can see from the advice of Flemish-born Gerard de Lairesse (1641-1711) that, "A true artist ought not to be without the following works: *The Statues* of Perrier, the *Iconology* of Caesar Ripa, Oudaan's *Roman Might*, and other books of antiquities."[104] Such texts helped artists manage classical content and ideas in ways that were instrumental to the Early Modern humanist artist.[105] Being knowledgeable in diverse disciplines was a valued quality of a skilled artist, as described in the sixteenth century:

> With most of those who profess this art today, (…) with the exception of the praiseworthy few, the rest of the painters, either out of the necessity to earn a living, which causes them to overlook the principles and ornaments necessary to their art, or because of the great and virtually universal incoherence of all the things of this world, which are not done methodically but haphazardly, are entirely uncultivated and unversed in knowledge of the other disciplines.[106]

Wide reading was encouraged in the Lipsian circle and in Rubens's generation in Antwerp.[107] Bellori and Sandrart both mentioned artists examining relevant texts before painting.[108] In a statement that could equally have applied to Rubens's intense study of classical texts and sculpture and of Early Modern art, Lipsius wrote, "I

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[104] Gerard de Lairesse, *Het groot schilderboeck*. Amsterdam, 1707, *The Art of Painting*, J.F. Fritsche, trans. London, 1710, 1738, 520; De Jongh, 275 note 31.
[105] Williams, 1997, 23; Williams, 2006, 181, 184, 187; McGrath has delineated links between Rubens's ownership of texts and his classical subject matter. Elizabeth McGrath, "Rubens and his Books, *CRLB*, Part 13, *Subjects from History*. Vol. 1, London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1997, 55-67.
[106] Gabriele Paleotti, *Discourse on Sacred and Profane Images*. (1582). William McCuaig, trans. Los Angeles, CA: Getty, 2012, 48. On Paleotti, see page 87, below.
[107] Jeannine de Landtsheer and Marcus de Schepper, "De boeken van Justus Lipsius wegen naar een reconstructie van zijn bibliotheek," in P. Delsaerdt and K. De Vlieger-De Wilde, eds., *Boekgeschiedenis in Vlaanderen: nieuwe instrumenten en benaderingen*. Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamse academie van Belgie voor wetenschappen en kunsten, 2004, 69-78; Jeannine de Landtsheer, "The Library of Bishop Laevinus Torrentius: a Mirror of Otium and Negotium," in *Les humanistes et leur bibliotheque*. Leuven: Peeters, 1999, 175-191.
[108] Sandrart, 1675-1680, 1925, 258; Sohm, 2001, 133.

diligently sought out many libraries, statues, inscriptions, coins, and whatever was relevant to the understanding of antiquity."[109]

Rubens read, discussed, and collected Stoic and other classical texts during his studies, his years in Italy, and again when he settled permanently in Antwerp. His library was fundamental to his humanist study of the classics. At the core of his artistic practice was his complete facility with classical texts, as Hans Vlieghe notes:

> By his own erudition Rubens belonged to that same cultivated public who bought his pictures. The masterworks of classical literature were in his library and his painted representations of ancient history and mythology, as well his extensive correspondence, which has survived, show how intensely familiar he was with the works of the Greek and Roman philosophers and poets.[110]

Rubens had a very substantial library, and his correspondence provides evidence that he was very well-read. His was one of the largest libraries in Antwerp. Rubens owned at least 500 books, and probably many more, as the invaluable scholarship of Prosper Arents has shown.[111] Arents has created a list of titles based on

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[109] Lipsius. *Or*. 2.36, *Opera omnia quae ad criticam proprie spectant: postremum ab ipso aucta, correcta, digesta. Quorum omnium index & ordo post praefationem*. Antwerp: ex Officina Plantiniana, apud Viduam et Filios Ioannis Moreti, 1611, and 1637; Lipsius's diligently seeking out many libraries would appear to be borne out by his scholarly publications. For example, to verify and interpret the Stoic paradoxes, Lipsius cited Zeno of Citium, Epictetus, Seneca, Cicero, Plutarch, Musonius Rufus, Cleomedes, Stobaeus, Diogenes Laertius, and other classical authors. He also cited Saints Jerome, Gregory the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose, Lactantius, Clement of Alexandria, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Sextus Empiricus, Philo, Nemesius, St. Augustine, and other church fathers. Papy, 2009, 149. Kirk, 46; Morford, 1991, 149.

[110] Hans Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture 1585-1700*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, 31.

[111] Prosper Arents, "Catalogue of Rubens's Books," in A.K.L Thijs, ed., *Prosper Arents: De Bibliotheek van Pieter Pauwel Rubens: Een Reconstructie*. (*De Gulden Passer*. 78/79) Antwerp: Vereniging der Antwerpse Bibliofielen, 2001, 93-336; Frans Baudoin notes that even though only a small portion of Rubens's correspondence remains, it shows that he was knowledgeable in a "great diversity of subjects." Baudoin, 2001, 47, 76; L. Voet and J. Voet-Grissole, *The Plantin Press, 1555-1589. A Bibliography of the Work Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*. 6 Volumes. Amsterdam, 1980-1983; Marcus de Schepper, "Sur les Traces d'une Bibliotheque d'Artiste: Reconstitution et Exposition des Livres de Pierre

Rubens's correspondence, the seventeenth-century auction catalogue of Rubens's eldest son Albert (1614-1657), who inherited his father's books, and from the archives of the Plantin-Moretus printers.[112] From 1613 until the end of Rubens's life, the Plantin-Moretus printing house kept a ledger of titles that Rubens took as payment for the paintings and title pages he created for them.[113] Missing from the list of known books are those he purchased from other printers in Antwerp, Italy, and elsewhere on his travels, and those he borrowed. Rubens owned texts on natural philosophy, geography, current events, and some Early Modern art theory.[114] However, his book ownership shows that classical antiquity was the major subject of his interest.[115] He

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Paul Rubens," in Plantin-Moretus Museum. *La Passion des Livres: Rubens et sa Bibliotheque*. Antwerp: Stad Antwerpen, 2004, 11-13; Francine de Nave, "La Passion des Livres, P.P. Rubens et sa Bibliotheque," in *Ibid*., 7-10.

[112] Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*. 2 Volumes. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969-1972; L. Voet and J. Voet-Grissole, *The Plantin Press, 1555-1589. A Bibliography of the Work Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*. 6 Vols. Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980-1983.

[113] Rooses, 1883, 177; Dirk Imhof, "Les Achates de Livres de Pierre Paul Rubens chez Balthasar ler Moretus," Plantin-Moretus Museum. *La Passion des Livres: Rubens et sa Bibliotheque*. Antwerp: Stad Antwerpen, 2004, (22-26), 23.

[114] Editions in Rubens's library included Vasari's 1568 *Vite*; Karel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*. Harlem: Jacob de Meester, 1603; Otto Van Veen, *Amoris divini emblemata studio et aere Othonis Vaeni concinnata*. Antwerp: Nutius and Meursius, 1615, and other Van Veens; Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, *Regola delli cinque ordini d'architettura*. Amserdam: William Jansz Blaeu, 1617; Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, *Le due regole della prospettiva*. Rome, 1611; and Junius's 1637 *De Pictura*; Arents, 2001, A1, B3, B1274, E53; Plantin-Moretus Museum document number R54.10; Rooses, 1883, 179; Plantin-Moretus Museum, 2004, 64, 65, 66, 69.

[115] Rooses, 1883, 180; McGrath, 1997, 57; Rubens owned classical texts by, among many others, Archimedes, Cicero, Dionysius Areopagita, Euclid, Eusabius, Hippocrates, Juvenal, Tertullian, Theucydides, Philostratus, Pliny, Plutarch, Virgil, and Vitruvius. He owned Pausanias's *Periegesis Hellados* (*Description of Greece*), a large second-century work on art, symbols, material culture, and other observed traces of classical Greek mythology that was reprinted in 1613; Examples of Rubens's Early Modern texts on classical subjects include Adolphus Occo, *Romanorum numismata a Pompeio Magno ad Heraclium*. Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1579; Stephanus Pighius, *Annales Romanorum*, Antwerp: Joannes Moretus and Sons, 1598, 1615; Antonio Bosio, *Roma sotterranea*. Rome: Guglielmo Facciotti, 1632; Plantin-Moretus Museum document numbers A24, A785, B51, B843; Plantin-Moretus Museum, 2004, 67-69, 74; Arents, 2001, E3, H91, 216-218, 242, 246.

owned important works of history and architecture, and often purchased various versions.[116] The vast majority of his books are in Latin, and he also read Greek.

For the early-seventeenth-century artist, knowledge of the classics was not an end in itself, but rather provided a rich source of raw material and models from which the artist or theorist would build his own modern theory and practice.[117] Knowledge of art, symbols, and texts was part of what an Early Modern artist superintended, and Rubens was a scholar of classical texts on diverse philosophies, especially Stoic.

Rubens's reading of Tacitus and Seneca while he painted was not about being entertained or finding material for subjects, but rather I contend that it contributed to a personal worldview and a body of knowledge on Stoicism that shaped his painting. As I discuss in the following chapters, I investigate to what extent Rubens's experience of these and other classical Stoic texts could have fostered the development of his unique stylistic expertise. To read great authors was a creative process involving critical thinking, and Lipsius believed that Stoic texts could provide medicine for the soul. He wrote, "Reading is my only comfort – not those more pleasant works, but stronger medicine; philosophy, I mean - Stoic philosophy."[118]

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[116] For example, on February 2, 1615, when he collected from the Plantin-Moretus printers Halicarnasseus's *De vita Homeri*, reprinted in Frankfurt in 1595, he also took two versions of Vitruvius's *De architectura* containing different commentaries, the 1567 Daniel Barbari Venice edition, and the 1586 G.P. Castillioni Lyon edition. Arents, 2001, 152.

[117] For example, when Franciscus Junius wrote *De pictura veterum* in 1637, he was head of Lord Arundel's library, had an extensive knowledge of classical texts, and was working amongst one of the greatest collections of art in England. Instead of writing purely a history of classical art, he instead hoped to systematize classical theory into a treatise that would be practical for *modern* artists. Rubens discussed this with Junius. Rubens, letter to Junius, August 1, 1637, in Magurn, ed., 407, 507. Thomas Puttfarken, *Discovery of Pictorial Composition: Theories of Visual Order in Painting1400 to 1800*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000, 195.

[118] Lipsius, letter to Laertius, December 31, 1580, *Iusti Lipsi Epistolarum Selectarum Centuriae ad Belgas: Secunda*. 2.1; Morford, 1991, 158, ft.87.

Lipsius taught that one must read critically, and really sink one's teeth into the material. According to him one must:

> Read with the eyes of a Philosopher, not a grammarian. That is, that you reflect on the substance, not the words (…) Just as good dogs do not lightly touch the surface of the skin, but grip the animal itself and sink their teeth in, so should you grasp the substance.[119]

A letter from Rubens to Junius indicates that the artist would have concurred. Rubens, explaining his reason for not having discussed Junius's book with him sooner, wrote, "I wanted first to see the book and to read it, which I have now done, with close attention."[120]

Not only their reading, but also their written treatises show that many Early Modern artists were deeply interested in theory. Early Modern artists communicated their theoretical understanding through their artistic production, and through letters, lectures, and treatises. For example, Giovani Paolo Lomazzo (1538-1592) and Federico Zuccaro (1540-1609), both of whom were Italian painters and theorists, wrote about design and self-reflexivity; and Eddy de Jongh has shown that De Lairesse's art treatises are based on his conception of art as a theoretical undertaking that required judgement.[121] In the sixteenth-century, artists Lomazzo and Leonardo da Vinci had theorized about light, and seventeenth-century artists, including Rubens, studied the artworks informed by these theories, tracing inventive techniques via earlier artists Federico Barocci (c.1535-1612) and Antonio da Correggio (1489-1534), and others. Talks at the Carracci Academy in Bologna beginning in 1582 demonstrate

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[119] Lipsius, quoting Seneca, *Epistulae*, 88; Morford, 1991, 175; Seneca, "On Liberal and Vocational Studies," Epistle LXXXVIII, *Moral Epistles*. Richard M. Gummere, trans., The Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 3 Vols., 1917-1925.

[120] Rubens, letter to Junius, August 1, 1637, in Magurn, ed., 407.

[121] Williams writes: "Vasari's wording deliberately invokes ancient philosophy." Williams, 2004, 72, 75; De Jongh, 159; Gerard de Lairesse, *Foundations of Drawing*, (*Grondlegginge der teekenkonst*) 1701; De Lairesse, 1707, 1710.

the audience's awareness of Lomazzo and other Early Modern sources.[122] In addition, artists who travelled shared theory and practices, so that seventeenth-century academies and workshops in many parts of Europe were influenced by the model of theoretical training popularized in Rome. The Academy of Saint Luke was founded in Rome in 1577, and it became a site for classes in life drawing and lectures by visiting artists. When Zuccaro was director in the 1590s he instituted daily discussions on theory, teaching theoretical terms such as design, decorum, and expression.[123]

Rubens the artist-theorist planned to publish. His efforts in this regard include his *Palaces of Genoa*; the illustrations for his brother Philip's book on Roman sculpture; and a book on ancient cameos, some of the drawings for which were later published in a book authored by his son, Albert.[124] Rubens also wrote a treatise *De lumine et colore* while he was in Italy, a volume that De Piles owned and that was probably burned in the eighteenth century.[125] Huemer argues that Aguilonius's *Opticorum libri sex*, Antwerp, 1613, is indebted to Rubens's theory, and that De Piles's treatment of optical mixing is based, as is Anguilonius's, on Rubens's

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[122] Dempsey, 1977, 14, 19, 55; Huemer, 2004, 23; Verstegen, 122.
[123] Vernon Hyde Minor, *Baroque & Rococo: Art & Culture*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1999. 55; Denis Mahon, "Art Theory in the Newly-founded Accademia di San Luca, with Special Reference to 'Academic' Criticism of Caravaggio," *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory*. Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1971, 155-191; Williams, "The Academic System," 2004, 77-91.
[124] Philip Rubens the Younger, 42; Rubens, *Palazzi di Genova*, Antwerp, 1622; Philip Rubens, *Electorum libri II*, 1608; Albert Rubens, *De re vestiaria veterum*, 1665; Elizabeth McGrath argues that Rubens contributed to the intellectual material of his brother Philip's *Electorum*. McGrath, 1997, 56; Jaffé, "Studying the Antique," 1977, 79-84; Nancy Grummond, "The Study of Classical Costume by Philip, Albert, and Peter Paul Rubens," in W. H. Wilson, ed., *Papers Presented at the International Rubens Symposium, 1982*. Sarasota, FL: Ringling Museum of Art, 1983, 78-93; Kristin L. Belkin, *The Costume Book*. *CRLB*, Part 24, Brussels: Arcade, 1980, 32, 51; Piet Lombaerde, "Rubens the Architect," in Barbara Uppenkamp and Ben van Beneden, eds., *Palazzo Rubens. The Master as Architect*. Antwerp: Rubenshuis; and Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2011, 124-157.
[125] According to Huemer, three copies of the treatise were known, those of De Piles, Peiresc, and van Parijs. Huemer, 1996, 126-127, 141 note 5. For the Peiresc correspondence on the treatise see Magurn, ed., 505-506, letter 237.

treatise.[126] Further, Huemer posits that Rubens's extensive influence as a colourist shows that his *colore* was known through both his practice and his theory. Rubens also wrote notes and drew sketches for a treatise on the expressiveness of the human figure as part of his lost sketchbook that now exists only in the four anonymous copies that provide different versions of the original Rubens notebook.[127] One of the surviving pieces of Rubens's theoretical writing is *De imitatione statuarium*, a short but important tract that provides evidence of Rubens's humanist art critical project. It shows that Rubens placed discernment and observation at the forefront of his process of "translating" the classical sculptural evidence into a painting method through which subjects would seem lifelike and emotionally present.[128] He emphasized how

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[126] Huemer writes: "De Piles repeats maxims of Aguilonius, particularly those on optical mixing, but De Piles had Rubens's treatise. It may be possible to reconstruct the Rubens treatise by a careful study comparing De Piles to other writers. It is likely that both Aguilonius and De Piles are based on the Rubens treatise." Huemer, 1996, 141; Charles Parkhurst, "Anguilonius' Optics and Rubens' Color," *NKJ*, Vol. 12, 1961, 35-49; Rudiger Meyer, *Peter Paul Rubens and Colour Theory: An Assessment of the Evidence*. PhD Thesis, McGill University, 1995; Julius Held, "Rubens and Aguilonius: New Points of Contact," *The Art Bulletin*, 61/2, 1979, 156-166.

[127] These manuscripts are the De Ganay MS, the Chatsworth MS, the Johnson MS, and the Borges MS; Held, 1982, 170; See also Anonymous after Peter Paul Rubens, *Théorie de la Figure Humaine, Considérée dans ses Principes, Soit en Repos ou en Mouvement*. Paris: C.A. Jombert, 1773, reprinted Paris: Aux Amateurs des Livres, 1990; Anthony Van Dyck, *A Description of the Sketch-Book by Sir Anthony Van Dyck Used by Him in Italy, 1621-1627*. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1902; Michael Jaffé, *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook*. London: Macdonald and Co., 1966; Michael Jaffé, "The Second Sketch Book by Van Dyck," *Burlington Magazine*. September to October, 1959, 316-321; Michael Jaffé, "Rubens's 'Pocketbook': An Introduction to the Creative Process," in Michael Jaffé and Elizabeth McGrath, eds., *Rubens, A Master in the Making*. London: National Gallery, 2005, 21-28; Tine Meganck, "Rubens on the Human Figure: Theory, Practice, and Metaphysics," Brussels: *Rubens, A Genius at Work*. Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels, 2008, 52-64; and Arnout Balis, *The Theoretical Notebook*. *CRLB* Part 25, forthcoming.

[128] Rubens, "De imitatione statuarium," Appendix 1 in John Rupert Martin, *Baroque*. New York: Harper and Row, 1977, 271-273; Rubens, "Concerning the Imitation of the Antique Statues," in De Piles, (1709) 1743, 86-92. On Baroque naturalism see Francisco Pacheco, *On the Aim of Painting*, Seville, 1649, reprinted in Martin, 1977, 288-289. Francisco Pacheco, Spanish (1564-1644), was the teacher of the artist Diego Velazquez (1599-1660). Wolfgang Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968; Marjon Van der Meulen, *Rubens.*

important it was to attend to the different ways that light falls on sculpture in contrast to on a living body, and he wrote, "As the finest statues are extremely beneficial, so the bad ones are not only useless but even pernicious. For beginners (…) instead of imitating flesh they only represent marble tinged with various colours."[129]

Considering Rubens a theorist in no way precludes the important issues of practice and context. Rubens practiced in a milieu in which art had become redefined as a *principle* functioning, as Williams explains, in "the production and management of meaning," with the result that theory, context, and practice were integrally bound together.[130] To practice art was to theorize, judge, and assess.[131] Artists did not need to write in order to theorize: their painting practice itself was a process of theorizing. Indeed, De Piles acknowledged that skillful art could speak for itself, when he wrote: "Language is wanting, but everything speaks in a good picture."[132] Sohm gives the example of artist Giovanni Pietro Zanotti who wrote for an audience of painters, and who avoided detailed written descriptions, believing that his readers preferred the

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Copies After the Antique. *CRLB*, Part 23, 3 Vols., London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1995; Marjon Van der Meulen, "Observations on Rubens's Drawings After the Antique," in W. H. Wilson, ed., *Papers Presented at the International Rubens Symposium, 1982*. Sarasota, FL: John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 1983, 36-51; Marjon Van der Meulen, *Petrus Paulus Rubenius Antiquarius*. Alphen aan den Rijn: Vis-Druk, 1975.

[129] Peter Paul Rubens, *De imitatione statuarium*, (On the Imitation of Statues) 17th C., in Roger De Piles. *Principles of Painting*, 1708, 1743, Anon. trans., 86-92; and "Appendix 1," in John Rupert Martin, *Baroque*. New York: Harper and Row, 1977, (271-273), 271.

[130] Williams, 1997, 14.

[131] Lomazzo and Zuccaro were painters who later felt the need to write books, and Williams argues that this shows how the concerns of abstract theory were understood to grow out of practice. Williams, 2004, 75.
According to Dempsey, Early Modern art theorists including Vasari, Zuccaro, Lomazzo, and the Carracci wrote principles out of the art practices they observed. Dempsey, 1977, 50.

[132] De Piles wrote that the act of painting brings together learning, spirit, freedom, and composition. De Piles, "Of the Grand Gusto," (1699), 1744, 17-18, 45; Williams, 1997, 14.

visual experience of the design and style itself.[133] Dempsey argues that the Carracci were as intellectual as Vasari, Zuccaro, and Lomazzo; and that *seicento* artists actively communicated their theory both verbally to their students, and practically in their paintings. Annibale Carracci, following a discussion at the site of the *Laocoon* in Rome, felt moved to sketch the sculpture, later explaining, "We painters have to speak with our hands."[134] Theory and practice are united, and painters are connoisseurs; they can understand visual style and method better than non-artists do, and they are able to express theory in visual, physical, non-linguistic forms. Sohm explains that "Artists have access to a formal language unavailable to most people, an insider's knowledge born from scrutinizing competitors and comparing one's own strengths and limitations to others."[135] Style, he explains, is "intensely visual" and to understand it requires visual acuity. In the seventeenth century, artists "worked out" their theories, expressing their theories in paint. Artists like Rubens who were informed by classical examples used their painting techniques and styles to unite the modern theory and practice they observed with the classical philosophies that were vibrantly useful to them.

The artistic process involves seeing the strengths in others' works and integrating them, in a highly intellectual process that in early-*seicento* Antwerp was well supported by classical literature. Dionysius and Quintilian had discussed the critical/intellectual nature of the processes of artistic emulation that *seicento* artists would later come to live by. These classical writers asserted that learning from earlier models was not a matter of copying a model's mannerisms, but of understanding an

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[133] Sohm, 2001, 51-52.
[134] Caracci quoted in Mahon, 253-254; and Muller, 1982, 245; Dempsey writes that the convergence of theory and practice in the training of fellow artists was "the central intellectual issue" of the time. Dempsey, 1977, 3, 29, 49-50.
[135] Sohm, 2001, 54. See also Rubens's letter to Franciscus Junius, August 1, 1637, in Harrison, Wood, and Gaiger, eds., 29.

author's strengths and producing a counterpart; and that a student must understand the characteristic qualities of many models and combine these creatively in his own work. Dionysius instructed that one should consider the "whole range of classical literature as appropriate models for style."[136]

Rubens and other early-*seicento* artists used the classics for their creative modern program. When they drew on practices of copying and quoting that had been popularized in classical times, they were making modern these classical ways of knowing.[137] Rubens's drawings of classical Roman sculpture for his brother Philip's book "clarify" Philip's text, and Philip praised Rubens's judgement.[138] In Padre Resta's volume of Rubens's drawings, Resta's introduction commends Rubens for being a scholar of the works of the classical masters.[139] Bellori wrote about artists

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[136] Dionysius distinguished emulation from imitation on the basis of the judgement required to choose which aspects should be modelled: he defined imitation (*mimesis*) as "an activity receiving the impression of a model by inspection of it" in contrast to emulation (*zelos*) which was "an activity of the soul impelled toward admiration of what seems to be fine." Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The Ancient Orators* (*Commentaries on the Attic Orators*). 1st century BCE, Books I and II; Quintilian, 10.2; Kennedy shows that Dionysius's survey proves that classical critics had lists of authors in various genres that were used for teaching and criticism. According to him: "Emulation thus is a psychological activity which produces literary activity." Kennedy, 1972, 348; Peter Mack, "Rediscoveries of Classical Rhetoric," in Erik Gunderson, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rhetoric*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, (261-277), 275.

[137] Muller, 1982, 229-247; Classical models did not provide straightforward molds for Early Modern artists to replicate; rather, to reference classical artistic and theoretical traditions was a contested issue. Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001; Leonard Barkan, *The Gods Made Flesh: Metamorphosis and the Pursuit of Paganism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

[138] Philip Rubens, *Electorum Libri II* contains five drawings by Rubens of Roman sculpture, created in 1606 and early 1607, when the two Rubens brothers lived in Rome. Held, 1982, 168.

[139] Padre Resta, Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, item no. F.249, in Held, 1982, 96. Julius Held, "Padre Resta's Rubens Drawings," *Rubens and His Circle*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, 94-105.

studying and measuring classical sculpture.[140] When the Italian sculptor Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) lectured to the French Academy in Rome in the 1660s, he noted that the classical was practical. Bernini stated: "When I was still very young, I often drew from the Antique, and when I was in difficulties with my first statue I turned to the Antinous as my oracle."[141] The classics functioned like a "true source" from which the learning never ended. For example, when Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, "in a snowstorm," had asked the aged Michelangelo why he was going to the Colosseum, Michelangelo replied that he was going "to school again, in order to learn."[142] Classical works provided a canon that artists sought out, learned from, and adapted. Recognizing the intellectual nature of imitating and adapting the classics, Philip Sohm calls antique sculpture a "repository of knowledge."[143] Although there was a long tradition of using classical monuments and sculpture as models, Rubens's naturalizing adaptation of classical statues was outstandingly creative.

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[140] For example Bellori wrote about Francois Duquesnoy, 1597-1643, a Flemish-born sculptor who emigrated to Italy. Active in Rome, where he was a house mate of Nicolas Poussin, he collaborated with Bernini. Among his remarkable works are Saint Susanna, 1629, and Saint Andrew, 1629-1633, both in Rome. Bellori, 225-236.

[141] Bernini quoted speaking to the French Academy, in Paul Fréart de Chantelou, *Journal du Voyage en France du cavalier Bernin*. 1665. (First published in Ludovic Lalanne, ed., Paris: Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1885.) New York: B. Franklin, 1972; Martin, 1977, 258, 302; Bellori, 1672, 2010, 225-236, 307-344; On Bernini, see note 12 on page 6, above.

[142] Michelangelo quoted in R. Klein and P. Barocchi, eds., *Idea del Tempio della pittura*. Florence, Instituto nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, 1974, 287; Williams, 1997, 25.

[143] Sohm, 2001, 30-32. Rubens's art collection and the façade he designed for his Antwerp house can be considered repositories of knowledge. Barbara Uppenkamp and Ben van Beneden, eds., *Palazzo Rubens*. Antwerp: Rubenshuis; and Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2011; Jeffrey M. Muller, "Rubens's Collection in History," in Kristin Lohse Belkin and Fiona Healy, eds., *A House of Art: Rubens as Collector*. Antwerp: Rubenshuis and Rubenianum, 2004, 10-85; J.G. van Gelder, "Jan de Bisschop's Drawings after Antique Sculpture," *Studies in Western Art*. (*Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*). 1963, III, 51-58; Roger De Piles, "Of the Beauty of the Antique," *Cours de Peinture par Principes*. 1709. Anon. trans. *The Balance of Painters*. London: J. Osborne, 1743, 83-86.

IV. Dissertation Organization

Building on the art theoretical assertion that style itself can signify, my dissertation shows that Rubens's style conveys meaning in ways that pertain to his knowledge of and commitment to Stoicism. I divide my chapters according to fields of Stoic philosophy, but the subject matter could have been arranged differently, since the Stoics were deeply committed to the belief that no aspect of their philosophy was independent of any other aspect. Long explains that Stoics held a monist position because they believed that if life is to make sense it must *all* be taken into account, reality must be rational, not random, and reality must be organically one. Long attributes the Stoic unified *theory* to their belief in a unified *world*, and quotes Cato:

> What can be found in the world … or among works of craftsmanship, which is so well arranged, so unified, so tightly connected? (…) What consequence does not agree with its antecedent? (…) What feature is not so attached to something else that if you removed a single letter, the whole would collapse? Yet there is nothing which could be removed.[144]

The Stoics defined philosophy as the pursuit of inquiry, and for the purposes of teaching they divided it into three sections, categories into which I divide my chapters. As part of his teaching method, Zeno worked out the division of Stoic philosophy into the fields of ethics, logic, and physics.[145] Modern commentators have explained the meaning of these metaphors of Stoic philosophy in terms of what is knowable and how we build up and use knowledge, but in fact Stoics repeatedly

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[144] Long: "The Stoics, with their belief in a unified world which develops by rational principles, had to aim at a theory which was as coherent as the structure it represented." Anthony A. Long, "Language and Thought in Stoicism," in A.A. Long, ed., *Problems in Stoicism*. London: The Athlone Press, 1971, (75-113), 105.

[145] Diogenes Laertius, VII, 39 in Long, 1996, 85; Hunt, xi; Gerard Verbeke, "Ethics and Logic in Stoicism," in Margaret J. Osler, ed., *Atoms, Pneuma, and Tranquility. Epicurean and Stoic Themes in European Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, (11-24), 12, 14.

cautioned that philosophy is extremely complex and that neat categorization can lead to misunderstanding.[146] Lipsius explained Zeno's three-fold division by defining philosophy as a field, with physics the land and trees, ethics the fruit, and logic the protective fence. Alternatively, he explained, philosophy was like an animal, with logic the bones, ethics the flesh, and physics the soul.[147]

In Chapter One on Stoic ethics, I show that in order to enhance viewers' response to his paintings, Rubens developed the visual connectedness of his painted objects, a system that served to increase the emotional poignancy of the subject, and to hold the viewer's eye. I relate this to notions of viewer response in Early Modern and classical theories of the educational function of art. Art, and artistic style, had roles to play in the moral transformation of viewers. I expand on the scholarship on Rubens's use of Stoic ethics beyond the subjects of his paintings. I describe Stoic ethical philosophy, including the key concepts of virtue, the *telos* (or goal of life in assimilating the flow of nature/God), free will, and the human capacity for choice that is instrumental in how we frame our experiences. Socrates had emphasized the individual's care of the soul, and the Stoics built on this Socratic idea to argue that a human lifespan is a teleological process of learning from reality and of choosing the

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[146] Stoic writers asserted repeatedly that their philosophy was unitary: that to understand any aspect of it required comprehending the unified complex system as a whole. As Anthony Long notes: "Any creative discussion of Stoic philosophy requires a distinct focus, but there is always a risk of distortion by omission or emphasis since the system was peculiarly holistic." Long, 1996, 85 note 3, 105; Hahm, xi, xv; Davidson, 40, 45; Brad Inwood and Luigi Donini, "Stoic Ethics," in K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld, and M. Schofield, eds., *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, (675-738), 711; Katerina Ierodiakonou, "The Stoic Division of Philosophy," *Phronesis*. Vol.38, No.1, 1993, 57-74; Christensen writes: "The Stoic philosopher is a man caught by the quest for unity." Christensen, 11, 79.

[147] Lipsius, *Manuductio*, II.5, IV 695; Saunders, 1955, 81; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, VII, 40, cited in Rachana Kamtekar, "Ancient Virtue Ethics, An Overview with an Emphasis on Practical Wisdom," in Daniel C. Russell, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Virtue Ethics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, (29-48), 45; Christensen, 11, 39.

good.[148] The relationship of the free individual to fate was a much debated concept in Early Modern Europe, and Lipsius explored classical discussions of the subject by Epictetus, Seneca, Plato, and Cicero.[149] There are many subjects in Rubens's *oeuvre* that would suit comparison with Stoic moral theory. However, instead of discussing the subjects of Rubens's paintings, my dissertation focuses on how Stoic moral philosophy, including education to promote self-awareness, relates to individuals' experiences of representations. This includes the Stoic idea that a person can learn to relate to representations in ways that promote progress in wisdom and in virtuous behaviour. The final section of my first chapter is on Stoic self-fashioning, which is fundamentally about becoming wise, meaning becoming wisely in tune with the constant cyclical rhythms and ways of nature. As I explain there in my discussion of the concept of assent, an important aspect of the process of transforming oneself toward wisdom and virtue is how an individual relates to, or manages, his own image of life. To do so is his freedom and his responsibility. The Stoic path toward virtue consists in constantly aligning one's thoughts and actions in accordance with nature. The Stoics related fate to personal choice, to wisdom, and to the natural flow of the universe, essentially arguing that our choices must be fitted into the flux of external events. In their view, reframing one's experience to privilege virtue and goodness leads to the attainment of wisdom and to what Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus described as the happiness of a "smooth flow of life" according to nature as the Stoics

[148] The Stoic ethical concepts of nature, reason, goodness, virtue, wisdom, and care of the soul are tightly bound up together. Socratic thought about goodness and virtue are foundational to Stoic ethics. Socrates (c.470-399BCE) demonstrated that people consider health and wealth to be beneficial; argued that care of the soul is more beneficial; and exhorted his audience to prioritize care of the soul while making physical wellbeing secondary. Inwood and Donini, 689, 716; Seneca, 1965, 79.
[149] Erasmus, Giordano Bruno, and G.W. Leibniz, among many others, weighed in on the issue. Justus Lipsius, *Of Constancie*, 13-19, Kirk, 36-37, 42, 46. Lipsius discussed Augustine and John of Damascus. Lipsius, *Physiologia*, I.11, IV.856; Saunders, 137-138, 142, 159.

conceived it.[150] I investigate Stoic philosophical elements that could support Rubens's interest in and commitment to influencing a viewer's approach to a life well-lived, which he did, in part, through the crucial artistic task of developing visual compositions that attract and hold the viewer's attention.

In Chapter Two I discuss the part of Stoic logic that dealt with rhetoric. Logic was one of the pillars of the unified Stoic philosophy. Lipsius cited Seneca and Epictetus in order to explain that, in contrast to the Peripatetics, the Stoics considered logic to be an integral part of philosophy.[151] Stoic logic had two broad topics, dialectic and rhetoric. Dialectic included formal logic, epistemology, and grammar; while rhetoric included how arguments were organized. Rhetorical theory is about how communication functions, and I am interested in rhetoric because Baroque painting communicates. As Long explains, the Stoics relied on logic as the only method by which people can comprehend and exercise our ability to reason. Epictetus explained that logic was not an end in itself, but was the "measuring instrument" of our rationality.[152] Stoic logic as discussed by Cleanthes and Chrysippus is tied to the distinguishing of truth, and consequently to the activity of the wise. Reason, central to Stoic logic, is connected to the artist's superintendency of knowledge, as Williams explains: "The artist's knowledge 'empties out' into a more general knowledge; his

[150] Diogenese Laertius, II.77.21, quoted in Inwood and Donini, 685, 694, 736; Seneca: "We assert that 'happy' is what is in accordance with nature…" Seneca, *Epistulae,* 124.4, 1965, 257; Long, 2012, 466; For happiness in Marcus Aurelius, see Verbeke, 1991, 17; Gourniat demonstrates that although Marcus Aurelius was an original thinker, his ideas are in agreement with early Stoics, and he writes: "There is logic and there is physics in Marcus's *Meditations*, but ethics is the core of the work. And there maybe non-Stoic ethical elements, but Stoic ethics is the core of Marcus's ethics." Jean-Baptiste Gourniat, "Ethics," in Marcel Van Ackeren, ed., *A Companion to Marcus Aurelius*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, (420-436), 420; Brad Inwood, *Ethics and Human Action in Early Stoicism*. Oxford: Clarendon Pess, 1985.
[151] Lipsius, *Manuductio*, ii, 6; A.C. Lloyd. "Grammar and Metaphysics in the Stoa," in A.A. Long, ed., *Problems in Stoicism*. London: The Athlone Press, 1971, (58-74), 72; Verbeke, 1991, 17-18.
[152] Epictetus, *Discourses*, 1.17, quoted in Long, 1996, 87, 105.

particular art becomes a species of art generally and is ultimately related to rationality itself."[153]

I contend that when Rubens read Stoic authors he engaged with their theory and practice of style. He did not read them only to learn the subject matter, but rather, I posit, as an artist he was deeply attuned to *how* they conveyed ideas. In addition, he was educated in classical literature that had already been influenced by Stoic philosophy. As with the subject of Stoic ethics, it would be possible to trace Stoic rhetorical theory in Rubens's *subjects*, but I instead investigate it in his style. I argue that Rubens's style of Baroque painting relates to classical rhetorical stylistics and to the style of Stoic poetry and histories that Rubens read. In Seneca, Tacitus, Virgil, Erasmus, Lipsius, and others, Rubens experienced literary styles that embodied rhetorical theory. He then painted in styles that also materialized aspects of that theory. I argue that the classical rhetorical theory and the rhetorically-inspired poetry and histories that Rubens read influenced his stylistic choices.

In Chapter Three I relate Rubens's style to Stoic physics, or what was called natural philosophy, as it radically altered the seventeenth-century understanding of the earth and cosmos. The Stoics defined nature as creative. Sambursky translates the famous Stoic definition as "Nature is an artistically working fire, going on its way to create."[154] Zeno's definition of nature as creative and artistic was unlike any definition of nature up to its time, making creativity a key element that unites Nature

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[153] Williams, 1997, 8.

[154] Zeno, cited by Diogenes Laertius, VII, 156, quoted at Sambursky, 1959, 4. Also see Stobaeus, at *SVF*, 1, 107 and *SVF*. 1.171; 1.172; 2.422, 774, 1133, 1134; Ioannis Stobaeus, *Anthologium (with Extracts*). 5th-C. 5 Vols., C. Wachsmuth and O. Hense, eds., Berlin: Weidmann, 1974; (Ioannis Stobaeus, 5th C, Macedonian, compiled extracts by Greek orators, poets, historians, and philosophers. His work was known in Europe at least from its publication in Antwerp in 1575.) Hahm, 200-201, 212; Hunt, 36; S.M. Rubarth, *The Stoic Theory of Aisthesis*. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1997, 109; Barker, 1991, 138. The Stoic connection between God and Nature is in part due to the Stoics' development of a new definition of artistic creativity, or craft.

and God: God is creative; Nature is creative; and when creativity is defined as an art or craft, it is considered to be intentional, planned, and progressing. In this final chapter I build on my previous discussions to illustrate how Stoic ideas informed the early-seventeenth-century view of the human position within a closely interconnected universe that was vivified throughout by God.

I show that the vast knowledge superintended by Rubens's paintings included his knowledge of Stoic physics, and I investigate this through Rubens's landscapes. Again, subject matter is not my major concern. My study is not of Rubens's landscapes *per se*, but rather of the ambient cultural awareness of Stoic natural philosophy that coloured Rubens's theory and practice of painting. Scholars who have sought classical textual sources for Rubens's landscapes have explained them, not in terms of Stoicism, but rather in terms of classical poetic tropes about the sanctuary of gardens and natural spaces.[155] Christopher Brown has argued that while some of Rubens's landscapes are based on the Brabant that Rubens knew first-hand, other paintings are in the tradition of pastoral landscapes that reflect the peaceful Arcadia imagined in Virgil's *Eclogues*.[156] Lisa Vergara relates Rubens's landscapes to Ovid, and Corina Kleinert applies Brown's Virgil thesis to Rubens's retreat from civic duties to live at his country estates.[157] One scholar who has investigated the Flemish

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[155] The bedrock of scholarship on Rubens's landscapes is Wolfgang Adler, *Landscapes*. *CRLB*, Part 18, *Landscapes and Hunting Scenes*, Vol.I, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982. It includes a useful section on the wooden panels.

[156] Brown has described Rubens's landscapes in the National Gallery in terms of the Flemish landscape tradition and Rubens's revision of it. Christopher Brown, *Making and Meaning. Rubens's Landscapes*. London: National Gallery Press, 1996; Michel, 23; Alain Tapié, ed., *Fables du Paysage Flamand. Bosch, Bles, Brueghel, Bril*. Lille: Palais des Beaux Arts de Lille, and Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2012; Katharina Van Cauteren, ed., *Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, en de Ontdekking van de Wereld*. Enschede: Uitgave Rijksmuseum Twenthe, 2014.

[157] Lisa Vergara, *Rubens and the Poetics of Landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982; Kleinert, detailing Rubens's treatment of such natural objects as rocks, clouds, and marshes, uses Virgilian references in Rubens's letters and on his

landscape tradition in terms of Stoicism is Leopoldine Prosperetti. She seeks the reasons for the popularity of landscape paintings by Jan Brueghel, Rubens's friend and colleague, in Brueghel's revisiting of the peaceful *rura* for urban patrons who needed reassurance about providence.[158] Prosperetti links this to patrons' NeoStoicism, arguing that Brueghel's images of work, flight, and traffic should be considered images of modern life that led Antwerp viewers to meditate on the spiritual journey. In contrast to these approaches, I consider Rubens's treatments of nature to relate to the interconnectedness of the material/energetic world that is a foundation of Stoic physics, as I explain in Chapter Three below.[159] I argue that Rubens's unified style parallels the radical and important Stoic belief in the continuous mixing of elements. Finally, I describe the Stoic theory that nature itself is a living animal, whose soul and matter are one, and relate this to Rubens's paintings of the energized material world.

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annotated drawings to argue that the expressiveness of classical poetry may relate to the underlying mood in Rubens's landscapes. Corina Kleinert. *Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) and His Landscapes: Ideas on Nature and Art*. *Picture Nova*, Vol.XX, *Studies in 16th and 17th-Century Flemish Painting and Drawing*. Series Editors: Katlijne Van der Stighelen and Hans Vlieghe. Turnhout, BE: Brepols, 2014, 20, 31; Frances Huemer also, after a brief mention of Stoic concepts, turned to classical poetry to explain Rubens's landscape painting. She wrote, "Rubens placed the rocky Ligurian seacoast, with its sea pines, its isolated villas, its ravines and streams, in the context of Homeric-Virgilian antiquity, as Poussin and Claude later would see (…) the Roman *campagna* through the eyes of Ovid and Virgil. The feeling of Homeric and Virgilian nature, which may be unique to Rubens in the seventeenth century, was nurtured through his brother Philp, and by Lipsius, who required that his pupils read and know Homer. Rubens knew that he had to reconcile that context with the new scientific attitudes toward nature." Huemer, 1996, xix.

[158] Prosperetti, 2009, xvi, 130.

[159] My understanding of Stoic physics is shaped not only by the work of Samuel Samburksy and Johnny Christensen, but also by Peter Barker's investigation into Early Modern uses of classical Stoic natural philosophy. Peter Barker, "Stoic Contributions to Early Modern Science," in Margaret J. Osler, ed., *Atoms, Pneuma, and Tranquility. Epicurean and Stoic Themes in European Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 135-154; Samuel Sambursky, *The Physical World of Late Antiquity*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962.

Chapter One:
Stoic Ethics, Viewer Response, and Rubens's Connected Forms

I. Chapter Introduction

This chapter investigates aspects of Rubens's style in terms of his knowledge of Stoic ethics, tracing Rubens's methods of enhancing visuality and classical Stoic notions of supporting audience response. Stoic ethics highlights self-knowledge. The optimistic Stoic notion was that all people could transform toward goodness if they understood clearly the reality of the human situation.[160] Images play a crucial role in the Stoic theory of personal transformation: thought itself and self-awareness centre on the individual's inner representation, or *phantasia*. The Stoic conception of the *self* and its experience of images was innovative: Epictetus explained that a Stoic's purpose in life was "making correct use of representations."[161] The Early Modern interest in how viewers responded to paintings related to the educative functions of art treated in both Early Modern and Stoic theory, where decorous art was defined as appropriate to the viewer, the occasion, and the message.

I ask how Rubens's style, with its colourful, almost visceral, interlocking of figures, can coexist with his Stoicism; and I find commonality in a commitment to effective communication that was believed to support audience engagement in deep personal transformation. As I explain below, Rubens developed a formal style of placing subjects into combined units, or ensembles, and I argue that this method affected audience response, understood by both Tridentine and Stoic theorists to

[160] I should note that when I refer to the individual, the viewer, etc., I use the masculine gender to mean any individual. However, the classical Stoics believed, as do I, in equality, including of gender, ethnicity, or social status. As Long notes, "the Roman Stoic Musonius Rufus (c.20-30) delivered discourses proving that females have the same natures as males (…) and that daughters should be educated in the same way as sons." Long, 1996, xii.
[161] Epictetus quoted in *Ibid*., 265.

contribute to individuals' moral progress. Rubens's depiction of subjects as interlocked in compact masses, can cause the viewer's eye to be pointed in certain directions, enhancing the impression of tactility and heightening the emotional aspect of viewer response.

Figure 1. Rubens, The Queen Chooses Security, 1622-1624, oil on canvas.

An example of Rubens's ensembles of form can be seen in The Queen Chooses Security, part of a series intended to be displayed in the Luxembourg gallery by Queen Marie to celebrate the lives of herself and King Henri IV of France.[162] This painting has been called quintessentially Baroque, not only in its overlapping meanings and connotations, but also in its strong diagonal composition.[163] In this painting, the solidity of a classical temple on one side balances the storming evil on the other, with Peace and Health encircling and leading Marie de Medici toward an ancient altar. Framed by lush marble pillars, under the sculpted title "*Securitati Augustae*," Marie de Medici looks upon a caduceus, emblem of eloquence, of right reason, and of peace being restored, that is positioned directly over the heart of the classical icon of august Security.[164] Mercury points toward the future: Marie is to become associated with the role of the noble, matronly guide to her son.[165] With Blind

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[162] Rubens, The Queen Chooses Security, also titled The Conclusion of the Peace, 1622-1624, oil on canvas, 394x295cm., Louvre, Paris. Max Rooses, *L'Oeuvre de P.P. Rubens, Histoire et Description de ses Tableaux et Dessins*. 5 Volumes, Antwerp, Belgium, 1886-1892, reprinted Soest: Davaco, 1977, Vol. III, 249, Fig. 238; Marie de Medici, 1575-1642, born in Florence, became Queen of France as the second wife of King Henry IV of France (1553-1610); she was mother to King Louis XIII of France (1601-1643), and was the grandmother of King Charles II (1630-1685) and King James II (1633-1701) of England. Philip Rubens the Younger, 39-40; Jacob Burckhardt, *Recollections of Rubens*. London: Phaidon Press, 1950, 114; Ronald Forsyth Millen and Robert Erich Wolf, "The Queen Opts for Security," *Heroic Deeds and Mystic Figures. A New Reading of Rubens's Life of Maria de' Medici*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989, 194-204; J. Thuillier and J. Foucart, *Rubens' Life of Marie de' Medici*. New York: Abrams, 1967.

[163] Millen and Wolf: "We see not a specific event but an abstraction of what happened, a mélange of the real, the emblematic, the mythological, the allegorical, and the Roman antique." Millen and Wolf, 194, 199; De Piles, (1699), 1744, 39.

[164] Jeffrey Muller, "Review of Heroic Deeds and Mystic Figures," *Oud Holland*. Vol. 107, No.3, 1993, 305; E.H. Gombrich, "Aims and Limits of Iconology," *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*. London and New York, 1972, 8-12; Susan Saward, *The Golden Age of Marie de' Medici*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1982.

[165] Millen and Wolf explain that "The statue is that of a Roman matriarch of the nature of the Diva Augusta, the deified empress, the protective spirit and *Ur-Mutter* of the apotheosized dynasty." The round temple was an ancient symbol of the world as a whole, and of harmony; and with the Ionic order it is associated with Juno and with

Fury, Deceit, and Fraud racing forcefully inwards from the right, the Queen remains connected with youthful Innocence who frames her from behind, while a muscular, healthy Mercury takes Marie by the arm.

The overall shape of the figures provides a vibrant example of Rubens's clustering of subjects into one connected three-dimensional unit. Arranging shapes in circles or pyramids can influence the viewer's experience by drawing his eye to various parts of the subject. Rubens complicates this visual journey by suggesting three-dimensional volume and depth, giving the painting a spiralling motion. In The Queen Chooses Security, a sense of depth is created by both the movement of subjects across the picture plane and by the spatial depth of the figures, the architecture, and the stormy sky. Set against the dark green of the marble temple, there is a circle of light created by the shapes of Mercury's body and arms, and the faces of the three central women, Marie, Innocence, and Peace. The circular temple extends back into the distance. The figures, in contrast, project outwards from the temple depth. They spiral up the steps as if to enter the temple, the sense of undulating movement echoed in the variety of their poses.

This chapter investigates how the viewer response created by Rubens's positioning of figures and shapes can relate to the concern shared by Early Modern and Stoic ethics that an individual be moved to undertake moral transformation. Art theorists have considered the didactic purposes of Early Modern art, but to speak of moralizing art is not sufficient to describe how Rubens's art functions to move viewers. I ask how Rubens's commitment to viewer response, in the case of his formal methods, might relate to Stoic ethics, and I find that Stoicism offered the

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the maxim of virtue preceding harmony that appears on a 1599 medal of Henri IV; Millen and Wolf note that Rubens associates the Ionic order with Marie de Medici the *ruler*. Millen and Wolf, 197-198.

optimistic belief he shared that a person could progress toward self-awareness and wisdom. As I will demonstrate, Stoics wished to guide and motivate people, not to judge and revile them, so they developed an approach to morality that relied on self-education. They knew that the way things appear to a person – that is, the representations that one has – depended not only upon the objects represented, but also upon the viewer, who was affected by past experience and education.[166] What is especially relevant to a Baroque painter like Rubens is the Stoic belief that the individual himself is the locus of transformation, thus rendering methods for viewer response at the core of the artist's project. As I will show below, Stoic ethical philosophy required that an individual create his own lasting moral transformation, a project that visual art could contribute to if the art caught the viewer's eye and held his heart. In this chapter I describe Stoic ethics, highlighting the role of the individual in transformation, and discuss the special role Stoic philosophers accorded to representations. I relate these classical Stoic concepts to Rubens's interest in viewer response, in this case through his design of visually interlocking shapes, what I term formal "ensembles."

[166] Long, 1996, 272; Gerard Watson, "The Natural Law and Stoicism," in A. A. Long, ed., *Problems in Stoicism*. London: The Athlone Press, 1971, (216-238), 220.

I. A. Early Modern Interest in Stoic Ethics

Rubens lived and painted at a time when Early Modern philosophical and religious believers attempted to communicate to readers of texts and viewers of images. While he read classical Stoic authors including works of moral philosophy, Rubens's life work was bound up with processes involved in making meaningful art. In the seventeenth century, the scope of moral philosophy was very wide and included socio-political theories about good citizenship, scientific methodologies to understand human reality, and the care of the self which could be interpreted broadly to include even astrology and divination.[167] Seventeenth-century philosophies of ethics at the time of Rubens are under-represented in the scholarship. According to the *Oxford Handbook of Ethics* there are a hundred times more scholarly articles on eighteenth-century moral philosophers than there are on seventeenth-century moral philosophers.[168] However, early seventeenth-century philosophy is not a meaningless lull between the Renaissance and the eighteenth century. Rather, for people like Rubens who thought deeply, early-*seicento* moral philosophy was transforming people's awareness of who they were and how they could live. Stoic philosophy and

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[167] For example, Spinoza discussed many such topics: what is the sanctity of the Bible? what is God's word? what is faith? and how does faith coincide with obedience to the heart of the biblical message which is neighbourly love and justice? Fokke Akkerman, "Humanism and Religion in the Works of Spinoza," in A.A. Macdonald, Z.R.W.M von Martels, and J.R. Veenstra, eds., *Christian Humanism. Essays in Honour of Arjo Vanderjagt*. Leiden: Brill, 2009, (211-224), 223; Also, for example, Pierre Gassendi's *Ethics*, 1658, contains "Of Felicity" and "Of Virtue." Garrett, 230; Han Van Ruler, "The *philosophia Christi*, its Echoes and its Repercussions on Virtue and Nobility," in A.A. Macdonald, Z.R.W.M von Martels, and J.R. Veenstra, eds., *Christian Humanism. Essays in Honour of Arjo Vanderjagt*. Leiden: Brill, 2009, (235-264), 261.

[168] Garrett: "There are probably a hundred scholarly articles on Kant's or Hume's ethics for every article on Descartes' or Spinoza's ethics. This also holds of how we teach moral philosophy. Two out of three of the basic kinds of normative ethical theories in the common trichotomy (…) have their beginnings in the early eighteenth century." Garrett, 229; My inquiry into Rubens's Stoicism aims to shed light on the current scholarly blindspot toward the early-seventeenth century.

other classical philosophical schools were very important in these Early Modern efforts to help people find and understand their place in the world. Seventeenth-century moral philosophy built on key concepts in classical philosophy, and transformed them in response to Early Modern realities.

There existed an interplay between classical texts and Early Modern religious art and writing, both of which the Early Modern reader or artist could apply to address modern issues. For example, Vives compared "weak brethren" to a painting which, faded by time and mottled by infighting, superstition, and scandal, had lost its "clarity of outline and the freshness of its original colours. While it did not need complete repainting," he said, it needed to be cleaned and retouched.[169] Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century moral philosophy appropriated, adopted, and repurposed classical ideals, including ideas about the working and functions of God and of reason.[170] Van Ruler argues that key Stoic concepts were taken up by Early Modern moral philosophers as tools for "psychological empowerment" within the Early Modern

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[169] Vives's *De veritate fidei christiane* discussed human nature and God, arguing that God is "congruent" with human nature and compatible with human needs. Vives reasserted the Stoic belief that since God did nothing in vain, we could assume that He provided us with the wherewithall to build meaningful lives. Vives acknowledged that since Jews and Muslims also held that God revealed His law, Vives's audience did not need Christ in order to become close to God. However, he argued, Christ's dual nature as both divine and human was particularly instructive concerning the human ability to transform. Vives, *Opera Omnia*, praef., 1.3, Vol.8, 2, 21, cited in Marcia Colish, "Humanism and Philosophy: The *De veritate fidei christianae* of Juan Luis Vives," in A.J. Vanderjagt, A.A. MacDonald, Z.R.W.M von Martels, and J.R. Veenstra, eds., *Christian Humanism*. Leiden: Brill, 2009, (173-198), 185-186.

[170] According to the *Oxford Handbook of Ethics*, "It is difficult to overstate the ubiquity and depth of influence of Cicero, Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, Lucretius, Sextus Empiricus, and so many others on Early Modern moral philosophers from Montaigne to Machiavelli to Hume and Kant. Many of the practical techniques, assumptions, and arguments of modern moral philosophy have their sources" in the classical philosophical schools including the belief that theories of knowledge were related to the good life. Garrett, 231.

Christian culture.[171] These Stoic concepts included the idea that happiness could be generated by virtue, that god and reason shared certain traits, and that self and society would benefit through people's practicing reserve, or the redirecting of mental energy.

The seventeenth-century popularization of Stoic ethics built on medieval translations of Seneca and annotated anthologies which were still in circulation, and on Erasmus's editions of Seneca as well as the treatment of Seneca in Jerome's *Illustrious Men*.[172] Lipsius's quotations and translations of Stoic classical texts also made them available to seventeenth-century writers.[173] Lipsius conceived of himself

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[171] Van Ruler, 2009, 261; Han Van Ruler, "'Quid aliud est, quam insanire?' Erasmus, Valla, and the Stoic-Epicurean Controversy," in E. Pasini and P. Rossi, eds., *Erasmo da Rotterdam e la cultura Europea*. Florence: SISMEL edizioni del Galluzzzo, 1988, 175-198; As Bonhoffer cautions, "It is not really a matter of Stoic ethics being played off against Christian ethics, but how in the past the two peacefully co-existed in so many Fathers of the Christian church and quietly merged together." (W.O. Stephens, trans.) A.F. Bonhoffer, *Epiktet und das Neue Testament*. Giessen: Topelmann, 1911.

[172] Desiderius Erasmus, 1466-1536, Netherlandish humanist, Catholic theologian, and influential writer; Desiderius Erasmus, ed., *Lucius Annaeus Seneca. Opera philosophica*. Basel: J. Froben, 1515, 1529; Desiderius Erasmus, *Lucius Annaeus Senecae philosophi Flores, sive sententiae insigniores, excerptae per D. Erasmus Roterdam. item L. Annaei Senecae Tragici, Sententiae*. 1528, 1642, 2009; Fothergill-Payne, 119-121; Christoph Burger, "Erasmus of Rotterdam and Late Medieval Theologians on the Doctrine of Grace," in A.A. Macdonald, Z.R.W.M von Martels, and J.R. Veenstra, eds., *Christian Humanism. Essays in Honour of Arjo Vanderjagt*. Leiden: Brill, 2009, (225-234), 230; Van Ruler argues that Erasmus's philosophical debt was eclectic. He writes: "Where Christ speaks to Erasmus, Plato is never far off, but Plato's spokesman could just as well be a Stoic, an Epicurean, or even an Aristotelian." For example, Erasmus cited the classical story of the Stoic Spudaeus explaining the power of mind over matter by using the example of a person holding vigil outside his beloved's house even in the depth of winter. One area that in my opinion sounds Stoic is Erasmus's discussion of "true goods." Van Ruler, 2009, 242, 243; Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Christening Pagan Mysteries: Erasmus in Pursuit of Wisdom*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981; James D. Tracy, *The Politics of Erasmus: A Pacifist Intellectual and His Political Milieu*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978.

[173] For example, Montaigne's *Essais* include long passages copied from Lipsius. (Montaigne, 1533-1592) Montaigne: "Zeal itself does partake of the divine Reason and Justice when it behaves ordinately and moderately but that it changes into hatred and envy whenever it serves human passions, producing then not wheat and the fruit of the vine but tares and nettles." Michel de Montaigne, *Les Essais*. (1570-1592). P. Villey and V. Saulnier, eds., Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1978, 321-322. This passage is translated from Nicetas, quoted from Justus Lipsius's *Adversus*

as an architect shoring up the structure of philosophy to make a safe place for him and others to live, think, and progress spiritually. In Lipsius's letter to the reader in the 1585 edition of his *De Constantia* he described the practical philosophy that he hoped would provide solace, hope, and practical wisdom. In contrast to pedantic scholars who strive only for inconsequential fame, he wrote, he brought accurate translation, enlivening commentary, and the humble guidance that readers should look beyond the editor to the classical sources themselves to make reading the classics a personal spiritual process. He wrote: "Always steering my ship away from the sophistries, I directed my voyage to the only haven of a tranquil mind," and "I have written this book chiefly for myself: the goal of those was glory, but of this, salvation."[174] Lipsius also borrowed a tree-grafting metaphor from Seneca to claim that people could transplant classical philosophical concepts onto Christianity. He argued that the study of Stoic philosophy could aid one's understanding of contemporary spiritual experiences.[175] About Seneca's writing Lipsius asserted, "This work shows great spirit: let us take strength from it in the midst of the evil times."[176]

Early Modern Christians debated the nature of God, linked virtue to freedom and felicity, and associated reason with humility, patience, and constancy. Some treated classical Stoic philosophy as a source for self-help, which was partly how the Stoics had used it. Lipsius showed that Stoicism historically had close ties with Christian wisdom, that the Stoics were uniquely amenable to being reconciled with

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dialogistam III. Peter Mack, "Montaigne and Christian Humanism," in A.A. Macdonald, Z.R.W.M von Martels, and J.R. Veenstra, eds., *Christian Humanism. Essays in Honour of Arjo Vanderjagt*. Leiden: Brill, 2009, (199-210), 204.

[174] Lipsius, "Ad Lectorem," in *De Constantia*, 1584; Morford, 1991, 161.

[175] Diogenes Laertius, vi.104, cited in Lipsius, *Manuductio*, I 13, IV 662; Saunders, 75-77; In *De Constantia*, Lipsius defined constancy as "the right and immovable strength of mind that is neither elated nor depressed by external or chance events." Morford, 1991, 162.

[176] Lipsius, quoted in *Ibid*., 173; In the *Manuductio*, Lipsius had written that Seneca's writings "seem rosebeds to me." Kirk, 49.

Christian spirituality, and that Seneca was particularly useful for modern Christians.[177] Stoicism was particularly well suited to Early Modern Christianity in that it focussed on human nature and on the choices and actions available to an individual interested in virtue. Saunders argues that one of the appeals of Seneca and Epictetus for Lipsius was that their ethical philosophies were strongly spiritual in tone. The Stoic emphasis on living in accord with the natural flow included a lifestyle shaped by the right reason that pervaded nature, and by choices that promoted virtue, which to Lipsius connoted seeking God.[178] Jan Papy argues that Lipsius's publication of Stoic texts popularized a modern secular ethics which "could be regarded as a true complement to Christian, biblical morality."[179] Rubens, a generation younger than Lipsius, owned and read these Stoic and Neo-Stoic publications.[180]

This chapter argues that Rubens's tools for creating viewer response through the tactile connectedness of his painted subjects was influenced not only by Early Modern artistic traditions, but also by the Stoic investigation of human nature and its system for personal transformation that made available classical philosophical concepts as resources with which people could respond to urgent contemporary issues. As I discuss below, the Stoic system of personal transformation was dominated by an emphasis on cognitive processes, including how to treat the

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[177] Morford, 1991, 159; Christoph Jedan, *Stoic Virtues. Chrysippus and the Religious Character of Stoic Ethics*. London and New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2007.
[178] Lipsius, *Manuductio*, II.16, IV.720; Saunders, 96; T.H. Irwin, "Stoic Naturalism and its Critics," in Brad Inwood, ed., *Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 345-364.
[179] Papy, 2009, 144.
[180] On Rubens's ownership of Stoic texts, see Dissertation Introduction Section III, above. Also, in his letters Rubens often quoted Horace and Virgil who were both connected with Stoicism, in particular the ethical statements from Horace's *Satires* and *Epistles,* two works that deal with a Stoic-like attention to the practicalities of the ethical life. Horace 1924b, *Epistles*, I: 2, cited in Kleinert, 54; Bellori commented on the importance of Virgil in Rubens's lost notebooks. Bellori, "Life of Rubens," 205.

passions, interpreted as incorrect opinions and their consequent negative emotions.[181] I use the scholarship of De Piles to explain that Rubens promoted viewer response through compositions that foreground the tactile connectedness of his painted subjects. On this basis I suggest that an important aspect of Rubens's interests in viewer response and in transformative art can be traced to the belief of Stoic ethical philosophers that an individual is responsible for his own progress toward virtue and wisdom. Because the *phantasia*, or representation, was so central to Stoic theories of how people thought and felt, Stoic ethics linked awareness of *images* to self-awareness, and taught that moral well-being depended upon an individual becoming adept at reframing *phantasia*. Rubens arranged painted forms so as to make them serve viewer response, which in turn could serve the individual's progress toward virtue and wisdom.

[181] According to Diogenes Laertius: "Falsehoods (are) the source of many passions, and they are responsible for instability." Diogenes Laertius, VII.100; Inwood and Donini, 699, 711-712; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, VII.116, cited in Kamtekar, 43; For the Stoic differentiation of knowledge versus belief, with belief as "weak assent" see Long, 1974, 129; Gourniat, 426-428.

II. Rubens's Ensemble Forms: "To Move the Hearts of Men"

In the first century BCE, Horace wrote: "It is not enough for poetry to be beautiful, it must also be pleasing, such as to move the hearts and feelings of men."[182] Theories about audience response, or how to "move the heart," played important roles both in classical Stoic moral philosophy and in Early Modern art theory. Early Modern art theoretical notions of decorum drew on classical theories of how to move listeners and readers by creating emotional responses.[183] To serve viewer response, Rubens developed the practice of painting connected groups of shapes and figures, that is, visually connected ensembles made up of subsidiary forms.[184] Rubens clustered together figures and objects so that they functioned visually as one shape with closely connected pieces, repeating each other's movements. The forms are placed together in such a way that the canvas is dominated by an overall ovoid, with subsidiary forms diverging from and enlivening the main form.

The quality of Rubens's style that I address in this chapter, the formal connectedness of his painted shapes, can be seen in his Consequences of War.[185] Rubens described the content of the painting in a letter:

> Mars has left the open temple of Janus and rushes forth with shield and blood-stained sword, threatening the people with great disaster. He pays little heed to Venus, his mistress, who, accompanied by her Amors and Cupids, strives with caresses and embraces to hold

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[182] Horace, *Ars poetica*. Roma: Casa Editrice Gismondi, 1953; Michael Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971, 104.
[183] De Lairesse compared painting to words in terms of response: "If a discourse can captivate the heart, how much more must the eye be attracted by a painting? Since the sight affects the senses in a greater degree." De Lairesse, 1710, 81-82; De Jongh, 55.
[184] Although this practice was available to Rubens in the visual culture to some extent, I investigate how his choice to adapt and build on the method could have been compatible with aspects of Stoicism. De Piles noted that Raphael and Julio Romano had grouped figures together. De Piles. *The Principles of Painting*, (1709) 1743, 61.
[185] Rubens, Consequences of War. 1637-1638, 206x345cm, oil on canvas, Pitti Palace, Florence. *Les Maux de la Guerre* in Rooses, *L'Oeuvre*, 1886-1892, Vol.4, 47-51, Fig. 264; Nils Büttner, *Allegories and Subjects from Literature*. *CRLB*. Part 12.

> him. From the other side, Mars is dragged forward by the Fury Alecto, with a torch in her hand. Nearby are monsters personifying Pestilence and Famine, those inseparable partners of War. On the ground, turning her back, lies a woman with a broken lute, representing Harmony, which is incompatible with the discord of War.[186]

Figure 2. Rubens, Consequences of War, 1637-1638, oil on canvas.

Visually, the figures on the left rush in as one mass toward the centre and seem to cause the figures on the right to topple like a wave crashing on the shore. The shapes of the vertical bodies on the left are repetitions, as if they are all parts of one unit. The figures on the left, Europe and Venus, lean toward the centre of the painting, to where Ares's shield arm forms a cross, and beyond that point on the right, the shapes become horizontal, echoed in the light/dark lines of the sky. The figures on the right are in a jumble of opposing diagonal lines. Learned Harmony and Architecture/Art at the bottom, and angry Fury with accompanying Famine and Pestilence at the top, are at contrasting diagonal angles that meet where Ares's sword threatens to touch Architecture's bare foot. The dark figure of Ares holds the line between those who fear war on the left, and those who suffer the consequences of war

[186] Rubens to Justus Sustermans, 12 March, 1638, quoted in White, 1987, 230.

on the right. A strong horizontal line extending from Venus's right shoulder to the left shoulder of Fury serves to hold the viewer's eye near the centre of the canvas, where Venus's bare skin meets Ares's armoured body. The central focal point is the gaze between Peace and War, heightened by the contrasts of light/dark and monochrome/red. Aside from creating a rolling motion across the canvas, the figures shape a concave circle that extends from foreground to background, with the forward point being Venus's elbow, and the furthest away point being Mars's shield, plus the Fury and flying putto. It is as if they are seen in a moment of relatedness, and by this I mean both allegorical relatedness and the relatedness of forms that depend upon one another for their overall shape. In visual art, space is formed by the shapes that define it - yet in Rubens's *oeuvre*, painted shapes are virtually dependent for their existence upon other painted shapes.

Although Early Modern art theory had linked pictorial order to literary narrative forms, Rubens did not spatially distribute painted subjects according to narrative linearity. Instead, he painted constellations of linked forms that move the viewer's eye two-dimensionally and three-dimensionally, and therefore engage the viewer's interest. Julius Held noted that in Rubens's art, the forms seem to fit together, visually and symbolically dense, but flowing. Held discussed a tomb design sketch and why he attributed it to Rubens:

> What makes the design both aesthetically rewarding and characteristic of Rubens's approach is that despite the great variety of individual shapes and objects and a corresponding density of meaning, the overall design retains a graceful fluidity and easy transition from one form to another.[187]

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[187] Image: Rubens, attrib. Tomb for a Married Couple, engraving P. Clouwet, Fig.VII.4, Held, 1982, 84, 86; David Rosand also mentioned coherence as a sign of the artist's hand in Rubens's Lion Hunt, oil sketch, Hermitage, Saint Petersburg. David Rosand, "Rubens's Munich Lion Hunt: Its Sources and Significance," *The Art Bulletin*. Vol.51, No.1, March 1969, 32.

The scholarship of De Piles is central to understanding how this technique of Rubens's functions, that is, how it manages to create a response in the viewer. De Piles's theory is virtually a statement of Rubens's compositional practice. Barasch wrote that in some of De Piles's criticism, he "follows Rubens almost to the letter," while Huemer argues that De Piles's theory proves that he owned Rubens's theoretical treatise.[188] I posit that the theory of De Piles, himself an artist, was instigated in part by his own experience of viewing Rubens's powerful paintings. What he saw happening in Rubens's art revolutionized his understanding of how painted form related to vision, and how this affected the viewer. De Piles's novel explanation of how painted style relates to viewer understanding deviated widely from the emphasis on linear narrative that had dominated seventeenth-century literary theory, in contrast to which he reasserted the centrality of *visual* effects. Early Modern art theorists had privileged the appearance of temporal and causal unfolding, as the painted *historia* borrowed narrative theory from its literary counterpart.[189] De Piles's contemporaries theorized that painted actions should seem to unfold temporally and causally like dramatic plots, forcing the viewer to interpret the apparent temporal ordering as narrative causality.[190] However, this unfolding narrative could create a visual dissonance among painted objects, as Delacroix, the nineteenth-century colourist

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[188] Barasch, 372; Huemer, 1996, 141, note 4.

[189] In his 1591 guidebook to Florence, Francesco Bocchi praised Andrea del Sarto's ability to conceptualize actions and attributes and then to apply them to painted subjects. For this to work required an understanding of the overall scene and story, like the way literature unfolded through related scenes. Francesco Bocchi, *Le Belleza della citta di Fiorenza*, 1591, Florence, 143-144; Williams, 1997, 99; 106, 208.

[190] Charles Lebrun (1619-1690), André Felibien (1619-1695), and Francois Fénelon (1651-1715). Lebrun cautioned artists that no good historian would describe only the closing scene while leaving out the preceeding story. Felibien explained that, as with theatre, a painter should arrange a composition with "a beginning, a middle, and an end" in order to "provide better instruction for the spectator." Felibien, *Preface*, Vol.V, 313, quoted in Thomas Puttfarken, *Roger de Piles's Theory of Art*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985, 5, 8-12.

noticed in the work of Rubens's near-contemporary, Nicholas Poussin, writing "It seems that all Poussin's figures are unrelated to each other and appear to be cut out; that is why there are these gaps and the lack of unity, of fusion, of effect."[191] Delacroix's use of the word *unrelated* points to the contrasting *relatedness* of forms in a Rubens painting, where they seem fused into an overall emotive shape. In contrast to a narrative model that forces a linear structure onto painted subject matter, Rubens positioned figures together to create more of a snapshot effect that De Piles believed created an immediate response in the viewer, at first glance.

De Piles asserted that subject matter and stylistic verisimilitude cannot make a painting successful if the forms are not arranged so as to satisfy the viewer's eye. Instead, he explained, a skilful artist would influence the viewer's visual passage over the canvas, allowing the viewer to see at first glance a unified ensemble of shapes, because this is how natural vision occurs. Defining the ensemble as "several objects concurring to make one," he argued that the viewer was "desirous to take in the whole at one view."[192] De Piles defined the ensemble form as "the joining of figures together" and "the joining of objects with regard to design."[193] As De Piles explained and as can be seen in Rubens's paintings, when an artist arranges visually interlocking groups of forms, this creates not only a haptic response in the viewer, but also what

[191] Eugene Delacroix, *Journal de Eugene Delacroix*. Vol.I, 6 June, 1851, republished A. Joubin, ed., Paris: Librairie Plon, 1932; Puttfarken, 1985, 37; Jonathan Unglaub, *Poussin and the Poetics of Painting: Pictorial Narratives and the Legacy of Tasso*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
[192] De Piles, (1709) 1743, 65-66; Puttfarken, 1985, 9, 83-86, 103.
[193] De Piles, (1709) 1743, 60-61. An excellent early example of this technique is Rubens's The Coronation of the Virgin, 1611, oil on canvas, transferred from panel, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg. See the Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, and Courtauld Institute, London, exh cat. *Peter Paul Rubens. A Touch of Brilliance. Oil Sketches and Related Works from the State Hermitage Museum and the Courtauld Institute Gallery*. London: Prestel, 2003, 65, Fig.10.

De Piles called "centres of vision" among which the viewer's eye moves.[194] This, according to De Piles, made a composition coherent:

> To hinder the eye from being dissipated, we must endeavour to fix it agreeably. Where the picture has several groups, one of them must predominate in force and colour; and besides, detached objects must be so united with their ground, as to make but one mass. (…) The satisfaction of the eye is therefore one of the foundations upon which the unity of objects in painting depends.[195]

Believing that nature brings "several objects into one glance of the eye," De Piles wanted to understand how human vision naturally functioned, and then to explain how an artist could make painted forms and figures correspond in some ways to natural vision.[196] He believed that if a painter's compositional concerns were informed by the way people naturally see, this would promote viewer engagement. The "glance of the viewer" was thus central to De Piles's theory of how painted forms functioned.[197] In defining visuality this way his theory privileged the spontaneous, subjective response of the viewer. To catch the viewer's eye and move him was at the core of the seventeenth-century artist's purpose. In order to effect this, Rubens worked out figural positions and gestures in his sketches, skilfully adjusted subjects even when he was far along in the process of completing a painting, and often put final touches on his work *in situ* in light of the practical realities of the viewing experience. His painting is so powerful because he combined the lived experience of painter, theorist, and viewer.

Early Modern Italian and Flemish art theory recognized the power of the image and built on classical theory to understand how images functioned vis-à-vis a

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[194] De Piles, (1709) 1743, 68, 225.
[195] *Ibid*., 66. De Piles discusses "grouping" and "the effect of the whole" in his chapter "Of Disposition," (1709) 1743, 58-77.
[196] *Ibid*., 59, 225.
[197] In pointing to this stylistic element, De Piles highlighted the *visual* aspect of painting in combination with its *narrative* allusions. Puttfarken, 1985, 46, 87, 94, 113.

viewer's emotions and thoughts. To elicit a response was fundamental to the very definition of art in the seventeenth century. According to De Lairesse, paintings exercised a profound effect upon the viewer, so it was advisable to choose carefully what to see. He wrote: "For improvement, fine pictures are necessary to be always in view. (…) When the eye has once catched them, it will retain them; because their ideas make continual impressions on the mind."[198] It was understood that art was located in both the response of the viewer and the creative practice of the artist, whose purpose it was to use style to instigate a response in the viewer. Williams explains viewer response as the viewer experiencing intangible qualities that arise in response to the painting's content and style. According to him,

> That viewers undergo a process of becoming is evident in the frequent references to art's ability to alter and transform those who look: an encounter with a work of art can test the depth of one's being; it can involve philosophical illumination or spiritual purification. (…) In the contemplation of a picture, abstract concepts are defined, naturalized, made real; the viewer has the sense of being brought into contact with them in their pure form. (…) At the same time, it reinforces the viewer's emotional and intellectual investment in them.[199]

To these ends, Early Modern paintings show subjects who have various levels of understanding of the depicted theme, and who consequently respond differently, thus allowing viewers to associate with various subjects. Vasari had written that Michelangelo succeeded because he painted "the effects of the emotions and the satisfaction of the spirit."[200] What Rubens added to the Early Modern art theoretical understanding was that viewer response would be heightened through the combining

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[198] De Lairesse. 1710, 349-350; De Jongh, 55, 144, 258. In a seventeenth-century treatise on rhetoric Bernard Lamy discussed the power of words: "Certain turns … are able to produce in the minds of our listeners any effects we wish, whether we want to carry them to fury or sweetness, to hatred or love." Bernard Lamy, *La Rhétorique*, 1675, 8, quoted in Puttfarken, 1985, 63.
[199] Williams, 1997, 13, 19.
[200] *Ibid.*, 9-10.

of, on one hand, the intelligibility of the subjects' causal and emotional situations, and on the other, the visual impact of formal relatedness.

Early Modern art theorists, drawing on classical theory, understood that audience responses to subject matter and to stylistic effects were related and could occur together. Pliny compared the successful orator to a tightrope walker, and later to a helmsman in a storm who needed to approach the precipice and almost boil over. A skillful artist or writer would believably portray the worldview of a subject so that the viewer or reader would respond to it.[201] Virgil explained that he wrote as if he was an advocate and his characters were his clients. Tacitus was admired for having been able to enter into the situation of his subjects in order to share their views of episodes in Rome's history. For Seneca, an artist "rode" style like a wave or like a horse, making stylistic choices that served the work's truth function, but in constant relationship, or tension, with the emotions and artistic choices generated by the meaning and the style. Seneca wrote:

> You have the words under control. The language does not carry you off nor draw you further than you intended. There are many who are summoned by the charm of some pleasing word to write something which they had not planned, but this does not happen to you. Everything is compact and suited to the subject. You say as much as you wish and mean more than you say.[202]

De Piles imagined that a viewer would respond initially with what Puttfarken calls a "sensuous attraction" to the style, and this would grow into sustained attention

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[201] A painting depicts a world or creates a situation that is believable enough for a viewer to empathize with it. De Piles used the term *vraisemblance*, meaning believable or realistic, to explain that a viewer's acceptance of the depicted space was a condition of the viewer's response. De Piles's use of the terms *le vrai* and *vraisemblance* were available to him through French literary theory, but in De Piles's conception they related not to linear narrative but rather to the harmony of visual qualities, that is, just those qualities that he observed in Rubens's paintings. Puttfarken, 1985, 51; Pliny the Younger, letter to Lupercus and *Epistulae*, 9.26.3-4, in Connolly, 163; Kennedy, 1972, 392, 402, 525.

[202] Seneca, "Epistulae morales ad Lucilium," in *Letters from a Stoic*. Robin Campbell, trans., ed., Hammondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1969, 49-59; Kennedy, 1972, 479.

to the painting and its subject.[203] When, in *Cours de Peinture* of 1709, De Piles exchanged the terms beauty and grace that he had used earlier in his 1699 *Abrégé* in favour of the notions enthusiasm and sublime, he made form preeminent. He defined the concept of enthusiasm in ways that sound like viewer response, describing the unusual emotions created by art, including the viewer's feeling of sudden joyful recognition. As he stated, "Enthusiasm is a transport of mind, which makes us conceive things after a sublime, surprising, and improbable manner."[204] De Piles argued that viewers responded spontaneously, strongly, and automatically. According to him, the grace of an artwork at first "surprises the spectator, who feels the effect without penetrating into the true cause of it. (…) It pleases, and gains the heart, without concerning itself with the understanding."[205] He used the words and concepts "enthusiasm" and "sublime" from Longinus's *On the Sublime*, yet he gave them an original definition in order to explain the relationship of form to vision and to viewer response, and he argued that in order for art to have relevance, it had to attract and hold a viewer. One of Rubens's key methods of attracting and holding the viewer was connectedness, that is, the visual and seemingly tactile, haptic connectedness of his subjects, through which the viewer perceives complex relationships among the painted forms.

[203] Puttfarken, 1985, 103, 114; Wietse De Boer, "The Counter-Reformation of the Senses," in A. Bamji, G.H. Janssen, and M. Laven, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013, 225-241.
[204] De Piles, (1709) 1743, 114.
[205] De Piles, (1699) 1744, 10; De Piles used Boileau-Despreaux's 1674 translation of Longinus's *On the Sublime*, which is about audience response and how the artist can encourage it, through style. Williams, 2004, 41. For De Piles on how enthusiasm relates to the sublime, see De Piles, (1709) 1743, 115-116, De Piles, (1699), 1744, 17-18; and Puttfarken, 1985, 94, 105-109, 122.

Figure 3. Rubens, Peace Protected by Minerva from Mars. 1629, oil on canvas.

In Rubens's paintings, the interconnected formal style is heightened when the figures have multivalent allegorical meanings, with individual subjects meaning more than one thing, and actually requiring the meaning of neighbouring figures in order to complete their symbolic meaning.[206] An example of this is the central female figure in Peace Protected. The serene nursing woman with braided hair is simultaneously Peace and Venus and more, possibly also Abundance, Charity, and Mother; and the surrounding figures represent attributes of her. As Pax, she nourishes the young god of wealth and attracts the return of the arts and prosperity in the maenads on the left.

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[206] Rubens, Peace Protected by Minerva from Mars, 1629-1630, oil on canvas, 203.5x298cm, National Gallery, London. *Minerve Protegeant la Paix Contre la Guerre* in Rooses, *L'Oeuvre*, 1886-1892, Vol. IV, 45-47, Figs. 262, 263; Philip Rubens the Younger, 40; Nils Büttner, *Allegories and Subjects from Literature. CRLB*. Part 12, forthcoming. Rubens painted this while he was in London, and presented it to King Charles I. Van der Doort, surveyor of the royal collection, described the painting as an emblem showing the differences and consequences of peace and war. It would have related to the Whitehall ceiling, whose theme was peace under James I, Charles's father. It has a compositional debt to Tintoretto's Minerva and Mars in the Ducal Palace in Venice. White, 1987, 228-230.

Equally, as the goddess of Love she draws toward her the god of marriage and the consequent next generation. These multiple roles of Love and Peace are united through the concept of abundance: at the centre foreground the natural fecundity symbolized by the faun and the feline offers up a cornucopia of fruit. Pax/Venus is the hub that centres the meanings of the other figures; and she is also at the visual centre from which a series of forms are connected like links in an ornate bracelet.

Rubens's designing of figural groups so that they look at first glance like a united whole can be seen in this painting, where the central group is shaped into one swirling wave made up of connected subsidiary shapes. The light and dark forms interlock to build up a series of circular movements that create areas of motion and of stillness. A large arch or half-circle is created by the light figures of Wealth, Pax, Hymen, and the group of children. This is mirrored by a rippled border of darker shapes behind it, with the Arts, putto, Minerva, Ares, and Fury in relative shadow as they either move toward (on the left) or away from (on the right) the central figures that symbolize the fruits of peace. At the centre foreground, there is a small circle formed by the feline's body and arms and the cornucopia and its fruit; and this shape is anchored in place by the faun and the putto on either side of it. These two figures are a testament to opposites, the faun's mature, leathery skin and pelt contrasting with the soft wing-feathers and baby-skin of the putto. Yet these two, who on the surface might seem opposite, share a common task, to welcome in the children, who enter in postures of humility and eagerness, towards the abundance that is an attribute of peace. The placement of shapes serves the symbolic attributes of Peace, and abundance is a swirling circle that provides the still centre towards which other figures move.

III. Stoic Ethics: "Rousing the Soul's Impulse"

When Lipsius looked to Seneca for the Stoic definition of the Good, what he concluded was, "That is good which rouses the soul's impulse toward itself in accordance with Nature."[207] As I discuss in this chapter, Rubens employed style to rouse the soul of the viewer.

Current scholarship on Early Modern investigations into the nature of identity increasingly recognizes the important role of Stoic philosophy in Early Modern definitions of and concepts of the self.[208] Early Modern humanists had in common an interest in understanding how to lead a life inspired by a desire for goodness, and Stoicism could help with this project.[209] Stoic ethical theory centres around care of the self. Stoics define the self as the soul, or the ruling part of the mind, but this is not purely intellectual; rather it is also moral, emotional, bodily, and attached to all aspects of an individual's existence. According to Stoic philosophy, being able to think for oneself gives an individual the capacity for self-transformation through observing one's inner representations and developing the ability to reframe them. Classical Stoics explained that people should focus on creating a life that adapts to the flow of nature because to do so results in a life that is happy, virtuous, and consistently harmonious. They defined human nature as a part of cosmic nature. Humans are distinguished as "rational animals", the only animals capable of the very complex reasoning that can lead to self-awareness. As I explain below, although they

[207] Lipsius, quoted in Saunders, 104; A.F. Bonhoffer, *The Ethics of the Stoic Epictetus*. W.O. Stephens, trans. Berlin and New York: Peter Lang, 2000, 200.
[208] Long, 1996, 266; O'Malley, "The Campaign for Self-Understanding," 1993, 62-68; Sorana Corneanu, ed., *The Care of the Self in Early Modern Philosophy and Science. Journal of Early Modern Studies*. Vol.4, Issue 2, Fall, 2015.
[209] According to Van Ruler, In "the historical period from Erasmus to Spinoza (…) *beatitudo*-inspired forms of self-management formed a very prominent theme," and "Early Modern moral philosophy was very consistent in its claim that it paid to be virtuous." Van Ruler, 261; I.G. Kidd, "Stoic Intermediaries and the End for Man," in A.A. Long, ed., *Problems in Stoicism*. London: Athlone Press, 1971, (150-172), 167.

believed that god, or nature, created people and human nature, the Stoics did not believe in a completely pre-determined universe. Rather, they argued, humans have the free will and the ability to make choices, so people can use their reason to become self-aware, and use their knowledge and actions to avoid negative passions and to progress toward virtue. These ideas were current in Early Modern Europe, particularly Catholic Europe, including among moralists who did not claim an adherence to Stoicism. In the *Enchiridion* of 1504, for example, Erasmus wrote that the path to virtue depended upon knowing oneself, and behaving "not according to the passions, but the dictates of reason."[210] Vives also pointed to a link between reason and self-discovery. He argued that just as we can observe other creatures taking action in order to fulfil their purposes, people should realize that we also have important goals and the "natural capacity to discover" and achieve them, and that therefore we can use our judgement to comprehend how to attain virtue. In Vives's words, we have "internal mental faculties with which we make the correct or incorrect judgments that lead to virtues or vicious passions."[211] In this section I delineate how Stoic ethics shares with Rubens's Early Modern art practice a desire to promote self-awareness and moral transformation.

[210] Erasmus quoted in Van Ruler, 235; Wogaman mentions the optimism of Erasmus and of his friend the British Catholic humanist Thomas More (1478-1535), writes that "Erasmus is concerned to defend an essentially ethical understanding of grace," and notes that from Erasmus's perspective, to make grace completely eclipse human effort would have been to abandon free will and therefore ethics. Ignatius Loyola wrote: those "who have wrong notions about Jesus Christ (...) care nothing about love: they have no concern for widows or orphans, for the oppressed, for those in prison or released, for the hungry or the thirsty." Ignatius, *Letter to the Smyrnaceans*, 6.2, quoted in J. Philip Wogaman, *Christian Ethics: A Historical Introduction*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993, 28, 129-130.
[211] Vives quoted in Colish, 2009, 187; De Jongh, 85-104.

III. A. Art to Instruct and Delight

Early Modern art theorists understood that images became instructive when they moved the viewer, reminded the viewer of model behaviour, and affected one's memory and choices.[212] Augustine, repeating from classical rhetoric the injunction to teach, to move, and to delight, argued that the preacher must focus on teaching, and that the varying of style would move a congregation's emotions.[213] The Council of Trent's 1563 decree discussing images asserted the edifying capacity of sacred images and became a basis for Early Modern Catholic discussions on the role of art in society.[214] The Council of Trent:

> By means of paintings or other representations, the people (are) instructed, and confirmed in the habit of remembering … Great profit is derived from all sacred images, not only because the people are thereby admonished of the benefits and gifts bestowed upon them in Christ, but also because the miracles which God has performed are set before the eyes of the faithful; that so they may give God thanks for those things; may order their own lives and manners in imitation of the saints; and may be excited to adore and love God; and to cultivate piety.[215]

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[212] Maarten Delbeke, *The Art of Religion. Sforza Pallavicino and Art Theory in Bernini's Rome*. Farnham, UK: Aldershot, 2012, 45; The spiritual and educative functions of images included their devotional-meditational and memorial roles. Jones links the ideas of Borromeo (1564-1631, Archbishop of Milan and founder of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana) to Stoic philosophy, as well as to Pythagorean and Augustinian ideas. Pamela Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, 34-35, 64, 96, 168.

[213] Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, 4.24-30 and 4.34-58, cited in Mack, 2011, 259; See also Pacheco, 1649, 1977, 289; Robert Klein and Henri Zerner, eds., "The Didactic Task of Painting," *Italian Art. 1500-1600. Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1966, 124-129.

[214] For example, De Piles cited the Second Council of Nicea, in "By what Authority the Painters have Represented under Human Figures, Things Divine, Spiritual, and Inanimate," 1699, 1744, 37-40; Émile Male, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente. Étude sur l'iconographie de la fin du XVIe siècle, du XVIIe et du XVIIIe siècle: Italie, France, Espagne, Flandres*. Paris: A. Colin, 1932, 343; Charles Dempsey, "Painting in Bologna from the Carracci to Crespi," in Andreas Henning, and Scott Schafer, eds., *Captured Emotions. Baroque Painting in Bologna, 1575-1725*. Los Angeles: Getty Museum, 2008, (1-13), 3.

[215] The Council of Trent, Decree of the Twenty-Fifth Session, December 1563, in Marcia B. Hall, "Appendix," *The Sacred Image in the Age of Art: Titian, Tintoretto,*

Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1597), Archbishop of Bologna, wrote a treatise expanding upon the Council of Trent's decree on images. Paleotti signalled the close connection of Early Modern art theory with classical philosophy and practice, comparing the painter to a writer. He wrote:

> As for what we called the office of the painter, (…) it seems to us that there is no better way to grasp it than by pursuing the comparison with writers, upon whom it is incumbent, as the office of their art, to delight, to instruct, and to move. Similarly, then, the painter's office will be to employ the same means in his work, striving to form it in such a way that it will be apt to supply delight, to instruct, and to move the emotions in the observer.[216]

According to Paleotti, images were created by God so that people would remember God's wishes, as, he mentioned, when God counselled on how to remember the Ten Commandments by telling the "sons of Israel to put fringes on their garments, ribbons of violet."[217] Images were believed to help people understand the virtuous acts that were demonstrated in painted subjects, reminding viewers of how their lives could serve God.[218] Images had the power to transform a person, to move the individual to virtue, and to make painted messages memorable. Paleotti understood the special power of art to affect spirituality, and wrote:

Barocci, El Greco, Caravaggio. New Haven: Yale, 2011, 271-272; Klein and Zerner, "The Council of Trent on Religious Art," 119-121.

[216] Paleotti defined images and described "their dignity and excellence," he compared painting and sculpture, and then in his discussion of sacred mages, he sought to "demonstrate their antiquity" and the importance of the "effect they produce." He compared Christian images to oratory in terms of their power to move people's feelings, arguing that pictures "sway the emotions this way or that (…) more efficaciously and nobly." Gabriele Paleotti, 1582, 2012, Book 1, Ch21 and Ch25, 51, 110-111, 118; Joannes Molanus, *De Picturis et Imaginibus*, Leuven, 1570.

[217] Paleotti wrote, "These words demonstrate that these garments served them as *signs and figures* of what God wanted from them." *Ibid*., Book 1, Chapters 18, 105.

[218] For example, Pacheco wrote "The aim of painting is the service of God," refering to Saint Paul's words in Colossians iii, 23-24. Francisco Pacheco, *The Art of Painting, its Antiquity and Greatness*. 1649, republished, in F.J. Sanchez Canton, ed., 1956, 212-215; Zahira Veliz, ed., *Artists' Techniques in Golden Age Spain. Six Treatises in Translation*. London and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

> When it comes to honesty and virtue, it is impossible fully to express how fruitful images are, for they instruct the intellect, move the will, and refresh the memory of divine things, and altogether they produce in our minds effects greater and more potent than those felt from anything else in the world.[219]

In Rubens's milieu, Early Modern questions about audience responses to visual art, literature, and preaching drew on classical rhetorical and ethical theories about decorum. Early Modern debates about decorum related it to the ability of art to clearly communicate, and to the response of the individual viewer who completed and experienced the meaning. Early Modern art theorists borrowed for visual art the definitions of decorum that had been developed in classical rhetorical theory. Williams explains the centrality of decorum to classical rhetorical theory, as the principle that governed the relations among form, content, and audience. Form, although influenced by content, was understood to be adjustable to the speaker's purposes, the circumstances of reception, and the attitudes of the audience.[220] Decorum was a way of gauging and then skilfully adapting the artistic practice to the responses of the audience, reader, or viewer. Saint Gregory's *Cura pastoralis*, written in the year 591, had emphasized the need to adapt preaching to different listeners.[221] Valla followed Quintilian in writing that "arguments needed to be expressed in the way most likely to convince an audience."[222] Lipsius admired

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[219] Paleotti, 2012, Book 2, Chapter 45, 287; Paleotti wrote: "Images serve to reinforce the three potencies of our souls: intellect, will, and memory." (…) God chose to use sacred images to remind people of his will, "having laid open abundantly the viscera of his pity for us (…), <He> wished to more copiously employ every method …" (…) "So painting, which before had just one end, to resemble, now takes on a new guise as an act of virtue." *Ibid*., Chapter 19, 106, 108.
[220] Williams, 2004, 38.
[221] Mack, 2011, 259; Williams writes: "The progress of art is not simply a matter of increasing naturalism, but also of increasing beauty, of more persuasive storytelling, and of greater success in the expression of abstract ideas." Williams, 2004, 71.
[222] Mack, 2011, 51. In classical theory, decorum was one of the four virtues under the umbrella virtue *honestas* or honourableness, along with wisdom, justice, and courage. It was associated with discretion, judgement, and prudence. Sohm, 2001, 128 note 72.

Seneca's capacity for writing in a style that was accessible. Lipsius noted, for example, that while Seneca applauded the courage and free-spiritedness of Cato, he also made an effort to illustrate how approachable Cato was. Lipsius wrote that he attempted to learn from Seneca's example and to write in a style that could be widely read: "My prayer has been to reveal Seneca and put him in the hands of Everyman, and for that reason my plan has been to adapt these works for ordinary readers."[223]

Decorum was closely related to the conveying of meaning. Both Tridentine art theorists and classical Stoic philosophers argued that decorous communication, in words and images, was determined on the basis of appropriateness to occasion and audience. The Stoic Panaetius discussed decorous communication vis-à-vis the term *to prepon* meaning "the fitting" or "the proper."[224] Decorum had connotations of honesty and realism, because a subject needed to be understandable enough for the viewer or reader to respond to it. Decorum was in part about how style related to subject. It became a primary concern for theologian-art critics who, applying to painting a Catholic Reform agenda, privileged accuracy and clarity of representation.[225] It was decorum that allowed for the communication of meaning to the individual viewer and to society as a whole. Because decorum was about communication, it presented an opportunity for an individual artist to bring something new to the broader society.[226]

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[223] Lipsius, writing about his *Notae perpetuae*, *Introductioni Lectoris*, 1652 edition, ii, quoted in Morford, 1991, 174, 178.
[224] Connolly, 169.
[225] Giovanni Andrea Gilio (c.1525-1584, Italian art theorist whose 1564 *Degli errori de' pittori* discussed Tridentine visual arts) advised painters to saturate themselves in their subject so that a painter had in mind "all the subject's peculiarities." Sohm, 2001, 128 note 73.
[226] Williams writes: "Though decorum is a means of bringing the order of the illusion into line with the order of the world, and thus makes art reaffirm that order, it also reconfigures the world by grounding that order in representation: it thus offers,

In contrast to Paleotti, who claimed that "erudite persons study the subject," asking themselves about the depicted site, clothing, and historical accuracy, De Piles sought to understand the *formal* aspects of painting that created such a powerful response in viewers.[227] Rubens's paintings, and the theories that De Piles based on them, complicated the definition of decorum, recognizing that decorum operated not only through veristic subject matter, but also through purely formal effects.[228] As I will explain more fully below, according to Stoic theory, what was appropriate was that audiences would think for themselves, begin with what they knew, and be moved to learn more about themselves and the world. For Tridentine theologians and artists, decorum required clarity, or recognizability, of subject, but this did not imply the need for a plain style.[229] Decorum and clarity could be served by a passionate style such as Rubens's.

I contend that Rubens's employment of formal configurations that cause powerful, intuitive viewer response are too open-ended and unpredictable to serve narrative dogma; instead, they cause the viewer to witness his own viewing processes and responses.[230] Classical Stoic theories about moral education are founded on their

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however tenuously, the possibility of reconstituting the order of things according to the demands of the imagination." Williams, 1997, 18.

[227] Paleotti, quoted at Sohm, 2001, 58; De Piles thought that painting was not for the purpose of didacticism, although that was possible. Puttfarken, 1985, 41, 53; De Piles, "Of Enthusiasm," (1709) 1743, 70-75.

[228] Decorum relates to the art theory of invention, and to what De Piles called disposition. De Piles, (1699), 1744, 21; Puttfarken, 1985, 41.

[229] This convergence of theories and practices about suitability meant that style and grace became bound together in art literature, theology, etiquette, and social manners. Dempsey, 1977, 56-58; Sohm, 2001, 109; Williams writes: "Decorum may be understood as a principle superintending the deployment of style." Williams, 1997, 75; On decorum as formal relatedness in Raphael, see Robert Williams, "The Systematicity of Representation," *Raphael and the Redefinition of Art in Renaissance Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, 85-167; For more on Stoic style see Chapter Two.

[230] Huemer aruges that the Stoicism that Rubens knew made him more broad-minded, freeing him from the "narrow moralizing allegories" that others practiced. Huemer,

ideas that human nature, like the nature of the cosmos, is constantly transforming.[231] Rubens's ensemble design had in common with Stoic moral philosophy the idea that the place to begin educating someone, was with the person's immediate experience. Viewer response occured when the painting successfully communicated the painter's creative experience of putting forms onto canvas in a way that generated recognition and emotion.[232]

1996, 57. Aneta Georgievska-Shine seconds this assessment of Rubens, writing, "The artist's interpretation stands in marked contrast from the moralising tenor of contemporary mythographers and many lesser artists of his generation." Aneta Georgievska-Shine, "Erichthonius, or the Serious Joke of Fables," *Rubens and the Archaeology of Myth, 1610-1620, Visual and Poetic Memory*. Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2009, (153-185), 157.

[231] Bonhoffer, "The Moral Predisposition," 2000, 166-172; According to Inwood and Donini, "The thesis that human and cosmic nature are related (…) is never doubted. And without this fixed point, no consideration of the foundations of Stoic ethics is possible." Inwood and Donini, 675, 676, 690.

[232] De Piles wrote that his description of how painted forms achieved visual effects could not be dogmatically copied but rather that a painting's effects related to the complex talent and disposition of the artist. De Piles: "Able painters may know by their own experience that in order to succeed, they must rise higher than the ordinary, and as it were, be transported out of themselves." De Piles, (1709) trans 1743, 114.

III. B. Stoic Do-It-Yourself Ethics: "Expertise at Living"

Arius Didimus wrote that for the Stoics, virtue was a kind of expertise at living.[233] Expertise at Stoic philosophy and at the theory and practice of *disegno* would become of fundamental importance to Rubens. His interest in design that would suddenly and powerfully affect the viewer was influenced by his Catholic-Stoic milieu, including Stoic moral philosophy's emphasis on individual self-transformation. Stoic moral theory places importance on the connection of virtue to a person's knowledge and wisdom. Didymus's explanation of the practical operation of wisdom points to the systematizing function of virtue, the link between virtue and the Stoic *episteme*. For the Stoics, the important goal of teaching was to help people learn right values through which they would refrain from excessive reactions. Growing toward wisdom meant learning the *system* of virtue.[234] The Stoic hope was that people would learn a reasonable, virtuous way of existing in which their wisdom and virtue would enable them to respond well to any particular circumstances.[235]

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[233] Arius Didymus, *Outline of Stoic Ethics*, II.5b10, cited in Kamtekar, 43; Arius Didymus was a 1st-century BCE Stoic philosopher, mentioned by Quintilian and Diogenes Laertius, who taught Emperor Augustus (64BCE-14CE). Inwood and Donini, 700; For "how we know what we know about Stoic ethics" see Malcom Schofield, "Stoic Ethics," in Brad Inwood, ed., *Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 233-256.

[234] For instance, the key example of moral well-being, the Stoic wise sage, does not know the content of all knowledge, but does know all that is necessary for virtue. *Ibid*., 700; Lipsius noted that Chrysippus had pointed to the systematizing effect of virtues when he explained how the primary virtues fit with the other virtues, and that he had proven their practical role in individuals' practice of right action. The four primary virtues were wisdom, moderation, courage, and justice. For example, wisdom included judiciousness and resourcefulness, while moderation included continence and endurance. Diogenes Laertius, VII. 92 and 126; Stobaeus, *Eclogues*. II.60.9-11, and 63.8, cited in Inwood and Donini, 718-719; Hunt, 74; Long and Sedley, 1987, Vol.I, 253-259, 377-386.

[235] According to the Stoics, practical wisdom is knowledge of what is to be done, what is not to be done, and what is neither; temperance is knowledge of what is to be chosen, what is not to be chosen, and what is neither; courage is knowledge of what is

Stoic moral education is not so much about judging as it is about providing methods for self-awareness; and Stoic educational methods are based on starting where a person is, so Stoic education sought to address how people could progress closer toward virtue.[236] According to classical Stoic moral theory, people select from among options that lead toward virtue, as one's character becomes more compatible with the harmonious qualities of cosmic nature.[237] The thought and behaviour of the *individual* is fundamental in the Stoic theory of human progress toward virtue; and Stoic practices for facilitating nearness to virtue combined self-reflection, deepening understanding, and virtuous behaviour.

The emphasis in Stoic ethics on individual responsibility contributed to Early Modern debates on moral issues. Epictetus had described the fundamental connection between happiness and one's own choices:

> There is only one way to happiness, namely to turn way from what is beyond the power of choice, to regard nothing as one's own, to give over all things to divinity, to fortune, making them the superintendents of these things, whom Zeno also has made so.[238]

According to the *Oxford Handbook of Ethics*, a primary concern of Early Modern ethics was the "happiness, care, and cultivation of the self," and Early

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terrible, not terrible, and neither; while justice is knowledge of the distribution of proper value to each person. Inwood and Donini, 710, 731.

[236] Verbeke, 1991, 23; Zeno wrote a book on education, now lost; and Epictetus was known in antiquity as a great teacher. Inwood and Donini, 693; Bonhoffer, 2000, 186.

[237] Kamtekar writes that in Stoic theory, "it belongs to human nature to take on the perspective of cosmic nature." Kamtekar, 45; Davidson, 140-173; R. B. Rutherford, "Lessons in Virtue," *The Meditations of Marcus Aurelius, A Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, 96-103.

[238] Epictetus, *Discourses*, 4.4, 39-40, quoted in Davidson, 145, who demonstrates that Zeno, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius believed, in his words, that happiness consisted "not in the possession of anything external, but in control of man's own self, in strength of will illuminated by reason." On classical theories of happiness, see Anthony A. Long, "Ancient Philosophy's Hardest Question: What to Make of Oneself?" *Representations*. Vol.74, No.1, Spring, 2001, (19-36), 33, where he writes, "There is copious evidence that what the ancient philosophers meant by *eudaimonia* is happiness." See also Long, "Stoic *Eudaimonism*," 1996, 179-201.

Modern writers built up complex theories about human nature and the workings of society including around the core Stoic belief that happiness was unachievable without developing self-knowledge.[239]

The passions, a concept that was fundamental to Stoic ethics, were a topic of great Early Modern interest.[240] The seventeenth-century poet John Donne described human emotions as a storm:

> Is this the honour which man hath … that he hath these earthquakes in himself, sudden shaking; these lightnings, sudden flashes; these thunders, sudden noises; these blazing stars, sudden fiery exhalations; these rivers of blood, sudden red waters? (…)
> O perplexed discomposition, O riddling distemper, O miserable condition of man![241]

Many seventeenth-century writers labelled as passions such emotions as grief, hatred, love, and joy. The Stoics, however, did not define moderate emotions as passions.[242] Stoic theory about containing one's passions pertains to negatively excessive mental states, not to moderate, positive emotions. The Stoics asserted that passions were mistaken opinions that led to misdirected emotional attachments and they sought to offer practical methods to prevent the ensuing suffering. Inwood and Donini believe that Stoic moral philosophy defined the passions as "posing a major threat to consistency of opinion and therefore of life."[243] The notion of the passions

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[239] Garrett writes that "Self help was a central issue for a lot of Early Modern moral philosophy." Garrett, 230-231. This is not to say that Stoicism was the only classical philosophy influencing Early Modern ethics. On Socratic theories of happiness, see Long, 2001.

[240] For example, in the *Passions*, Descartes argued that passions are not of themselves inherently negative, but that reason should "manage" them. Garrett, 250, 318.

[241] John Donne (1572-1631), *Devotions*, 1st meditation, quoted in Thomas Rosenmeyer, *Senecan Drama and Stoic Cosmology*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989, 118.

[242] Long and Sedley, 1987, Vol.I, 410-423; On moderate emotions see below, pages 96-98.

[243] For Zeno on this see Kirk, 51; Diogenes Laertius, VII.100; Cleanthes and Chrysippus were both concerned with this, with Chrysippus building on former writers, explaining and analyzing possible treatments. The rationale was that passions

itself has a debt to Stoicism, and according to Huemer, the classical Roman understanding of the passions was derived in part from Stoic theory.[244] The passions became very philosophically important in Stoicism because the Stoics did not follow the Platonic-Aristotelian notion that there is a non-rational part of the soul to which passions could be relegated.[245] Because of this, understanding how passions arose and learning to ameliorate their effects became a key philosophical and practical undertaking. According to Inwood and Donini, "Teaching how to achieve freedom from passions was thus one of the Stoic's most important duties, and one of the most urgent intellectual challenges that he was called upon to meet from the explanatory resources of his philosophy."[246] Stobaeus explained the Stoic theory of the passions as emotional extremes, and used metaphors of movement and contraction.[247] In this vein,

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are dependent upon wrong judgement, so if the judgement changes, the passions cease. The way for an individual to treat his current passions and to prevent future passions was to become wise, through knowledge that would give rise to a new mental attitude, that is, a wise and virtuous one. Inwood and Donini, 699, 711, 713.

[244] Huemer, 1983, 189; Matthew Sharpe calls the Stoics's "opposition to the passions, seemingly their greatest break from Aristotle." Matthew Sharpe, "Stoic Virtue Ethics," in *The Handbook of Virtue Ethics*. Oxon, UK: Routledge, 2014, (28-41), 38; Susan James, "The Passions and the Good Life," in Donald Rutherford, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, (198-220), 200-201; Alessandro Schiesaro, "Passion, Reason, and Knowledge in Seneca's Tragedies," in S. Morton Braund and C. Gill, eds., *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, 89-111; D.S. Levene, "Pity, Fear, and the Historical Audience: Tacitus on the Fall of Vitellius," in S. Morton Braund and C. Gill, eds., *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, 128-149.

[245] According to Stoic philosophers, the soul is all rational, although that rationality may not always function perfectly. Seneca, "On Rest and Restlessness," Epistle LXIX, in Gummere, trans., 1917-1925; Inwood and Donini, 706-707. As Long explains, "The Stoics, who denied innate ideas or *a priori* concepts, had to derive their morality from experience and this led them inevitably to analyse the psychology and evolution of man, the experiencing subject." Anthony Long, ed., "Introduction," *Problems in Stoicism*. London: The Athlone Press, 1971, (1-8), 6.

[246] Inwood and Donini, 711-712; Susan James, "The Passions in Metaphysics and the Theory of Action," in Daniel Garber and Michael Ayers, eds., *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, (913-949), 914-915, 945.

[247] Stobaeus II.90.7, cited in *Ibid*., 701.

Lipsius explained that public evils were encouraged by three negative emotions: dishonesty, hopelessness, and attachment to country.[248] Excessive interest in location amounted to piety gone bad, since one's ties to a country were "external and accidental" and should not be given the same importance as one's pious and appropriate attachment to God. Similarly, despondency was the negative corollary of the positive virtue of mercy.[249] The Stoics, going back to Chrysippus, had characterized the passions as a feeling of being out of control, like a person running too fast downhill who could not stop quickly. Galen popularized these Stoic notions, explaining that a person who became attached to a mistaken belief felt an "excess of impulse" like a person whose legs run almost by themselves.[250]

The Stoics understood that, in contrast to passions, people also experienced valuable moderate emotions. The Stoics were not uncaring and did not believe that

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[248] For example, Lipsius wrote: "Would you faine change countries? Nay, rather change your owne mind wrongfully subjected to affections, and withdrawne from the naturall obedience of his lawful ladie, I mean reason." Also, Lipsius: "How many Italians forsaking Italie the Queen of countries only for greedinesse of gaine have remooved their dwellings into France Germanie, yea even into Sarmatia? Howe many thousande Spaniards doth ambition draw daylie into another world from us: These arguments proove invincible that the band whereby we are linked thus to our countrie is but external and accidentall, in that it is so easilie broken by one inordinate lust." Also: "Our country (…) we ought to love, to defend, and to die for it; yet it must not drive us to lament, wail, and despaire. (…) Last of all I would have thee learne this one hidden and deep mysterie, that if we respect the whole nature of man, all these earthlie countries are vaine and falsly so termed." Lipsius, *On Constancy*, 1584, 1595, Book I , Ch III, Ch XI, 1584, 1595, 77, 97-98, 408; Kirk, 52.

[249] The Stoics defined passions in terms of time, with pain and pleasure experienced in the present while desire and fear were future-projections. Stobaeus explained that the Stoics taught that "Desire's cause is believing that a good is approaching, and that when it is here we shall do well by it; this (…) has a power to stimulate erratic motion. Fear's cause is believing that a bad thing is approaching." Stobaeus II.90.7-18, II.90.19-91.9, quoted in Inwood and Donini, 700.

[250] *Ibid*., 702; On passions as motion see Stobaeus II.90.7-18, in *Ibid*.,701; Aelius Galenus (129-c.200, Greek physician and philosopher active in Rome) was exposed to all the major classical Greek schools of philosophy. He was not a Stoic. He was opposed to Stoic propositional logic, argued against the Stoic definition of the *pneuma*, and revised Stoic personality theory. Yet, in doing so, he preserved some key Stoic notions. Sambursky, 1959, 2; Christopher Gill, "Galen and the Stoics: Mortal Enemies or Blood Brothers?" *Phronesis*. Vol.52, No.1, 2007, 88-120.

feeling and attachment were entirely negative. Inwood and Donini suggest that the success of Stoicism among the Roman aristocracy is proof that Stoicism was never about self-denial. Also, as they explain, according to Stoics "the underlying error is not that one cares about things *at all*; for many of the things which provoke passions are indeed worth caring about."[251] Whereas *passions* result from false beliefs about what is of value, a virtuous, wise person feels their corresponding positive emotions (*eupatheia*). For example, a wise person feels caution in place of fear, and tranquility instead of extreme highs and lows.[252] Diogenes Laertius explained the Stoic positive emotions:

> They say that there are three emotional states which are good, namely joy, caution, and wishing. Joy, the counterpart of pleasure, is rational elation; caution, the counterpart of fear, is rational avoidance; for though the wise man will never feel fear, he will yet use caution. And they make wishing the counterpart of desire or craving, inasmuch as it is rational appetancy.[253]

Stoicism when understood as a model of moderation, not hard-heartedness, would have suited Rubens. For example, the Stoic sage was not unemotional; rather, having an accurate opinion about his feelings, and remembering what was actually of value, he did not allow his feelings to turn into passions.[254] The Stoicism that Rubens and his brother practiced was warm-hearted and sympathetic. For instance, Philip Rubens wrote to his brother, "Those who still believe they can keep the human temper

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[251] By apathy the Stoics meant recognizing those phenomena that they considered truly indifferent to moral wellbeing. Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, 2; Inwood and Donini, 701-703, 713, 724, 734; Long and Sedley, 1987, Vol.I, 354-359.
[252] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, VII.116; Kamtekar, 43; Seneca held: "It is frugality that philosophy asks, not affliction." Seneca, "Moderation," 1965, 171; See, for example, Gretchen Reydams-Schils, *The Roman Stoics: Self, Responsibility, and Affection*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
[253] Diogenes Laertius, *Lives*, VII.116; Attridge, 88.
[254] Lipsius explained that the Stoics theorized that the passions had value, when managed by reason, "as a means of attaining virtue." Lipsius *Manuductio ad stoicam philosophiam*, 1604, III, IV, quoted at Huemer, 1983, 190.

completely free from all emotions show their hardness and cruelty."[255] Rubens's letters and artistic production show that he practiced a Stoicism that was moderate, not heartlessly dogmatic.[256] For example, on each side of the arched entranceway to his house, he had quotations painted from Juvenal's *Tenth Satire* on the proper objects of prayer.[257] The *Tenth Satire*, a subject that Rubens had painted for the Torre de la Parada, contrasted positive and negative attitudes, as Seneca discussed in *De Tranquilitate*:

> Let us imitate Democritus rather than Heraclitus. To Heraclitus all human activity seemed to be a cause for sorrow, to Democritus it was all absurd … It is more fitting for a human being to laugh at life than to weep at it.[258]

Recent research counters the conventional image of the Stoic wise man as rigid, stern, and unemotional, and demonstrates that the wise sage was understood to have life-affirming qualities.[259] His thoughts and behaviour were shaped by the virtues of wisdom, temperance, courage, and justice, and he was reserved, merciful, cautious, and procreative. As Inwood and Donini explain, "While remaining *humanly*

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[255] Philip Rubens, letter to Peter Paul Rubens. Magurn, ed., 33.
[256] Classical Stoics believed that to be wise is to be optimistic and empathetic. Seneca wrote about this warm-hearted Stoic attitude: "This is Philosophy's first promise: good manners, sympathy with fellow beings, and readiness to associate with other people (…) philosophy calls for frugality, not self-torture. Let him who looks more closely at us see how we differ from the crowd; let him who visits our house admire us rather than our furniture." Seneca, *Epistulae*, 5.4-6, 1965, 171; Morford, 1991, 192; I discuss Stoic optimism further in my Conclusion.
[257] The left arch: "Allow the gods to assess what is best and advantageous for us … Human beings are dearer to the gods than to themselves." The right arch: "One must pray for a healthy mind in a healthy body. Pray for a courageous mind that does not fear death … <and > knows not anger or desire." Juvenal, 10.347-348 and 350, and 10.356-357 and 360, quoted in Morford, 1991, 190-191.
[258] Seneca, *De Tranquilitate*, 1965, 99, 102, 15.2; Morford, 1991, 222.
[259] Watson, 1971, 234; It is possible that the portrayal of Jesus as humane and serene is modelled on the Stoic sage. Harold W. Attridge, "An 'Emotional' Jesus and Stoic Tradition," in Tuomis Rasimus, Troels Engberg-Pederson, and Ismo Dunderberg, eds., *Stoicism in Early Christianity*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2010, (77-92), 79, 89; for a Stoicized Zeus, see Elizabeth Asmis, "Lucretius' Venus and Stoic Zeus," *Hermes*. Vol.110, No.4, 1982, 458-470.

vulnerable to the temptations and assaults of the external world, he stands uncorrupted by them."[260] We can see the influence of this classical Stoic notion in Lipsius's definition of constancy as "a right and immoveable strength of the mind, neither lifted up nor pressed down with external accidents."[261]

Rubens's creation of powerfully evocative art that led viewers toward introspection, wisdom, and moral transformation served Stoic ethics' focus on the individual. If, as the Stoics, the Early Modern NeoStoics, and others believed, God was only good, then differences of human condition related to human choice, and the capacity for making good choices became important in Stoic moral and educational theory.[262] In classical Stoic ethics, although people are naturally oriented toward virtue and goodness, virtue is acquired by personal effort and choice.[263] Founding their ethics on a belief in moral development, Early Stoics had a positive conception of the human soul and consequently, they eschewed habituating and manipulating learners, opting instead to promote students' self-learning.[264] Stoic education was

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[260] Inwood and Donini, 703-705, 723.
[261] Lipsius, *Of Constancie*. 1584, 1595, 49.
[262] Martin characterizes the seventeenth century as an age of "intense concern for the personal religious experience." Martin, 1977, 12. Lipsius, relying on the writings of Cleanthes, who was prolific in Stoic theology, demonstrated that according to the Stoics, God was "good, useful, and just," and that the Good was "always contributing to the benefit of all things." Saunders, 136, 156; Erasmus's *Philosophia Christi* treated the notion of man's supreme good as cementing the compatibility of philosophy and religion. Van Ruler, 236; P.A. Meijer, *Stoic Theology*. Delft: Eburon, 2007.
[263] Seneca, *Epistulae*, 124.13, 1965, 261. Inwood and Donini, 708; Sellars, 2012, 453; Long and Sedley, 1987, Vol.I, 386-394.
[264] In this theory, people naturally incline toward choosing the good, and the process functions as individual freedom of will. Progressing toward virtue is aided by acting in accord with nature. Inwood and Donini, 679, 705, 731, 736; In Stoic moral theory and practice, reason is the means to self-discovery: through reason people naturally come to understand naturally-occurring goodness, and we learn how to avoid being controlled by intense, erratic, extreme negative passions. There is no irrational part of human nature that, being irrational, would need to be sublimated. For the Stoics, reason is always functioning in the mind. The Stoics rejected the Platonic model of a mind divided into rational and irrational faculties. On their view reason, whether

founded on the knowledge that goodness was natural to humankind and that people would naturally come to understand the concept and practice of it through their experience of life. The Stoics explained that people are teachable because they are naturally inclined to investigate goodness and because the mind is flexible.[265] People are born with the capacity to make inferences about the real world, and this, the Stoics believed, would lead the individual to choose the good.[266] To the Stoics, human nature was not an enemy of virtuous behaviour; rather, human nature naturally included the capacity to seek virtue. Rather than believing that people were evil or eternally foolish, classical Stoics theorized that moral progress can happen in stages, as a person's knowledge and wisdom progressed toward virtue and right action. In a discussion on virtue being the sole condition of happiness, Chrysippus described the theory of degrees of nearness to virtue and wisdom and the five stages of progress toward virtue.[267] This did not mean that virtuous people never suffer, but that happiness can only be attained through virtue. This put the onus on the individual and meant that unsavoury behaviour and intensely negative emotions could not be blamed on environmental factors. Progress toward virtue was a lifelong process that, as Rubens understood, could be supported by art.

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soundly or perversely, is at work in all aspects of the mind's activity. Long, 1996, 277; Sellars, 2012, 458-460.

[265] Inwood and Donini, 707-708.

[266] Epictetus explained the Stoic belief that all human beings normally develop into individuals who can coneive of good and bad. It is inherent in human nature not only to desire happiness, but to see the true worth of goodness, that is, to identify happiness as good. Epictetus, *Discourses*, 1.22.1, in Long, 1996, 280.

[267] Long, 1974, 129. According to Chrysippus, the five stages are: taking appropriate action; knowing what accords with nature; selecting and choosing right action; continuously integrating proper choice and right action; and finally, making one's choices and behaviour absolutely consistent and in full accordance with nature. Chrysippus, in *SVF* III 510; Inwood and Donini, 208-209, 725, 727; Christensen, 72; Long and Sedley, 1987, Vol.I, 423-429; For more on "according to nature" see pages 103-104, below.

Early Modern writers including Lipsius and Descartes both explained that self-discovery was a process, involving time and behaviour.[268] Lipsius advised readers not to despair when faced with the impossibility of achieving perfection. Instead, he wrote, one should take comfort in whatever wisdom one had so far achieved and use it to make progress. Lipsius cited Seneca's quote of Demetrius the Cynic, "It is more advantageous if you hold fast to a few precepts of wisdom that are nevertheless readily available and in use, than if you learn many but do not have them on hand."[269] According to Early Modern Catholic moralists, the path of progress to virtue required human reason, and human effort, but it also depended upon God's grace, his mysterious revelation, and our faith in it.[270] Self-reform was through right action, and through steps to progress, when human reason accessed steps on the right path towards the truths that God would help people grasp.[271] Virtue counteracted the failure of reason, and an individual's reason and knowledge would be built up over many

[268] Self-discovery was a process that would lead, according to Lipsius, to Catholicized Stoic virtue, or according to Descartes to the discovery that one was, in Garrett's words, "above all a rational thinking thing and a free will prior to biographical, social, and religious entanglements." Garrett, 245.
[269] Lipsius wrote that "in the same way, a great wrestler is not one who has acquired a knowledge of all the numerous holds, which are rarely of use against an opponent, but rather one who has trained competently and scrupulously in a few of them; for it does not matter how much he knows, providing he knows enough to gain victory. The same is true of this <spiritual> endeavour: many things provide delight, but few bring victory." Lipsius, *Manuductio*; Kraye, 1997, 201; Seneca, "On Benefits," VII.1.3-4, in Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Moral Essays*. John W. Basore, trans., The Loeb Classical Library, London: W. Heinemann, 3 Vols., 1928-1935.
[270] Clare Copeland, "Sanctity," in Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013, 225-241; John Bossy, "The Counter-Reformation and the People of Catholic Europe," *Past and Present*. Vol.47, May, 1970, 51-70; Gauvin Bailey, "The Jesuits and Painting in Italy, 1550-1690: The Art of Catholic Reform," in Franco Mormando, ed., *Saints and Sinners: Caravaggio and the Baroque Image*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999, 151-178; John W. O'Malley, ed., *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research*. Saint Louis: Centre for Reformation Research, 1988; Colish, 1985, Vol.II, 205; Evennett, 58-59.
[271] Mack, "Christian Humanism," 2009, 206.

particular choices.[272] Early Modern writers on Stoic ethics discussed how virtue related to self-knowledge, explaining that as people grew in understanding and reason, they experienced joyful tranquility (*ataraxia*) that fuelled their will for further understanding.[273] Lipsius wrote that people must understand the nature of different virtues in order to know how to work at attaining them.[274] Early Modern Christians also revised the Stoic notion of virtue as an end in itself constituting its own reward, to virtue as a path to everlasting life in heaven.[275] Erasmus and Lipsius attached classical Stoic virtue theory to Christian ends, and Early Modern discussions of spiritual progress couched the virtuous path in terms of love of God. Van Ruler argues that the Erasmian combination of Christianity and philosophy is almost archetypical of the Early Modern combination of "ancient philosophical norms with a fundamentally religious conception of mental transformation."[276]

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[272] For example, the first century Jewish writer Philo discussed how Abraham attained insight and thereby virtue, saying that Abraham's search for God led to a transformation in Abraham himself, as he came to understand providence. Philo of Alexandria, 20BCE-50CE, wrote about the patriarch Abraham's spiritual process in vocabulary that sounds Stoic; he also practiced Stoic and Jewish methods of exegesis, and thereby influenced Christian Church Fathers. Istvan P. Bejczy, "Humanism and Stoicism. Virtue as an End in Itself: The Medieval Unease with a Stoic Idea," in A.A. Macdonald, Z.R.W.M von Martels, and J.R. Veenstra, eds., *Christian Humanism. Essays in Honour of Arjo Vanderjagt*. Leiden: Brill, 2009, (105-118), 105; Mooij-Valk and Mooij-Valk, 165; Davidson, 65-66.
[273] James, 2006, 205.
[274] Lipsius wrote: "Our Seneca dwells upon this: 'It is not that you should assume that any virtue is acquired without effort, but rather that some virtues require the spur, others the bridle. In the same way that a body needs to be held back on a downward slope, and driven upwards on an incline, so some virtues are on a downward slope, others ascend a difficult incline.'" Lipsius, *Manuductio*; Kraye, 1997, 206; Seneca, 1965, 239.
[275] Early Modern Church Fathers couched classical moral philosophy as serving Christian ends. The apparent selflessness of a Stoic commitment to virtue fit with the ideal of wise, unselfish Christian virtue. In Petrarch's words, "The virtues constitute the road to our final destination and we must love them on behalf of God." Petrarch quoted in Bejczy, 108, 112.
[276] Van Ruler, 2009, 235, 245.

Although an interest in defining, understanding, and living by virtue was common to classical philosophical schools, what was novel about the Stoic treatment of virtue is that they linked it to their definition of the human *telos*, which is to live according to nature. For the Stoics "according to nature" becomes a criterion for how we live, as a person chooses what helps or hinders his progress toward virtue. The Stoics conceived of wrong thinking as a departure from nature, and education as helping people to think for themselves and form opinions that would refocus upon what was actually important, that is, upon the true and only good, virtue. When the Stoics combined classical theories of a human *telos* and the capacity for choice with Socratic theories about care of the soul, they made virtue a condition of the goodness of the soul, that is, a condition of an individual soul's reaching the best possible state.[277] Stoic philosophy, right from its founding with Zeno, subscribed to a novel conception of the *telos*: that the goal of human existence is to live in accordance with nature; nature itself is the source of goodness and virtue; and people are inalterably connected with nature. Human and cosmic nature are not opposing forces that threaten the human capacity to follow the *telos*. Rather, because human nature is part of, and naturally consistent with, cosmic nature, which Stoics characterize as rational, it follows that to live "according to nature" is to be guided toward the reason, harmony, and consistency that are characteristic of cosmic nature.[278] Within this transformative process, the human *telos*, to live according to nature, requires attuning one's actions and attitudes towards "right reason" which was defined as equivalent to truth and to

[277] *Teleion* should not be translated as "perfect." Inwood and Donini, 687, 706, 713; Bonhoffer, 2000, 18, 189, 209.

[278] Zeno's physical theories were closely linked with his ethics, and Seneca discussed the importance of understanding the forces that govern nature. Hunt, 74; Zeno: "the end of Man is the morally honourable life, and this is derived from the recommendation of Nature. The Chief Good, or End, consists in applying to the conduct of life a knowledge of the working of natural causes, choosing what is in accordance with Nature, and rejecting what is contrary to it – reason." Saunders, 92.

God's cosmic order. Self-awareness develops as one progresses towards oneness with nature. It is rationality that ties the particular individual to the unified cosmic level. The Stoics argued that, being unable to see the future, a person must freely choose "things in accord with nature."[279] Chrysippus explained that within the flow of nature, the individual has the capacity to choose:

> As long as what comes next is non-evident to me, I always cling to what is better suited to getting what is in accordance with nature. For god himself made me such as to select those things.[280]

In this view, reason, or right judgement, is seen as both the locus and content of moral development. The Stoics did not conceive of reason as necessarily separate from or superior to other aspects of the person or the natural world; rather, the knowledge necessary for self-awareness and progress toward wisdom and virtue is knowledge *about* the world.[281] It is important to understand that the Stoics defined reason positively. They did not consider rationality to be heartless or disconnected, but rather to be natural, human, and to fuel the capacity for transformative wisdom.[282] In Seneca's words, "Nature has made us capable of receiving teaching; it has given us reason."[283]

These classical Stoic ideas were available to Rubens and can be seen in the Early Modern period in for example Lipsius and Vives. Lipsius defined the Stoic

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[279] Inwood and Donini, 731, 736; Verbeke, 1991, 17.
[280] Chrysippus cited in Epictetus, *Discourses*, 2.6.9-10; and 2.10.5-6 in Kamtekar, 2013, 46.
[281] Long, 1996, 273.
[282] This belief that our natural affiliation is to virtue contrasts with the Epicureans who believed that our natural affiliation is to freedom from pain. For the Stoics, reason, a defining aspect of human nature, was not to be contrasted with nature; rather, reason was considered a natural human trait that made every individual unique. Reason is a principle of humankind and of the cosmos, so virtuous behaviour is a part of our natural function as "rational animals." Diogenes Laertius, VII.95; Cleanthes; and Chrysippus cited in Inwood and Donini, 677, 688, 706.
[283] Seneca, "On Rest and Restlessness," Epistle LXIX, 1917-1925; Inwood and Donini, 706-707.

concept of right reason in such a way that he interjected religion into its very essence. He counselled that a distressed mind was soothed by right reason and by God.[284] Vives highlighted the role played by reason in faith and in self-knowledge.[285] He wrote that reason was not only the ability to understand principles and an inherent inclination to seek truth, but it also functioned in an almost spiritual way, shedding light on the spiritual truths to be found in nature. According to Vives, it was reason that allowed us to know and apply ourselves to our nature and its ends. Spinoza asserted that reason and human intellect provide the best methods for communing with God, mind to mind, and he reminded the reader that Moses spoke to God face to face.[286]

It is possible that Rubens's formal methods for heightening viewer response are at least in line with, if not informed by, the Stoics' approach to the care of the soul and to their placing of the human *telos* in nature, thereby rendering Stoic moral goals reality-focussed, meaning-centred, and personally achievable.[287] Rubens's painting of objects as grouped together can make the viewer respond powerfully to them at first glance. The close contact among figures also gives them a sense of haptic presence, as if they inhabit the same material world as the viewer. The message to the Baroque viewer was that the site of wisdom and transformation was the present moment. The

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[284] Kirk, 49; From Seneca and Epictetus, Lipsius Christianized the theory by way of Jerome and Augustine's praise of the logos as the word of God through which man learns to act his part on earth. Saunders, 99; On reason, see Seneca, 1965, 256-261.
[285] Vives *DVFC* in *Opera Omnia*, Vol.8, 2-3, 8-9, 18-19, cited in Colish, 2009, 186.
[286] Akkerman, 220. On Spinoza see page 35, note 85, above.
[287] According to Sellars, "The Stoics were materialists and physicalists: only bodies exist. In contrast to Plato, they rejected the existence of universal concepts and embraced a form of nominalism." Sellars, 2016, 1-2. The Stoic cosmological perspective is the basis for what Inwood and Donini call Stoic "ethical naturalism," meaning that an individual's process emulates nature's "structured interdependence." Inwood and Donini, 683-684; See also Long, "Freedom and Determinism in Stoic Theory of Human Action," 1971, 173-199; The relationship of this Stoic teleology and naturalism to Baroque realism is an important topic for further research.

optimistic belief that a person can transform oneself and the novel Stoic guidance to go with the flow of nature gives the individual a focus in the real world and in human nature as it operates within: the individual can observe both the outer world and the inner workings of human nature in order to develop understanding and grow toward virtue.

The Stoic idea that the individual was responsible for progressing toward virtue and attaining happiness opened up the possibility of a transformatively positive role for the education of individuals and for art that not only delighted the viewer but that also instructed him. Stoic theories about teaching added a novel element to classical theories of education. To the Stoics, virtuous action was not rigidly constrained behaviour; instead it was the result of conscious free choices made by a person of a consistent disposition whose lifestyle and learning had allowed for the acquisition of right knowledge and wisdom, and the development of moral wellbeing.[288]

In Stoicism, to support personal transformation toward virtue was key, and free choice was fundamental to the Stoic ethical system, coming to be pivotal in Christian ethics.[289] In Stoicism, this freedom is inalienable. Because, the Stoics argued, a person could freely choose to abide by the flow of nature, Seneca could assert that "To obey God is freedom."[290] Stoic teachings provided a practical way for people to exercise

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[288] Kamtekar, 2013, 43.
[289] A prime Christian example of free choice was the Virgin Mary. The Greek theologian Irenaeus of Lyons highlighted the necessity of Mary's *choice* to obey God. His discussion of Luke accentuated Mary's willingness: "And Eve had necessarily to be restored in Mary, that a virgin, by becoming the advocate of a virgin, should undo and destroy virginal disobedience by virginal obedience." Irenaeus of Lyons, quoted in Burger, 228; Leonard Alston, *Stoic and Christian in the Second Century. A Comparison of the Ethical Teaching of Marcus Aurelius with that of Contemporary and Atecedent Christianity*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906, 107-126.
[290] Saunders, 97; Long, 2012, 466-467.

personal choices, to make decisions, and to take appropriate actions.[291] Free will is an important aspect of Stoic ethics that allows for individual responsibility in spite of living in a world that is a divinely ordered system, which Lipsius called providence.[292]

These questions about the connections among God, fate, and individual free will became much debated in Early Modern Europe. According to Burger, Erasmus's discussion of the relationship between human will and God's grace was in part informed by the Stoic theory of free will and choice. Erasmus wrote that God did not control all events on earth but rather judged people on the basis of their choosing between good and evil, through their free will. Erasmus conceived of free will as a human responsibility. It is significant that, like the Stoics before him and Lipsius later, Erasmus highlighted the role of human choice. What he called "freedom of decision" was, to Erasmus, the capacity of the human will to direct itself towards or

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[291] When Epictetus quoted Chrysippus's suggestion that when an outcome is unknown one should "always cling to what is better suited to getting that which accords to nature" this is immediately followed with an affirmination of the role of human choice. The Stoic *telos* explains how people relate to our world, and provides a practical guide that people can live by. Zeno, *On Human Nature*; Epictetus, *Diss*. II.6.9; Diogenes Laertius, VIII. 85-87; Inwood and Donini, 676, 679, 734; Long, 2012, 473-477; Gourniat, 424-425.

[292] Lipsius discussed Seneca's treatment of the Stoic notion of providence. In the *Physiologia*, Lipsius gave a fuller account of fate than he had in *De Constantia*, calling fate "the divine law" and "the child of providence." Lipsius, *Physiologia*, 1.12-1.17; He wrote that classical Stoics believed that freedom was internal to the individual who was responsible for how he chose to use freedom. Lipsius, *Physiologia*, 11, 14 (IV, 865); Saunders, 135, 138-140, 148, 158; Jacqueline Lagrée, "Juste Lipse: destins et Providence," in P.F. Moreau, *Le stoicisme au XVIEe at au XVIIe siècle*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1999, 77-93. As Sellars writes, classical Stoics believed that "Everything that happens within the cosmos is determined by previous causes, yet at the same time God providentially orders events." Sellars, 2016, 1-2; Kirk, 40, 46; Inwood and Donini, 722; Jedan, 31-48; Margaret E. Reesor, "Necessity and Fate in Stoic Philosophy," in John M. Rist, ed., *The Stoics*. Los Angeles and Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978, 187-202; For A.A. Long on "providential determinism" see Long, 2012, 478; Also see Seneca, "On Providence. Why Any Misfortune Befalls Good Men when Providence Exists," 1965, 27-45.

away from salvation.[293] Lipsius wrote that "Man was not perfect unless he was also free," and he explored classical discussions of the subject by Epictetus, Seneca, Plato, and Cicero.[294] The Stoic belief that one's fate was conditional upon free will allowed him to argue that the Stoic position on free will agreed with that of the early Christian fathers.[295] According to him, Nature, or God, made people, but an individual's characteristics could be altered through the exercise of free will. Lipsius placed moral responsibility firmly upon the individual, in keeping with the Stoic belief that a person must focus on only those actions and situations he can actually affect.[296]

Rubens's art was aimed at serving Early Modern viewers' spiritual transformation without imposing stultifying dogmatism. Indeed, according to De Piles's definition, painting is not inherently didactic; instead, the intense response that a viewer feels at first glance simply calls the viewer to experience the painting.[297] An art that invited the viewer into contemplation, and an ethics that developed practices

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[293] Erasmus *De libero arbitrio* I -10; The Greek Fathers of the church whose work Erasmus read had stressed free will. Burger, 231.

[294] Lipsius quoted John of Damascus in *Physiologia*, 1.11 (IV, 856), 1.6 -1.11, 1.15 (IV, 871), 1.17 (IV, 876); Lipsius, *Of Constancie*, 1584, 1595, 13-19; Augustine, *De civit. Dei*, xxii 1 and 2. Erasmus, Bruno, and Leibniz, among many others weighed in on the issue. Saunders, 137-138, 142, 159-160; Morford, 1991, 170; Kirk, 37.

[295] Saunders, 147, 150, 161; Long and Sedley, 1987, Vol.I, 333-343.

[296] *Ibid*., 103; Bonhoffer writes: "Epictetus's philosophy is a philosophy of freedom." Bonhoffer, 2000, 201; These ideas can also be seen, for example, when Descartes treated generosity in ways that sound like Stoic theories of free will and of true goods. He wrote that to have the virtue of generosity is to know "that nothing truly belongs to him but this freedom to dispose his volitions, and that he ought to be praised or blamed for no other reason than using this freedom well or badly." Significantly, in light of the Stoic emphasis on consistency and Lipsius's writings on the subject, Descartes also affirmed the need for a person to have constancy to support one's free will. Garrett, 242-246; On Stoic generosity see Davidson, 167; For the Stoics, virtue related to mentality and right thinking. Diogenes Laertius had noted that the Stoics included a definition of virtue as "consistent disposition." Diogenes Laertius, VII.89; Seneca called virtue "perfect reason." Seneca, "On Siren Songs," Epistle XXXI.8; Inwood and Donini, 715.

[297] De Piles wrote: "True painting is such as not only surprises, but, as it were, calls to us; and has so powerful an effect, that we cannot help coming near it, as if it had something to tell us." De Piles, 1709, 1744, 4, 60.

for understanding reality and for wisely exercising free choice would have suited a people already deeply interested in questions of spiritual transformation and psychological wellbeing. According to Van Ruler,

> Early Moderns were well versed in the idea that (…) human dignity demanded the kind of transformation typically described in the part of ethics that primarily concerned itself with the cognitive and spiritual development of the individual and the philosophical goal of attaining the right mental attitude to life rather than social rules or ethical maxims.[298]

Rubens's formal treatment of subjects as connected ensembles produces a spontaneous, emotional interest in the painting, an initial attentiveness that invites the viewer to complete its meaning through contemplation. The following image, the Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints, Rubens painted for the Saint Augustine Church in Antwerp, which was associated with a number of confraternities and dedicated to "Our Lady and all the saints."[299] In this painting Rubens arranged the figures in groups of overlapping elipses that spiral up toward the Virgin and Child, and toward the light that enters like a breeze at the top. From surviving sketches and *modelli* it is apparent that Rubens intended for the saints' postures and gazes to convey relatedness to the central figures of the Holy Family. The saints exhibit the energy of adoration, and in the centre foreground Saints Sebastian and Augustine create an opening for the viewer to complete the circle. Augustine, making eye contact with the viewer, holds the space on the steps for the viewer to move forward and reach up

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[298] Van Ruler, 2009, 261.

[299] Rubens, Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints, 1628, oil on canvas, 564x408cm, Augustinuskerk, Antwerp. (*La Vierge entourée de Plusieurs Saints et Saintes*) Rooses, *L'Oeuvre*, 1886-1892, Vol. I, 285-290, Fig. 70-2; Frans Baudoin, "Concept, Design, and Execution: The Intervention of the Patron," in Hans Vlieghe, Arnout Balis, and Carl Van de Velde, eds., *Concept, Design, and Execution in Flemish Painting (1550-1700)*. Turnhout, BE: Brepols, 2000, (1-26), 17. In my opinion, it is apparent from Rubens's sketches that he intentionally heightened the sense of Christ being handed over. See the sketches in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, in White, 1987, Fig. 231 and Fig. 232, 204-207.

Figure 4. Rubens, Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints. 1628, oil on canvas.

to receive the infant.

In my view, the design of tightly-knit figures in Rubens's Baroque painting not only provides ensembles of shapes that the viewer immediately responds to, but it also leads the viewer into the scene, making him feel the moral weight of the situation and contemplate his role as an individual within the timeless group. The visual and emotional effect of this painting renders the viewer a student of himself as he can enter in and take his place among the saints who adore and serve Christ.

The viewer's personal experience of the potential to contribute and become responsible served not only Early Modern Christian ends, but could also instigate the embodied moral introspection and self-awareness that are hallmarks of Stoic ethics. It is important to note that for the Stoics, actions represent intentional choices, choices that in Rubens's world could be informed by art. For example, Delbeke has associated Pallavicino's support of art with Zeno's insistence on people's freedom of choice.[300] The fact that the Stoics considered virtue to be an art or craft (*techné*) of living highlights their belief that progress toward virtue was a lifelong process, comprised of individual choices and shaped by personal responsibility.[301] In Stoicism, the individual who strives to progress toward virtue must make a series of choices that form a consistent lifestyle that becomes increasingly aligned with the human *telos*, that is, a life aligned with the flow of nature/God. Rubens's compositions could foster this individual moral decision-making by initiating viewer response and personal reflection.

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[300] Delbeke: "If these truths <of faith> were not a matter of choice, humans would be unfree, morally as low as a beast. Precisely because God requires humans to choose, in other words, because they are knowing and moral beings, these truths should be coated in an appealing guise, to incline humanity toward them." Delbeke, 2012, 72.
[301] Inwood and Donini, 686, 691.

IV. The Self in Stoic Humanism: "Lightly, Reservedly, Gently"

Epictetus explained that in order to achieve a smooth flow of life, one should behave "lightly, reservedly, and gently," reserving judgement, choosing whatever contributes to virtue, and responding with a soft touch to the vicissitudes of life.[302]

Rubens's designs of visually linked ensembles promoted viewers' response to and memory of images, fostering individuals' lifelong processes of personally applying ethical teachings to their own lives. For classical Stoics, the goal of education was to improve people's characters by shedding light on their mistaken beliefs about key issues of ethical importance. As I have explained above, Stoic philosophers hoped to help people choose virtue; help people see that the only goodness and happiness in life was in virtue; and help them see the important role played by themselves and their choices. That goodness for the Stoics was closely connected with self-awareness can be seen in the fact that wisdom itself was characterized as a virtue. Stobaeus wrote that Zeno had called virtues kinds of wisdom that included prudence, moderation, justice, and courage.[303] My thesis is that Rubens's undertaking to shape *viewer* response, which he did through connected, repeated shapes, resonates with Stoicism's interest in the *individual's* response and transformation. Highlighting the interplay of viewer response and individual contemplation, the following work shows one moment in a larger allegory. The overall form seems solid, or contained, even while the subjects that comprise it interrelate dynamically.

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[302] Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, 2, quoted in *Ibid*., 703.
[303] The supreme virtue was wisdom, so for example courage was "wisdom in things to be endured" and justice was "wisdom in things to be distributed." Stobaeus, *Eclogues*, II, 7, cited in Hunt, 73; Kamtekar, 2013, 30, 48.

Figure 5. After Rubens, Choice of Hercules, c.1635, oil on canvas.

The Choice of Hercules was a major theme in Early Modern art and philosophy, and represented a transitional moment when the hero confronted his dual human/godly nature. Here the young Hercules, at a crossroads in his life, conversed with two women who alternately represented two possible paths, one of ease that led to luxury, and the other of adversity that led to wisdom and self-discipline. In the story, reputedly told by Socrates and preserved in his student Xenophone's *Memorabilia*, the central female figures are named *Kakia* (translated as Wickedness, Vice, or Pleasure) and *Aretê* (αρετή, translated as Virtue).[304] The path of virtue was

[304] Socrates: "When Hercules had arrived at that part of his youth in which young men commonly choose for themselves, and show, by the result of their choice, whether they will, through the succeeding stages of their lives, enter into and walk in the path of virtue or vice, he went out into a solitary place fit for contemplation, there to consider with himself which of those two paths he should pursue." Speaking to the first woman, "Hercules desired to know her name, to which she answered, 'My friends, and those who are well acquainted with me, call me Happiness; but my

associated with the promise of philosophy to engender self-awareness and self-worth, and consequently, the second leader of the Stoic school, Cleanthes, had been called "a second Hercules." The Choice of Hercules is also linked to Stoicism in other ways. Its founder, Zeno, is purported to have been inspired to study philosophy after having read the story of the Choice of Hercules in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*. Because this story related to the need to wisely choose one's own path, and the requisite self-discipline, Zeno might classically have been compared to Hercules in terms of his self-mastery. In classical Rome the Choice of Hercules was related to Scipio Africanus's prophetic vision of the successful future that would result from his service to society through statesmanship, which Cicero related to Stoic ethics.[305]

Early Modern artistic treatment of this legend, in medieval woodcuts and in Renaissance and Baroque paintings, depicted a seated or reclining Hercules who was made to choose between two women who gestured or tugged at him.[306] In his Choice of Hercules Rubens painted figures and objects as if they were interlocking shapes.[307]

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enemies, and those who would injure my reputation have given me the name of Vice.'" Then Virtue spoke to Hercules, saying "My conversation is with the gods (…) I am an agreeable companion to the artisan (…) a useful associate to the arts of peace, (…) and the best uniter of all friendships." Socrates's speech as given in Xenophon (c.431-350BC), "The Choice of Hercules," *Memorabilia*, 2.1, c.371BCE, *The Memorable Thoughts of Socrates*. Edward Byssche, ed., Henry Morley, trans., 1712.

[305] Macrobius, *Comentarii in somnium Scipionis*; Cicero, "Dream of Scipio," *De republica*, 6.9.29; Christopher Braider, *Baroque Self-Invention and Historical Truth: Hercules at the Crossroads*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004, 113, 115, 123.

[306] For example, Raphael, Carracci, and Poussin painted the Choice of Hercules. Braider, 121.

[307] After Rubens, Choice of Hercules, c.1635, oil on canvas, Uffizi, Florence; Rooses, *L'Oeuvre*, 1886-1892, Vol. III, 104. There is little scholarship on this painting because it has been attributed to Rubens's studio. By contrast, I believe that if the Uffizi painting is not by Rubens it is a copy after a lost Rubens original. The composition of the painting is entirely consistent with Rubens's style. I also believe that it is probably indebted to Jacob de Backer's Allegory of the Three Ages of Man, 1500s, oil on panel, 100x123cm, Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg; Varshavskaia, 17, Cat No. 1; and/or to a signed Adam Van Noort sketch Allegory of the Burdens of Time, private collection, Belgium. De Backer, active in Antwerp until at least the mid-1580s, was extremely prolific and left a large body of work. Hans Vlieghe,

The painted forms interlock to create what appears as one visual object, a complex ensemble, the subsidiary shapes of which interact to create both a sense of stillness and of motion. Hercules occupies the central position, visually joined to Venus (or Lady Pleasure) as if they form part of the boulder on which they sit. Hercules is transfixed, framed all around by arches formed by the bodies of Minerva, Venus, and other figures. The alluring women on the left and the horse steward on the right function like pillars that frame and contain the scene. Around and over Hercules is the form of a visual arch, created by the continuous line from the hand of Venus on the left, through the leg, body, and open reach of the flying cupid, travelling along the light falling on Father Time's head and extending down his shoulder and arm, which continues along Minerva's left arm. This arch shape is reinforced at the top of the painting by the massive wings of Father Time, and at its lower edge it curls out at the sides through the mirrored hand gestures of Venus and Minerva who point outwards to lesser figures. There is a sense of repetition, of visual shapes moving like connected waves, created by the repeated vertical lines not only of Hercules's club but also by the whiter lines of the legs of the steward, of Minerva, Hercules, and Venus, and of the seated cupid who further grounds Hercules by functioning like a lock around the shins of Hercules and Venus.

Flemish Art and Architecture 1585-1700. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998, 30, 283. Lisa Rosenthal attributes the Uffizi painting to Rubens's assistant Jan van den Hoecke. Lisa Rosenthal, *Gender, Politics, and Allegory in the Art of Rubens.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 70; Even if this Uffizi version was painted by one of Rubens's assistants, I take it as valid evidence of Rubens's style of formal ensembles, following De Piles, Sohm, and Williams, who write that style can be attributed to an entire school. Williams, 1997, 73; Puttfarken, 1985, 79; Arnout Balis, "Rubens and his Studio: Defining the Problem," in *Rubens, A Genius at Work*. Brussels: Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, 2008, 30-51.

Hercules's exercise of constancy and free will at the crossroads has given him the title of Stoic saint.[308] Lipsius wrote about the Stoic idea of choosing the better moral path even if doing so meant repeatedly experiencing setbacks and constantly re-committing oneself. According to Lipsius:

> The wise man inspires us to lofty discourse and stimulates honourable souls to achieve honourable deeds. At this point I might fittingly quote the words of Seneca: "Is it any wonder if they do not ascend to the heights, having taken the steep path? Look up to those who attempt great things, even if they fail. It is a noble thing, taking into account not one's own strength but that of nature, to strive, to aim at the heights, to conceive in one's mind greater undertakings than even those endowed with immense spirit could achieve."[309]

The model of constancy offered by the Stoics was that founded on the wisdom that produced calmness and flexibility: because the wise sage knows the system by which to respond, he behaves appropriately and remains tranquil in any situation. The sage is adaptable because he has systematic knowledge of the method by which to choose, giving him the capacity to consistently exercise moderation.[310] Marcus Aurelius, for instance, repeatedly asserted that the objects of our desire or aversion do not force their positivity or negativity upon us. Rather, our minds attach to them and if we find a way for our minds to be still, the objects will have no power over us.[311] Epictetus explained this stillness of the sage's mind as being like a vessel through which passes a beam of light,

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[308] According to Colish, "The dream of Scipio evokes the apotheosis of Hercules the Stoic saint as the model and context in whose terms Cicero's ideal of statesmanship must be understood." Colish, 1985, Vol.1, 30-31, 41, 94-95.

[309] Lipsius, *Manuductio*; Kraye, 1997, 202; Seneca, *De vita beata*, 20.2, 1965, 246. Lipsius and other Early Modern writers showed that this Stoic motif could be compatible with stories of Christian moral struggles.

[310] Diogenes Laertius, VII.48, quoted in Long, 1996, 94.

[311] Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, xii 11, vi 52; Davidson, 79.

> As is a dish of water, such is the soul. As is the ray of light that falls on the water, such are the appearances. When, then, the water is moved, the ray seems to be moved, yet it is not moved.[312]

The still, introspective Stoic sage that Rubens depicted in the Choice of Hercules relates to the classical Stoic theory of attaining tranquility through self-awareness and wise use of inner images. In *On Constancy* Lipsius focussed on what he believed to be practical techniques to effect self-transformation. For Lipsius, transformation of the self would be through action and understanding, building on the need in Stoic moral theory for awareness of the self in the world, in the present. Lipsius's treatise taps into the Stoic emphasis on reason and self-discovery to argue that in times of social crisis spiritual constancy is achieved through practical moral techniques of self-awareness. This method eschews whatever is morally irrelevant or beyond one's control such as wealth, social station, negative affects, and bodily preferences, focussing instead on the ongoing work of discovering one's true nature.[313] The desire to create inner tranquility was widespread in Early Modern spiritual practices, and the stillness associated with tranquility became a motif in seventeenth-century visual art. For example, the title page that Rubens designed for Lipsius's *Opera omnia*, published in 1637, shows a male figure of *Constantia* seated on a cube form.[314] Van Veen had depicted virtue and tranquility in his seventeenth-

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[312] Epictetus, *Dissertations*, i, 8; and ii, 23 quoted in Davidson, 79. Epictetus's analogy would later be used in Christian art to symbolize Mary's purity.

[313] Constancy requires ceasing to identify oneself in terms of temporary conditions and increasingly identifying with a rational self, and with universal reason, relinquishing activities and even identities that threaten the tranquility of the soul. Garrett, 241, 243, 253.

[314] Judson and Carl Van de Velde, Vol.II, Figs. 246, 247; Adriana McCrea, "Introduction: Justus Lipsius and the Doctrine of Constancy," *Constant Minds: Political Virtue and the Lipsian Paradigm in England, 1584-1650*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997, 3-39.

century emblem books, contrasting the spinning spherical world with a block that represented the solidity and steadfastness that comes from peace of mind.[315]

Investigations into understanding and defining selfhood were an important part of Early Modern ethics and influenced the arts.[316] Indeed, Williams asserts that part of the sixteenth-century phenomenon of art theory becoming more comprehensive and systematic, and more connected to other disciplines, was that art theorists became conscious of the inalienable connection between art and human nature.[317] The classical Stoics' search for practical means to assist individual self-development led them to investigate the functioning of the mind, and to develop what has been called "an innovative approach to the self."[318] In Stoic philosophy, the self is the soul and the moral compass, but the self is not the intellect or the ego.[319] Epictetus, discussing identity, stated, "You are not flesh nor hair, but your moral

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[315] Otto Vaenius, *Emblemata Horatiana*, 1607, ("*Virtus invidiae scopus*") and *Emblemata sive symbola*, 1624, ("*Mobile fit fixum*"). De Jongh, "Peace of Mind by the Balustrade: the Implications of an Architectonic Motif in Seventeenth-Century Portraiture," (215-230), 219-220, 284.

[316] According to Long: "In recent years a new subject of inquiry has begun to burgeon – the conceptualisation and history of the individual or person." Long, 1996, 265; Anthony A. Long, "Seneca and the Self: Why Now?" in S. Bartsch and D. Wray, eds., *Seneca and the Self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 20-36; Tad Brennan, "Stoic Moral Psychology," in Brad Inwood, ed., *Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 257-294; Anthony A. Long, "The Self in the *Meditations*," in Marcel Van Ackeren, ed., *A Companion to Marcus Aurelius*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, 465-481; Conal Condren, Stephen Gaukroger, and Ian Hunter, eds., *The Philosopher in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 32.

[317] Williams, 2004, 72.

[318] Long, 1996, 265.

[319] Stoicism is an important stage in the development of the idea of an "I" as eventually expressed by Descartes, but the Stoics did not conceive of an ego, and what they called the "ruling part" was not a superior or semi-independent aspect of the psyche. Long writes: "Epictetus's conception of the self has no vestiges of a free-floating ego. In order to be at all, he suggests, we need a persisting view of ourselves, a bottom-line representation or narrative which is called into play whenever an 'I' is called upon to register and evaluate new experience." *Ibid*., 270, 275, 282; David Sedley, "The Stoic Criterion of Identity," *Phronesis*, Vol.27, 1982, 255-275.

character: if you get that beautiful then *you* will be beautiful."[320] The study of human nature was fundamental to the Stoic school from its founding.[321] The Stoic philosophy of the mind and self is well documented. What is unusual for Stoic sources is that the evidence for it is not fragmentary.[322]

Self-knowledge was a topic of Seneca's letters, which were republished in Early Modern Europe, and he repeatedly mentioned that it was fundamental to a person's development. In one example, a young writer, Annaeus Serenus, feared that his occasional fascination with a grand style of prose might be attributable to falling behind in his "philosophical growth." Instead of offering stylistic solutions, Seneca told Serenus essentially that he needed self-knowledge. Seneca discussed how to attain tranquility, wrote that he hoped that "human weakness would be dragged out into the light where a man can know his own part therein," and finally reassured Serenus that he would be strengthened by knowledge of himself.[323] Self-examination and growing self-awareness became central to the Stoic definition of the good life itself, as Epictetus defined it. He explained, "God introduced man as a student of himself and his works, and not merely as a student, but also as an interpreter of these things."[324] Interest in Stoicism in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries was partly responsible for the Early Modern interest in identity, and in changes in understanding the concept of the self. Garret writes,

> The form and substance of the <self help> techniques, as well as the goal of a tranquil and happy life, would be recognizable to Marcus

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[320] Epictetus, *Discourses*, III.1.40, quoted in *Ibid*., 275.
[321] Diogenes Laertius listed such Stoic titles as *On Human Nature*, *On Life According to Nature*, and *On Impulse*. Diogenes Laertius, VII.4; Inwood and Donini, 676.
[322] Long writes: Epictetus's *Discourses* "contain a powerful philosophy of the self." Long, 1996, 265, 276.
[323] Seneca, *De tranquilitate animi* 1.15, 2.5, 6.1, cited in Kennedy, 1972, 472-473.
[324] Epictetus: "For us (…) to whom God has given the power of attending to things, these animal activities (eat, drink, rest, and procreate) are no longer sufficient." Epictetus, *Discourses*, 1.6.12 (= L/S 63E) quoted in Long, 1996, 276.

> Aurelius, Seneca, and Epictetus. (…) The justifications for these techniques and goals reflected (…) how self-knowledge is an extension of what it is to properly know an infinite and causal world. Consequently, these theories involve an expansion of what is moral (…) a radical transformation of both how one knows the self and what the self that is known is.[325]

Early Modern writers sought to engage readers in transforming how they understood themselves. For example, Montaigne and La Rochefoucauld struggled with the question of what identity was and what motivated people.[326] Practical wisdom was understood to include grasping one's own nature and reality. It included being aware of one's capacities and how best to fulfil one's nature. The Stoics shared this belief with Aristotelians and Epicureans. This classical theory did not conflict with those early seventeenth-century Catholic theorists who wrote that spiritual transformation could occur in an instant or could be a lifelong goal, and had relevance for art theory. For example, in the late sixteenth century one Jesuit theologian, arguing that images functioned even more powerfully than texts, reminded people of occasions when reading a text had transformed lives, as he said had happened to Saint Augustine reading Cicero's *Hortensius*. Gian Domenico Ottonelli (1584-1670) wrote: "Painting is such a useful art, that they who master her perfectly can do with images what the eloquent Orator does with words to stir the human *affetto* and will to perform virtue."[327]

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[325] Garrett, 255.

[326] Descartes and Spinoza described human psychology, explaining that the way to a better life was through self-knowledge and the consequent "reflection on and control of the passions." *Ibid*., 241, 250, 255.

[327] Kamtekar, 47. Gian Domenico Ottonelli and Pietro Berettini. *Trattato della Pittura e Scultura. Uso et Abuso loro. Composto da un Theologo, e da un Pittore*. Florence, 1652. Republished vittorio Casale, ed., Treviso, 1973, 62; Delbeke, 2012, 41-45, 59, note 76; Rudolf Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffé, eds., *Baroque Art: The Jesuit Contribution*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1972, 29, 99.

Images, or representations, were central to the Stoic theory that inspired this Early Modern philosophical interest in selfhood. Epictetus explained the Stoic theory of *phantasia* using examples from literature:

> The *Iliad* is nothing but a representation (*phantasia*) and the use of representations. Paris had a representation of abducting the wife of Menelaus, and Helen had a representation of following him. If Menelaus had had the representation that it was an advantage to be robbed of such a wife, what would have happened? We would have lost not only the *Iliad* but the *Odyssey* as well.[328]

The Stoics treat perceiving as involving a kind of judgement: when we perceive an inner image, a representation, it seems to be something that we know. According to the Stoics, the image, or *phantasia*, helps to generate beliefs, but an individual is responsible for *reframing* personal experience in ways that promote tranquility, increasing wisdom, and ethical behaviour. These processes involve the Stoic theories of "assent" and "impulse with reservation," as I explain below. In order for one thing (the representation) to mean another thing (the thing we believe it to be), the mind of the individual has to "assent" to that meaning, and that gives space within the theory for free will, individualism, individual viewer meanings, and optimism.[329] Assent can be defined as "casting a vote" or "committing oneself," and it functions to mediate between representations and impulses.[330] By distinguishing between the passive receipt of impressions and the mental act of assent, an act that is judgmental,

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[328] Epictetus, *Discourses*, I.28.10; Long, 1996, 278, 280; Long, 1971, 103.
[329] Representations are thought-contents, and our awareness of them naturally involves attentiveness. The mental faculty that responds to attentiveness is assent (*synkatathesis*). Representations can be regarded as potential judgements. Long, 1996, 274.
[330] Because of the concepts acquired over time through experience, the mind is not limited to registering awareness of an impression, but instead can interpret and classify the representation. Long, 1974, 126.

interpretive, and volitional, the Stoics showed their commitment to the belief that perception is a form of judgement.[331]

Epictetus explained that as rational beings, in order to function well, which he defined as living as our nature requires, a person is responsible for reflecting on and evaluating the perceptions that are generated by the world and by our internal states.[332] Seneca explained that because we might not always ascertain which actions would accord with the flow of nature, we should recognize that the will of nature may be contrary to our goals, that the results of our actions may not be what we plan, and that being unattached to outcomes will reduce our emotional reaction to them.[333] In the Stoic method, instead of reacting rashly to what one perceives, a person makes decisions, chooses courses of action, and acts, always knowing that what he chooses may not come to pass.[334] It works like this: a person experiences an idea in the form of an inner representation, or *phantasia*, but does not "assent" to the meaning of that image until he has reflected upon it. Seneca explained this "impulse with reservation" as a quality of the sage, who accepts his powerlessness even while preferring the good

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[331] In the Stoic view, "assent with reservation" is tantamount to a self-reflective process that links sensory perception to reason, judgement, and choice. On the senses and the rise of naturalism in art in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, see David Summers, *The Judgement of Sense. Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987; David Carrier, "Book Review. The Judgment of Sense," *The British Journal of Aesthetics*. Vol.29, Issue 1, 1989, 74-75; Donald B. Kuspit, "Book Review. The Judgment of Sense," *The Art Bulletin*. Vol.71, Issue 2, 1989, 317-319; Dorothy Koenigsberger, "Book Review. The Judgment of Sense," *History of European Ideas*. Vol.10, Issue 2, 258-259.
[332] Long, 1996, 274, 276, 282.
[333] Seneca, 1965, 99; Seneca, *On Peace of Mind*, 13.2-14.2, in Kamtekar, 2013, 47.
[334] Inwood and Donini, 738. See also Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, IV.35; Seneca, *On Benefits*. Miriam Griffin and Brad Inwood, trans., London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011; Miriam T. Griffin, *Seneca on Society. A Guide to De Beneficiis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

and acting on his beliefs. In Seneca's words, "The wise man sets about every action with reservation: 'if nothing happens which might stop him'."[335]

The Stoic concept of individual *assent* explains how free choice meets the flow of nature, and as such was novel in classical philosophy.[336] The notion of "impulse with reservation," the Stoics explained, is the way to counteract the passions. Beliefs contribute to responses, and this includes causing passions. People react to impressions. A decision, an action, and a passion can only occur if a person "assents" to the appearance or perceived meaning of a situation.[337] Our responses to our inner images of events and phenomena can lead either to wisdom and tranquility or to passions and suffering.

The reserving, or delaying, of assent enables a person to remain tranquil even while attempting to achieve his goals. The Stoic ethical theory of assent, or "impulse with reservation" relates to the concept of *phantasia*, to Stoic moral educational theory, and to viewer response. Essentially, it means being aware of one's inner representations and choosing to respond consciously rather than automatically.

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[335] Seneca, "For this reason we say that he always succeeds and that nothing unexpected happens to him: because within himself he considers the possibility that something will get in the way and prevent what he is proposing to do." Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, IV.34-4, Griffin and Inwood, trans., 2011; Inwood and Donini, 737. What is distinctive about the virtuous person is that he is consistent in contrast to vacillating. This is because the wise person is not subject to misinterpreting the information that comes to him through his senses. Long, 1971, 102.

[336] The anonymous writer, probably Chrysippus, of a papyrus fragment demonstrated how closely linked are human nature, rationality, and assent. According to the papyrus text: assent should always be linked to *katalepsis* (grasping) "for in the first place philosophy, whether it is (practicing) correctness of *logos*, (or) knowledge, (…) by being (within) the parts of the *logos* and their (arrangement) we shall use it with experience; and by *logos* I mean that which belongs by (nature to all) rational beings." Papyrus writer, probably Chrysippus, at *SVF*, II.27-32, quoted at Long, 1996, 94, 95. The brackets are Long's.

[337] Inwood and Donini, 701, 736; Verbeke, 1991, 23.

According to Epictetus, the "ethically good life was equivalent" to correctly using representations.[338] In order to clarify how an individual is responsible for his actions even while being tasked with going with the flow of nature and providence, Epictetus explained the idea of living "an examined life." According to Epictetus, anyone has the ability to delay assenting to a representation, and most people are able to develop consistency between their overall interest in the good, and the particular circumstances of life.[339] Epictetus explained that we should not immediately assent to a representation that comes to us, but instead should almost dialogue with it, allowing ourselves time to understand it and test it, and to develop objectivity and balanced opinion. In Epictetus's words,

> Representations of wrong courses of action are prone to give us attractive pictures of what will follow for us if we act upon them. We should forestall such pictures by opposing to the first representation "a fair and noble one," which will give us the incentive to chuck out its predecessor. Alternatively, offered the representation of something pleasurable, we should first reflect on the duration of the pleasure and then compare that to the time subsequent to the pleasure and the possible self-revulsion we shall experience during this later time.[340]

A committed Stoic will use representations in order to train his character. Epictetus repeatedly emphasized that the way things affect us depends upon how we represent them or describe them to ourselves and that we could use *phantasia* for our own moral training. Epictetus held:

> You say, "I don't like leisure, it is solitude," "I don't like a crowd, it is confusion." Instead of talking like this, if circumstances bring you to a state of spending time alone or with just a few, call it peace and use the situation in the right way. Talk to yourself, train your representations, work at your preconceptions. But if you fall

[338] Epictetus, *Discourses*, I.1.7, II.1.4, II.22.29, IV.6.34; Long, 1996, 275-276.
[339] Epictetus explained that in the Stoic system, Medea should have asked herself how her representation about murder accorded with her general view of what is good. Davidson, 78.
[340] Epictetus, *Enchiridion*, 34; Epictetus, *Discourses*, II.18.24-26; Long, 1996, 279.

> in with a crowd, call it games, a festival, a holiday, try to celebrate with people.[341]

That representations are at the heart of identity and self awareness is apparent in Epictetus's discussion of assent. Our moral character is our reason, the only mental faculty that can be cognisant of itself and of everything else, and assent is a function of reason, specifically of the soul's "commanding part" (*hegemonikon*). Because the role of reason that interested Epictetus related to the individual's autonomy and responsibility, he discussed not reason simply, but how reason can practically be applied to choice, emotional wellbeing, tranquility, and understanding the meaning of a life lived according to the flow of nature.[342] The faculty of assent makes choices, and so can relate to deepening wisdom and moral transformation.[343]

For the Stoics, the way a person assents to representations constitutes moral identity. Marcus Aurelius wrote: "Your mind will be just like the repetition of your representations; for the soul is coloured by its representations."[344] Marcus Aurelius wrote that we must ask ourselves, "What precisely it is that is generating your representation, and analyse its cause, material, reference, and necessary duration."[345]

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[341] Epictetus, *Discourses*, IV.26; Long explains how people freely build up definitions and meanings. He suggests that "What is in our power is a *lekton* or description, and this is 'our' individual contribution to representations. In that case, the mind's freedom from constraint, so strongly emphasized by Epictetus, gains a dimension that scholars of Stoicism have tended to overlook. Persons are not constrained by incorporeal *lekta* to experience their representations in one determinate set of ways. Rather, it seems, it is up to them to decide what *lekton* matches their situation, what precisely they are experiencing, and how they should evaluate that experience. If this is on the right lines, the Stoics may have room for a stronger sense of free will than is normally admitted." Long, 1996, 285, 265, 282, 284.

[342] The Stoics did not prize reason for its own sake; but because reason is instrumental in the function of choice, long-term vision, and creating harmony. Epictetus cited in *Ibid*., 276.

[343] As Long explains, it is the faculty "that passes judgement on the truth and value of anything of which we have a representation." *Ibid*., 275.

[344] Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*. V.16; Long, 1996, 277; Hadot, "The Inner Citadel, or the Discipline of Assent," 101-127.

[345] Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, XII.18; Long, 1996, 281.

Epictetus related representations to what Anthony Long calls "ethical sensibility", and suggested that we must ask ourselves what our representations tell us about our characters.[346] Assent includes, in Long's words, "the power of reflective consciousness" but it is not a detached observer or monitor. He explains that it is "a character formed by experience" that becomes "a disposition to make specific commitments and choices." Because these beliefs and choices are present in the form of representations, "it is representations that provide selves with the viewpoints which they can select as appropriate to who they are."[347] Representations are caused by beliefs and create beliefs, and as such they are at the core of identity and transformation. Diogenes Laertius wrote about this Stoic theory:

> If my beliefs and desires, which make me the kind of person I am, are an influence on the kind of representations to which I am subject, it is also the case, as the Stoics acknowledged, that representations have helped to generate my beliefs and desires.[348]

Long explains that in Stoicism, representation is so closely tied to perception and awareness that assent to representations is, according to Epictetus, the locus of the self. In Long's words,

> If my representations are up to me to interpret, accept, or reject, there must be a "me" to which they appear and an "I" which reacts to them – a subject that is identifiable precisely by the representations that it receives and by what it does with them. (…) By

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[346] Epictetus cautioned that the most common mistake was in failing "to fit representations of particular circumstances." *Ibid*., 276; Hadot, "The Stoicism of Epictetus," 73-100.

[347] Long notes: "The Stoic self of Epictetus is constituted not by assent *simplicter* but by the way assent uses representations." Long, 1996, 282.

[348] Diogenes Laertius, VII, 53; Long and Sedley, 39D; Long, 1996, 277; Lipsius explained that the Stoics believed that wisdom can be learned, and he gave an analysis of the Stoic theory of knowledge: the mind receives representations (*phantasae*) and is affected or "impressed" by them. If these perceptions are vivid or lasting, they result in memory. "Repeated acts of memory" then result in experience. From this are derived conceptions of things, acts of thought, knowledge, and wisdom. Saunders, 9; Stephen M. Straker, "What is the History of the Theories of Perception the History of?" in Margaret J. Osler and Richard Westfall, eds., *Religion, Science, and Worldview*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, (246-273), 266.

> "representation" I mean the way in which individual human beings perceive themselves, or what it is for them to have a first-person outlook on the world or a first-person experience. The self in this sense is something essentially individual – a uniquely positioned viewer and interlocutor, a being that has interior access of a kind that is not available to anyone else.[349]

Assent can relate to viewer response because an individual responds to a representation by assenting or not. In assent to representation, the general and the particular come together. Long explains that although assenting to a representation often involves assenting to "an objectively true proposition (…) yet, what it is for that person to assent to this or any other proposition will remain something unique."[350] With the Stoic theory of assent in mind, Rubens's Choice of Hercules can be considered a scene of the hero undertaking a Herculean philosophical act, that is, to consciously and wisely dialogue with his inner representations of the potential paths that lay ahead. In Rubens's conception, Hercules appears on the surface to be hemmed in and still, but inwardly Hercules actively dialogues with his *phantasia*, bringing Stoic philosophy to bear on his decision-making, and engaging in a life of progress toward wisdom.

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[349] Long, 1996, 265, 276; A.A. Long, "Stoic Psychology," in K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld, and M. Schofield, eds., *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 560-584; Davidson, 2, 41.
[350] Long, 1996, 275.

Chapter Two: Stoic Rhetoric, *Copia* for Wisdom, and Rubens's Abundant Brushwork

I. Chapter Introduction

This chapter investigates Rubens's stylistic debt to classical Stoic rhetorical theory, and finds similarities in their interests in complex, evocative communication. Rubens's application of paint in visibly intermingled layers engages the viewer's attention, while in Stoic rhetorical theory, the logical emphasis on the details of reality gives rise to complex, persuasive styles. The classical Roman rhetorician Quintilian defined rhetoric as "an art of invention, judgment, and expression, with suitable ornament, on a scale which can embrace whatever is persuasive in each case."[351] Stoic rhetoric is part of the Stoic knowledge system that includes logic and epistemology, and is designed to ascertain what is true.[352] Consequently, I characterize Stoic rhetoric as a communication system centred on meaning. I investigate the style of classical Stoic writers Seneca and Tacitus, to explore similarities with Rubens's style. As I will elaborate below, I contend that the intentionally unpolished rhetorical style advocated

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[351] Quintilian, quoted in Kennedy, 1972, 341, 347-348, 385; George Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition, From Ancient to Modern Times*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1980, 3-4; Kristeller defines rhetoric in Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Rhetoric in Medieval and Renaissance Culture," in James J. Murphy, ed., *Renaissance Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1983, 1-19; Rhetoric is also defined in Dominic A. LaRusso, "Rhetoric in the Italian Renaissance," in James J. Murphy, ed., *Renaissance Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1983, 37-55; J. Monfasani, "Humanism and Rhetoric," in A. Rabil Jr., ed., *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*. 3 Vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988, Vol. 3, 171-235; On adornment of subject matter see Erasmus, *Copia*, Book II, Method 3, 576.

[352] Susanne Bobzien, "Logic: The Stoics," in K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld, and M. Schofield, eds., *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, 92-157; Anthony A. Long, "The Stoic Doctrine of Truth and the True," in J. Brunschwig, ed., *Les stoiciens et leur logique*. Paris: Vrin, 1978, 297-315.

by these authors is comparable to Rubens's work, where brushwork is left visible rather than being polished into a seamless finish. Painterly brushwork like that of Rubens's is considered to be among the quintessential characteristics of Baroque painting, traditionally positioned in contrast to linearity.[353]

The following image, Rubens's Saint Theresa of Avila Interceding, shows his signature method, which I will argue below should be termed the abundant style. Here, the edges of painted forms are rather indistinct, with pictorial depth suggested by subtle hues rather than stark contrasts, and with dabs and lines of paint unblended and visible. The painting shows the saint kneeling before Christ, who looks on with a compassionate countenance.[354] It recounts an episode in the life of Saint Theresa, as recorded in her *Book of Foundations*. In the foreground, souls in purgatory reach up towards putti who read Christ's face for permission to begin assisting the redeemed. Rubens has painted the torso of Christ in mauve-grey, pink, and yellow; mottled highlights that seem to emit brightness.[355] In the background is a lush landscape, and above it a stormy sky.

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[353] Heinrich Wolfflin, "The Painterly Style," *Renaissance and Baroque*. New York and Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961, 1968, 29-37; Minor, 1999, 29; Boschini attributed the "fluid form" of the painterly style to its having been invented in the watery city of Venice, and wrote that Venetian painting was "form without form." Marco Boschini, "Breve instruzione," in *Le Ricche minere della pittura veneziana*. (1674) Anna Pallucchini, ed., Venice and Rome: Instituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1966, (703-756), 750; Sohm, 2001, 150.

[354] Rubens painted this Saint Theresa (193x139cm, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp, no.299) for an altarpiece endowed by the benefactress Felipa Mendes Borges in the Church of the Discalced Carmelites in Antwerp. Valérie Herremans, "The Church of the Discalced Carmelites," *Rubens Unveiled. Paintings from the Lost Antwerp Churches*. Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 2013, 112-137; Rooses, *L'Oeuvre*, 1886-1892, Vol. II, 351-355, Fig. 168; Hans Vlieghe, *Saints. CRLB*, Part 8, Vol. 2, Brussels: Arcade Press; and London: Phaidon Press, 1973, 166-168, Figs. 119-128; Campbell, 1991, 30.

[355] Notice also Rubens's abundant style of brushwork in his treatment of the body of Christ in his earlier Rockox Triptych, 1613-1615, Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp, and in The Holy Trinity, c.1620, Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. Herremans, 53-57, 104-109.

Figure 6. Rubens, Saint Theresa of Avila Interceding, c.1630-1635, oil on canvas.

The detail below shows how sparse brushwork causes the painted figure of the putto to visually engage with the airscape that surrounds him, alternatively blending with and standing out from the sky, the light, and the cloud.

Figure 7. Saint Theresa of Avila Interceding, detail

My thesis is that Rubens's awareness of style as a driving force in artistic reception and his interest in the newly emerging styles of brushwork were supported by the classical rhetorical theory and practice that was preserved in the thought of Seneca and Tacitus, in newly discovered classical texts, and in the European education promoted by Erasmus and others. Early Modern art theory drew on classical rhetorical debates about the location of style, to assert that style was not purely automatic or biologically compelled, but rather that an artist, like a rhetorician, could responsively adopt styles. Classical schools taught that styles of wording, gesture, and delivery should be learned and then delivered as the occasion and subject required. Early Modern education promoted the mirroring of diverse classical stylistic examples of writing in order develop facility with communicating in suitable powerful styles. In Early Modern art practice, painters discussed, studied, and

replicated other artist's styles as part of the process of developing their own hand.[356] I will argue that Rubens, the highly informed, intellectual, passionately committed painter, developed a signature style that shares aspects with Tacitus's and Seneca's literary styles and with Stoic logic's commitment to complex truth.

Early Modern writers on art could assume a widespread knowledge of classical debates and tropes, including that about hard and soft styles. Dionysius discussed rhetorical styles as if they were on a scale of harmonies, positioned between Thucydides the "standard and canon" of an elaborate and ornately ornamented style and on the other extreme Lysias whose style was "smooth and plain." According to Dionysius, "The one astonishes, the other charms; the one stretches and strains the mind, the other relaxes and softens it."[357] Annibale Carracci contrasted the styles of Raphael and Correggio in terms that art theorists were familiar with from classical rhetoric. According to him, Raphael's style was wooden, hard, and immobile, contoured with unblended colours and sharp lighting, while Correggio's boasted soft, melting colours, *sfumato* light, and blurred contours. Leonardo da Vinci, an artist much admired by Rubens, had described his interest in painting figures with "indistinguishable edges" rather than with clear outlines that caused artificial, lifeless effects. According to Leonardo:

> When you represent in your work shadows which you can only discern with difficulty, and of which you cannot distinguish the edges so that you apprehend them confusedly (*con confuso*), you must not make them sharp or definite (*finite overo terminate*) lest your work should have a wooden effect (*di legniosa resultatione*).[358]

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[356] See Robert Williams, "Universa Pingendi Ratio," *Raphael and the Redefinition of Art in Renaissance Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017, (18-83), 54.
[357] Dionysius, *On Demosthenes*, quoted in Kennedy, 1972, 358; Sohm, 2001, 30.
[358] Leonardo criticizes the wooden style that makes figures appear "stiff, dry, sharp, knotty, muscular, and devoid of grace." *Ibid.*, 29, 212; Jaffé, 1977, 30, 32, 71; Van Regteren calls Rubens style "extremely Leonardesque." Altena van Regteren, "Rubens as a Draftsman. Relations to Italian Art," *Burlington Magazine*. Vol.76, Issue 442, 1940, (194-200), 199.

I posit that Early Modern art theorists applied classical rhetorical theory to the visual arts in part because of the interest in effective communication and its effects upon the listener/viewer.[359] Stoic rhetoric, under the rubric of the Stoic philosophy of logic, included training in the writing and speech-making that became fundamental to classical education. It included methods of structuring arguments, the use of allegory, ways to affect audience emotion, and the application of standards of decorum to style and vocabulary.[360] Studies of Early Modern rhetoric do not adequately treat the influence of Stoicism. Classical Stoic sources were only partially preserved, and these fragments were being rediscovered in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[361] Stoic rhetorical delivery can be sharp and pointed, but this does not detract from the abundance of stylistic devices available to give the piece energy, rhythm, force, and communicability. Zeno discussed rhetoric, for example in his texts *Techné*, *On Logos*, and *On Signs*; and he invented the theory of *katalepsis*, that is, how people grasp what we perceive.[362] My current chapter investigates how not only Stoic rhetorical theory, but also the style that inhered in Roman Stoic writers, could have influenced Rubens's style, and I find a connection in Stoic rhetoricians' commitments to complexity and truth-speaking.[363]

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[359] According to Puttfarken, Early Modern writers and art theorists related art to rhetoric partly because of art's ability to communicate cause and effect, that is, *logical* sequences. Puttfarken, 1985, 12.
[360] Mack, 2011, 1-2, 184; Kennedy writes, "Seneca's theory of style is clearly influenced by Stoic theories of rhetoric." Kennedy, 1972, 358, 479.
[361] The abundant style was not a common topic of medieval handbooks, although Quintilian was known. On this, see below.
[362] Long, 1996, 89; F.H. Sandbach, "*Phantasia Kataleptike*," in A.A. Long, ed., *Problems in Stoicism*. London: The Athlone Press, 1971, 9-21; Kennedy notes that, in his words, Cicero considered Cato the Younger "for a Stoic, remarkably effective." 1972, 19, 283; Connolly, 162.
[363] Seneca is known to have believed that speech addressing itself to that which is true, should be simple, or unadorned. This has led to the belief that Stoic rhetoricians favoured plain speech, but in fact the Stoics believed that style could be plain or

Rubens's humanist education taught him to investigate and appreciate how words mean, and he applied his interest and training in classical Stoic texts to his investigation into how images mean. I previously showed that Stoic theories about mentation included representations (*phantasia*), thus connecting images to self-knowledge and to ethics. In terms of logic and rhetoric, the Stoics sought to explain how perception relates to the ways that communication can signify, making the *phantasia* central to "significant discourse," a Stoic concept that I explain more fully below.[364] Stoic rhetorical theory embodied the Stoic philosophical commitment to investigating the reality of human nature, understanding how it functioned, and finding ways to improve oneself. This promoted an interest in reality and truth, and a valuing of complexity that influenced classical rhetoric and then Early Modern art theory. The Stoic logical and rhetorical emphases on complicated realism, and the centrality of the concept of *phantasia* to their theories about communication renders them relevant to Rubens, the seventeenth-century art theoretical painter and reader.

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ornate, but it had to be legible. That is, not only plainness produced clarity; sometimes detail or complexity was required in order to produce understanding or audience response. Seneca, 40.4, quoted in Kennedy, 1972, 477; For example, Shifflett notes that Seneca, in *Epistulae morales*, encourages what Shifflett terms "situatedness, extemporaneity, and disorderliness." Andrew Shifflett, "Shakespeare and Early Modern Literature," in John Sellars, ed., *The Routledge Handbook to the Stoic Tradition*. London: 2016, (174-186), 183.

[364] For the Stoics, to think was to discourse with oneself. They considered that to do this, to conceptualize and to have the capacity to make inferences, was so indistinguishable from human nature that Sextus Empiricus explained that the Stoics considered these capacities to be *physical* qualities of the soul. In Long's words, "The Stoics were much exercised about 'images' produced in the mind by external objects. For it is on such images, when they reproduce exactly the configuration of external objects, that they based the criterion of true perception. Images have a basic part to play in the Stoic theory of significant discourse." Long, 1971, 76, 87. Chrysippus and Epictetus regarded logic as a means of self-discovery. Epictetus highlighted the Stoic integration of logic with self-awareness when he clarified that Chrysippus's "analysis of *logos* has yielded true indications of human nature." Epictetus, *Discourses*, 1.17.18-19, quoted in Long, 1996, 105.

In this chapter I argue that the abundant Baroque brushwork in Rubens's *oeuvre* is attributable not only to the emergent seventeenth-century styles he successfully emulated and developed beginning during his Antwerp training and his research in Italy, as the art historical literature acknowledges, but rather that it also relates to *copia*, or the Abundant Style, that was prized in classical rhetorical traditions and transmitted into Early Modern Europe by the Erasmian/Lipsian generation's publication of classical Stoic authors.[365] I explain the Stoic "communicable concept" that related to truth and realism, and I investigate the possibility that Rubens was influenced by the stylistic qualities of the Stoic works he read. In particular I compare Rubens's sketchy brushwork to Tacitus's and Seneca's use of *sententia*, defined as brief, loaded remarks that are often also "pointed, witty, elegant, brilliant, and striking."[366] Tacitus defined *sententia* as: "a proposition, so expressed, as to dart a sudden brilliancy, for that reason called *lumen orationis*."[367] I find the electrifying double meanings, the rhetorical questions, and the terse, loaded *sententiae* written by these classical authors to share evocativeness and learned complexity with Rubens's skilful stylistic fluency. Cave explains that the term *copia*

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[365] *Copia* related to a copious variety of subject matter, allegory, and stylistic methods. Erasmus explained that *copia* was a valuable method, one that, if used expertly, would make one's speech "a magnificent and impressive thing, surging along like a golden river with thoughts and words pouring out in rich abundance." Erasmus, quoted in Thomas O. Sloane, ed., *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric*. Vol.I, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, 176. For more on abundant stylistics and Erasmus's work on *copia*, see below, pages 135, 150-155.

[366] Kennedy, 1972, 324; On Seneca's "aphoristic-sententious style" see Laarman, 55.

[367] Tacitus, "Dialogue Concerning Oratory," Section XXII.a, *The Works of Cornelius Tacitus*. Arthury Murphy, ed., London: John Stockdale, 1805, Vol.8, 235; An example of a Tacitean *sententia* is "With no valid charge against him, each was hurling at others his own crimes." ("Nullo proprio crimine eius sed more uulgi suum quisque flagitium aliis obiectantes.") Tacitus, *Cremona* I, 2.44.1, quoted in Timothy Joseph, *Tacitus the Epic Successor: Virgil, Lucan, and the Narrative of Civil War in the Histories*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012, 118.

became synonymous with eloquence, suggestive of “a rich, many faceted discourse springing from a fertile mind and powerfully affecting its recipient.”[368]

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[368] Cave, 5.

I. A. Early Modern Interest in Stoic rhetoric

The Tacitus that Rubens read while he painted influenced his understanding of the power of art and contributed to his interest in a descriptive, energetic style. Students who studied rhetoric and other subjects in the humanist-inspired Early Modern educational system grew up to be critical readers, testing the efficacy of theories and methods against the work of classical authors. Early Modern students were taught to read and emulate classical passages, and to critically assess how dialogues, descriptions, and comparisons served to build up believable scenes, which essentially trained Rubens to read with an art critical focus: how did these great authors make characters come alive, how did they set a believable scene and draw compelling conclusions that were personally relevant to the audience? To read classical texts through the lens of rhetorical theory taught Early Modern pupils to critically observe how narratives, arguments, characters, and other literary devices were presented.[369] Stoic rhetorical theorists discussed style and arrangement, persuasiveness and ornamentation of delivery, and the speaker's inventiveness and judgment.[370] Rubens accessed Stoic rhetorical theory through re-issues of and commentaries on classical texts, and through new Early Modern treatises on rhetoric, mostly in Latin, but also in Italian and other vernaculars. Rubens, the student of classical Stoic theory and literary practice, attended to how rhetoric functioned and observed the relationship of form to audience response.

In the mid-fifteenth century, seventy-five editions of classical Latin rhetoric were printed in Europe, and by 1620 more than 800 editions of classical rhetoric had

[369] Mack, 2011, 310, 315-316; Kennedy describes classical teachers who emphasized the learning of the "imaginative psychological presentation of characters." Kennedy, 1972, 333-334.
[370] Quintilian discussed this. *Ibid*., 341, 347-348, 385.

been printed, as well as "thousands of new rhetoric books," mostly in Latin but also in vernacular languages.[371] For example, the *Renaissance Rhetoric Short-Title Catalogue* contains almost 4,000 titles, and proves that important rhetorical texts by Quintilian and Cicero were widely available in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[372] Fifteenth-century Italy was an important location for new publications on Early Modern rhetorical theory, often written in response to discoveries of classical texts. Classical texts reprinted in Italy tended to include commentaries, and according to Mack, "Italian masters were more likely than their Northern colleagues to lecture on unusual or newly discovered texts" such as Tacitus's *Dialogue on Orators*, Longinus's *On the Sublime*, or Aristotle's *Rhetoric* or *Poetics*.[373] Seneca's *Controversiae* was first re-published in 1475 in Naples, and then every fifteen years until early in the seventeenth century when many more editions were published, for example twelve editions between 1600 and 1620.

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[371] Mack, 2011, 2, 54; Mack writes: "The texts that were found, copied, and sometimes taught in the ninth century were never completely lost again. And yet the Twelfth-Century Renaissance and the Italian Renaissance of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries both added significantly to what was known of ancient rhetoric and changed the way in which it was understood and taught." Mack, "Rediscoveries," 262.

[372] Lawrence D. Green and James J. Murphy, *Renaissance Rhetoric Short-Title Catalogue, 1460-1700*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006. Early Modern publications include: Soarez, *De Arte Rhetorica Libri Tres*, 1557, had seventy-five editions up to 1620 and more later; Vives, *De conscribendis epistolis*, 1536, had about seventy editions; Erasmus, *De copia*, 1512, had 169 editions; Erasmus, *De conscribendis epistolis*, 1520, had 149 editions. Long, 1974, 247; Mack, 2011, 3-6, 13, 30-31, Gerard Verbeke, "Medieval Acquaintance with Stoicism," in *The Presence of Stoicism in Medieval Thought*. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1983, 1-19.

[373] In the second half of the fifteenth century Italian publishers printed many first and subsequent editions of major texts of classical Latin rhetoric. For example, Cicero *De oratore*, Subiaco, 1465; Anon., *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Venice, 1470; and Quintilian *Institutione oratoria*, Rome, 1470. Hermogenes, *Art of Rhetoric* was printed in nine Latin editions from 1530. Mack, 2011, 23, 26, 33, 165.

Quintilian's *De institutione oratoria* became an authority in Early Modern Europe.[374] It was printed almost 100 times between 1470 and 1620. Valla asserted that he had no need to author a textbook on rhetoric because Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* provided all that was necessary.[375] The classical text is important to a study of Early Modern Stoicism because, aside from providing Early Modern educators, writers, and artists with methods for clear, interesting communication, it contains fragments of and commentary on Stoic rhetorical theory. Quintilian discussed the development of oratory, the nature of rhetoric, invention, style, memory, delivery, and the ideal orator. It is the latter that has particularly elicited the possibility of a connection with Stoicism.[376] As Williams explains, the notion of ideal personhood was fundamental to Early Modern art and rhetoric. He argues that "Because rhetoric was an art that mediated so directly between intellectual and practical (…) life, it offered to later periods an appealing model of what art might do; it brought with it a particular notion of ideal personhood…"[377] The Stoic concept of the wise sage inhered in Quintilian's classical definition of rhetoric as "the good man speaking well." Quintilian described the goal of the *Institutio* as the training of the *bonus orator*, meaning that besides technical competence and methods of style and delivery,

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[374] Quintilian, *De institutione oratoria*, c. AD 95; Partial manuscripts of Quintilian were known in the Medieval period. Mack, "Rediscoveries," 2009, 262; Quintilian was known in seventeenth-century Europe, not least through art theory. According to Vernon Hyde Minor, Leon Battista Alberti "was acquainted with Quintilian, mentioning him in *On Painting*." Minor, 2016, 11-12.
[375] Mack, 2011, 22, 23, 50.
[376] Arthur Walzer, "Quintilian's 'Vir Bonus' and the Stoic Wise Man," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*. Vol.33, No.4, 2003, 25-41; Arthur Walzer, "Moral Philosophy and Rhetoric in the Institutes: Quintilian on Honor and Expediency," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*. Vol.36, No.3, 2006, 263-280.
[377] Williams, 2004, 36; Kennedy, 1972, 335.

the rhetorical education heavily emphasized the speaker's moral development.[378] Seneca cited Cato the Elder as the author of "*Orator est vir bonus, dicendi peritus*," translated as, "An orator is a good man skilled at speaking."[379] As I explain below, in Stoic theory, rhetoric, defined as techniques for skillful expression, links the investigation of truth to reality. In order to perceive this reality accurately, one must be a wise person; in order to communicate this truth well, one must be a wise person speaking well.[380] A papyrus fragment from Herculaneum, probably attributable to Chrysippus, discusses dialectic in relation to the wise man. According to provisional readings of the papyrus, it shows, in Long's words, that

> the sage is not subject to persuasion, he does not deceive and is not deceived; the wise man's dialectical qualities are expressed by negative predicates (…) but what they denote are meant to be read as positive values, instances of the fact that "the wise do all things well."[381]

The liberal education that Rubens and his contemporaries received owed a debt to classical theory and practice. The classical historians and poets whose texts Rubens read had trained in declamation in their schooldays, their teachers drawing subjects from historical and contemporary legal cases and social dilemmas.[382]

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[378] The passages especially of interest on the *bonus orator* are: Book One preface, chapters in Book Three relating to kinds of oratory, and Book Twelve on the adult orator. *Ibid*., 509.

[379] Seneca. *Contr*. 1, pr.9 cited at *Ibid.*, 56. There was a corresonding definition of a farmer as *vir bonus colendi peritus*, a good man skilled at cultivating, a saying that is believed to be of Stoic origin.

[380] In Stoic philosophy, logic relates to knowing and communicating, and the wise man can do both. Diogenes Laertius thus explained: "For all things are brought to light through the study in rational utterances, both the subject-matter of physics and again of ethics and <without logic the wise man> would not be able to speak about correctness of names, how the laws have made arrangements for actions." Diogenes Laertius, quoted and pieced together by Long, 1996, 91.

[381] Long shows that, as Diogenes Laertius's discussion of the Stoics illustrates, the "dialectical virtues" of the wise man depend upon his assenting correctly. *Ibid*., 93; *SVF*, II.41.25 and *SVF* II.131.

[382] Early Modern training in rhetoric and writing drew on classical educational methods. The intellectual nature of these classical methods is described by Kennedy:

Classical Latin poetry is considered to be rhetorical, meaning that it embodied techniques learned in the rhetorical schools.[383] Rhetorical theory, rich in subjects and examples from history, influenced poetry, and in turn was influenced by poetic styles. For example, Seneca the Elder observed Ovid as a youth declaim at school, and was impressed by the rhetorical style he had developed, which Seneca said "seemed like a poem in prose."[384] Rhetoric and oratory were very important in classical Greece and Rome, and the vast literature on it was known in Rubens's circle.

Classical rhetorical theory provided the basis of literary stylistics and was applied to Early Modern art theory, where it carried the related classical ideas and philosophical definitions.[385] Classical rhetoric's focus on the consequences of form, and the fact that it was widely taught, rendered it a fount of analytical tools for other forms of discourse. Beginning in the centuries before Rubens's lifetime, the influx of available classical theory that prized the connection between rhetoric and dialectic, led to a creative questioning of previously established practices, and this influenced a wide variety of writing, including manuals on letter-writing and treatises on poetry

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"At its best, declamation is an exercise of imagination. The student is confronted with a challenging case and asked to make the most of it, to imagine the possibilities in proof, exposition, and presentation." Kennedy, 1972, 333, citing Quintilian 10.4.11; See "The Influence of Declamation," Gareth Williams, "Style and Form in Seneca's Writing," in Shadi Bartsch and Alessandro Schiesaro, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Seneca*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, (135-149), 137; Mack argues that Quintilian was easy for Renaissance students to follow. Mack, "Rediscoveries," 2009, 262.

[383] W.S. Howell. "Rhetoric and Poetics: a Plea for the Recognition of the Two Literatures," in Luitpold Wallach, ed., *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966, 374-390; Kennedy, "Rhetorical Elements in Early Latin Literature," 1972, 29-31, 93, 384.

[384] Seneca the Elder, *Contr*. 2.2.8-12, quoted in *Ibid*., 401, 406.

[385] Williams, 2004, 36. For example, Patricia Ruben argues that Vasari's categories for discussing painters are based on rhetoric. Patricia Ruben, *Vasari: Art and History*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995, 156, 332, 387.

and art.[386] Important conduits of classical rhetoric into Early Modern Europe included numerous Catholic preaching manuals, which could assume that student preachers well versed in classical rhetoric. These manuals of preaching style were based on classical examples, including newly discovered Greek and Latin texts, and they invited students to reflect on the ability of the Christian Fathers and the Bible to employ rhetoric.[387]

The Early Modern exploration of *classical* as distinct from *medieval* Latin led eventually to a backlash against Ciceronian Latin in favour of the styles of Seneca and Tacitus. As Mack explains, "The preferred stylistic model in Latin and in the vernaculars was the clipped sententious Latin of Tacitus and Seneca."[388] Valla also

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[386] Creative debates generated by the infusion of classical rhetoric into Early Modern theory, writing, and education included: why dialectic and rhetoric handled invention in different ways; and how specialized Early Modern practices could integrate the wide range of aspects of speaking that coexisted in classical rhetoric, for example the nature of the audience, choice of words, and verbal patterns. Mack, 2011, 310-311; Mack discusses the connection between letter writing and the origins of Early Modern humanism. Mack, "Rediscoveries," 2009, 262, 270; Kennedy, 1980, 24; Long and Sedley, 1987, Vol.I, 183-190.

[387] For Catholic Reformation preaching manuals written by Spanish and Italian authors, probably used for study following earlier training in classical rhetoric, and discussing invention, style, and delivery, the importance of *copia* for preaching, and describing Quintilian's instructions for amplification see Mack, 2011, 258-259, 270-275, 308-313; Kennedy, 1980, 24; John O'Malley, "Content and Rhetorical Forms in Sixteenth-Century Treatises on Preaching," in James J. Murphy, ed., *Renaissance Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1983, 238-252; Regarding scriptural exegesis connected with the Jewish tradition see James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1974, 269-285; For the role of the Jesuits in Early Modern drama, see Bamji, Janssen, and Laven, 359-366; and Bruna Filippi, "The Orator's Performance: Gesture, Word, and Image in Theatre at the Collegio Romano," in John W. O'Malley, G. A. Bailey, S. J. Harris, and T.F. Kennedy, eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*. Vol.2, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006, 512-529; On Jesuit colleges in France, see Sara Beam, *Laughing Matters: Farce and the Making of Absolutism in France*. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2007, 213-219; and on Early Modern Catholic education in general see O'Malley, 1993.

[388] Mack, "Rediscoveries," 2009, 274; On "the very different transmissions" of the the Roman Stoic authors see Jill Kraye, "From Medieval to Early Modern Stoicism," in C. Burnett, J. Meirinhos, and J. Hamesse, eds., *Continuities and Disruptions between*

illustrated that classical Stoic theory was becoming available as an alternative to Aristotelianism. His *Elegantiae linguae Latinae*, which became the authoritative guide to Latin usage in the sixteenth century, materialized Stoic rhetorical theory in the Early Modern period when he iterated Stoic passages of Quintilian's newly discovered *Institutio oratoria*. In a long section indebted to the *Institutio* Valla explained the four Stoic forms of argument, and although he ultimately rejected the Stoic position, he upheld their commitment to unitary philosophy, writing that logic should not be rigidly separated from other subjects.[389]

Lipsius was also key to transmitting Senecan and other Stoic styles to Early Modern writers, including Rubens's circle. As Lipsius asserted, he was first to establish accurate punctuation in his sources, and so to correctly divide words and sentences. According to Morford, Lipsius's "profound knowledge of Seneca's style and vocabulary allowed him to be extraordinarily accurate in the corrections."[390] Seventeenth-century theorists and artists were able to build upon the important work of sixteenth-century humanists, whose ground-breaking translations and commentaries allowed for wider access to sources, and for the integration of classical ideas into modern debates and practices. Following classical Stoics, seventeenth-

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the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Luovaine-la-Neuve: Federation Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 2008, (1-23), 10-22; Citti writes: "Seneca prevails over Cicero as a stylistic model." Citti, 304.

389 Valla's *Repastinatio dialecticae et philosophiae* criticized the dominant Aristotelianism. According to Mack, Valla wrote "as an independent thinker not fully socialized with the Aristotelian tradition." Mack, 2011, 47-50.

390 In Lipsius's words, "I put the words in their proper order, separating or joining them as the content required. Besides restoring light which I poured in generously to the meaning, I restored the correct appearance to the style, which is rich and fluent. The style is Seneca's." Morford calls Lipsius's capacity for "lucid, concise, and logical explanation" a gift. Morford, 1991, 173; Jeannine de Landtsheer, "Lipsius's *De Constantia* 1, 2-3: een les in Seneca," in *Et scholae et vitae: acta selecta van twee colloquia van Orbis Neolatinus*. Leuven: Colloquium didacticum neolatinum, February 14, 1998, 101-113; Jacqueline Lagrée, *Juste Lipse et la restauration du stoicisme: Étude et traduction des traités stoiciens De la constance, Manuel de philosophie stoicienne, Physique des stoiciens*. Paris: Vrin, 1994.

century writers put rhetorical theory at the crux of ethics, naturalism, and art theory and practice. In addition, optimistic, life-affirming classical Stoicism energized seventeenth-century art-theoretical debates about character, motivation, and the expressive gesture that communicated these.[391]

For Stoics, human nature means the existence of the soul, where soul signifies agency, an agency which depends upon representations as well as impulses, as I discussed above. This made classical Stoic rhetorical theory relevant to seventeenth-century artists who were engaged in presenting the power of images and who drew on Stoic ideas about human nature, the soul, and the representations that cause impulses. In this chapter I investigate the scholarly thread about Rubens reading Tacitus, Seneca, and other authors, by asking how this affected his style. I find similarities between the pointed style in Seneca's and Tacitus's texts and Rubens's brushwork, particularly that of his painted sketches. I use the Early Modern concept of rhetorical *copia* as defined by Erasmus and others to characterize Rubens's brushwork as exemplary of the Abundant Style.

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[391] On the importance of gesture, consider the words of the French artist Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), whose art theory was influenced by Stoicism. Poussin: "There are two instruments which affect the souls of the listeners, action and diction. The first is so valuable and efficacious in itself that Demosthenes gave it first place over all the other devices of rhetoric, and Marcus Tullius <Cicero> calls it the language of the body. Quintilian attributes such strength and such power to it that he regards conceipts, proofs, and effects as useless without it. And without it lines and colour are likewise useless." Poussin quoted in Bellori, *The Lives*, 309-333; Martin, 1977, 86, 300; Oskar Batschmann, *Nicolas Poussin. Dialectics of Painting*. New York: Reaktion Books, 1990, 109.

II. The Abundant Style: "A number of different excellencies"

In classical rhetoric and Early Modern art, the concept of abundance related to the practice of employing many examples, models, and situations in order to create elaborate, poignant, effective communication. As Quintilian explained,

> We shall do well to keep a number of different excellencies before our eyes, so that different qualities from different authors may impress themselves on our minds, to be adopted for use in the place that becomes them best.[392]

As we shall see in this section, I suggest that Rubens's use of the *copia* method is characterized not only by diverse subject matter and learned allegories, but also by the variety of his brushwork. In this section I define Ruben's style of brushwork as the Abundant Style. I discuss the concept of abundance in Early Modern art theory and relate it to the Erasmian popularization of classical rhetorical concepts of *copia*. I show that Rubens's Abundant Style, like the rhetorical use of *copia*, suits the managing and communication of other knowledge. Rubens's different styles of applying paint can be seen, for example, in The Education of the Virgin, a peaceful scene where the Virgin Mary reads at her mother's knee, while her father looks on, and cupids present a crown of roses.[393]

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[392] Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, ii. 26. Muller quotes Quintilian's assertion that to integrate the imitation of many models rather than only one reduced the possibility of copying a model's failings, and allowed the imitator to select and integrate various models' best aspects. Whether to follow one or many models was a point of contention among Early Modern writers, and for example Vasari contrasted the *oeuvres* of Michelangelo and Raphael. Muller, 1982, 231-233.

[393] Rubens, The Education of the Virgin, 1625-1626, oil on canvas, 193x140cm. Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Antwerp. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre*, 1886-1892, Vol. I, 180-183, Fig. 46; Herremans, 129-131, Fig. 136.

Figure 8. Rubens, The Education of the Virgin, 1625-1626, oil on canvas.

In this painting, Rubens conveys different textures and softens the visual treatment of subjects and outlines. He used a method that De Piles would later explain suited viewers' natural ways of seeing, one in which the painter did not clearly outline figures, but instead, "the extremities of the bodies (…) must no longer appear."[394] Vernon Hyde Minor defined this style of brushwork as one in which edges of subjects blur; volumes and outlines seem to merge; paint is emphasized and used for its own sake; and obscure spatial relationships create drama, movement, and mystery.[395] These effects are visible in Rubens's Education of the Virgin, where the figures of the *putti* and the Holy Family are outlined only softly, with multiple overlapping brushstrokes that cause a blended effect. The garments, faces, hair, roses, and *putti* are painted in varying degrees of clarity, and the figures' skin reflects the colours of neighbouring cloth, with the faces being particularly luminous.

Rubens's style of rich and varied surface treatment was supported by an artistic tradition wedded to an interest in ambiguity, allusiveness, and metaphor, through which the viewer could see the deeper meanings within or beyond everyday subjects. The inclusion of multiple complex forms in Baroque art became an accepted practice that overlapped with a commitment to techniques for creating abundance, copiousness, and variety in seventeenth-century rhetoric and art theory, pointing to the bountiful, fecund quality of creative production. During and after his stay in Italy in the early 1600s, Rubens developed an abundant style of painting, including methods for layering colour and for creating realism and energy through colour

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[394] De Piles, 1709, 1743, 323-323.

[395] Minor, 1999, 29; Nico Van Hout and Arnout Balis, "Handling of Paint and Brushwork," *Rubens Unveiled. Notes on the Master's Painting Technique*. Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 2012, 82-101; Daniel Arasse, "Precision and Blur," *Vermeer. Faith in Painting*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, 69-75.

reflected onto subjects. He learned to excel at figure painting, and at applying colours so that the viewer's eye would mix them. As Ann Sutherland Harris explains, "He used creamy, almost opalescent colours for women's skin, the blood beneath the surface suggested by grey lines for veins that read as blue beneath a thin layer of flesh colour. The shadows and contours were accented by touches of rust red."[396] This method is evident in the following painting detail, Marie de Medici, Queen of France, which exemplifies the variety of styles with which Rubens could confidently and skilfully apply paint.[397]

Figure 9. Rubens, Marie de Medici, Queen of France, detail. 17th-C., oil on canvas.

[396] Ann Sutherland Harris, 161.
[397] Rubens, Marie de Medici, Queen of France. 17th-C., oil on canvas, 130x112cm. Prado, Madrid. This beautiful portrait of the Queen in *biquoquet*, or widow's headdress, and mourning clothes was in Rubens's possession at his death.

In Rubens's portrait of Marie de Medici, her mourning garments virtually blend into the black chair behind her, making her bereavement seem weighty and intransigent. This dark area of the painting offers a partial frame that is continued above by the warm umber mass, against which floats a broad collar, painted in various applications of brushwork in greys, blues, and pinks that the viewer reads as white. The beautiful beige scumbling on the lace is reflected in the figure's skin. The face, painted to a relatively refined finish, is made up of pinks, blues, and umbers that harmonize with Marie's eye colour. In comparison to the luminosity of the neckline and near the eyes, Rubens's varied brushwork is visible in the almost transparent pearls, the wispy strands of hair, the visible lines within the diaphanous collar, and the boldly applied paint that energizes the lace's edge.

Rubens's use of brushwork to harmonize colour was fundamentally driven by the examples of Italian painters, particularly Titian (1490-1576), Antonia da Correggio (1489-1534), Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), Jacopo Tintoretto (1519-1594), and Federico Barocci (c.1535-1612).[398] By the time Rubens was travelling in Italy, *seicento* painters were learning from and developing painterly brushwork based on the traces of it in the *cinquecento* visual culture.[399] The blurred, shimmering, indistinctness of figures painted in the abundant style can be seen in Barocci's Madonna del Popolo (1579), and Dempsey describes it in terms that could equally be applied to Rubens's late style:

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[398] Bellori wrote: "Regarding colour, Rubens had stupendous freedom; he studied in Venice and looked always to Titian, Paolo Veronese, and Tintoretto, observing the *chiaroscuro* and the masses of hues." Bellori, 205; Verstegen, 34, 50, 97; Stuart Lingo, "Colors of *Vaghezza*. Ornament, Desire, and Spiritual Fervor in Barocci's Coloring," 189-207; Muller, 1982, 244.

[399] For example, from the 1580s, elements of painterly brushwork could be seen in Annibale Carracci's treatment of flesh painting, and the Carracci palette bears witness to the Barocci style of the previous two decades. Charles Dempsey attributes these early Italian experiments in painterly brushwork to the Italian artists' interest in changefulness, or *ciangiantismo*. Dempsey, 1977, 9-10, 14, 36.

> There is a strong sense of something indefinable, which interferes with our vision, a shimmering veil blurring our focus and denying a complete perceptual grasp of the reality represented. And in fact the painting is not in focus, for it is a painting made up entirely of reflected lights, by a genius who systematically and discernibly codified and quantified the colouristic effects of reflected light.[400]

Rubens's development of the *seicento* abundant style relates not only to period artistic experimentation into how the viewer perceives and visually mixes colour, but also to the classical Stoic texts that exemplified the rhetorical interest in *copia*. When Rubens was being educated and actively practicing as an artist, rhetoric formed the core of the liberal humanist education, and I contend that this influenced his lifelong scholarly interest in classical theory and practice.[401]

Abundance became a normative principle of style in Early Modern works of rhetoric and literature in the first half of the seventeenth century, and in the visual arts throughout the century, and it came to influence Rubens's style of painting.[402] This educational system, inspired by methods practiced in antiquity and transmitted into Early Modern Europe by Erasmus, Lipsius, and others, emphasized personal creativity in rhetorical abundance.[403] Students were taught to create *copia* of material such as

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[400] *Ibid*., 29. Barocci, Madonna del Popolo, 1579, Uffizi Gallery.
[401] Mack, 2011, 12, 312.
[402] De Jongh, 183-184, 280. See also H. Ogden, "The Principles of Variety and Contrast in Seventeenth-Century Aesthetics, and Milton's Poetry," *Journal of the History of Ideas*. Vol.10, 1949, 159-182; On "synthetic" imitation, see Williams, "Universa Pingendi Ratio," 2017, (18-83), 54, 65, 67.
[403] See, for example, Desiderius Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii ac legendi interpretandique auctories* (*On the Method of Study*). (1518) *Collected Works of Erasmus*, Vol. 24. Craig R. Thompson, ed., Brian McGregor, trans., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978, 681-682, which also mentions Seneca; It is important to realize what a creative educational process this was. Students collected examples of particularly skilful speeches, modelled their styles on famous orators, and practiced bringing their training to bear on hypothetical situations. Mack observes: "Quintilian notes divergences between different authorities on a particular doctrine, weighing up the advantages of the different positions and determining which is to be preferred. In comparison to the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* this book is more questioning in approach." Mack, 2011, 22, 23, 50; When Longinus's *On The Sublime* was discovered and printed, it made classical sources relevant and useful for Early

allusions and characters, and *copia* of form including expression and energy. The practice encouraged students to write densely expressive and playful passages, and it prepared future readers of this abundant style of writing.

Many of the learned Early Modern European artists and writers working in the abundant style had benefitted from humanist-inspired education in which reading Erasmus was a counterpart to studying classics in Greek and Latin. Indeed, one of the most studied texts was Erasmus's treatise on the abundant style. Erasmus wrote *Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style* in 1511, a rhetorical handbook that focussed on achieving copiousness of style and subject.[404] *De Copia* was intended to expand on the first chapter of Book 10 in Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, "*De copia verborum*" where Quintilian had declined to give examples of the abundant style. To prove that diversity was possible and that it could be learned, he composed 200

Modern art theorists and writers because, as would Lipsius and Erasmus, Longinus had cited key passages in classical literature and explained how they functioned. As Kennedy discusses, this humanist program, both the classical and the Early Modern, "required the individual soul of the writer to free itself from everything material and temporary, and to give expression to the ages of his own greatness." Kennedy, 1972, 373; Jeffrey M. Muller, ed., *Children of Mercury: The Education of Artists in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Providence, RI: Brown University, 1984. Erasmus was not a NeoStoic, but the following discussion privileges his work because it was fundamental to the dispersal of *copia* methods. Other Early Modern theorists helped popularize the method, including Lipsius, who drew upon Seneca, Quintilian, and other classical sources. On this, see R.V. Young, "Lipsius and Imitation as Educational Technique," in G. Tournoy, J. de Landtsheer, and J. Papy, eds., *Iustus Lipsius Europae Lumen et Columen*. *Proceedings of the International Colloquium*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999, (268-280), 275.

[404] Desiderius Erasmus, *Copia: Foundations of the Abundant Style* (*De Duplici Copia Verborum ac Rerum Commentarii Duo*)." Collected Works of Erasmus, Vol. 24. Craig R. Thompson, ed., Betty Knott, trans., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978. *Copia* was originally published in July 1512 by the Flemish printer Jodocus Badius in Paris, along with Erasmus's *De Ratione Studii*. For Erasmus, as for Stoic rhetoricians, copiousness could relate to emulating prior models, and could include quoting much-admired examples. Derived from classical sources on rhetoric, the Erasmian formula for imitation was "observe, memorize, imitate, and have ready for use." Erasmus put this theory into practice when he emulated Quintilian's rhetorical treatise. Virginia W. Callahan, "The *De Copia*: The Bounteous Horn," in Richard L. Demolen, ed., *Essays on the Works of Erasmus*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978, (99-109), 103, 106.

versions of a single sentence. Erasmus's *Copia* was very successful, very widely read, and it was transformatively influential. While designed as a university textbook, Erasmus's *Copia* enjoyed far broader appeal.[405] The book was immensely popular and widely taught in Europe, with over sixty editions within the first twenty years from its publication, and at least eighty-five editions printed in Erasmus' own lifetime, with many more to follow.[406] In 1535 Joannes Odonus wrote to Erasmus that *De Copia* was still very much admired in Italy, and that it and commentaries on it were used in schools, where the most promising students augmented it with other publications by Erasmus. A friend of Erasmus's who had returned from travelling wrote to him excitedly about the popularity of his text: "All over Italy, and most of all among learned men of the first rank, your praises are being sung. You'd hardly credit the enthusiasm shown by men of this class everywhere in devouring your *De Copia*."[407] In the second half of the sixteenth century, European writers who were trained in the Erasmian tradition, including Catholic Reformation preachers, popularized a Latin based on the styles of Seneca and Tacitus.[408]

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[405] That Erasmus's *Copia* arose in response to the teaching needs of himself and his friend John Colet who hoped to replace medieval teaching materials with classical Greek and Latin writings shows how attached to the humanist program the *Copia* was. Callahan, 103.

[406] For example, in England *De Copia* was used in the upper forms, before the students used the more advanced Cicero (*De Oratore*) and Quintilian (*Institutio Oratoria*), and while they were reading classical authors whom they imitated, memorized, and reflected in their own compositions. There were almost 200 editions by 1825. Erasmus had revised and expanded it three times: the original 1512 edition contained 153 chapters, and the final version contained 206. Mack, 2011, 87; Callahan, 101; Jeannine de Landtsheer, *The Reception of Erasmus in the Early Modern Period*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

[407] John Watson quoted in Callahan, 101-104; Myron P. Gilmore, "Italian Reactions to Erasmian Humanism," in Heiko A. Oberman and T.A. Brady, eds., *Itinerarium Italicum. The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations*. Leiden: Brill, 1975, 61-115.

[408] The main theoreticians of this style were Justus Lipsius and Guillaume Du Vair (1556-1621); with its most notable practitioners being Lipsius, Montaigne, Guez de Balzac, Quevedo, and Bacon. Mack, 2011, 184.

Cave demonstrates that the reemergence of the concept of *copia* in Early Modern Europe is a milestone event, and he considers Erasmus's texts and Quintilian's *Institutiones oratoriae* as "theoretical paradigms" on abundance.[409] Tacitus, too, had discussed "variety, strength, and harmony" in his study of how, in his estimation, "words should be fitted to their places, so that they may aptly coalesce with one another.[410] Early Modern humanists claimed the advantages of various classical authors, revering them as repositories of learning and ideas, but in the sixteenth century this interest was transformed into a groundswell of attachment to a style of writing and painting that can be called the abundant style, a phenomenon that would have consequences for Baroque visual art. On one hand this Early Modern reemergence of *copia* evidences a widespread desire to ascertain the authenticity of classical texts, building on the tradition of scriptural exegesis unbroken from the Church Fathers into Baroque Europe. At the same time, Early Modern rhetorical and artistic use of *copia* is inherently intertextual, and it represents not a mere method, but the existence of networks of artists, writers, and other humanists engaged in critical debate about sources and meanings.[411]

Copia in art, and in rhetoric, provided a means of "superintending" other knowledge. For example, Paleotti alluded to this when he compared painters to orators:

> It is said of orators that, in order to achieve greatness and excellence, they must be versed in every faculty and science, since it may fall to them to reason about, and persuade the people of, anything and everything. The same could justifiably be said of painting, which adapts, like a book for the people, to any topic in heaven or on earth, including animals, plants, and human actions of every sort, and therefore would seem to demand of the painter, whose task it is to represent these things, that, if not a master of

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[409] Cave, xii, 323.
[410] Tacitus, "Dialogue Concerning Oratory," Section XXII.b, 1805, 236.
[411] Cave, 322.

> erudition, he should at least be moderately instructed, or not entirely ignorant, about each.[412]

Early Modern understanding of *copia* related it to subject matter, to eloquence, and to style. Erasmus gave methods for acquiring a *copia rerum*, a wealth of subject matter that could be used for the amplification of topics. Processes of creating variety could include: the use of detail; digressions; descriptions of things, persons, places and times; the inclusion of antecedents, causes and effects; and the invention of propositions, and motives.[413] The Flemish School of painters in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries practiced *copia* in their art in terms of *varietas*, or variety, both of objects and formal elements. They incorporated practices they had learned both from painters like Brueghel, and from the rhetorical theory and practice of *copia* as transmitted from antiquity through the education they received and through Erasmus, Lipsius, Catholic Reformation preachers, and others.[414] There were various interpretations of the connection between abundant diversity as an aesthetic principle and the Christian doctrine that God's creation is bountiful and varied, but according to De Jongh, "the trio of Creation, nature, and art, with diversity as the largest common

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[412] Gabriele Paleotti, *Discorso intorno alle imagine sacre e profane*. Bologna: Alessandro Benacci, 1582; republished in S. Della Torre, G.F. Freguglia, and C. Chenis, eds., Vatican City: Libreria del Vaticano, 2002, 48.

[413] Erasmus's Chapters 11-32 contain the *rationes dilatandi*, the mechanisms for achieving copiousness that could include: synonymy, metaphor, trope, diction, and others. Callahan, 103.

[414] David Rosand attributes Rubens's "depictions of the fullness of the earth and his late country scenes" to his building on earlier artistic traditions. Rosand, 38. In his 1640 *Schilderconst* Van Mander wrote that diversity of form and colour was essential because "that engenders a great and laudable beauty," later adding in the margin of his copy that Brueghel's landscapes and prints were exemplary in the abundance of their contrasting elements. Karel Van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilderconst*. (1604) Hessel Miedema, ed., Utrecht: Haentjens, Dekker, and Gumbert, 1973, I, 96-97, 112, 132; and II, 416, 449; De Jongh, 84, 184-189, 278, 280; Paula Nuttall, *From Flanders to Florence: The Impact of Netherlandish Painting 1400-1500*. London and New Haven, CO: Yale University Press, 2004.

denominator, remained an important topos throughout the seventeenth century."[415] Of central importance for my investigation into how classical Stoicism relates to Rubens is the evocative evidence in his *oeuvre* that the theory and methods of *copia* he learned not only related to subject matter but also pertained to artistic style.

[415] Classical rhetoric influenced painting practice in Italy and Flanders before it affected seventeenth-century art practice and theory elsewhere. De Jongh, 184-185.

III. Stoic Rhetoric: "Details that Surreptitiously Explain"

In *Schilderkonst*, (1678) a guide for painters of *historiae*, Samuel Van Hoogstraten advised painters to enhance the meaning in a painting by introducing "details that surreptitiously explain," a practice that had a long tradition among Flemish painters.[416] For Rubens, *style* was a detail that could explain, be it surreptitiously or boldly, as the following painting shows. In classical Stoic rhetoric, details could serve realism and audience response, and so should not be superfluous or disingenuous, as I will explain further below. Stoic rhetoric, situated within a philosophy of logic committed to investigating the truth, could relate to the abundant style in *seicento* visual arts precisely because Stoic logic/rhetoric held fast to the core Stoic focus on inherently complicated reality. For example, Diogenes Laertius wrote that the Stoics regarded "the part of logic dealing with definitions as contributing to the discovery of truth."[417] This Stoic philosophical emphasis on complexity that could instigate awareness of truth could parallel the abundant style of painting that left space for the viewer to mentally/visually assemble the complex brushwork and build his own version of the image. Rubens's abundant style of painting was also potentially served by Stoic logic's focus on the investigative aspects of communication and by the Stoic rhetorical emphasis on the effects of delivery, key concepts that this section of my chapter will elucidate.

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[416] Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst: anders de zichtbaere werelt*. Rotterdam, 1678, 90; (Hoogstraten, 1627-1678, Dutch painter, son of Flemish emigré painter Dirk van Hoogstraten, 1596-1640) De Jongh, 18-19, 130, 264.

[417] Diogenes Laertius VII, 42. quoted in Long, 1971, 112, ft.120; Davidson, 62-83; Long reads a classical Stoic fragment as "The wise man is an expert in the correct use of names." Long, 1996, 88 note 9, 101; Long and Sedley, 1987, Vol.I, 190-195.

Figure 10. Rubens, Henri Receiving the Portrait of Marie. 1624, oil on canvas.

In this work, fifth in the series of twenty-four paintings in Rubens's Marie de Medici Cycle, King Henri IV of France, dressed in battle armour and standing in a plateau meadow, sees Marie's appearance for the first time when he is presented with her portrait. The god of marriage, accompanied by a cupid, displays the portrait painting while Zeus and his wife Hera, holding hands, look on from above.[418] Henri gestures in amazement, while France, behind him, mirrors his awe at the vision of Marie. We can identify the event through the symbols: the peacocks and eagle that symbolize the Olympian couple; the attributes of France and of Hymen, god of marriage; and the foreground armour that alludes to the promise of peace intended by the Henri-Marie union. Here we see a scene of "love conquering all." Henri's marriage with Marie de Medici was supposed to provide an heir, and to engender a long reign of peaceful plenitude.

Figure 11. Rubens, Henri Receiving the Portrait of Marie, detail.

[418] Rubens, Henri Receiving the Portrait of Marie. 1622-1624, Louvre, Paris, oil on canvas, 394x295cm. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre*, 1886-1892, Vol. III, 225-226, Fig. 228; Ronald Forsyth Millen and Robert Erich Wolf, "The Presentation of Her Portrait to Henry IV," *Heroic Deeds and Mystic Figures. A New Reading of Rubens's Life of Maria de' Medici*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989, 49-52.

To depict a painted portrait within an actual painting, Rubens used brushwork to connote differences between present/absent and real/imaginary. He used painterly brushwork for the real and the present, that is, for Henri and his feelings of love and hope. Henri and his emotional experience is depicted in painterly brushwork, in contrast to the more linear, older style of the enclosed Marie portrait. Henri, modern and present, is responding to the idea of his absent beloved, but the message told by the painterly style is that his emotional responses are real and will determine the culmination of the courtship.

The question of what was real and present, and how to depict it, was a central problem in *seicento* art theory and practice, and it informed Rubens's choice of using an abundant style to depict the present that contrasts with the linear style to convey the absent. As Sohm explains, classical and Early Modern art critics and rhetoricians had characterized hard styles as "historically or geographically distant."[419] Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the first century BCE compared oratory to painting. He likened Lysias' orations to the simple, unblended colours and clear outlines of archaic paintings, in contrast to Isaeus's orations, which he found more like the paintings of his own day, with nuanced colour and an interplay of chiaroscuro:

> In order to clarify the difference between the two men, I shall use a simile from the visual arts. There are some old paintings which are worked in simple colours without any subtle blending of tints but clear in their outlines, and thereby possessing great charm; whereas the later paintings are less well-drawn but contain greater detail and a subtle interplay of light and shade, and are effective because of the many nuances of colour which they contain.[420]

[419] Sohm, "Fighting with Style," 2001, (19-42), 30.
[420] Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The Ancient Orators*, (*Commentaries on the Attic Orators*) *Isaeus*, 1st century BCE, 3-4; Dionysius of Halicarnassus (c.60-c.5 BCE) was a Greek historian and rhetoric instructor who wrote *Roman Antiquities, The Art of Rhetoric, On Imitation*, and *On Imitation*, among other works, and influenced Quintilian. Cicero and Quintilian used similar parallels. Sohm, 2001, 30, 151; See also Rubens, Madonna della Vallicella. 1608, oil on canvas, 425x250cm (central panel of triptych) Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova), Rome, where the Early

Rubens's facility with the brush enabled him to prove that neither sketchiness nor finely ornamented points of detail are antithetical to truth and realism. Stoic philosophy was subtle enough to allow for complex, unpolished styles that suited a given subject or audience. I contend that Rubens's early-seventeenth-century milieu and art practice was influenced by the classical Stoic philosophy of logic whose subjects include communication, realism, the pursuit of wisdom, and methods to discern what is true. Rubens's abundant style can be considered well suited to his interest in the Stoic philosophy that was committed to accepting the inherent complexity of reality and of human nature.[421] Rich meaning and interest can be amply carried by a style that is brief and sketchy, as exemplified by Tacitus's style, a topic to which I return in the final section of the chapter.

Consider, in the following example, how the multivalent meaning of words functions to "surreptitiously explain" the tense reality that is communicated through Tacitus's stark style. In the *Annals*, where the Roman general observes his army camp hemmed in by enemy forces, Tacitus wrote:

> For different reasons the night was restless: at their celebratory
> feasting the barbarians filled the low-lying valleys and the
> re-echoing defiles with cheerful song or fearful sounds;
> on the Roman side, there were intermittent fires and halting voices,
> and the troops themselves lay next to their palisade or wandered
> around their tents, sleepless rather than alert.[422]

Modern altarpiece is painted in a less linear style than Rubens's rendition of the antique icon it contains. Verstegen, 145, Plate III. On Rubens's Roman paintings see Philip Rubens the Younger, 38, 44.

[421] Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*, VIII, 275, cited in Long, 1996, 272; The philosopher Sextus Empiricus (c.160-210) was critical of some points of Stoic philosophy, but remains a useful source because he quoted and discussed Stoic concepts. See, for example, John Sellars, "Sceptical Objections," *The Art of Living: The Stoics on the Nature and Function of Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003, (86-104), 88.

[422] Tacitus: "*nox per diuersa inquies, cum barbari festis epulis, laeto cantu aut truci sonore suiecta uallium ac resultantes saltus complerent, apud Romanos inualidi ignes, interruptae uoces, atque ipsi passim adiacerent uallo, oberrarent tentoriis,*

To convey the desultory tension of Roman soldiers before an ill-fated battle, waiting in a state of neither peace nor keen alertness, Tacitus uses emotionally loaded vocabulary. His first lines raise questions: what are the different reasons that the night is restless; and are the barbarians celebrating, or threatening? He communicates the absence of tranquility in the Roman camp by employing phrases that move along in fits and starts. No one sleeps. The soldiers do not get the rest they badly need, but neither do they make use of their time. Tacitus gradually builds up a sense of being caught in a painful process of waiting, by layering on words as if they were dashes of meaning: restless, wandering, fearful, intermittent, halting, sleepless.

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insomnes magis quam peruigiles." Publius Cornelius Tacitus, *Annals*, 15CE, 1.65.1; Tacitus, *Complete Works of Tacitus*. Moses Hadas, ed., A.J. Church and W.J. Brodribb, trans. New York: Modern Library, 1942, 43; S. P. Oakley, "Style and Language," in A. J. Woodman, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, (195-211), 199.

III. A. The *Phantasia* in Stoic Logic

In order to investigate Rubens's affinity with classical Stoic philosophy, I consider here the central role that classical Stoic philosophers assign to the *phantasia*, or representation. The communicating of meaning and knowledge was fundamental in Stoic unified philosophy. Stoic logicians and Early Modern art theorists intuited the investigative role of the image *vis-à-vis* identity and personal meaning. Some medieval thinkers had understood that images could be the most powerful vehicle for expressing complex ideas and religious truths.[423] Early Modern writers expressed this power of images through the concepts of design (*disegno*) and creative imagination. In the early seventeenth century Federico Zuccaro wrote, "The whole of arts, all arts, are based upon the single principle of *disegno*. (…) *Disegno* is nothing less than the fundamental principle of all thought."[424] As I explained in Chapter One, Stoics defined a representation as anything that appears in our mind, and explained that the commanding part of the soul, the self, is the place where "things appear."[425] According to the Stoics, how we think about ourselves and our world depends upon information that we receive through our senses; and the first stage in our thought processes is a *phantasia*, or internal image. Long explains that in Stoic philosophy,

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[423] For example, the Italian mystic Joachim of Flora, at the end of the twelfth century, used diagrams to express complex ideas about the presence of God in history. Williams, 2004, 43; Alina A. Payne, ed., *Vision and its Instruments. Art, Science, and Technology in Early Modern Europe*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015; Daston, Lorraine. *Objectivity*. New York: Zone Books, 2010; Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison. *Objectivity*. New York: Zone Books, 2010.

[424] Federico Zuccaro was the teacher of Rubens's teacher, Otto Van Veen. Further research into Van Veen's and Rubens's theoretical debts to Zuccaro would be fruitful. Williams writes: "Zuccaro makes a point of showing that all speculative thought – philosophy and all the liberal disciplines subordinate to it – as well as all human activities derive from *disegno*." Federico Zuccaro, *Idea of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, 1607, quoted in Williams, 2004, 74-75.

[425] Representation = *phantasia*; and instinct = *hormé*. Long, 1996, 270.

the term *phantasia* "covers both impressions of material objects presented through the senses and concepts, or impressions of immaterial objects, presented via the mind itself."[426]

The image, outer and inner, is central to Stoic theories about consciousness and about how the human mind develops. The classical Stoics explained that perceptual awareness is constant. A person continuously experiences representations, and our awareness, understanding and knowledge continuously unfold over time. Long explains that the Stoics conceive of the mind, or what they call the commanding part of the soul, the *hegemonikon*, "as a receptor which is constantly occupied by a sequence of representations or objects of awareness."[427] According to the Stoic theory of consciousness, the human mind has innate abilities, but no innate ideas, so all ideas, and the development of learning, come via representations, be they sensory experiences of the outside world, or "non-sensible" impressions. Because the Stoics link cognitive impressions with a person's treatment of perceptual judgments, it is *perception* on which all concepts are based.[428] A child learns through sense impressions and then through language. First, he builds up sense impressions, and then when he learns language, he begins to unconsciously assimilate and discriminate his *ideas* to the words and definitions that carry those ideas. Impressions from sensory

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[426] Long, "Language and Thought in Stoicism," 1971, 81, 83.
[427] These could be true, false, or misleading. Long, 1996, 272.
[428] Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*, vii 416-21, cited in Long, 1974, 130; Davidson, 66, 70; Verbeke, 1991, 18; *Phantasia* was used by Plato to discuss that an entity generates different "perceptions" that appear to individuals. Aristotle's *De Anima* contains the concept of *phantasia* but he does not place it at the crux of thought. According to Long, "For Aristotle, *phantasia* stands for the capacity to visualize," which is "different from both perception and thought." Long writes: Aristotle did not anticipate "most of the work the Stoics assign to *phantasia* (…) in any systematic way." He did not "make *phantasia* superordinate rather than merely contributory to perception, thought and other mental faculties. Aristotle did not place a unitary consciousness at the centre of an animal's life. This was the Stoics' contribution, and one which decisively marks off their philosophy of mind from all that went before." Long, 1996, 267, 269-270.

experiences become attached to the symbolic communication of words and images, which allow thoughts to be communicated. Hence, words and images are meaning-potentialities that function when they activate the system within the individual viewer that created meaning by linking *that* word to *that* impression. The Stoics believed that when a person is born, the mind is like a *tabula rasa*, a blank sheet of paper. Sense perceptions create permanent impressions in the mind, which over time lead to the development of ideas. According to this view, all concepts and intelligence are generated by sensory experiences. Diogenes Laertius explained the Stoic theory: "Impression leads the way; then thought, which is able to speak, expresses in discourse what it experiences as a result of the impression."[429]

The central role of the representation in Stoic theories of thought and communication was supported, in Rubens's work, by his employment of the abundant style. Bringing together concepts I have so far discussed on viewer response and on the role of the representation in fostering individuals' immanent, personal experience of selfhood, and remembering that classical rhetoricians including Virgil and Tacitus promoted the stylistic adoption of their literary characters' causes, consider again Rubens's paintings in Figures 2 and 3, above. The visual motion that Rubens represents in <u>Consequences of War</u> is built up through a cornucopea of small stylistic details that create in the viewer the sense of being off balance. A comparable image is created in the mind of the reader of Erasmus's abundant written style:

> War is one vast ocean, rushing on mankind, of all the united plagues and pestilences of nature; at its deadly approach, every blossom of

[429] Diogenes Laertius, vii, 49, quoted in Long, 1974, 124; Cleanthes: "Presentation is an impression on the soul." Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathaticos*, VII, 228 and Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrhoneioi hypotyposeis* (*Outline of Pyrrhonism*), II, 70, cited in Sambursky, 1959, 25; Davidson explains that the mind as described by the Stoics is essentially active, yet "its activity is first elicited by and exercised upon material supplied by the senses, and yet it itself has the power of reading the hidden meaning of this material – of apprehending truth, as well as reality." Davidson, 74, 81.

> happiness is instantly blasted, (…) everything that was firmly supported totters on its foundation, (…) it becomes the deadliest bane of piety and religion.[430]

Abundance of multiple allusions can be seen in Rubens's Peace Protected (Fig.3), where the artist has layered on meanings that are as copious as Erasmus's writing. Consider Rubens's central female figure in comparison to Erasmus speaking from the perspective of Peace. Erasmus wrote: "I, whose name is Peace, am a personage glorified by the united praise of God and man, as the fountain, the parent, the nurse, the patroness, the guardian of every blessing which either heaven or earth can bestow …"[431] Writing or painting in this abundant style required that an artist manage his vast knowledge of both subjects and styles, as well as drawing on the practical skills that allowed him to render style communicative. In Rubens's paintings, this complexity of identities and of stylistically created allusions requires that the viewer make his own meaning, in the process of which he internalizes and personalizes it. In terms not of subject but of style, Rubens's depiction of the putto appearing in the sky in his Saint Theresa (Fig.7) exemplifies how a sparse style can cause the gradual evocation of an image in the viewer's awareness, a subject that I discuss more fully below. Instead of painting every detail, Rubens's sparing touches of the brush build up a system of representation that the viewer takes on.

According to Williams, the Early Modern changes in and growing awareness of the relationship of art to society was caused by the systematizing effect of images, and an understanding of the fundamental role of representation, a role that is also at the core of Stoic theories of human thought and communication. According to Williams, "The need to establish the relation of art to the world in this way, in

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[430] Erasmus, *The Complaint of Peace, and Antipolemus, or the Plea of Reason, Religion, and Humanity against War*. Anon. trans. Burlington: D. Allinson, and Boston: Charles Williams, 1813, 10.
[431] *Ibid*.

principle, and thus to *establish representation as a system* (…) documents a recognition of the centrality of representation to reality."[432] Williams explains that Early Modern art theory shows an awareness of the function of art to relate sign to reality. I discuss below, this capacity of visual art to communicate knowledge systems, with reference to the Stoic theory of the *phantasia* and their related knowledge system that linked image, thought, and word.

Within classical Stoic philosophy, the processes of thought and the processes of communication are understood to be fundamentally the same. As Long explains, "Whether a man is thinking to himself, speaking aloud or listening to speech he requires a *phantasia*."[433] In Stoic logic, this representational faculty covers all mental states, including awareness, memories, and thoughts; and no mental states fall outside its scope.[434] The *phantasia* is the mental capacity that experiences all "objects of awareness," be they thoughts, feelings or sensations. The Stoic notion of the *logike phantasia* is about communicability and about how impressions of any kind can be converted into communicable means. Of particular relevance for Early Modern visual art, the concept of *phantasia* explains how thought and communication are identical: a representation is a thought-content, and this includes our responses to sensations, and the way things appear to us. In Stoic theories, the *phantasia* itself makes the truth of communication verifiable for the individual who experiences the *phantasia*.

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[432] Williams, 1997, 108.

[433] Long writes: "The *logike phantasia*, unlike some olfactory and tactile impressions, are expressible. A man might indicate his awareness of something by gestures and inarticulate cries; but *logos* enables him to express this in meaningful, communicable form." Long, 1971, 82-84.

[434] Diogenes Laertius, VII 49 cited at Long, 1974, 123; Long explains: "Things signified" relate to thoughts, sensations, and feelings, which are considered a "sensory mode of representation." Long, 1996, 269, 271- 273; Long, 1971, 82.

III. B. Stoic Investigative Communication: Style for Truth

An area of overlap between Rubens and classical Stoic rhetoric is their shared interest in the capacity of style to contribute to the communication of meaning. Because Stoic philosophy was understood as unitary, Stoic rhetorical theory was linked to diverse elements of speculation about human beings and society, and was particularly committed to the integration of *meaning* into rhetorical *forms*.[435] For Stoic philosophers of logic and rhetoric, investigating the truth was much more important than creating superficial stylistic qualities, and this focus on truth and meaning influenced classical and Early Modern poetry, histories, and art. The Early Modern humanist projects of studying texts, theorizing about grammar and definitions, and seriously engaging in translations was supported by the goals of Stoic rhetoric, that is, to investigate reality and examine how signification occurs. Rhetorical theories that eschewed meaningful subjects were anathema to the Stoics, who argued that meaning, topic, style, and reality itself, were inextricably bound together. Stoic logic was *about* truth and meaning.

For the Stoics, rhetoric could be defined as the art of effective communication, where effectiveness included truthfulness. Stoic rhetorical theory, developed first in relation to written texts and public speaking, was not limited to attempts at persuasion; it included descriptive illumination of subjects in order to investigate the truth and to move the listener to grow in knowledge and attain wisdom. Seneca believed that style must serve imagination, meaning, and inventiveness. He expressed disappointment that declamation had declined in his lifetime, and that Sophists simply prized technique instead of working on styles that might serve to focus on worthy

[435] Williams, 1997, 6.

subject matter.[436] Classical Stoics asserted that logic was about discovering and communicating truth, which in turn enhanced right thinking, right communication, and self awareness. Indeed, they posited that only the wise sage was a true rhetorician or logician.[437] Long writes that according to Chrysippus,

> The study of dialectic is an integral part of moral conduct. In analysing the structure of language and its function to express true propositions, the Stoics were taking as their subject-matter fundamental aspects of the rationality of human nature. (…) When applied to the genuine discovery of truth, exercise of the *logos* must be an activity that accords with human nature; and this allows the most technical details of Stoic logic to be regarded as actions that contribute to the understanding of human nature and of the rationality of the universe. Thus dialectic may be regarded as a method of self-discovery.[438]

Classical Stoic philosophers of logic assessed the validity of a truth claim based on its correspondence with the actual condition described, so that the truth of a statement depended upon the reality in which it was uttered. As Long explains, "No statement can be true unless it accurately represents some real state of things. The 'true' is the propositional counterpart of the 'real'."[439] In this way, Stoic logic connected truth and statements of it, to current reality.[440] Diogenes Laertius explained

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[436] Kennedy, 1972, 404; Williams, 2015, 143; See also Helen Slaney, *The Senecan Aesthetic. A Performance History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
[437] Long : "In the sage, truth refers to his rational disposition, his systematic knowledge and his ability to state all that is true." Long, 1996, 101.
[438] *Ibid*., 89, 102. Stoic logic treats clear perception and right speech, and relates them to ethical and natural philosophy. It was Chrysippus who developed logic into a science that united it with epistemology and language, thus making it integral to Stoic philosophy, clarifying that Stoic logic relates to the communication of meaning. Diogenes Laertius, VII, 41; Long, 1974, 121; Williams, 2015, 140.
[439] Long, 1974, 145.
[440] Long cites Chrysippus. Long, 1996, 97; Dobbs explains that the focus on realism in Stoic logic related to the physicality emphasized in Stoic physics. B.J.T. Dobbs, "Stoic and Epicurean Doctrines in Newton's System of the World," in Margaret J. Osler, ed., *Atoms, Pneuma, and Tranquility. Epicurean and Stoic Themes in European Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 221-238; Verbeke writes that the Stoics "invented a new kind of logic, essentially grounded on relations among propositions. (…) This manner of argument corresponds to the Stoic teaching on the organic coherence of the cosmos. The Stoic method of reasoning is, in fact, a constant

the Stoic position as: “One who says ‘it is day’ lays claim to the fact that it is day.”[441] For the Stoics, thought itself was closely connected with truth and in a way depended upon it. Davidson has argued that the object of Stoic logic is “to determine the nature of the human mind and the criterion of truth,” analyzing the concept of knowledge and how it is created.[442] The Stoics called accurate impressions “apprehending representations,” meaning that they accurately corresponded to reality. As Davidson explains, “It is characteristic of true impressions that they come from objects and conform to them; they lay hold on the mind, and are the means whereby the mind lays hold on reality.”[443] Zeno emphasized that apprehending representations depended upon the truth of reality, and he defined them as “representations proceeding from the object and agreeing with it, stamped and sealed upon the soul, such as could have no existence but for the existence of the object.”[444]

A central tenet of Stoic logic is that truth must be verifiable vis-à-vis reality, and it also must be expressible.[445] Diogenes Laertius explained that for the Stoics, “A rational presentation is one in which what is presented can be shown forth in

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confirmation of the living unity of the universe. A new logic was created in light of an empiricist theory of knowledge and as a result of an organic interpretation of the universe.” Verbeke, 1991, 18-19.

[441] Diogenes Laertius, VII 65 quoted in Long, 1974, 140; Stoic logic is not Platonic and does not relate to Platonic supra-sensible ideals. For the Stoics, true impressions must come from objects. Long, 1996, 97; Long and Sedley, 1987, Vol.I, 241-253.

[442] As Davidson explains, this actually belongs to psychology, since it pertains to a deep, metaphysical meaning of cognition. Davidson, 66; Margaret E. Reesor, *The Nature of Man in Early Stoic Philosophy*. London: Duckworth, 1989.

[443] Davidson, 67, 74.

[444] Zeno, in Sextus Empiricus. *Adversus mathematicos*. Book VII. 2nd Century, VII, 248; Davidson, 67.

[445] Long, 1971, 82; Verbeke, 1991, 20; Schenkeveld and Barnes write: “Stoics are interested in the nature of language and its relationships to reality and knowledge, and analyse speech in the context of their study of logic.” Dirk M. Schenkeveld, and Jonathan Barnes. “Language,” in K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld, and M. Schofield, eds., *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, (177-225), 177.

speech."[446] That is, it was expression through which opinions became intelligible to others and consequently rendered them the subject of communal discourse. The Stoics conceived of the process of thinking as including both a *phantasia*, or mental image, and a "sayable" or a meaningful description. To understand was to know the connection between a "sayable" and what it referred to. Stoic logic related to how people communicate meaning, and how people think to themselves. Because a unit of thought was actually a "sayable-conceivable," Long explains, "impressions and articulate thought are two aspects of a single mental process."[447] For the Stoics, the rational understanding of our experiences required communicability, and related to Stoic sign theory, with *lekta* mediating between signifying utterances and the things signified.[448] In the Stoic logical system, rationality was so closely connected to internal speech that Sextus Empiricus argued that in the Stoic conception, to hermeneutically build impressions into articulable concepts defined the human experience. He explained that for the Stoics, "This amounts to man's possessing an idea of connexion and he grasps the concept of signal because of this. (…) Therefore the existence of signal follows from the nature and constitution of man."[449]

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[446] Diogenes Laertius quoted at Long, 1971, 82; Long, 1996, 274.

[447] A *lekton* is "what is signified", that is, a reference of a word to an object, or the *relationship* between a word and the object it signifies. Long, 1974, 125, 140; Stoics termed the sayable-conceivables the *lekta*. Long defines a *lekton* as "the specific state of affairs indicated by the spoken word and which we grasp as co-existent with our thought" and emphasizes that for the Stoics, "words and thoughts are not strictly distinguishable." Long, 1971, 77, 79, 84; Long and Sedley, 1987, Vol.I, 195-202.

[448] In the words of Diogenes Laertius, Stoic Logic includes two topics, "things which are signified", and "things which signify." Diogenes Laertius, VII 62, quoted in Long, 1974, 123. Definitions are an important component of things signified. Diogenes wrote that the Stoics investigated "what each thing is" and "what it is called." Diogenes Laertius, VII 83, quoted in Long, 1974, 123; Long, 1996, 88, 91; Verbeke, 1991, 19-21.

[449] Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*, viii 275f; Long, 1974, 125; According to Long, all a person's "experience is mediated by concepts and language" so how things appear "will necessarily depend upon the kind of language user that one is; that is, on the kind of concepts that one has." Long, 1996, 273.

The reason that, for Stoics, theories about style could not be divorced from theories about meaning is because in Stoic rhetorical theory, thinking (which relates to meaning) and communication (which relates to style and to representations) are in some aspects indistinguishable. In Stoicism, rationality connotes the capacity for the articulate use of language. The Stoic definition of rationality is broad and complex, but with regard to communication, Long explains that "thinking and speaking are two descriptions of a unitary process."[450] *Lekton*, translatable as "what is said," because it has logical and grammatical functions, can also be translated as "what is meant," because it is the carrier of meaning.[451] The Stoic concept of the *lekton* has relevance for painters communicating visually, and for viewers who see meaning in images. Long explains that *lekton* means "what is meant by communication," "what is intended to be communicated," and "what thoughts are intended to inhabit or be carried by words or other signifiers."[452] These classical Stoic theories also relate to the visual arts because they link consciousness and communication to representation.[453] The fact that Stoic philosophers of logic believed that truth must be communicable makes Stoic rhetoric relevant for artists who created engaging images with the intention of communicating crucial meanings and instigating viewer responses such as spiritual experiences. The Stoic rhetoric that influenced Rubens's generation was also about truth vis-à-vis multifaceted human reality, and so promoted styles that could communicate this.

My study suggests that Rubens's painting was shaped by his awareness of Tacitus and Seneca's emotionally powerful literary styles that transmitted the natural complexity of truths; specifically, that Rubens experienced the power of words and

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[450] Long, 1974, 124.
[451] *Lekton* = what is said; what can be said; meaning; fact. *Ibid.*, 135.
[452] Long, 1971, 77; Verbeke, 1991, 19-20.
[453] Long, 1971, 83; Diogenes Laertius, vii, 6; Davidson, 78.

translated this into the power of imagery. Communicating, representation, and meaning are all bound up in the texts of Seneca and Tacitus. In Stoic rhetorical theory, processes of thought and communication depended upon complex interpretations of reality, and on seeing the connections among signs and significances. Rubens's abundant style can therefore be considered in light of his experience of classical texts that reflected the Stoic awareness that style can be complex because the true state of human affairs is complicated.[454] The classical Stoics, preceding the system of "truth-functions" developed by modern logic, were committed to the idea that truth is dependant on reality, not on ideals.[455] Stoic logicians explained that the "location" of truth was not in language itself, but rather it was in the relationship between language and reality. Other classical philosophers located truth/falsehood in speech itself, or in thought, but the Stoics located truth/falsehood within the connection between signifier and *significans*, in what Long calls "significant discourse."[456] Because thought was also related to the *lekta*, or the communicable signifier, Stoic rhetoric was integrally bound up with truth, and with the ability to know the truth, that is, with wisdom.[457] So close is the connection

[454] Seneca the Younger's *De tranquilitate animi* states that literary adornment is in accordance with nature, and therefore is itself a virtue. C.N. Smiley, "Seneca and the Stoic Theory of Literary Style," *University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature*. Vol.4, No.3, 1919, 50-62.
[455] Long, 1974, 142; Verbeke writes that Stoic "logic is concerned with knowledge and truth and helps us avoid error and falsity." Verbeke, 1991, 18.
[456] According to Diogenes Laertius: "The Stoics held as a common view that true and false are in the *lekton*." Diogenes Laertius quoted in Long, 1974, 82, 77, 93-94.
[457] One of the main subjects of Diogenes Laertius's summary of Stoic logic was truth. Sections 65-82 of Diogenes Laertius cited in *Ibid.*, 139. This included the topics "the sign function of language" and "language as meaningful." Long, 1996, 88; Long, 1971, 75; Seneca, *Epistulae morales*, 108.23, and Stobaeus, *Eclogues* II.7.11, cited at Verbeke, 1991, 11, 12, 16, 19; Kennedy writes: "Among philosophical schools the Stoics gave greatest emphasis to the truth of the message and to logic." Kennedy, 1980, 81, 87; Trinkaus argues that truth is the meeting point of rhetoric and philosophy. Charles Trinkaus, "The Question of Truth in Renaissance Rhetoric and Anthropology," in James J. Murphy, ed., *Renaissance Eloquence. Studies in the*

between rationality and communicability in Stoicism, that Long writes that for Stoics, reason can be defined as "articulate thought."[458] This had relevance for Early Modern artists who attempted to represent and communicate meaning. In my view, Rubens's interest in the communicative power of art was supported not only by the Catholic project and the Early Modern humanist investigation into selfhood, but also by his education and the Stoic texts he read, which brought into Early Modern circulation Stoic theories about meaningful communication.

Some aspects of Rubens's painting, particularly his building up of a painted surface through multiple, divergent brushwork, would resonate with Stoic theories about the relationship between form and content. In Stoic rhetoric, style should be clear, should reflect content, and should be altered to suit various audiences, times, and subjects. Copious complexity was used to express diversity of points of view. The ability of the rhetorician to manage diverse stylistics became a sign of erudition, drawing on metaphors and meanings of natural fecundity. In classical Roman poetry, *Copia* was the goddess of Plenty and of the harvest, the bearer of the cornucopia and the bringer of opulence and goodness.[459] Classical Roman rhetoricians transferred the agricultural metaphor to eloquence, conceiving of the deity as *copia* of words and subject matter.[460] Humanists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries restored the meaning of *copia* to its classical definition, revising the term from the medieval *amplificatio* that fell under the subject of elocution, to place it again in the classical

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Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1983, (207-220), 209, 212.

[458] Long, 1974, 124.

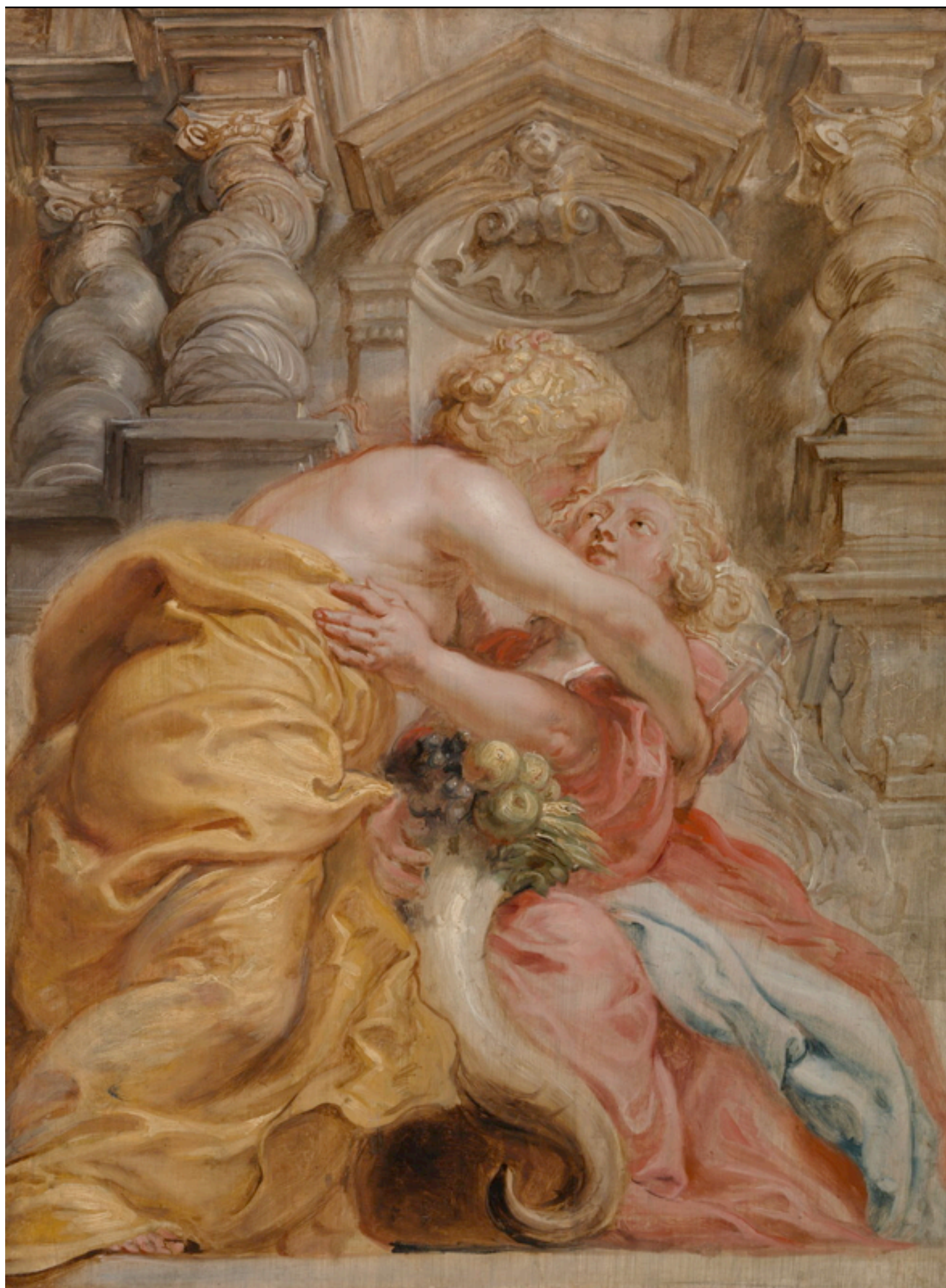
[459] Horace, *Odes*, 1.17.16, and Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*, 59, cited in Callahan, 99.

[460] Callahan, 99. Rubens painted many images of copia and of the cornucopia. For example, see Rubens, Three Nymphs Filling a Horn of Plenty. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre*, 1886-1892, Vol.III, 131-133, Fig. 202; and Rubens, *Abondonca*, Rooses, *L'Oeuvre*, 1886-1892, Vol.IV, 43-44, Fig. 261.

rhetorical genus of *inventio*.[461] This was a major change, giving to the abundant style connotations of learnedness, skill, and the communication of meaning. The definition of *copia* as a learned practice, one that Erasmus helped transmit from the classical into Early Modern Europe, included the Stoic notions that *copia* was distinguished from loquaciousness, and that complexity should support meaning. As Cave indicates, it is significant that Erasmus substituted for the term rhetoric, the word *copia*, making them interchangeable and pointing to the fundamental role of *copia* in communication.[462] Essentially, Erasmus returned to the notion and practice of written and painted *copia* the connotation of the abundant style as a practice that requires and trains critical thinking to promote effective communication.[463] In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the abundant style came to be considered within the scope of the learned arts, and served as a method by which rhetoricians and artists could *superintend* information and styles.[464] Rubens, educated in *copia* methods as a rhetorical theoretical goal, and a fluent reader and writer of Latin, applied the abundant style of rhetoric to his Baroque artistic style, where the Stoic logical commitment to investigating reality and truth was borne out through complexity. Rubens became very skilled at this abundant brushwork, and it became a hallmark of the style that he popularized, as we can see in the following sketch, an image that combines diverse brushwork to create realism.[465]

[461] Cave, 7-8, 329.
[462] Mack, 2011, 1-4.
[463] Cave writes: "Although *copia rerum* and *copia verborum* are often referred to separately, their integration in an ideally abundant discourse is always recommended, as is the priority of *res*." For *sapientia – res – verba* in Erasmus, see Cave, 6, 173.
[464] Cave highlights exactly this connection between the style of *copia* and the process of superintending when he writes: "For an Erasmian generation, the space of utopian writing broadens out to include, potentially, the whole corpus of classical and biblical works." *Ibid.*, 19, 180; Sohm, 2001, 30-32.
[465] Rubens, "De imitatione statuarium," in Martin, 1977, 271-273.

Figure 12. Rubens, Sketch for Peace Embracing Plenty. c.1632-1633, oil on panel.



Rubens's hand is evident in Peace Embracing Plenty.[466] The columns framing the scene are roughed in, with underpainting visible; and the cornucopia, fruit,

[466] Rubens, Sketch for Peace Embracing Plenty. c.1632-1633, oil on panel, 44x31cm, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London. This is a sketch for Rubens's painting The Peaceful Reign of James I in the Banqueting House, Whitehall, London. See also Rubens's sketch The Peaceful Reign of James I, c.1632-1633, oil on panel,

garments, and hair are painted in large, visible brushstrokes that contrast with the relatively smoother finish of the figures' skin and faces. The surfaces of the pillars, the drapery, the fruit, the hair, and even the subject's bodies are all visually built up from separate touches of colour.

Rich variation in painted surface treatment like in Rubens's method could convey learnedness on the part of the artist. This idea was articulated at the beginning of the eighteenth century by De Lairesse, who related artistic variety to intellect and meaning, and claimed that a true master was "one who displays the riches of his mind."[467] In the seventeenth century and in the classical Rome that Rubens admired, the rhetorical goal of copiousness related to having a full tool box that a skilled artist, speaker, or preacher could draw from in order to adapt to individual listeners or potential viewers. In the words of Federico Zuccaro in the early seventeenth century, *disegno interno*, or imagination, was "like a secret treasure house."[468]

The abundant style was particularly suited to the capacity for style to superintend other information. Variety for Quintilian's public speaker meant being ready to reposition the information and characters he portrayed in relation to his topic and in response to the audience. Rhetorical exercises prepared the orator to portray

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64.2x47.3cm, Akademie der Bildenden Kunste, Vienna. White, 1987, 253, 256, Fig. 275, Fig. 279; G. Martin, *Rubens. The Ceiling Decoration of the Banqueting Hall. CRLB*, Part 15. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005, Vol.I; and Vol.II, Figs. 67 and 160; N. Gritsay, "The Role of Sketches in Rubens's Work on the Ceiling of the Banqueting House of the Palace of Whitehall," in Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, and Courtauld Institute, London, *Peter Paul Rubens. A Touch of Brilliance.* London: Prestel, 2003, 45-52; Held, 1982, xiv, Figs. XI.1 - XI.6.

[467] De Lairesse, 1707, quoted in De Jongh, 185 note 72.

[468] Cicero had discussed the "treasure house" of memory that stored ideas and guarded rhetoric. Cicero, *Ad. C. Herennium*, II, xvi, 28, and Federico Zuccaro, *L'idea de' pittori, scultori, et architetti*, 1607, cited in Muller 1982, 245-246; Valla wrote that rhetoric was a specialized skill and related it to the orator's need to know diverse subjects. Valla, *Repastinatio dialecticae et philosophiae*, 1439, 175-177, cited in Mack, 2011, 50; Rabelais, in the prologue of his *Tiers Livre*, wrote that his book was inexhaustible, comparing it to a barrel that he would constantly refill. Cave, 171. For Montaigne on "the text as a flux or emission," see Cave, 329.

whichever *personas* might appeal to the audience. Conolly explains that according to Quintilian, in the course of their training, "Roman orators literally speak in the voices of others, and even in the language of others."[469] In this vein, Quintilian stated: "I regard impersonation as my most difficult of tasks … For the same speaker has at one time to impersonate Caesar, at another Cicero or Cato."[470] Marcus Aper, Cicero and Quintilian all surveyed past orators to prove that an accomplished rhetorician must master a vast range of stylistic treatments, and Aper asserted that "eloquence has no single face."[471]

Copia was not only about subject-related knowledge; it also related to abundant *style*. Erasmus taught generations of Early Modern students to prize the most exemplary classical sources, and Early Modern humanists came to prize Homer, Ovid, Virgil, Hesiod, and other classical authors as encyclopedic treasure-houses, *copiae* of knowledge and styles.[472] However, as Cave notes, the classical sources were represented as offering the very essence of not only material, but also of valuable methods and insight into *style*.[473] Essentially, methods and theory on *copia* were about the creative generation of useful ideas.[474] Cicero studied earlier rhetoricians and argued that variety and embellishment could be used when they served communication, a concept that is indebted to Stoicism. Longinus also assumed that ornamentation, or embellishment, was a feature of skilled writing.[475] Seneca asserted

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[469] Quintilian, *de Orat*. 1.149-1.150; Connolly, 140.
[470] Quintilian, *de Orat*. 3.8.50-3.8-51; Connolly, 140.
[471] Sander Goldberg, "The Faces of Eloquence: the *Dialogus de oratoribus*," in Anthony J. Woodman, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, (73-84), 83; Sohm, 2001, 65.
[472] Callahan, 102.
[473] Cave, 174.
[474] For this process in earlier art, see Mary Carruthers, ed. *Rhetoric Beyond Words*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
[475] For "ornaments of style" in Longinus and in Quintilian, see Kennedy, 1972, 376, 500-508; Doreen Innes, "Metaphor, Simile, and Allegory as Ornaments of Style," in

that rhetorical style should not be constrained by fixed rules, but rather should vary with the taste of the times, and in accordance with reason and reality.[476] Quintilian noted that style should be suited to content, and that style should change with the times. In the Stoic conception, style had to be adapted to the realities of subject, audience, and artist's intention because, as Rubens would have understood from reading Seneca and Tacitus, style itself functions to signify and represent meaning particularly because it attaches to what is true. Several of Seneca's *Epistles* mentioned aspects of his theory of rhetoric. He wrote that the philosopher must neither rush headlong nor drag out his words; that style can rise with emotion, but that it must nevertheless maintain dignity; and that above all style must serve truth and realism. He wrote: "What we feel we should say, what we say we should feel."[477]

An example of Rubens's use of stylistic variation to link subject and meaning can be seen in Consequences of War (Figure 2 above). The comparatively polished surface of Pax contrasts with the looser brushwork of the painted environment, conveying the sense that she is at odds with the world that Mars creates. The clinging child and cupid visually connect with Pax through Rubens's treatment of their bright skin. The world of war that flows in towards them is a jumble of superimposed visible brushstrokes. That is, the distance, the sky, the furies, the monsters, and the fallen figures of Harmony and the Arts share the visually reverberating brushwork that leads into a patch of moving shadow that imminently threatens the space of Pax, Europe, and the children.

G.R. Boys-Stones, ed., *Metaphor, Allegory, and the Classical Tradition: Ancient Thought and Modern Revisions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013, 7-27.
[476] Kennedy, 1972, 478, 479, 533; Seneca, "On Style as a Mirror of Character," Epistle CXIV, (114.13), in Gummere, trans., 1917-1925.
[477] Seneca, Epistle XL, in *Ibid*.; See also Seneca, *Letters on Ethics: To Lucilius*. A.A. Long and M. Graver, trans., eds., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015, 22.

IV. *Macchia* and *Sententia*: Complexly Communicative

Rubens's facility with the bold application of paint, left unpolished and to be completed in the eye of the viewer, is the subject of this section, where I compare his style with that of the classical author Tacitus. The dabs of paint that stand out individually on Rubens's canvases, strokes of colour that interact with neighbouring colours, were, in the art theory of Rubens's time, termed *macchia*. In the early seventeenth century Boschini explained that *macchia*, prized among the richly varied ways of applying paint, meant sketchy brushwork that could alternately blend or distinguish, veil or highlight, and be delicate or bold.[478] He described *macchia* as marks of both physical and intellectual creative processes: they were "thrusts of the brush" that enlivened paintings through the poignant, skillful placement of "single strokes loaded with colour."[479]

Rubens's *macchia* style is visible in the following sketch, where it conveys depth, light, reflected colour, and multiple textures, to skilfully render a fascinating portrait. Sketch of a Man is a good example of Rubens's abundant style, that is, his visible brushwork, and his varying treatments of the painted surface.[480]

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[478] Boschini mentioned the sketchy brushwork of Veronese, Bassano, Tintoretto, Titian. Boschini, 1673, 1996, 752; Sohm, 2001, 146; Dennis Mahon, *Studies in Seicento Art and Theory.* London: Warburg Institute, 1947, 15, 57, 86.

[479] Boschini, 1660, 1996, 374; Sohm, "Macchia," 2001, 147-150.

[480] Rubens, Sketch of a Man. c.1620, oil on panel, 45.7x36.8cm, The Hyde Collection, Glen Falls, New York, inv. 1971.40; Ludwig Burchard and Roger d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings*. Brussels: Arcade Press, 1963; Bernadette van Haute, "Black Tronies in Seventeenth-Century Flemish Art and the African Presence," *De arte*, 91, 2015, 18-38; Nico Van Hout, "Les tronies: L'emploi des tetes de caracteres dans la peinture d'histoire flamande," in C. Joubert, A.M. du Bourg, and N. Van Hout, eds., *Jacob Jordaens et son Modele Abraham Grapheus*. Caen: Musée des Beaux-Arts de Caen, 2012, 35-43; Julius Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens*. 2 Volumes, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980; On Rubens's capacity for enlivening his portraits with dignity and "pictorial splendour" see Held, 1982, xiii and Image I.1.

Figure 13. Rubens, Sketch of a Man. c.1620, oil on panel

In this oil sketch, background depth is created by quick, scratchy brushwork, while the contours, lines, and expression of the face are built up by dashes of colour that are unblended and left obvious. Broad brushstrokes loaded with paint refer to bright highlights on face and garment. The abundance of varying brushwork skillfully lends emotion, warmth, and a sense of soulful introspection to this study.

Although Rubens was influenced by Early Modern art theory and practices in Flanders and Italy, as well as by the Stoic rhetorical theory that was communicated to him through his Early Modern education in classical texts, this section of my

dissertation investigates how his painterly brushwork might relate to the phraseology of the classical poetry and histories he read. I maintain that the classical Stoic rhetorical theory and the abundant style of writing, directly available to Rubens in classical authors' published letters and works, supported Ruben's adoption of a style of painting that shared qualities of Seneca and Tacitus's writing, that is, brevity and incompleteness, or conditionality. The dashes of colour in Rubens's painterly style relate to the Stoics' "pointed style" of delivery, that is, to the *sententiae* that were perfected by Seneca, Tacitus, and other classical writers, and quoted approvingly by Erasmus, Lipsius and other Early Modern writers.[481] In the following *sententia* from the *Agricola*, Tacitus builds up emotionally impactful verb infinitives to create Calgacus's warning about the ruthless Romans his troops now face. Tacitus: "To pillage, to slaughter, to rape they give the name of empire; and where they create desolation, they call it peace."[482] Tacitus essentially writes as if four negatives (pillage, slaughter, rape, desolation) equal two positives (empire, peace), creating a dissonance that can only be solved by the reader's realization that the empire and the peace that dictators create are actually negative.

Visual *macchia*, like verbal *sententiae*, could serve to create an abundant style. They both related to effective, emotional styles, to complex meaning, and to directing the focus of the reader or viewer. I contend that as Rubens integrated what he had

[481] Erasmus quoted Tacitus in his section "Abundance of Expression," in Erasmus, *Copia*, Book I:206, 370; Rubens read texts written in the abundant style, in Stoic classical poetry and *istoria*, and in Erasmian and Lipsian edited volumes. Mack, "Erasmus," 2011, 76-103, 270; Erasmus's *De ratione studii* is heavily indebted to Quintilian in both content and style, and Quintilian (8.5) had discussed categories of *sententiae*. *Sententiae* were also mentioned, for example, in *Ecclesiasticae rhetoricae sive De ratione concionandi libri sex*, Lisbon, 1576, when Luis de Granada, 1504-1588, Dominican, and confessor to the Portuguese queen, as part of his treatment of invention, gave advice on using *sententiae*. Kennedy, 1972, 324; C.O. Brink, "Justus Lipsius and the Text of Tacitus," *The Journal of Roman Studies*. Vol.41, 1951, 32-51.
[482] Tacitus, *Agricola*, 30-32; Kennedy, "Tacitus," 1972, (515-526), 525; Hadas, 1942, 695.

seen of painterliness in Italian examples, his investigation of *macchia* style was supported by the classical rhetoric he read. *Macchia*, or complex, abundant brushwork, came to be considered positive in Baroque painting in contrast to the views of some Renaissance art theorists who had interpreted painterly brushwork negatively. Even Titian's style, which later became the guiding model for Baroque painters interested in abundant brushwork, had occasionally been misunderstood in the sixteenth century. For example, in 1553, when Mary of Hungary sent a portrait of her nephew Prince Philip of Spain to his bride to be, Mary Tudor, she cautioned that the painting must be viewed from a distance.[483] By contrast, in the seventeenth century the use of *macchia* to good effect was promoted by Rubens and the Italian artists he admired, despite the earlier negative connotations of the term. This represented a transition to Baroque art, with *macchia* becoming well supported by *seicento* art theorists who attributed this style to the learnedness and inventiveness of the artist.[484] I contend that this transition, in Ruben's case, was supported by his immersion in reading a Stoic style that used energetic, pithy *sententiae*. In my opinion Rubens was influenced by the *sententia* that were popularized in the Early Modern period not only via Erasmus and Lipsius but also by the reading of original classical Stoic texts.[485]

[483] Sohm quotes Aurelio Luini (1530-1593, Milanese painter and friend of Gian Paolo Lomazzo), who said when looking closely at a Titian landscape that he saw only "a smeared thing" (*una cosa empiastrat*). In 1566 Giorgio Vasari had praised Titian's works but insisted that in his late style "nothing can be seen from nearby." Sohm, 2001, 163-164; Puttfarken, 2005, 82, 197; For example, Titian's <u>Tityus</u>, 1548-1549, in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, shows sketchy, visible brushstrokes. Note the lines of firelight on the lower left.

[484] By contrast with Renaissance attitudes, Marco Boschini, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, hoped that viewers would appreciate artworks up close, and be amazed. Sohm, 2001, 152, 163. Boschini insisted on close viewing as appropriate to see the effects of *pittoresco*. Puttfarken, 2005, 199.

[485] Erasmus had emphasized "collecting, composing, and using *sententiae*, proverbs, descriptions, examples, and comparison." Mack, 2011, 312.

Rubens, proficient in several languages, and engaged in communication with some of the leading intellectuals in Europe, must have loved words. Having the beautiful, powerful phraseology of Tacitus and Seneca read to him as he painted must have been as fascinating as listening to music. Rubens's art, rich in *macchia*, renders visual the Stoic *sententiae* form that was important in classical rhetoric and evident in classical poems and histories. *Sententiae* had become popular in Augustan Rome, when training in speech composition taught short, pithy sentences, or *sententiae*. Classical rhetorical training inheres in the classical literature, poetry, and *istoria* that Rubens read.[486] Classical poems and histories were written in poetic form, and retain the rhetorical forms that their authors had been taught. Classical poetics reveal the authors' schooling in oratory. The poetry of Homer, Virgil, and Livy, for example, includes speeches in a pointed style.[487] Also, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* contains fictional speeches that were opportunities to use *sententiae* and other rhetorical devices. Seneca noted how Ovid's admiration for the rhetorician Latro led Ovid to quote and integrate Latro's *sententiae* into his poetry. Ovid wrote to Latro, "Your eloquence gives muscle to my verses; Brilliance comes from poetry into your words."[488] Ovid's allusion to the muscle of rhetoric related to the skillful strength of

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[486] Tacitus's rhetorical training was a creative exercise that promoted critical thinking, expressiveness, and quotation of earlier authors. Kennedy cites the rhetorical education and writing of Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, Persius, Quintilian, Ovid, and Livy to conclude that classical rhetorical training was "supposed to develop the mind and sensitivity, and to teach an approach to practical problems," and through this education "Roman students developed an extraordinary eye for conceits and verbal effects. They applied imagination to the choice of situations involving rhetorical challenges," as well as to word combinations and emotional expression. Kennedy, 1972, 318-322, 332-333, 413, 416, 422 note 65.
[487] *Ibid*. 325, 392; Anthony A. Long, "Stoic Readings of Homer," in Robert Lambeton and John J. Keaney, eds., *Homer's Ancient Readers*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992, 41-66.
[488] Ovid, *Epist. ex Pont.* 2.5.65-70, quoted in Kennedy, 1972, 418. Ovid also wrote to Latro: "Our work differs, but issues from the same sources: We both are students of a liberal art." According to Kennedy, techniques that Ovid adapted from his rhetorical

an orator arguing a case, a process that included "points" and *sententiae*. The poetry of Homer, Virgil, and Livy embodied rhetorical rules and approximated real oratory.[489]

Stoic rhetoricians and historians had popularized *sententiae*, because it suited their interest in a complex, compact style. The brevity that Stoics promoted involved compressing complex definitions and meanings into what they called "points" after Cato the Elder, who had emphasized focussing on "the strong points of a case" and eschewing the "polish of learning."[490] Kennedy explains the Stoic pointed style:

> Sentences are much shorter than in Ciceronian Latin. There is a staccato effect from constant asyndeton, from the fondness for anaphora, from the tendency to seek alliteration, and above all from the repeated occurences of rhetorical questions and *sententiae*.[491]

We know that Rubens read classical authors who used *sententiae*, including Tacitus, a master rhetorician whose writing exemplifies that of a committed Stoic using the abundant, pointed, style.[492] Scholars have noted that Tacitus had a unique, compelling style.[493] Tacitus was a trained rhetorician who practiced oratory, and his *Germania*, for example, is written in the style of oratory, not as a narrative. He was a skilful wordsmith who wrote history poetically and movingly, as in this example: "Slaves were bribed against their masters, freedmen against their patrons, and those

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school training included his "creation of an emotional tone by personal appeal, amplification, hyperbole, rhetorical question, and the composition of elegant *sententiae*." Kennedy, 1972, 393, 407, 413-419, 424; Ovid, *Amores*, 1.2.11-12.

[489] Kennedy notes: "Rhetorical analysis of speeches in Virgil has been practiced since antiquity, for example by Macrobius, end of the 4th Century." Kennedy, 1972, 392.

[490] Cato the Elder, *Politissimam doctrinam*, *de Orat*. 3.135, quoted at Connolly, 141; Kennedy, 1972, 56, 335; Oakley, 199.

[491] Kennedy believes that Seneca's writing reflects his way of thinking, not one of "slow elaboration, and careful structure, but of a series of points deriving force from their bluntness and illustrated by examples." Kennedy, 1972, 328, 480.

[492] On Tacitus, see pages 32-34, above.

[493] Woodman, 12; Dorey, 1969, cited in Woodman, 2009, 59; Kennedy: "In all his historical writing Tacitus demonstrates a masterful control of rhetoric of all levels." Kennedy, 1972, 518, 524.

who lacked an enemy were suppressed by their friends."[494] Even in classical times Tacitus was prized for combining a sense of witnessing the historical moment with a style that Quintilian called radiantly clear and milky rich.[495]

Just as *sententiae* were closely associated with the energy and force of style, the definition of *macchia* as dabbed, painterly, or sketchy was closely related to seventeenth-century definitions of style. De Piles defined *sprezzatura* as related to freedom of spirit, to artistic ability, and to "a lively and natural expression through the whole work."[496] Boschini had also turned to *sprezzatura* to justify painterly brushwork, arguing that *macchie* and other broad strokes should be visible to and appreciated by the viewer.[497] During Rubens's artistic practice, *macchia* were prized as traces of intellectual activity, rendering the hand of the artist valid and prestigious.[498] Both the pointed style of some Stoic texts and the *macchia* of Rubens's abundant style came to be perceived as pithy and learned, marrying theory with practice because they foregrounded the choices of the artist or writer. According to Boschini: "Sketchy brushwork (*machia*) is born from style (*maniera*), the touch of

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[494] Tacitus: "*corrupti in dominos serui, in patronos liberti; et quibus deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressi*." Tacitus, *Histories*, 69BC, 1.2; Oakley, 202; Hadas, 1942, 420.
[495] Quintilian 10.1.101; 10.1.32, cited in Kennedy, 1972, 425; Oakley writes that Tacitus's style combines the rich historical allusions of Livy's style with the rapid-fire prose style of Sallust that suits Tacitus's capacity for insightful analysis. Oakley, 195; Tacitus praised earlier writers for both their eloquence and their reliability, including for example, Caesar who was a first-hand witness to events he wrote about. Tacitus, *Annals*, 1.1.2; A.M. Gowing, "From the Annalists to the *Annales*: Latin Historiography before Tacitus," in A.J. Woodman, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, (17-30), 22-24.
[496] De Piles, (1699), 1744, 45.
[497] Sohm shows how Boschini's views on this differed from Vasari's. Giorgio Vasari, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*. W. Gaunt, ed., A.B. Hinds, trans. 4 Vols., London: Dent; and New York: Dutton, 1927, 1963, I, 226; Sohm, 2001, 150, 163-164, and see his footnotes 105-109 on page 265.
[498] Sohm writes: "Although the 'hand' was tinged by persistent reminders of painting as a craft, this was mitigated by its other associations. In art-critical practice, *mano* could be used synonymously with style without any evident discomfort." Sohm, 2001, 158, 76, 150; Puttfarken, 2005, 198-199.

learned artifice."[499] Boschini, at the end of the seventeenth century, wrote that Titian had, "by rubbing his fingers and blending the highlights into the middle tones thus unified one colour with another; at other times, with a smear of his fingers, he placed a stroke of shadow in some corner to reinforce it next to some smear of bright red."[500] Style was the place where the hand of the painter, that is, the presence of the artist as a person, met the subject in the form of the painted surface, and *macchia* made this evident.[501]

Both Stoic *sententiae* and Rubens's *macchia* use expressive dabs or patches to evoke reader/viewer emotions. Rubens's tone throughout his *oeuvre* can be considered emotional, as are Tacitus's compact *sententia*. Classical Stoic rhetoric in general favoured emotionally impactful styles. According to Kennedy, "despite the austerity of the ideal Roman character, Roman oratory was emotional almost from the start," its intense emotion "often woven into the whole fabric."[502] Seneca held that it is natural for the mind to be inspired to passion, and that style must reflect this. He wrote: "The mind must be borne off, must champ at the bit, must snatch its driver and carry him to where he would have feared to climb."[503] It is possible that Rubens's reading of the powerfully emotional and meaningfully complex styles exemplified in Senecan and Tacitean texts heightened his awareness of a style that is made up of short, pithy, well-placed points.

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[499] Boschini equated *macchia* with style. Sohm, 2001, 146-147.
[500] Boschini, 1673, 712, quoted at Sohm, 2001, 154 note 54.
[501] Therefore style is where the artist will come into contact with the eyes and mind of the viewer. De Piles discussed *chiaroscuro*, colour, and relative clarity in terms of ideas about the roles of surface, artist, and viewer. Puttfarken, 1985, 86.
[502] Kennedy writes that whereas "Aristotle and other Greek rhetoricians usually thought of *ethos* and *pathos* as two quite separate things, the Roman critics came to view them as different degrees of the same thing." Kennedy, 1972, 101, 404.
[503] Seneca, *De tranquilitate animi*, 1.14, 17.11, quoted at *Ibid*., 472-474.

Baroque visual artists used the abundant style as a tool for enhancing the viewer's interest in the painted surface.[504] According to Paleotti, the aim of the artist "should be to draw the eyes of the inexperienced to gaze at his paintings with the charm and variety of colours, now bright, now dark, now delicate, now rough (…) and through the diversity of embellishment (…) and other beautiful inventions."[505] The complicatedness of an abundantly painted surface rendered it undetermined, and pliable to completion by the viewer. Painted *macchia* and textual *sententiae* are *tesserae*-like, separate units of meaning, shape, or colour that must be pieced together to create an overall picture, to which the reader/viewer responds emotionally. In painting, the Early Modern abundant style created blurred effects that the viewer's eye would "complete." The rich, decorative, highly varied surface required that the viewer make meaning by actively participating in reading the complex elements that comprised the painted forms.

The pointed, but emotional, Stoic literary style demonstrated to Rubens and other humanist readers the fascinating complicatedness created by the building up of related details that invited the reader to do the work of seeing the bigger picture. Seneca's striking technique was due to his skillful development of the epigrammatic *sententiae* that prove that Stoic brevity of style did not equate to simplicity of meaning. Rather, the minimalist application of words required complexity in the mind of the reader who made meaning by assembling hints, partial explanations, and rhetorical questions, as with the following Senecan example:

> Who would believe that Marius, as he lay among the ruins of Carthage, had once been consul, or would be again? Moreover, why do I cite such remote examples as if there were none in my own household? He who sees my father and my uncle learns

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[504] Dempsey noted that colour and light, that is, the material of *macchia*, "have a profound emotive function." Dempsey, 1977, 11.
[505] Paleotti, 1582, 2012, Book 2, Chapter 52, 312.

> what the fortunate must fear and of what the unfortunate must not despair.[506]

Indeed, the Stoic written brevity created by *sententiae* stimulated powerful, clear communication. Lipsius admired Seneca because his brevity produced vividness, or *enargeia*. According to Lipsius, Seneca's *sententiae* have "two outstanding virtues, brevity with eloquence, and forcefulness with fluency."[507] Lipsius excitedly reacted to the terrific brevity by which Stoics could communicate powerful ideas. Of Epictetus he wrote: "How much he conveys in so few words, in the manner of the Holy Scriptures!"[508] Lipsius quoted Senecan *sententiae* often to colour his writing, to give it added weight, and to sum up a point, as he does in the following example. The following is Lipsius, with Seneca's words in quotation marks:

> Look at the anguish we suffer if our happiness comes from external things: we busy ourselves trying to possess things that make us feel bad if we do not obtain them and apprehensive if we do; we are upset by those things which are taken away from us, and we worry about those which might be taken away. "Like birds who are frightened at the sound made by an empty sling, these men become agitated not only by the blow but even by the noise."[509]

Scholars have termed Tacitus's style idiosyncratic, "taut, compressed, and solemn," but this grave, pointed style can powerfully evoke emotional responses, such as to this example: "After the day had been passed in crimes, the last of his evils was happiness."[510] In the following example, Tacitus writes in a style that mimics the

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[506] Seneca, Epistle, 1.1.3, quoted in Kennedy, 1972, 335; The practice of brevity was supported by the Stoic tradition of writing paradoxes and maxims. *Ibid*., 479.
[507] Lipsius wrote: "*Venerem cum Minerva iungit*." (1652, vi-xi) Morford, 1991, 177; On Lipsius using Seneca's style to create a "hopping" style that better suited interiority and epistles, see Roland Mayer, "Seneca *Redivivus*: Seneca in the Medieval and Renaissance World," in S. Bartsch and A. Schiesaro. *The Cambridge Companion to Seneca*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, (277-288), 286.
[508] Epictetus *Enchiridion*, 1.1-2 quoted by Lipsius, *Manuductio*; Kraye, 1997, 204.
[509] Seneca, "On Virtue as a Refuge from Worldly Distractions," Epistle LXXIV.5, in Gummere, trans., 1917-1925; Lipsius, *Manuductio*; Kraye, 1997, 204.
[510] Tacitus: "*exacto per scelera die nouissimum malorum fuit laetitia*." Tacitus, *Histories*, 69CE, 1.47.1; Oakley, 200; Hadas, 1942, 446.

quick jab that is the subject matter, but that also layers on possible meanings from which the reader must choose. He wrote about the commander of the Roman forces in Germany, Aulus Vitellius (15-69 CE), being arrested and dragged by a Roman tribune through the streets of Rome:

> One of Vitellius's German troops who happened to pass aimed a hostile blow at him, perhaps in anger, or perhaps to remove him more swiftly from the taunting; or he may have been aiming at the tribune.[511]

Stoic rhetorical theory calls for truth and clarity, and Tacitus's style shows that the use of *sententiae* was not a blurring effect, but rather it was a tool for supplying the reader with many detailed points of interest, that the reader would then put together to form his own opinion of the events described. Among Early Modern writers, so closely were classical *sententiae* related to cognition itself that Francesco Bocchi and others translated the Greek *dianoia* (thought) as *sententia*.[512] The Stoics supported a complex style because to them, complexity and multiplicity were hallmarks of truth. Truth was corporeal, it was of the world, and it comprised knowledge; and in the words of Sextus Empiricus, to the Stoics truth was "something compound and a collection of many things."[513]

The energy of Tacitus's style is created by the rhythm with which words are applied, by the *macchia*-like jabs of multivalent or ambiguous terms that make the listener work to grasp the whole picture. Tacitus wrote:

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[511] Tacitus: "*obuius e Germanicis militibus Vetellium infesto ictu per iram, uel quo maturius ludibrio eximeret, antribunum adpetierit, in incerto fuit ...*" Tacitus, *Histories*, 69CE, 3.84.4 - 3.85; According to Oakley this passage on the possible motivations for the soldier's actions is exemplary of the skilful *compression* with which Tacitus could write. Oakley, 208, 211; Hadas, 1942, 654-655.

[512] This regards Aristotle's *Poetics*. Williams, 1997, 191, 196.

[513] Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*, VII, 38, quoted in Long, 1971, 98. This was in contrast to the Sophists who, the Stoics believed, used complexity to obfuscate; Peter T. Struck, "From the Head of Zeus: The Birth of the Literary Symbol," *Birth of the Symbol: Ancient Readers at the Limits of their Texts*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004, 111-141.

He offered his neck to the executioners,
in the steadfastness of his death not unworthy of the name
Sempronius: his life had failed to live up to it.[514]

The prose developed by classical Stoics and Early Modern practitioners of Stoic style has been defined in terms that could equally apply to Rubens's painting. Croll describes it as typified by asymmetry, by "the omission of ordinary syntactical features", and by a "hovering, imaginative order."[515] In Rubens's paintings, brief dabs of colour function to build up readable images that are both energetic and communicative. *Seicento* artists understood that styles that might be formally unclear could nevertheless powerfully convey effects. Annibale Carracci used the word *clarity* to describe Correggio's painterly brushwork. After having seen Correggio's paintings in Parma, Carracci wrote: "I like this clarity, I like this purity that is real, not lifelike, is natural, not artificial or forced: everyone interprets it in his own way."[516]

Rubens's rich brushwork shares with Stoic sentence structure not only an emotionally charged, unfinished style, but also the leaving of space for the viewer/reader to complete the scene. Boschini compared painterly brushwork viewed up close to spiritual revelation.[517] Both *macchia* and *sententiae* could point to the complicated human experience of reality that underpins communication. For Stoic

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[514] Tacitus: "*ceruicem ... percussoribus obtulit, constantia mortis haud indignus Sempronio nomine: uita degenerauerat*." Tacitus, *Annals*, 15CE, 1.53.5; Oakley, 200; Hadas, 1942, 36.

[515] W. Morris Croll, "The Baroque Style in Prose," (1914) in Stanley Fish, ed., *Seventeenth Century Prose: Modern Essays in Criticism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971, 104-117; W. Morris Croll, "Attic Prose: Lipsius, Montaigne, Bacon," *Ibid*., 92-103; Mack, 2011, 184.

[516] Sohm, 2001, 51 note 43.

[517] *Ibid*., 163 note 109. Boschini was discussing the light emanating from the infant Jesus in Francesco Bassano's Adoration of the Shepherds, Venice. Early Modern viewers might have had this experience of Rubens's paintings of Christ's torso, as in Fig.6 above.

rhetoricians, style could mean clarity because words convey truth and realism, yet style simultaneously meant complexity, because the reality signified by words was understood to be inherently complex.[518] Style had to be an equal partner to complex reality in order to serve meaning, to elucidate the truth, to intelligently define, and to communicate to the audience. The complicated *macchia* that make up Rubens's abundant style were at the crux of his skillful engagement with the subject matter, theory, and processes of painting. In his art, *macchia* served, like *sententia*, as part of the *ornatus* of his classically inspired method to create what De Piles termed the "affective aspects" of a work.[519]

[518] Long, 1971, 98.
[519] Puttfarken, 1985, 59-60.

Chapter Three.
Stoic Physics, Rubens's Interconnected Style, and Vitalism in Nature

I. Chapter Introduction

This chapter investigates Rubens's stylistic debt to Stoic natural philosophy, and finds similarities with it in his treatment of interconnectedness. I argue that the fundamental Stoic concepts of dynamism, mixture, and radical connectedness can be seen in Rubens's paintings, characterized by visual interrelatedness and dynamic movement. Much of Rubens's late work has these qualities, including the example of visual connectedness presented by the following painting.

Figure 14. Rubens, Sunset Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock, c.1638.

In Rubens's Sunset Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock, diagonal lines of light and dark intersect in the large expanse of fields and waterways before a Brabantine farm, complete with a gabled manor house with onion-domed tower.[520]

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[520] Rubens, Sunset Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock, c.1638. National Gallery, London. oil on oak, 49.4x83.5 cm. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre*, 1886-1892, Vol.4,

The scene is made up of visual sections that fit together, sections of land separated by water, and sections of light and dark that circumscribe each other. The earth is made up of three large areas that are roughly triangular. The triangular patch of high ground on the left is contained by lines of light, and by water that reflects the light of the sky. In the upper section is an area of land that is wider on the right in the shape of the manor and low hill, and that tapers off toward the left, where reflected light turns increasingly to shade. Finally, a broad triangle is based in the foreground, where it is populated by moving creatures, the pipe-playing shepherd and his dog, and the sheep that graze in the last remnants of the day's warmth. Interconnections are also visible in the sky, in different areas of light and dark, and in colour that contrasts with shades of grey, dispersing the light that falls onto the landscape.

Early Modern viewers commented on Rubens's facility in landscape painting, where diverse aspects are visually harmonized into a unified whole. Roger De Piles wrote "No-one ever painted better landscapes than he."[521] My thesis is that the interconnectedness in Rubens's *oeuvre* relates to Stoic concepts about energized,

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378-379. Painted on four panels fitted together, it was in Rubens's estate when he died. In the seventeenth century it was copied in painting and in engravings. Wolfgang Adler, *CRLB*, Part XVII, *Landscapes and Hunting Scenes*, Vol. I, London and New York: Harvey Miller, and Oxford University Press, 1982, 181; It relates to an oil sketch that is probably preparatory, Landscape with Farm Builidings at Sunset, c.1638, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Brown, 1996, 82-83, 121; and see Christopher Brown and Anthony Reeve, "Appendix. The Structure of Rubens's Landscapes," in Brown, 1996, 116-121; Christopher Brown, "The Construction and Development of Rubens's Landscapes: Reflections on the London Exhibition," in Hans Vlieghe, Arnout Balis, and Carl Van de Velde, eds., *Concept, Design, and Execution in Flemish Painting (1550-1700)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000, 267-278.

[521] De Piles, 1681; Adler, 1985, 323; In 1649 Francisco Pacheco noted that "the Flemish are much inclined" to landscape painting and that this was served by the Flemish excellence in oil painting. Pacheco, "The Art of Painting," in C. Harrison, P. Wood, and J. Gaiger, eds., *Art in Theory 1648-1815. An Anthology of Changing Ideas*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000, (260-270), 265; For scholarship on Rubens's landscapes, see pages 60-61, above; For the idea of nature-sensibility in pictorial landscape, see Chris Fitter, "The Values of Landskip: An Historical Outline in the Ancient World," *Poetry, Space, Landscape. Toward a New Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 25-52.

vivified matter that constantly mixes and coheres. Central to the Stoic understanding of nature was their belief in the interconnectedness among all matter and energy that constantly moves and re-forms, and renders any part of nature in contact with all of nature.[522] Rubens's landscapes have been called "vigorous, optimistic, exciting, and among the most Baroque."[523] In this chapter I consider how Rubens's vigorous and "most Baroque" style could be supported by an understanding of the optimistic Stoic notion of interconnected reality that was popularized by the classical Stoics and was current in Rubens's milieu, as I will outline below. The majority of Rubens's landscapes, and the ones that I discuss here, are from 1630-1640, when Rubens's artistic style and practice, as well as his knowledge of Stoic philosophy, were highly developed. Because of Rubens's Flemish Neo-Stoic circle and his training in Italy he was part of an artistic vanguard that combined aspects of the Flemish and Italian painting traditions with modern artistic methods and a proto-scientific inquiry into nature. These newly available ideas influenced Rubens's knowledge of nature, partly transmitted to him through his scholarly networks and circles of friends who were at the forefront of proto-scientific thought and observation of the natural world.[524]

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[522] Sambursky discusses the centrality to Stoic physics of the continuum theory. Sambursky, 1959, vii; See also Richard Sorabji, *Time, Creation, and the Continuum. Theories in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. London: Duckworth, 1983; Verbeke, 1991, 18-19.

[523] It was unusual for a painter of landscapes to have had such extensive experience in painting religious and classical subjects, allegories, portraiture, and the expressive figure. Mainstone, 1981, 66-68.

[524] Rubens, letter to Junius, Antwerp, August 1, 1637, in Magurn, ed., 406; Gabrieli, 597; Rooses, 1904, 95-96; Huemer, 1983; Huemer, 1996, xviii; Morford, 1991, 187; Balis, 2012, 124; David Freedberg, *The Eye of the Lynx: Galileo, His Friends, and the Beginning of Modern Natural History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002; J.L. Pearl, "The Role of Scientific Correspondence in the Exchange of Scientific Information in Early Modern France," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*," Vol.8, No.2, May, 1984, 106-113; Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc's Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century*. London and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000; Peter N. Miller, *Peiresc's Mediterranean World*. London and Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015.

Two of the most important tenets of the Stoic definition of nature that influenced the entire Stoic unitary philosophy are: that all of reality is an interconnected mixture of matter in motion; and that the ever-moving processes of the world can be perceived – that we can see, understand, and learn from the system in which we live. In the Rubens paintings that I discuss in this chapter, no object or area stands separated and unconnected. Instead, the land and water delimit each other, the sky and earth influence each other, and the living creatures are visually related to the setting as they experience the effects of the environment. The Stoics' commitment to realism and their theory of ever-present tensional motion led them to a conception of dynamism in which every material body represented its spatial and energetic relationship to other bodies. Every visible thing was both its real physical existence and also its unseen relatedness to other forces. The Stoics referred to nature as the All, the universe, the world, or the cosmos.[525] They defined it as a sophisticated system that was characterized by material coherence. Chrysippus explained that in a ceaseless process of mixture and remixture, the *pneuma* acted both as a force of cohesion and as the determiner of creatures' and objects' qualities and forms.[526] As I will discuss

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[525] To the Stoics "the world" or "the whole" meant the cosmos or the universe, while "the All" meant the cosmos plus an infinite void that surounded it. SVF II.522-525, cited at Rubarth, 1997, 9; Sambursky, 1959, 114; The Stoic definition of the cosmos followed Pythagoras. Saunders writes that Lipsius thought of the Stoic void as the receptacle of the world. Lipsius cited Diogenes Laertius to explain that by cosmos the Stoics meant: God; the orderly arrangement of the heavenly bodies; and the whole of God plus Matter. The cosmos was finite and the substance of the cosmos contained no voids whatsoever, and was entirely corporeal. Saunders, 186; Christensen, 9; Colish, 1985, Vol.I, 25; For a Stoic definition of the cosmos, see, for example, David Furley, "Cosmology," in K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld, and M. Schofield, eds., *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, (412-451), 433.

[526] Chrysippus, cited at Hunt, 40. This is an example of a Stoic fragment being preserved in the writing of a critic. Plutarch, *De Stoic. repugn*. 1054 f, quoted in Sambursky, 1959, 114; Samuel Sambursky, "The World of the Continuum," *The Physical World of the Greeks*. Merton Dagut, trans. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956, 132-157; Long, 2012, 468.

further below, the Stoic *continuum*, or *pneuma*, fills and joins all objects; connects to the human, in body, soul, and mind; and makes nature alive, functioning as fields of energy that vitalize the world and give rise to complex cause/effect relationships. The *pneuma*, acting within and among elements, allows for mixture and what we would call chemical reaction, but it also creates connections that allow for stability and for the existence of bodies.[527] This idea of the cohesive property of the *pneuma* became a cornerstone of the Stoic theory that nature is constantly dynamic.[528] They explained that nature was constantly in flux; yet it elastically cohered. I see in Rubens's paintings this Stoic definition of dynamic connectedness.

My current chapter investigates how Stoic natural philosophy might have influenced Rubens's style, and I find relevant the Stoic vision of a unified, complex, living world. For the classical Stoics, the cosmos was not something that was in principle beyond human experience: the reality of the cosmos was as a person experiences it, in constant flux and motion.[529] They conceived of the world that we

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[527] Lipsius discussed the relevance of the *continuum* in Seneca's treatment of Stoic physics, saying that "The question was, as the Stoics maintain, the matter of things is continuous and is capable of change throughout." Lipsius, *Physiologia*, ii.2 (IV, 899-900) quoting Seneca, *De otio*, 32; Saunders, 169. Lipsius upheld the Stoic view that all space was occupied by matter, which was completely continuous. Sambursky explains that to the Stoics "the cosmic scene of material events, including conglomerate matter as well as space between bodies, is made up of a continuous whole." Sambursky, 1959, 1; Achilles Tatius explained the apparent permanence of physical bodies in terms of the *pneuma* in them. Achilles Tatius, in *SVF*, II, 368, quoted at Hunt, 41.

[528] The property attributed to the *pneuma* of producing coherence can be traced back to pre-Socratic sources, and Aristotle had used the term to express continuity in a geometrical sense. The Stoic ideas about mixture can be traced back to the theory of total mixture of Anaxagoras, the dynamic function of air and fire to Diogenes of Apollonia and Heraclitus. Sambursky writes that the study of the development of physical concepts in ancient Greece illustrates the biological origin of some of the Stoics' physics notions. Sambursky, 1959, ix, 1; Anthony A. Long, "Heraclitus and Stoicism," *Philosophia*. Vol.5-6, 1975-1976, 133-156.

[529] Christensen, 14; David Sedley, "Marcus Aurelius on Physics," in Marcel Van Ackeren, ed., *A Companion to Marcus Aurelius*. Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012, (396-407), 399-401.

inhabit as alive, like a body with a soul. In Stoic philosophy, matter as well as many forces now often considered immaterial were conceived of as participating in the material nature of reality. For example, Seneca discussed the human passions, the planetary orbits, and the tides in interchangeable terms, and as causally interrelated.[530] Zeno emphasized that the universe is a living organism with a directing force. It would be accurate to characterize Stoic physics as vitalism rather than materialism, because the Stoics so emphasized the living forces in nature.[531] One of the basic premises of modern science is that the natural world is characterized simultaneously by both relative predictability and constant variation, a central tenet of Stoic materialism-vitalism. It is important to note that it follows from this theory that nature is closely tied to meaning, and to human purposes and experiences. Human sensory experience of the world was not negative in the Stoic conception, and perception of the reality of the world could lead to awareness and wisdom. The Stoics believed that the cosmos would always be formed to be beautiful, by which they meant that it constituted an environment in which the sage could attain wisdom.

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[530] C.J. Herington, "Senecan Tragedy," *Arion*. Vol.5, 1966, (422-471), 433; Rosenmeyer, 1989, 109; on the state of the research on Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones*, see Francesca Romana Berno, "Exploring Experiences: Seneca's Scientific Works," in Shadi Bartsch and Alessandro Schiesaro, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Seneca*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 82-92.
[531] Hunt, x, 26; Christensen, 14; Colish, 1985, Vol.I, 23.

I. A. Early Modern Interest in Stoic Physics

In this chapter I suggest that the classical Stoic definition of nature as vivified, life-giving, and creative has a visual counterpart in the interconnectedness apparent in Rubens's compositions and brushwork. Stoic theories of nature were re-popularized in the Early Modern period and they affected early seventeenth-century scientific thought. I contend that they also influenced Rubens's treatment of the material world as one interconnected whole.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, classical Stoic physics entered mainstream thought through the influence of classical sources, Early Modern translations of classical texts, and the classical ideas and vocabulary that shaped the expression of Early Modern ideas. Erasmus and Lipsius both undertook new editions of Seneca's philosophy of nature. Erasmus worked on his between 1467 and 1536. Lipsius defined his NeoStoic concept of nature in his *Physiologiae stoicorum libri tres* of 1604, and the following year his new edition of Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones*, which was in Rubens's library, provided Early Modern natural philosophers with what Barker and Goldstein describe as "an authoritative edition of an ancient source directly relevant to ongoing disputes in physics and astronomy."[532]

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[532] Barker and Goldstein, 155; Lipsius died before completing the series with a third volume in which he intended to present an ethical synthesis of his publications. Saunders, 117; Huemer discusses the close ties between Lipsius and Italian scientists and demonstrates that Rubens was interested in and aware of Early Modern physics. Huemer, 1996, 82; Also see footnote 524 on page 194, above; As Inwood notes: Many of Seneca's works "were highly influential in the Early Modern period. (…) His works form the earliest corpus of Stoic writing that has survived to the modern era." Brad Inwood, "Stoicism," in Donald M. Borchert, ed., *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. New York and London: Thomas Gale, 2006, (253-258), 254; For Rubens's access to Seneca see De Landtsheer, 1994, De Landtsheer, 1999, De Landtsheer, 2004, and De Landtsheer, 2013; Plantin-Moretus Museum document number R26.4; and Arents, 2001, M3, S249, 81, 128-130, 203-204.

Even when early seventeenth-century philosophers of nature were not NeoStoic, their texts nevertheless sometimes show a knowledge of classical Stoic theory and Stoic-derived concepts in such topics as: astrological influences; cyclical regeneration; *pneuma* as the substance of the heavens; and the connectedness that caused planetary motion.[533] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Stoic explanations of the universe were repopularized, and some of these have had a lasting impact on our understanding of the natural world.[534] Barker and Goldstein trace vocabulary and concepts to decipher threads of classical Stoic influence in Early Modern natural philosophy.[535] Dobbs gives the example of this influence in the Early Modern understanding of the *pneuma*, a subject I discuss below. Dobbs writes,

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[533] Edward Grant, "The New Natural Philosophy of the Seventeenth Century," *A History of Natural Philosophy From the Ancient World to the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, (278-302), 324; Barker, 1991, 147; Michael Edwards, "Intellectual Culture," in Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen, and Mary Laven, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013, 301-317 (302); Tom Sorrel, ed., *The Rise of Modern Philosophy: The Tensions between the New and Traditional Philosophies from Machiavelli to Leibniz*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993; On the debt of late seventeenth-century authors to "nonmechanist predecessors," see Dennis Des Chene, "From Natural Philosophy to Natural Science," in Donald Rutherford, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 67-94.

[534] Grant argues: "Greek works previously ignored or unknown were translated into Latin and vernacular languages and began to have an impact. Soon rival philosophies emerged." Grant, 2007, 274; Barker and Goldstein argue that a resurgent appreciation for Stoic physics can explain the Early Modern departure from both Aristotelian philosophy and from the Epicurean idea that physical processes result from the accidental irregular motion of atoms. Barker and Goldstein, 150, 160; An anti-Aristotelian tone can be seen, for example, in the title of the early seventeenth-century French medical doctor Sébastian Basson's 1621 publication, *Twelve Books of Natural Philosophy Against Aristotle, in which the Hidden Ancient Physiology is Restored and Aristotle's Errors are Refuted with Sound Reasons*. Geneva, 1621; Barker, 1991, 143.

[535] Barker and Goldstein write that most current writers on Early Modern science have oversimplified the process of classical influences, crediting Stoicism as an influence only before 1600. They posit that this error is due in part to an incorrect assumption that Stoic plenum theory could not coexist with Epicurean atom theory, and they give the example of Basson who believed in atomism but incorporated many theories and terms from Stoic physics. On Stoic concepts in Galen and Basson, see Barker and Goldstein, 154; for Basson and Chassinus as conduits between Stoicism and Early

> The original writings of the Stoics were mostly lost but not before ideas of *pneuma* and *spiritus* came to pervade medical doctrine, alchemical theory, and indeed the general culture of late antiquity with form-giving spirits, or souls, and active, guiding, vital principles. Alchemy, in particular, carried much Stoicism into the seventeenth century.[536]

There is evidence that late-sixteenth-century natural philosophers understood cosmology and the substance of the heavens in ways that are fundamentally connected with Stoic physics. According to Barker, Stoic philosophical contributions to Early Modern science have been almost entirely ignored, yet there are "clear indications of Stoic influence in a variety of scientific contexts during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."[537]

Barker's thesis is that by the late sixteenth century, when Stoic ideas were used as alternatives to Aristotelian cosmology, they were essentially common

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Modern thought, see Barker and Goldstein, 148, and Barker, 1991, 153; B.J.T. Dobbs, "Newton and Stoicism," *The Southern Journal of Philosophy*. Vol.23, Spring, 1985, 109-123; R.J. Hankinson, "Galen and the Logic of Relations," in Lawrence P. Schrenk, ed., *Aristotle in Late Antiquity*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1994, (57-75), 67; On Early Modern confluences of belief in multiple classical sources, see Alan Gabbey, "New Doctrines of Motion," in *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*. Daniel Garber and Michael Ayers, eds., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, 649-679; Classical philosophy itself had involved a complex blend of influences that were then transferred to Early Modern editions of classical texts. See, for example, John Sellars, "Seneca's Philosophical Predecessors and Contemporaries," in G. Damschen and A. Heil, eds., *Brill's Companion to Seneca, Philosopher and Dramatist*. Leiden: Brill, 2014, 97-112; On pluralism in Lipsius, see Bottin, Malusa, *et al*. "Justus Lipsius," (124-128), 125.

[536] Dobbs, 1991, 224-225, 237.

[537] Barker, 1991, 135, 150-151; In tracing the reception of Seneca, one example that historians of science offer is the "jumping goat" thesis. Seneca had described a meteor shower as being like a goat quickly jumping, and the term was used in a fourteenth-century text that was read into the seventeenth century. Konrad of Megenberg (1309-1374) was a Catholic scholar born in Bavaria and educated at the University of Paris, where he received a Master of Arts. He wrote *The Book of Nature* and *From the Fevers in the Air*, which contains his expression jumping goat. Rudolf Simek, *Heaven and Earth in the Middle Ages. The Physical World Before Columbus*. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer Ltd., 1992, 1996, 112; Umberto Dall'Olmo, "Latin Terminology Relating to Aurorae, Comets, Meteors, and Novae," *Journal for the History of Astronomy*. Vol.10, 1979, 10-27.

knowledge, and "so well known that they did not require a label."[538] Barker, too, cites the case of Stoic theories of the *pneuma* which influenced classical, medieval, and seventeenth-century notions of nature, although the Stoic influence in the seventeenth century has been underrepresented in the scholarship. For example, Barker demonstrates that the writing of Brahe, Bellarmine, and Kepler shows that some classical Stoic notions and terms were well known in learned scientific circles and were employed for communicating Early Modern ideas.[539] As he outlines, in the sixteenth century, Bellarmine and Brahe had responded to the breakdown of Aristotelian cosmology by using a Stoic model to argue that planets were not fixed but that they moved through aether like birds move through the air. Later when Basson argued against this birds in air thesis and revised it, this showed a *Stoic* response to an earlier *Stoic* response. Barker offers this as evidence that "by the beginning of the seventeenth century, Stoic natural philosophy was so well assimilated that disputes had become possible about questions internal to the position."[540] He also gives the example of Kepler who discussed his *virtus motrix* (solar force) in terms of Stoic concepts including a celestial substance that is a

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[538] Barker, 1991, 147; For example, Annalisa Ceron's "Leon Battista Alberti's Care of the Self as Medicine of the Mind," in Sorana Corneanu, ed., *The Care of the Self in Early Modern Philosophy and Science. Journal of Early Modern Studies*. Vol.4, Issue 2, Fall, 2015, discusses the response of Italian author and painter Alberti (1404-1472) to Seneca; On Seneca's reception into the Middle Ages, at first through the Church Fathers, see Colish, 1985, Vol.I, 17-19.

[539] Tycho Brahe, in the 1570s and 1590s, wrote about stars and meteorology in terms that are conventional in Stoic physics. Barker, 1991, 146-147, 150-151; Grant writes: "Numerous Jesuit natural philosophers adopted Tycho Brahe's geoheliocentric system in which the earth remained at the centre of the cosmos ..." Grant, 2007, 275; Peter Barker and Roger Ariew, eds., "Introduction," *Revolution and Continuity. Essays in the History and Philosophy of Early Modern Science*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1991, (1-19), 8-10; Marie Boas, *The Scientific Renaissance, 1450-1630*. London: Collins, 1962, 109; Alfonso Ingegno, "The New Philosophy of Nature," in C.B. Schmitt, Q. Skinner, E. Kessler, and J. Kraye, eds., *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, 236-263.

[540] Barker, 1991, 152.

variation of the Stoic *pneuma*.[541] Kepler's 1596 and 1621 publications show that he had read Seneca in the time between them, in Lipsius's 1605 edition of Seneca. By the time Kepler's second edition of *Mysterium Cosmographicum* was published in 1621, he was using the Latin term *aer*, the word for *pneuma* most frequently used by Seneca, and he now described the *pneuma* in ways that are all characteristic of Stoic theory, including that it penetrated "into the inner parts of bodies" and that it was "responsible for the motion of the heavenly bodies."[542]

Rubens and other Early Modern readers could also gain knowledge of the major concepts of Stoic physics through non-scientific literature. It was partly through the popularity of Stoic ethics and rhetoric that Stoic physics was transmitted to seventeenth-century readers, and consequently created a revival of interest in Stoic physics.[543] Barker demonstrates that Stoic philosophy re-entered European mainstream thought in literary contexts, and then was applied to science, so that by the end of the sixteenth century, Stoic physics was hidden in plain view, and

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[541] Johannis Kepler, *Mysterium cosmographicum*, 1596, in *Johannis Kepleri astronomi Opera omnia*. C. Frisch, ed., 8 Vols., Frankfurt: Heyder and Zimmer, 1858; Barker, 1991, 147-148.

[542] Kepler, 1621, 167 quoted in Barker, 1991, 147-150, 155, 162; Barker and Goldstein argue that Kepler's use of the well-known phrase from Paul's response to the Stoics and Epicureans, the only place in the New Testament where the Stoics are explicitly named, shows that Kepler had the Stoics in mind when writing the above passage about the *pneuma*. Paul's words were: "(the air) in which we live, move, and have our being." Acts 17:28, quoted in Barker and Goldstein, 162, note 39; Kepler, 1621, 60-61, note 4, in Barker and Goldstein, 148, 155; Sambursky, 1959, 121; Dobbs, 1991, 234; Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones*, II. 2.1ff, II.6.6, II.10.1 in Hahm, 129.

[543] Ross Dealy, *The Stoic Origins of Erasmus' Philosophy of Christ*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017; J. Annas, "Marcus Aurelius' Ethics and Its Background," *Rhizai*. Vol.2, 2004, 103-119; An example is Descartes whose awareness of Stoic *ethical* writing exposed him to Stoic *physics*. Descartes's correspondence in the 1640s illustrates a debt to discussions on Stoicism in Galen and in Lipsius's new edition of Seneca. For example, the Cartesian term *bona mens* derives from Seneca, by way of Lipsius's *Manuductio*. Barker and Goldstein, 148, 155-156; See also J.R. Milton, "Laws of Nature," in Daniel Garber and Michael Ayers, eds., *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, (680-701), 681.

functioned as common knowledge. He writes that Stoic theories were applied to natural philosophy "long after they had become commonplaces in educated general culture."[544]

In this chapter I investigate Stoic physics and the effect on Rubens's *oeuvre* of Stoic theories about the natural world. I argue that Rubens's treatment of objects as visually interlinked relates not only to the seventeenth-century art theoretical interest in the unified picture plane, but also to the Stoic understanding of natural flux and dynamism, concepts that inhered in Seneca's works and that were ubiquitous in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Flanders. I describe aspects of Stoic natural philosophy that could relate to Rubens's visual style, including dynamic change, mixture, and field theory. Fundamental to the Stoic conception of the world was that it was a unified *system*, that cause and effect were everpresent and extremely complex, and that every part of the system was subject to causality, change, and interconnectedness. These ideas are central to my investigation of similarities between Stoic physics and Rubens's style. I compare the sense of energy and reciprocal movement in Rubens's late paintings to Stoic notions of vivified matter and the continuum that forever unites body and soul.

[544] Cicero was a transmitter of some Stoic physics, even though his writing was often sarcastic and negative toward Stoicisim. Barker, 1991, 143, 146; On Cicero, Lipsius had written "We speak in vain of wisdom if we have recourse to him for our judge." Lipsius, *Ad Lectorem*, 43; Cicero's *On the Nature of the Gods* can be linked to Stoic ideas in the work of Pena and Bellarmine. Peter Barker, "Jean Pena (1528-1558) and Stoic Physics in the Sixteenth Century," *Southern Journal of Philosophy*. Vol.23, Issue 5, 1985, 93-107; Leitizia A. Panizza, "Stoic Psychotherapy in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Petrarch's *De remediis*," in Margaret J. Osler, ed., *Atoms, Pneuma, and Tranquility. Epicurean and Stoic Themes in European Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 39-65; Donald Rutherford, "Innovaton and Orthodoxy in Early Modern Philosophy," in *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, (11-38), 19.

II. Rubens Painting the *Continuum*: "He was intense in his mixtures."

Bellori wrote about Rubens's ability to paint visual coherence: "He coloured from nature and was intense in his mixtures, making light radiate through contrast with forms in shadow."[545] Huemer noted the dynamic interconnectedness of Rubens's brushwork, and singled out a Stoic influence. In her words, "To revolutionary views of nature Rubens now added a dimension from Stoic ideas about the world: the Stoic *continuum* in which matter is charged with a vital force."[546] According to the Stoic continuum theory, matter is constantly mixing and remixing, and all matter continuously touches other matter, infinitely.[547] In many of Rubens's late paintings, complex brushwork displays this world of interconnection.

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[545] Bellori, 1672, 2010, 205.
[546] Huemer, 1996, xix; Sedley, 2012, 398; Long and Sedley, 1987, Vol.I, 297-304.
[547] According to Zeno's theory of cyclical regeneration, matter continually undergoes change without its quantity being diminished, and the solar system and earth that we experience is but one phase in a recurring, everlasting cycle. Hunt argues that this Stoic concept of the conservation of matter that is endlessly transforming was a forerunner of what is now called the Cyclic or Vacillating Universe Theory. He writes, "It is remarkable that Zeno without scientific knowledge and purely by speculation should have postulated assumptions necessary to support the Cyclic Theory which has become one of the three main explanations of the universe." Hunt, x; Furley, 447; Toulmin discusses Stoic theories of vivified matter in regard to the *pneuma* which he characterizes as an "integrative agency." He writes, "As in the Stoic theory, physicists today also consider matter essentially active rather than passive and explain its behaviour as the outcome of patterns of energy…" Stephen Toulmin, "Matter" in Daniel M. Borchert, ed., *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Vol.6, New York and London: Thomas Gale, 2006, (58-64), 59, 63.

Figure 15. Rubens, Landscape with a Wagon Fording a Stream, c.1635, oil on panel.

The interconnectedness of colour/light, and also seemingly of matter/energy, that exemplifies Rubens's style in the 1630s can be seen in the above painting.[548] Here, horizontal lines of paint take up almost half the surface, functioning to anchor the scene in the fertile earth. Overhead, the visible brushwork on the left implies a wide blue arch of sky that buttresses the foliage of the middleground. There, massive

[548] Rubens, Landscape with a Wagon Fording a Stream, c.1635, oil on panel, 49.5x54.7cm, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre*, 1886-1892, Vol.4, 303-304, 369-370; It is painted on a single oak panel, branded with the arms of Antwerp and stamped by the panelmaker Michiel Vriendt. It relates to a preparatory sketch in the National Gallery, London, and to Rubens's 1620 Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford (La Charrette Embourée), oil on canvas transferred from panel, 86x126.5cm, Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg. See also the drawing Two Wagons, Staatliche Museen, Berlin; Brown, 1996, 74-75, Figs. 44, 69, 70.

clumps of trees, painted in dark tones, rise up like extensions of the soil itself and shelter the human activity taking place in the foreground gulley. The sense of living existence embedded within the landscape is enhanced by the cawing birds that emerge from the evening cloud to settle in the branches above the human figure. The setting sun pours out onto the scene, creating areas of bright colour in contrast to the shadowed earth. Light hangs transparently in the faraway trees, reflects red and blue in the middleground leaves, and materializes as large dabs of yellow-white that are clustered in the dark branches. The scene is united by streaks of smokey colour drawn from an almost tangible sunset, layered across the fields, and enriching the varied colours of the soft earth.

When Bellori wrote that Rubens "maintained such unity that his figures seem executed with one dash of the brush," he was describing the practice of using brushwork that has a visually unifying effect to create relative clarity, an effect that came to be a defining feature of Rubens's style and of Baroque art.[549] In the Renaissance Alberti/Vasari tradition, unity, or *il tutto* had referred to the intelligibility, through coherence, of an *istoria*. Leonardo had also discussed *il tutto*. According to him, because painting allowed for the simultaneous apprehension of all the objects it contained, it could, better than poetry, achieve proportion. Leonardo wrote that in the visual arts, "the component parts are made to react simultaneously and can be seen at one and the same time both together and separately."[550]

[549] In this regard Bellori drew special attention to Rubens's Marie de Medici cycle for the Luxembourg gallery. Bellori, 1672, 2010, 205; Minor, 1999, 29; Rooses noted, about Landscape with a Wagon, that Rubens had painted the soil itself as if moving. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre*, 303-304.

[550] Leonardo wrote: The poet "is unable to give an equivalent of musical harmony, because it is beyond his power to say different things simultaneously as the painter does in his harmonious proportions …" Leonardo, *Notebooks*. I.A. Richter, ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, 198; Puttfarken, 1985, 102, 182.

Unity, highlighted by Bellori and other Early Modern art theorists, and central to Rubens's late paintings, was also a defining feature of the Stoic concept of the all-pervasive continuum, or *pneuma*. When Sambursky drew attention to the importance of classical Stoic theory to natural philosophy in the seventeenth century and later, he singled out the relevance of classical Stoic theories of the continuum: "In spite of the fragmentary nature of the relevant sources, the outlines of a deeply conceived and well-elaborated continuum theory applied to the physical world are clearly evident."[551] Diogenes Laertius had explained the Stoic notion that the cosmos was defined by the *continuum* of living matter: "They assert that in the world there is no empty space but it forms one united whole."[552] The classical Stoics had described the cosmos as involved in a constant flow and fusion that extended from vast, over-arching forces to the smallest chemical processes.[553]

The Stoics theorized about how the *pneuma* extended throughout the cosmos, supporting the stability of the system that was characterized by continuous motion

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[551] This understanding of the *continuum* remains relevant, according to Sambursky, 1959, vii, ix; However, for a contrasting view see P. Diamadopoulos, "Review of Sambursky, *Physics of the Stoics*," *The Philosophical Review*. Vol.70, No.2, April, 1961, 257-259, which, although supporting Sambursky's attempt to reconstruct Stoic physics, raises the important problems of complicated classical philosophical influence, and the ambiguity of classical Greek terms; Colish, 1985, Vol.I, 23; Furley, 433; David Sedley, "Hellenistic Physics and Metaphysics," in K. Algra, J. Barnes, J. Mansfeld, and M. Schofield, eds., *The Cambridge History of Hellenistic Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, (355-411), 390, 392, 394.

[552] Diogenes Laertius, VII, 140, quoted at Hunt, 46; Dobbs, 1991, 236; The *continuum* is another example of the applicability of classical Stoic physics to modern science: according to Sambursky, the Stoic belief, in contrast to the Aristotelian, that beyond the finite cosmos there was infinity, raises issues that are "similar to those confronting comologists of the modern era." Sambursky, 1959, 108.

[553] The earliest Stoics, Zeno and Chrysippus, had developed the main body of Stoic *continuum* theory by the fourth and third centuries BCE, building on the Heraclitian interest in unifying contrasts. Huemer, 1996, xix; Hunt, 20; For Heraclitus's influence on the Stoics, see Long, 1974, 131, 145-146.

and change.[554] The *pneuma*, being continuous, was inherently unifying. Verbs usually associated with the movement of the *pneuma* included pervade and extend or stretch.[555] According to the Stoics, the *pneuma* cohered, and it provided the stability that was necessary for the occurrence of change. In the Stoic *continuum* theory, the world was made up of one substance, existing in many forms, in a continuous process of mixing and remixing into ever-changing patterns and objects.[556]

The Stoic concept of the *pneuma* binding all matter and energy is comparable to the art theory and practice of creating unity that allows an artwork to function and signify. As I describe below, Rubens's late landscapes are particularly exemplary of a *continuum* of energized material where objects and energy fields ceaselessly mingle and interrelate.

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[554] As Sambursky discusses, Zeno and Chyrsippos had spoken of the related "gravitationally neutral character of air and fire" which both "participate in the cosmic tendency towards the centre, and at the same time stretch from there to the extreme regions." Sambursky, 1959, 7; Furley, 443-448.

[555] Alexander Aphrodisias, *De mixtura*, 216, 15; Alexander Aphrodisias, *Alexander of Aphrodisias on Stoic Physics: A Study of the 'De mixtione' with Preliminary Essays, Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Robert B. Todd, ed., Leiden: Brill, 1976; Stobaeus, *Eclogues*, I, 368, cited at Sambursky, 1959, 30; Gerard Verbeke, *L'Évolution de la doctrine du pneuma*. Louvain: Bibliothque de l'Institute supérior de Philosophie; and Paris: Descles de Brouwer, 1945.

[556] Christensen, 13; Sedley, 1999, 388-390; For oneness and the "whole" in Seneca, see Gareth D. Williams, "Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones*," in G. Damschen and A. Heil, eds., *Brill's Companion to Seneca, Philosopher and Dramatist*. Leiden: Brill, 2014, (181-190), 187; for *bel composto* see Williams, 2006, 182.

III. Stoic Nature: Constant Flux and Contact

The visual interconnectedness that Rubens painted would have been supported by Stoic notions of mixture, pervasive contact, and continuous flux. In this section of the chapter I explore the possible relevance, for the vitalism and cohesion evident in Rubens's style, of classical Stoic concepts of movement, dynamism, change, mixture, and contact.[557] In the seventeenth-century, Barker and Goldstein write, "Stoic physics was relevant, available, and actively used."[558] Classical Stoic philosophy of nature was available to Rubens in his Antwerp milieu and in his library, and I explore its relevance to his stylistics.

Sambursky argues that Stoic physics, "a highly original and consistent system," was integral to Early Modern scientific development.[559] It was under Stoic auspices that Early Modern philosophers rediscovered that the heavens are mutable, and that the earth and the heavens are connected by continuous space, that is essentially, they touch. Questions about how and where change occurred became of fundamental importance in Early Modern natural philosophy, and the phenomenon of change is central to both the Stoic concept of a dynamic universe, and to Rubens's

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[557] Early Stoic natural philosophy is particularly prone to being negatively recontextualized through its quotation by writers hostile to Stoicism. Michael White's approach to overcoming this problem is to anchor his exploration into concepts of Stoic physics in what he terms "prior commitments," by which he means the big ideas that provide the necessary philosophical foundation of other theory. Among many other key notions, he discusses vitalism, corporealism, and mathematical and non-mathematical investigation of causes. He rightly draws on Stoic ethical and logical theory to shed light on Stoic natural philosophy, and he reasserts the importance of remembering that the Stoics emphasized common sense. Michael White, "Stoic Natural Philosophy (Physics and Cosmology)," in Brad Inwood, ed., *Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 124-152.

[558] Barker and Goldstein, 148-150.

[559] Sambursky: "It is hardly possible to overrate the importance of the Stoic physical conceptions as the prototype of a mode of scientific approach to physical reality which <until Einstein> proved indispensable in every attempt to give a coherent interpretation of Nature." Sambursky, 1959, vii-viii. (My brackets.)

painting of the motion of the natural world. The Stoic theory of a complex, ever-mixing whole led to their dynamic conception of nature, in which the all-pervasive *pneuma* perpetually causes motion and allows for change to occur on earth and in the heavens.[560]

Early Modern scientists could observe change occuring in both the terrestrial and the celestial realms, for example when comets and meteors were seen in the sky, in contrast to the Aristotelian explanation that the earth and the heavens were separate spheres.[561] Stoicism offered Early Modern observers an explanation for this celestial activity: that the earth and heavens were connected; that forces acted on both spheres; and that energy, movement, and mixture were continuous.[562]

The Stoics thought of the earth, with the moon, sun, planets, and stars, as a combined system that interacted together, functioning like an island in the infinite void.[563] In Stoic physics, motion and stillness are signs of force. A novel Stoic

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[560] Barker and Goldstein, 152-153; John Sellars, "Stoic Physics," *Stoicism*. Berkeley, CA: University of Berkeley Press 2006, 81-106.

[561] In Aristotle's view the earth was made up of elements (earth, water, air, fire) in concentric spheres, like shells, around a core of earth. The heavens were a sphere outside of this, and beyond that, there was a sphere of fixed stars. Aristotle argued that change never occurred in the heavens, and that it only occurred on earth as a result of motion transmitted indirectly to the earth from a sphere around it. Barker and Goldstein, 151; Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543), "Dedication to Pope Paul III," *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (1543) *The Revolution of the Heavenly Bodies*, in Richard H. Popkin, ed., *The Philosophy of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. New York: The Free Press, 1966, 46-51; Alexander Jones, "The Stoics and the Astronomical Sciences," in Brad Inwood, ed., *Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 328-344; Edward Grant, *Much Ado about Nothing: Theories of Space and Vacuum from the Middle Ages to the Scientific Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

[562] A major Early Modern source of Stoic ideas on this was Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones*, Bk. VII. Barker and Goldstein, 152-153; Martin argues that this had direct relevance for the creation of Baroque style. He writes that from after 1600, artistic norms were affected by a new worldview in which the cosmos was pictured as "a vast, uniform system of interconnected parts." Martin, 66, 155.

[563] Colish, 1985, Vol.I, 25-26; Furley, 441-442; Nathan M. Powers, "Void and Space in Stoic Ontology," *Journal of History of Philosophy*. Vol.52, No.3, July, 2014, 411-432; Long and Sedley, 1987, Vol.I, 294-297.

concept was that stillness could be explained by equal and opposite forces, and they used this theory to replace classical beliefs in a static universe with the idea of symmetrical *forces* acting in a continuously connected universe.[564] The Stoic explanation of how the universe was arranged described forces acting for and against gravitation. In the first century, the Stoic Cleomedes authored *On the Circular Motion of the Celestial Bodies*, explaining the Stoic theory of the interconnected cosmos suspended within the infinite void that surrounded it, like a grain of wheat floating in the air.[565] Rubens's style was influenced by the understanding of nature as dynamically and intricately connected, an idea central to Stoic explanations of nature.

The design and brushwork in Rubens's late painting contains harmonized divergent movements, and it is this complicatedness that both unifies the form and engages the eye and the spirit of the viewer. According to Burckhardt:

> Only in Rubens do we find the richest symmetrical manipulation of a variety of elements of equal values, of equivalents, in the picture, combined with a most animated, or even agitated incident to produce an effect which triumphantly captivates both eye and mind.[566]

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[564] The Stoics showed that equal forces caused a cessation of motion through the example of a grain or a lentil that remained in mid-air when it was inside a full bladder of air. Sambursky, 1959, 7, 109; Stobaeus, *SVF*, I, 99, at Hunt, 56-57.
[565] Sambursky, 1959, 1, 110-111; Christensen, 33.
[566] Burckhardt, 65.

III. A. Movement, Dynamism, and Change

The continuous movement and change described in Stoic physics is evident in Rubens's late landscapes. Indeed, De Piles, on the authority of Rubens's paintings, wrote that objects and figures in landscapes are "usually in motion."[567] Franciscus Junius also listed movement as one of the five elements integral to painting. The others were history (or invention), proportion (or symmetry), colour (including *chiaroscuro*), and disposition.[568]

The following drawing affords a clear example of the perpetual, interconnected movement that became key to Rubens's work. Rubens's sketch of Saint Ignatius of Loyola in a landscape is a small, contained scene that provides a snapshot example of the movement that occurs on a vaster, more complex scale in Rubens's finished landscapes.[569] In this drawing, the saint kneels on a base of smooth rock whose surface is delineated through small visible strokes, and whose outlines are repeated into the distance. He makes a gesture of humility, with his hands crossed over his heart, and looks out of the shadow toward the light. The folds of his garment are depicted in patches of light/dark contrast that replicate the strong vertical lines of the tree near which he shelters. Behind the saint, the tree trunks pierce upwards in a shape reminiscent of Zeus's thunderbolt spear, swirling like smoke rising into cloud, or like the columns of the Temple of Solomon.

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[567] De Piles, "Of Landskips," (1699), 1744, 32; and De Piles, (1709) 1743, 59-60.
[568] Junius's five parts of painting: history (or invention); proportion; colour (including chiaroscuro); movement, and with it action and passion; and collocation, or the disposition of the whole work. Puttfarken, 2000, 196; Balis, 2013, 124; Nils Büttner, "Peter Paul Rubens und Franciscus Junius. *Aemulatio* in Praxis und Theorie," in J.D. Muller, F. Jonietz, *U. Pfisterer, and A.K. Bleuler*, eds., *Aemulatio: Kulturen des Wettstreits in Text und Bild (1450-1620)*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011, 319-367.
[569] Rubens, Saint Ignatius of Loyola in a Landscape at Night. Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, Drawing. This is a sketch for an engraving of the *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae* of 1609. Adler, 57-58, Fig. 37; Held, 1972, 8-9, 132. For paintings of Saint Ignatius by Rubens, see Rooses, *L'Oeuvre*, 1886-1892, Vol. III, 285-293.

Figure 16. Rubens, Saint Ignatius of Loyola in a Landscape at Night. 17th-C.

On the right, the dark branches in shadow contrast to the light toward which they reach. The foliage that frames the saint shudders in disparate directions as if reeling under a swirling wind, an action that is made visible in the nearby cloud. There is a strong sense of movement from the left to the right of the scene, as if, as in some of Rubens's finished landscapes, the light itself seems to generate and carry motion. Wind passes over the trees on the left, bending them towards the centre, and becomes complex and swirling in its effect on the vegetation toward the right. Saint Ignatius experiences this explosive force, kneeling on the support of the rock, with the

dynamic movement of air and light falling on his face, hands, and cloak. When Rubens drew the transformative moment of the saint, he depicted it as *pneuma*/soul movement.

What is relevant theoretically for Rubens's project and his way of painting subjects in motion, figures connected, and painted surfaces visually interacting, are the fundamental Stoic tenets that change occurs continuously, and that all change, be it observed or unobserved, is essentially motion in space.[570] Marcus Aurelius wrote, "Substance, like a river, is in continual flow."[571] When Rubens thought of nature, he thought of motion, a definitive part of the Stoics' definition of nature.[572] Rubens's treatment of water falling and mists rising gives shape to the Stoic emphasis on continuous motion, an emphasis influenced by Heraclitus's theory of flux. Christiansen explains this in language that could describe the intermixing in Rubens's treatment of the landscape:

> The traditional Heraclitean image of the way upwards and downwards, of Fire ascending towards the ethereal regions to be carried along in the rotation of the Heavens, and then descending towards the centre to exert its formative influence again, is interpreted by the Stoics as representing the tensional motions of the universal tensional field.[573]

As the Stoics conceived of the universe, nothing is non-moving. All objects are infinitely divisible, and no matter how small an object is, it is always moving. In the continuum, there is no empty space in the entire world. When motion occurs, things change place.[574]

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[570] Christensen, 27; Sorabji, "Zeno's Paradoxes of Motion," 1983, 321-335.
[571] Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, 5.23, quoted at Sedley, 2012, 386, 401.
[572] Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones*, II.9.4; Barker and Goldstein, 152-153.
[573] Christensen, 35; Davidson, 86-87; Heraclitus's theory of the Harmony of Opposites explained that tension created by opposites produced apparent stability. Hunt, 28; Colish, 1985, Vol.I, 24; Sedley, 1999, 386.
[574] Christiansen, 28-30; Saunders, 186.

The natural tensional forces in the *pneuma*, or what the Stoics called *tonos*, render every element naturally mobile. Motion and *tonos* are inherent in nature, and the Stoic definition of *tonos* explains that each element has its own motion.[575] Because *tonos* is inherent in the *pneuma* and the *pneuma* is all-pervasive, all of matter is "connected by continuous forces, both in space and time."[576] What is especially relevant to Rubens's art is that the Stoics believed that all motion is complex. Rubens's landscapes make apparent that, because of the continuity of the universe, no region is characterized by only one type of movement.[577] This relates to the Stoic idea that all motion consists of other motions. The Stoics explain that every object can be considered a field that has motion within it, but it also continuously generates motion from it, motions that can in principle influence the entire universe.

[575] Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones*, Book 2, Chapter 6. Hahm, 153f; Tonos is ever present but it varies, and this creates changes within an organism and among all the material of the cosmos. Rosenmeyer, 1989, 103-104.
[576] Rosenmeyer, 1989, 103, citing Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones*, 2.6.2-4.
[577] Christensen, 28-32; On the Stoic "chain of causes" and on Alexander Aphrodisias discussing the Stoic "swarm of causes" see White, 2003, 138, 144.

III. B. Mixture, Field Theory, and Contact

In his landscapes, Rubens renders the sky, trees, wind, and sunshine as mixing together and cohering, in a way that calls to mind the principle of Stoic physics that every part of matter, however small, is connected with every other part.

Figure 17. Rubens, Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow. c.1635, oil on canvas.

Rubens's Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow depicts a mountain meadow with shepherd, shepherdesses and their flocks, and as the rain turns to sun, it provides a setting for a depiction of mixture.[578]

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[578] Rubens, Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow. c.1635, oil on canvas transferred from panel, 81x129 cm, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre*, 1886-1892, Vol.4, 372-373, Fig. 338. The painting relates to a now lost oil sketch, preserved in a Bolswert engraving, and to Rubens's figure studies. There are at least four anonymous copies painted after it, as well as a later version believed to be by Rubens, now in the Louvre. Adler, 131-135, Fig.113, Catalogue No. 39; Brown, 1996, 78, 81, Fig.74; Kleinert, Plate 20; Varshavskaia, M. Ia, *Rubens and the Flemish Baroque*, Hermitage, Leningrad, 1978, No. 45. Compare the moisture and light in the sky in Rubens, Landscape with Stormy Sky, 1635-1636, oil on oak, 29.7x42cm,

The landscape is laid out like a circle, with the lower three-quarters serving as a concave bowl that supports the arching rainbow above. In the foreground, trees at the edge of a forest provide shelter for a group of shepherds who stretch out on the earth amongst their flocks. The left side of the painting is made up of small hills that are made visible by the patches of sunlight that fall on them. In the centre of the painting is a crossing point, where a river or estuary flows under a bridge and past the horizontal line of a dirt road and a village. On the right of the village is a high pasture that sweeps up a steep mountain, the heights of which are obscured. Light from the sun, sitting low on the horizon but blurred by clouds, produces a full rainbow and reflects onto the trees and mountainside, and in the pooled water. As the detail below shows, the upper right corner of the landscape provides an exemplary vision of the mixing of air and light with water vapour, where a mass of airborne moisture clings to the mountainside. The rain that fills the sky and obliterates the mountain peaks is blown toward the sunshine, where warmth begins to turn it to mist.

In landscapes like this, we see the dynamic and perpetual nature of mixture within a system of coordinated, interacting phases. The dynamism of nature described by the Stoics was a swirling, changing mass of elements. Sambursky notes that in Stoic physics, the multiple changes in nature are integrated into "one natural coordinated entity."[579] Fire and air met with water and earth, affecting their upward and downward tendencies, so the elements, in constant motion, acted upon one another, bringing the principles that determine their existence into physical form. According to Stobaeus:

National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, a work that relates to an engraving by Schelte a Bolswert and to his Landscape with Storm, 1630-1635, Courtauld Institute, London.

[579] Sambursky, 1959, 114; Sedley, 2012, 398-399; Long and Sedley, 1987, Vol.I, 280; White, 2003, 135; Landscapes like this by Rubens can also have symbolic relevance. See, for example, Rubens, Home From the Harvest, 1636, oil on panel, Wallace Collection, London.

> Zeno teaches this explicitly: whenever there occurs a change from fire through air to water, part settles down and earth is formed: of the rest some remains as water: from the part which is vapourized comes air while from some of the air fire is kindled: mixture occurs through the transition of the elements into each other, when a body in entirety spreads through another in its whole extent.[580]

It was interpenetrating mixture that allowed for the dynamism of the universe as the Stoics defined it, because substances could repeatedly mix, react, and remix, and energies too connected, reacted, and varied.[581] According to Stoic theory, there were three types of structures, defined in terms of how their parts related, or mixed: discrete, contiguous, or unified. Discrete structures and contiguous structures have discernible parts, that is, elements that can exist on their own, following separation. Seneca explained that "Contiguous structures are composed of conjoined elements, like the links of a chain or the planks of a ship or the stones of a house."[582] Differentiated from this are the unified structures, for example stone, wood, or metal, which Stoics defined as "ruled by a single state."[583] The three relationships of bodies to one another were termed juxtaposition, mixture, or fusion; with mixture being the most important for the Stoic theory of matter. "Juxtaposition" meant that the properties of contiguous objects were essentially not modified by nearby objects. This was like granular mingling, mosaic-like, which the Stoics explained as like barley and wheat combined in the same container. At the other extreme was "fusion", in which the original component entities were lost, transformed into new ones. Between these

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[580] Stobaeus, *SVF*, I, 102, quoted in Hunt, 52, 57; Galen also described this Stoic theory. *SVF*, II, 405; Christensen, 32; Dobbs, 1991, 236.

[581] Rosenmeyer calls Stoic natural philosophy a "radical understanding of life forces." What is radical, he explains, is their understanding that the varied mixtures animating the cosmos occurred "in a matrix that was both pure 'acting and being-acted-upon' and pure fluidity, extending from the elements to the smallest inanimate objects, bringing everything under the influence of the *pneuma*." Rosenmeyer, 1989, 102; Sedley, 1999, 390-391.

[582] Seneca, *Naturales Questiones*, II, 2, quoted at Sambursky, 1959, 8.

[583] Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*, IX, 78, quoted *Ibid.*, 9.

two was “mixture,” in which two or more substances homogeneously occupy the entire space yet the properties of the original entities are retained.[584]

This Stoic theory of mixture as complete interpenetration was novel. The Stoic conception of a mixture in which no component part was free from participation was a consequence of the Stoic idea of continuity.[585] It embodies the Stoic theory of the *continuum*, and exemplifies the union of individual parts that retain their individuality. The Stoics gave the examples of wine diluted in water, of frankincense smoke suspended in air, and of gold mixed into medication.[586] Alexander Aphrodisias explained that according to Chrysippus, “Certain mixtures occur when bodies are extended throughout the substance and properties of one another, while retaining their original substance and properties in the mixture.”[587] As Sambursky explains,

> Here a complete interpenetration of all the components takes place, and any volume of the mixture, down to the smallest parts, is jointly occupied by all the components in the same proportion, each component preserving its own properties under any circumstances. The properties are all preserved (and) the components can be separated out again from the mixture by physical (means). (…) From no point on would this homogeneity dissolve itself into a mosaic-like structure with bits of the components lying side by side.[588]

The Stoic theory of “cosmic cohesiveness” included simultaneously the cohesiveness that created some stability, and the motility and change of the mixing of elements and the interpenetrating of energies. The Stoics’ radical understanding of

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[584] Mixture was termed *krasis* for liquids, or *mixis* for non-liquids Sambursky says that today we would call this a solution or a suspension. *Ibid.*, 13; Christensen, 35; E. Lewis, “Diogenes Laertius and the Stoic Theory of Mixture,” *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*. Vol.35, 1988, 84-90; Long and Sedley, 1987, Vol.I, 290-294.
[585] Alexander Aphrodisias discussed the Stoic contribution in, *De mixtura*, 217, 13, in *Ibid.*, 14; On mixture and cosmic cohesion see White, 2003, 146.
[586] Chrysippus described the theory as: “A drop of wine penetrates the whole ocean.” In this kind of mixture there would be no drop of wine or water unaffected by the presence of the other substance. Chrysippus, *SVF* 2.479. Also *SVF* 2.473, 2.475, 2.480, cited at Rosenmeyer, 1989, 113.
[587] Alexander Aphrodisias, *SVF*, II, 473, quoted in Long, 1974, 159; Hunt, 53.
[588] Sambursky, 1959, 13, 15; White, 2003, 147-149.

continuity, in which mixture was conceived of as a complete interpenetration of components, can be understood as field theory.[589] Sambursky explains that the Stoics defined the function of the field of force as integral to the equilibrium and stability of the earth and the preservation of the entire cosmos.[590] This Stoic theory of the energy, principles, or processes that maintain forms and entities, may be seen as an early version of field theory. Sambursky demonstrates that by characterizing the *pneuma* as the generator of physical qualities, "the Stoics generalized their continuum theory into a field theory, with the *pneuma* as the physical field which is the carrier of all specific properties of material bodies."[591] Philosophers as far back as Hippocrates had considered the possibility of the total mixture of *qualities* but it was the Stoics who first related to physical *substance* the capacity for total mixture. This was because the Stoics related the material of the world and their corporeal qualities to the various possible states of the *pneuma*. As we have seen, the basic functions of the *pneuma* are the generation of the cohesion of matter and the fact of contact between all parts of

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[589] Christensen, 34; Saunders, 125; Sambursky, 1962, 104; It was through the union of active and passive that specific elements and objects came into existence. Rubarth, 1997, 106. Stoic theories of action by contact influenced the natural philosophy of the late-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, including the thought of Chassinus, Basson, and Descartes, and probably Kepler, Spinoza, and Newton, who opposed the idea of "action at a distance." Barker and Goldstein, 149; Dobbs, 1991, 238.

[590] Sambursky: In the Stoic's broad conception of the corporeal / energetic world, "the idea of interpenetration was linked up with the tensional qualities of the *pneuma* and thus, with the notion of the field of force." Sambursky, 1959, viii, 16; Hanby writes: "Despite significant differences, the similarities between Stoic field theory and the aether hypothesis of the seventeenth century are striking." Michael Hanby, *Augustine and Modernity*. London: Routledge, 2003, 236; Amos Funkenstein, *Theology and the Scientific Imagination from the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986, 37, 42-47, 63-68.

[591] Sambursky, 1959, 7, 109. Christensen believes that thinking of Stoic physics as field theory makes more coherent and intelligible the fragments of Stoic physics. Christensen, 30.

the cosmos. *Pneuma* had a two-way tensional motion, involving simultaneous equal and opposite, or compensatory, forces or movements.[592]

The Stoic term for this energetic interaction was "tension" (*tonos*). Tensional motion can be thought as oscillation, since *tonos* is the simultaneous existence of opposing motions.[593] Objects appear to be stable entities, but in fact are bundles of tensile energy, and their apparent permanence is caused by motion. In Christensen's words, "A tensional field is not only stable and patterned motions but patterned changes of patterns of motion."[594] Objects are inertial fields, and exist in relation to energetic motion. Objects in this sense are brought about by a stable balance of various types of motion, and oscillation among various forces. This balance of contractive and expansive motions, in many varying patterns is so subtle that it can give the impression of relative stability. Christensen explains that "What Aristotle would have conceived as *substances* are to the Stoics *tensional fields*. The world as a whole is such a tensional field, ordinary objects being, so to say, tensional sub-fields."[595] What is normally called a person, an animal, a plant, a stone, or other object, is understood in the Stoic view as a type of force field. As Rosenmeyer discusses, while Aristotle and the Epicureans had conceived of motion as a quantifiable process that occurred between fixed points, the Stoics, with their concept of tensional force or *tonos*, discovered advanced the idea of the force field when they

[592] Sambursky, 1959, 1; Rubarth, 1997, 133; Christensen: "For every differentiation D at region R, there will be some, however small, differentiation d-i at any region r-i in the world." Christensen, 37-38; Dobbs writes, "The most comprehensive answer to the problem of cohesion in antiquity had been given by the Stoics." Dobbs, 1991, 238.
[593] "Tension," was also called "containing" as the "basis of the relative independence of objects." *Ibid.*, 35. Chrysippus characterized tensional motion as simultaneous inward and outward movements, and considered it to be the force that ensured stability. Chrysippus in *SVF* 2.449, Long and Sedley, 1987, 280; Rosenmeyer, 1989, 103; Hahm, 166.
[594] Christensen, 66; Colish writes that it is the notion of the *pneuma* and the *tonos* that "give a dynamic force" to Stoic cosmology. Colish, 1985, Vol.I, 26.
[595] Christensen, 35; Colish, 1985, Vol.I, 27; Dobbs, 1991, 238.

argued that motion was built into the physical state itself.[596] The classical Stoic theories that relate to tensional motion and fields of force were available to Rubens, and their influence on Early Modern physics continued after his lifetime.[597]

Figure 18. Rubens, Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow, detail, 1635, oil on canvas.

A rainbow is a mixture in the Stoic definition described above, and in Rubens's painting this airborne moisture, infused with warm sunlight, seems to work on and shape the mountain itself. The dynamic interplay of elements that we see in Rubens's painting exemplifies Chrysippus's statement that "the parts of the cosmos

[596] Rosenmeyer, 1989, 103; for energy and wave theory see Sambursky, 1962, 116.
[597] Newton mistook Descartes's *conatus* for "centrifugal pressure" and thereby transformed *conatus* into "a proper concept of hydrostatic pressure." Barker and Goldstein, 158-159; Barker, 1991, 150; As Sambursky explained, "*Pneuma* is a tensile force, and it is in that aspect that the aether was described in the seventeenth century." He writes that because of the tension in the *pneuma*, "the *pneuma* becomes the first version of the aether with all the characteristic functions ascribed to it from the seventeenth century on." Sambursky, 1959, 5; Dobbs, 1991, 224.

(…) have a relationship to the whole and do not exist by themselves."[598] For the Stoics, this continuous mixing and remixing was how the cosmos was sustained: the cosmos was by definition an entity characterized by the mutual support of its parts and by the mutual relationship of the parts to the whole. Elements flowed and mixed and united, but the cosmos remained stable overall because of the interplay of elemental cohesion and motion. No motion could occur that was truly separate from other motion, and fields of motion abutted others, like the meeting of force fields.

Rosenmeyer argues that whereas the Aristotelian, Platonic, and Epicurean worlds have been called "fundamentally stereomorphic," that is, characterized by stasis, and made up of physical bodies that are permanent, this can be contrasted with the Stoic understanding of the cosmos as "one of dynamic tension, fluid, soft, a biological and chemical field."[599] The relative stability that we perceive in the world is never static, according to the Stoics, but is in constant flux. Fluctuation is a continuous flow of *pneuma* back and forth. Paradoxically, an object's cohesion and stability actually depend on the fluctuation of internal motion.[600]

Indeed, in this view, mixture must be seen as a kind of relation. Total mixture is a symmetrical relation, so mixture as the Stoics defined it, could be considered mutual cause. According to Sambursky, this was a unique idea: "The Stoics, for the first time in Greek science, introduced the symmetrical concept of interaction between members of certain classes or structures."[601] Sambursky explains that the Stoic theory

[598] Chrysippus, *On Motion*, quoted in Rosenmeyer, 1989, 101; *SVF*, 2.550.
[599] Philo (the Stoicizing) said that the structure of inorganic matter is a bond, not unbreakable, but hard to dissolve. *Ibid*., 100, 116.
[600] Rubarth, 1997, 129.
[601] Sambursky, 1959, 4, 81; R. Salles, *God and Cosmos in Stoicism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, cxxvii, cvii, xvii, and 95 on mutual interconnection; Susanne Bobzien, "Chrysippus' Theory of Causes," in Katerina Ierodiakonou, ed., *Topics in Stoic Philosophy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001, (196-242), 230; Frede, "The Original Notion of Cause," 125-150.

of the cohesive force that stops elements from permanently disintegrating transformed the definition of mixture, and that every phenomenological theory of continuity argues in the same way even today. The classical Stoics believed that there was no absolute "lightness" that could be attributed to elements, but that objects were only light in relation to what was heavy. They theorized gravity as a force that contributed to the mixing of elements, as air and fire spiralled outward, meeting the heavier earth and water that were moving inward.[602] Water and earth were heavy so water related to and stayed with the earth. Air and fire were not heavy so air related to and behaved like fire, being able to rise away from the earth and to float. According to Chrysippus, "Fire is non-heavy and rises, and the same applies to air, so that water has to be assigned rather to earth and air to fire."[603] Arios Didymos commented on Zeno's theory:

> Not all bodies have gravity, for air and fire are non-heavy. These spread over the centre of the whole sphere of the cosmos and bring about the union with its periphery. By their nature they frequent the upper parts because they have no share in gravity. Zeno says likewise that the cosmos has no gravity because it is all composed of heavy elements and non-heavy elements.[604]

Rubens's late landscapes paint a picture of an intermixing world where the *pneuma* coheres and fluctuates, where elements are defined in relation to each other, and where constant change is an aspect of stability itself.

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[602] Chryssipus: "Air in itself possesses neither gravity nor lightness." Chrysippus quoted in Sambursky, 1959, 6; Dobbs argues that the Stoic concept of gravity was Platonized by Lipsius, Newton, and others. Dobbs writes, "The conceptulazation of gravity as active principle, as subsumed by the literal omnipresence of God, as spiritual force binding all together, was to serve Newton for many years. Stoic the idea was, certainly, but Newton used it in its Platonizing version, in which the deity was immaterial, noncorporeal, yet all-pervasive." Dobbs, 1991, 237.

[603] Chrysippos's *On Motion* and *Physical Art* both describe air and fire as "non-heavy." Sambursky, 1959, 6.

[604] Arios Didymos, quoted in *Ibid.*, 6.

IV. Nature Alive

The harmony that can be observed in nature became integral to both Rubens's practice and to the art theory that explained his *oeuvre*. In Rubens's work, each form is simultaneously created by and limited by neighbouring forms and related pictorial qualities. The artist makes every form and object subordinate to the overall unity of the painting, and each form makes sense only in harmony with related forms. De Piles argued that an artist must arrange the forms that make up a painting so that they function together and are not dissonant.[605] Rubens's style treats objects as visually interrelated and harmonized, but this also relates to aspects of Stoic natural philosophy. I suggest that Rubens's visually harmonized and diffusely energized treatment of the landscape represents the aliveness of nature as the classical Stoics and Lipsius understood it. The Stoics saw the world as functioning harmoniously like a body of interdependent parts, and as a living organism with a life force and sentience. The Stoics explained that the parts of the world were sympathetic, and worked together as did the unified, interdependent parts of a body.[606] In seventeenth-century Europe, the Stoics were known for having described natural harmony as being like the parts of the body working together. For example, in 1659 Henry More wrote about unity and sympathy in these terms: "that Magick Sympathy that is seated in the Unity of the Spirit of the World. … The Universe in some sense being, as the Stoicks

[605] De Piles wrote that although all good artists created visual harmony, they produced differing visual effects. De Piles: "There are in painting several sorts of harmony; the sweet and the temperate, as usually practiced by Correggio, and Guido Reni; and the strong and great, as that of Giorgione, Titian, and Caravaggio." De Piles. (1709) 1743, 68-70. He discussed unity among diversity, and explained that diverse colours and pictorial elements are visually effective when harmonized. De Piles, (1699), 1744, 34.
[606] Sextus Empiricus gave the analogy that if a cut finger affected the whole body. Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*, IX, 80, cited in Sambursky, 1959, 9, 114; Verbeke, 1991, 12-13.

define it, one vast entire Animal."[607] Indeed, De Piles used the metaphor of the smoothly functioning body to explain that the goal of the painter was to create a unified vision, "as a body whose members have a mutual dependence; and in short as an harmonious economy."[608] Marcus Aurelius had used the earth as a metaphor to explain aspects of the human body: "Summing up, the body is all river, and the soul is all dream and vapor."[609] The metaphor worked both ways, and when Seneca argued that the earth was a living body, he explained that like the human body, the earth contained humours relevant to its functions. He discussed the humours of blood, brain, marrow, mucous, spit, tears, and joint lubricant, and wrote that "the earth contains its own varieties of *humor*.[610]

Fundamental to the integrated system of nature that the Stoics described was the notion of sympathy, a living symbiosis that beneficially bound together all of matter, spirit, and human. Chrysippus explained that the *pneuma* rendered the cosmos a living, organic whole, with each single part grown together (*sumphues*) in living sympathy (*sumpatheia*) with all the rest.[611] Rubens's landscapes are organic wholes, with interdependent parts symbiotically growing together.

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[607] Henry More, (1614-1687) *The Immortality of the Soul*, 1659, also mentioned the Platonists. More quoted in Seth Lobis, *The Virtue of Sympathy: Magic, Philosophy, and Literature in Seventeenth-Century England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015, 4, 7. Lobis traces the history of the concept of sympathy in England. Sympathy entered the popular lexicon – he says it "became part of the wider cultural vocabulary" after the Restoration.

[608] De Piles, 1709, 1743, 69-70.

[609] Marcus Aurelius. 2.17 quoted at Rosenmeyer, 1989, 131; Barker, 1991, 138.

[610] Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones*, 3.15.2ff cited at Rosenmeyer, 1989, 131; Zirka Filipczak, *Hot Dry Men, Cold Wet Women. The Theory of Humors in Western European Art. 1575-1700*. New York: American Federation of Arts, 1997.

[611] Chrysippus, *SVF*, 2.473; 912, 475, 546, cited in Hahm, 163; Rosenmeyer, 1989, 108; Jones, 2003, 333; Sedley, 2012, 402. (*sumphues*, "grown together," *SVF* 2.550; *sumnoia, sumpatheia*, "in living sympathy," *SVF*, 2.473.)

Figure 19. Rubens, Landscape in Flanders, 1636, oil on oak panel.

In Rubens's Landscape in Flanders, nature is alive, and its areas of contrast make up a harmonized whole.[612] It is as if the area in view has been shaped by the forces of the air passing over it, causing the water to settle in low-lying areas, and the trees to withstand the wind on higher ground. Hillocks populated by small trees run in perpendicular diagonal bands, and are echoed on the horizon by a tree-covered hill. These areas of foliage cast long shadows that contrast with the broad swathes of reflected light that run, on the right side, over the body of water near the horizon to the hay in the foreground, and in the middle distance across the ripening fields that stretch horizontally over the canvas. Above them, the mixing of the clouds shows

[612] Rubens, Landscape in Flanders, 1636, oil on oak panel, 90x134 cm, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham. An alternate title is Flat Landscape with Clouds. Adler, 168-169, Fig.142; The panel was first used as hunting scene or *istoria*, and then repainted into this landscape. Michael Jaffé, *Rubens: Catalogo Completo*. Milan: Rizzoli, 1989, no. 1058; A small strip to the left of the large tree was probably added last. Brown, 1996, 64-66, 120, Fig.62; L. Van Puyvelde, "A Landscape by Rubens," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXVIII, 1941, 188-191.

patterns of air movement, and as the sun hits them at various angles it produces different colours according to their differing positions and water contents. The landscape seems to respire: the mist is warmed by air and rises from the pool on the right to become condensed into dark clouds that move toward the trees and the pool of water on the left. The sky is an area of light and movement that causes reciprocal motion in the trees, the fields, and the water. Layers of greens, browns, reds, and straw colour are interpreted by the viewer as grass, earth, or reflective water. That the soil itself is involved is evident from Rubens's having painted it in a liquid manner, in colours of sand, clay, and red earth, so that his brushstrokes can pass equally for soil or for ripening hay.

Bellori called Rubens's work "stupendous" in its unity, saying that it was so "completely harmonious" that it seemed as if "infused with one breath."[613] Earthly exhalations became especially significant in Stoic physics because of the role of breath in explaining the equilibrium of the environment, and because the Stoics argued that respiration characterized the cosmic body as it did the human body.[614] The *pneuma* was perceived as an active principle inherent in all matter, leading the Stoics to discuss the natural world as a living organism.[615] The Stoic cosmology was novel because the Stoics combined an explanation of the cosmos in physical terms with an explanation of the cosmos as a living animal in biological terms. The Stoics extrapolated from the leading biological theories available to them, and considered their applicability to cosmology. This synthesis of cosmological with biological theory led them to an original theory: the cosmos, a living organism, could be

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[613] Bellori: "He maintained such unity and resoluteness that his figures seem executed with one dash of the brush and infused with one breath." Bellori, 1672, 2010, 205.
[614] They had appeared in the theory of Heraclitus and Aristotle but in Stoicism "vapour is a stand-in for the *pneuma*, a manifest sign of fluctuation." Rosenmeyer, 1989, 131.
[615] Hunt, 53; Sambursky, 1959, 15; .

explained in realist biological terms that related the most large-scale cosmic processes with the elements, visible events, specific objects, and individual people.[616] According to Diogenes Laertius, the Stoics held that stars and planets derived nutriment from the waters of the earth, "the sun, as a fiery mass endowed with mind, from the sea, and the moon from fresh water."[617] Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones* discussed *vapor*, *vaporans*, *vaporarius*, and *vaporatio.* Vapours were believed to be exhalations from the earth and its waters, which were drawn up by and nourished the sun, moon, and planets. [618] Cicero explained this Stoic theory:

> The stars are fiery by nature. Therefore they are nourished by the vapours of the earth, the sea, and the waters. These are raised up by the sun from the fields when they are warmed and from the waters. Being nourished and renewed by these vapours the stars and the whole *aether* shed them back again and then again draw them up from the same source.[619]

Because the Stoics believed that the *pneuma* was all-pervasive and that its energy directed the cycles of nature, to observe the mists rising up on their way to nourish other areas of the cosmos was to witness the living function of nature, stable, dynamic, and eternally life-giving. This explanation of a respiring, metabolizing cosmos taking nourishment from the interplay of the elements and planets that

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[616] Hahm argues that the Stoics made the idea of the cosmos as living animal an "intellectually respectable" idea. Hahm, 210.

[617] Diogenes Laertius, VII, 145, quoted at Hunt, 58; Plutarch explained that the Stoics believed that "Of the cosmos alone it can be said that it is self-supporting (*autarkes*) because it alone contains within itself all that it needs. It is fed and grows out of itself, whereas its parts are in mutual exchange with each other." Plutarch, *De Stoicorum repugnantiis*, 1052 d, quoted in Sambursky, 1959, 114; in 1600 William Cornwallis the Younger (1579-1614, Essayist and British Member of Parliament) wrote about this Stoic idea of cosmic nourishment: "The elements are linked together by a league of association, and by their symbolizing qualities, do barter and truck, borrow and lend one to another, as being the burse and royal-exchange of nature: they are by this traffic and intercourse the very life and nourishment of all sublunary bodies." Corwallis, *Essayes*, 1600-1601, quoted in Shifflett, 181.

[618] Rosenmeyer: "Here *vapour* is the stuff of the world, a stand-in for the *pneuma*, and a manifest sign of fluctuation." Rosenmeyer, 1989, 131.

[619] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II, 118, quoted at Hunt, 58.

comprise it highlights the connection of the *pneuma* or world soul with constant movement.[620]

The unifying effects of brushwork, design/*colore*, and c*hiaroscuro* in Rubens's landscapes make them appear pervaded with a warm life force like the Stoic *pneuma*. I would argue that Rubens's complex, enlivened treatment of nature relates to period knowledge of Stoic physics, in particular the immanence of energy in matter.[621] At the level of the universe, *pneuma* was cause; while at the level of an organism, the *pneuma* was the life force. *Pneuma*, life force, and breath became bound up together in classical theory. The pre-Stoics had believed that the soul was air, and that the soul held the body together, so they concluded that air and breath surrounded the universe and held it together.[622] Extrapolating from the reality of the warmth of the human body, Stoics related the *pneuma* to both air and fire, and adduced that the soul was like an airy-fiery substance. When Chrysippus applied the Stoic concept of the individual's *pneuma* or life force to the cosmos in general, the consequence was that the *pneuma* was considered to be both a force and a cause.[623]

In the Stoic conception, both the cosmos and the individual could be defined as organisms moved by a life force. For the Stoics, the body of the world being like a human body, it was alive, connected with *pneuma*, spirit, or God, and had the capacity for sensation. Zeno and other Stoics argued that the cosmos had some of the same

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620 Sambursky traces the Stoic use of this concept to the pre-Socratics, and quotes the classical fragment of Anaximenes: "There is one spirit (*pneuma*) which pervades, like a soul, the whole Universe, and which also makes us one with" other creatures. Sambursky, 1959, 2. (Anaximenes of Miletus (c.585-528BCE) was a Milesian philosopher who is identified with material monism.) Verbeke, 1991, 23.

621 Sextus Empiricus discussed the Stoic concept of this in *Adversus mathematicos*, IX, 127, quoted at Sambursky, 1959, 2.

622 Anaximenes: "As our soul, being air, holds us together, so do breath and air surround the whole universe," quoted at Sambursky, 1959, 2, 30.

623 This Stoic theory was in contrast to Aristotle who had thought of the soul and the *pneuma* as separate entities. Rosenmeyer, 1989, 93; Sedley, 1999, 384.

attributes as people, including reason and sense perception.[624] To the Stoics, God was movement, activity, sentience, and causation. God, everlasting, was the eternal substance that existed through all transformations. Diogenes Laertius wrote about this Stoic explanation for the interrelated cosmos:

> That the cosmos is a living being, rational, endowed with soul and with mind is laid down by Chrysippus in the first book *Concerning Providence*, by Apollodorus in his *Physics*, and by Posidonius. (…) It is a living thing in the sense that it is a substance animate and endowed with sensation.[625]

The Stoics regarded the cosmos as a rational, self-regulating, everlasting, living organism.[626] Zeno argued that the world was alive, sentient, and rational on the grounds that people were these things, and people were parts of a whole that must also possess these qualities. According to Cicero, Zeno had said that nothing "that is inanimate and irrational can generate a being animate and rational: but the world generates beings animate and rational: therefore the world is animate and rational."[627] The Stoics argued that the fact that a person has both body and soul was evidence that the earth, from whence all creatures were born, had both body and soul. Diogenes Laertius mentioned this Stoic argument that the human soul provided evidence of the world soul: "The world is a living creature. That it is endowed with soul is clear from the fact that our own soul is derived as an off-shoot from it."[628]

According to Lipsius, the Stoics argued that a rational, living being endowed with a soul was better than something without a soul, and since the world was God's

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[624] Lipsius: "*Ita enim consensus Stoici, sentientem eum*, *intelligentem, sapientem*." Lipsius, *Physiologia*, ii.10, IV, 919, quoted in Saunders 196-197; Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus mathematicos*, IX.104-110. Inwood and Donini, 676; Cicero: "Zeno argued that 'Nothing devoid of sensation can have a part of itself that is sentient; but the world has parts that are sentient; therefore the world is not devoid of sensation." Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II, 22, quoted in Hunt, 35.
[625] Diogenes Laertius, quoted at Hunt, 35.
[626] See Chrysippus at Sambursky, 1959, 107; Saunders, 125.
[627] Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II, 22, quoted in Hunt, 35.
[628] Diogenes Laertius, VII, 142-143, quoted in *Ibid.*, 35.

best work, it had to have a soul.[629] Also, he wrote, intelligence without a soul was impossible, yet the world was intelligent, so it was proven to have a soul.[630] Furthermore, Lipsius explained, man had reason but could not create the heavenly bodies, so something greater, more powerful, and wiser than man must have created them. Lipsius quoted Diogenes Laertius's Stoic description of the world as a sentient, intelligent, wise being:

> The doctrine that the world is a living being, rational, animate, and intelligent, is laid down by Chrysippus, Apollodorus, and Posidonius. It is a living thing in the sense of an animated essence endowed with sensation. For living being is better than non-animal, and nothing is better than the world; therefore, the world is a living being. And it is endowed with soul, as is clear from our several souls being each a fragment of it.[631]

Rubens's landscapes are imbued with energy and seem to reflect the Stoic theory of a material/energetic or matter/divine connection perhaps even more closely than does Lipsius's treatment of the theme. Stoics understood that the soul "inhabited" the body, and they applied this concept to the idea of God inhabiting the material of the cosmos.[632] If *pneuma* permeated all matter, like souls inhere in bodies, then, the Stoics concluded, God is everywhere in the cosmos and there is nowhere without God. According to the 4th-century Greek rhetorician and statesman Themistius, "The followers of Zeno lay it down that God has passed through all being, calling him in one place mind (*nous*), in another soul (*psyche*), in another nature (*physis*), and in another the bond of union (*hexis*)."[633]

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[629] Lipsius showed evidence that this Christian-friendly idea was pre-Socratic. Saunders, 189; Seneca, "The Corporeal Nature of the Good," *Letters on Ethics: To Lucilius*. Anthony A. Long and Margaret Graver, trans., eds., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015, 419-420.
[630] Saunders, 197.
[631] Lipsius, *Physiologia*, ii.10, IV, 919, quoting Diogenes Laertius, vii. 142 f; *SVF*, II, 633; Saunders 196-197.
[632] Rubarth, 1997, 98; Sambursky, 1962, 4; White, 2003, 137.
[633] Themistius, 4th century, *SVF*, I, 158, quoted at Hunt, 41.

When Lipsius described how for the Stoics the divine pervades matter, he repeated the Stoic conflation of God with world soul and personal soul, relying on Chrysippus's discussion of the all-pervading world soul to argue that God's soul was universally diffused.[634] He argued that the world had a twofold character, so it was not by its own nature essentially God, but was only connected to God through its communication and participation in God. For Lipsius, the relation of God to nature was that: God and Nature both have inherent goodness as their attributes; God is the creator of the World Soul; and God can be considered diffused within the material world because He is not external to it. Lipsius, careful to point out his dual identity as Stoic and Christian, wrote that to go with the Stoic flow was to obey God.[635] Lipsius agreed with the Stoics on many points of natural philosophy, and through his writings, topics of Stoic philosophy relevant to God-in-nature were available to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europeans. These included: that nature was alive with an

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[634] For Lipsius, nothing could exist unless it contained a spark of the Divine. He argued that the goodness, rationality, and life force within people showed that people were derived from the source of these qualities, that is, from God. Lipsius christianized the Stoic explanation of God in matter, arguing that nature was not God, but that nature *participated* in God. Citing Augustine's interpretation that just as the wise man is called wise solely on account of his mind, Lipsius argued that the Stoics called the world God because of the presence of the Divine Mind. Lipsius, *Physiologia*, i.7, IV. 847; Saunders, 126, 131-132; Jedan, 9-20; Jan Papy, "Lipsius's (Neo-)Stoicism: Constancy Between Christian Faith and Stoic Virtue," in H.W. Blom and L.C. Winkel, eds., *Hugo Grotius and the Stoa*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 2001-2002, 47-71; On materiality in Christianity, see Wogaman, who, citing Irenaeus, second-century Bishop of Gaul, wrote that the early church's "affirmation of the material realm as an expression of God's creative and redemptive purposes is fundamental to the whole structure of Christian moral teaching." Wogaman, "The Ethics of Early Christianity," (23-60), 27; For a different perspective on materiality and God, held by Augustine, see Colish, "Augustine's Consistent Uses of Stoicism," 1985, Vol.II. (169-212), 201.

[635] According to Lipsius the Stoics and Christians shared a common understanding that goodness was inherent in God, and he argued that the Stoic injunction to follow nature was identical with following God's will. Lipsius wrote, "What else is Nature than God and Divine Reason, intermingled with the whole world and its parts?" Lipsius, *Physiologia*, i.5, IV, 842, citing Seneca, *De benef.* IV.7; Saunders, 125; For Lipsius on studying physics as the way to understanding Stoic philosophy and God, see Menn, 56.

immanent and eternal soul; that the material of nature was never separated from its animating force; that nature and soul were eternally unified; and that nature was sentient, rational, and good.

However, for the Stoics the relationship of soul to matter was closer than that described by Lipsius, and in the Stoicism that influenced Rubens's style, matter and energy were inherently connected. Zeno sought to explain the physicality and vitalism of the universe as an "entirely physical system," arguing that the soul and the *pneuma* are one entity and that they are integrally connected with matter.[636] Zeno conceived of nature as an active, soul-filled ecosystem with nothing external to it, other than the boundless void. Matter, spirit, and God were one; active and passive principles were one; everything that existed was material, energetic, and soul. Consequently, there could be no influence on nature, God, and the human being outside of the "self-directing system" that is nature. The *pneuma* and the soul were not metaphors for each other; rather, for classical Stoics, the soul was seen as a *type* of *pneuma*, and it was the *pneuma* that gave the soul its unique abilities including the capacity for sense-perception.

To the classical Stoics, matter was inseparable from God. Although Zeno had described God within all matter using the metaphor of honey flowing through honeycombs, later Stoics conceived of God as even more attached to matter than nectar is to a honeycomb: spirit and matter were dependent upon each other and were actually fused together into one. In Zeno's words:

> The nature of the universe is twofold, There is that which works and that which is wrought upon. And that which is wrought upon is substance that has neither shape nor form; and that which works upon it is the word, and the word is God. (…)

[636] Hunt, 17, 22-23, 27; White, 2003, 128, 132; Sedley, 1999, 383-386; Colish, Vol.I, 23.

> God is ether, God is air, God is spirt of ethereral fire; He is diffused throughout creation as honey through the honeycomb; God goes to and fro throughout all that is, God is mind, God is soul, God is nature: It is God that holds the universe together. (…)
> The world and the heavens are the substance of God.[637]

The Stoics conceived of the substance surrounding and permeating the cosmos and holding it together as being like a soul, that is, it was rarefied and it permeated everywhere. The Stoic version of the theory of the *pneuma* was unique, and classical Stoic writers used the words *pneuma* or fire to mean a variety of things, including the human soul, and "God, divine reason, seminal principles, providence, nature, intelligence, primary substance, and cosmos itself."[638] Chrysippus explained that just as the soul is the *pneuma* in the human body, so God is the *pneuma* extending throughout the cosmos, making God the cosmos's soul.[639] God was a principle, and an element, and a compound of the two. It is the aliveness and sentience of nature that require that Stoic natural philosophy be characterized as vitalism rather than as materialism, and this vitality and energy are evident in Rubens's landscapes.

Stoic notions of sympathetic, interconnected nature are brought to life in the style of Rubens's late landscape paintings. Mist and sunlight unite the scene and create an ambience of warm harmony in Rubens's Landscape with Wind Mill.[640]

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[637] Zeno, quoted in H.D. Sedgwick, "The Founders of Stoicism," *Marcus Aurelius*. New York: AMS Press, 1971, (17-26), 20; Tertullian, *SVF*. I, 155, cited in Hunt, 23.
[638] Rubarth, 1997, 98-99.
[639] *Ibid.*, 100, 104.
[640] Rubens, Landscape with Wind Mill. 1636-1640, oil on panel, 45.8x84.6 cm, Louvre, Paris. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre*, 1886-1892, Vol.4, 367-368, Fig. 334. The panel is made up of two horizontal boards. Burchard dated it to 1638-1640. Kleinert, Plate 26; Marc Fumaroli, "Rubens entre deux Europes," in Blaise Ducos, ed. *L'Europe de Rubens*. Hazan: Musée de Louvre, 2013, 17-71; Adler calls it a "particularly impressive example of Rubens's landscape painting." Adler, 179-181, Fig.150.

Figure 20. Rubens, Landscape with Wind Mill, detail. 1636-1637. oil on panel.

The lower portion of the landscape is framed on each side by areas of shadow, inky dark green shadow made up of broad brushstrokes with lighter highlights. On the right middle ground on a small rise is a square Flemish windmill, its full sails stretched out in the sun. The airborne light is so integral to the landscape that the horizon becomes a blend of earth, air, light, and the fog that blows in bands along the earth. The celestial light is scattered across the foliage and the inhabitants of the foreground like tangible humidity. A small brook crosses the canvas diagonally from mid-left to lower right, and in its waters are reflected the green of the vegetation, the warm browns of earth, and the blue and yellow of the sky and sun. Rubens unifies the elements right in the heart of the canvas through brushstrokes that could equally stand for warm earth, reflective water, rising mist, or the heat of the sun. Mist, warmed and lit by the intense light, rises from the pools of water and blends into the air, so that the landscape itself seems to respire.

Sympathy was one of the important aspects of Stoic philosophy that cut across all its fields of inquiry. Seeing nature as a conglomeration of parts that sympathized

with and assisted each other led to a positive interest in physicality. Rosenmeyer notes that the Stoic emphasis on the living interdependence of the natural world could "communicate the joy in the interlocking and continuousness of physical parts" and promote "a delight in the physical."[641] Achieving the goals of a Stoic life required an awareness of the sympathy that was fundamental to the processes of nature and to bodily processes. The sympathetic system that the Stoics described included, among other important aspects, wisdom, freedom of action, and understanding human nature. The Stoic treatment of sympathy became integral not only in physics but also in Seneca's rhetoric and Marcus Aurelius's ethics. Sympathy was both physical and spiritual, relating to universal interaction, the connection of the whole with its disparate parts, and also to moral and spiritual aspects of human existence in the world.[642] Essentially, the world supported human transformation because the cosmos and the individual had in common a soul. This interdependent interconnectedness became fundamental to Rubens's treatment of the natural world. Burckhardt, like De Piles, used the notion of harmony when discussing Rubens's style:

> Rubens saw at one and the same time a restful symmetrical arrangement of the masses in space and vehement spiritual and physical motion; he saw light and life radiating mainly from the centre, and his triumphant colour harmonies, his near and far distances and scheme of light and shade rose before him, as they could not but rise, till all was matured to harmony and power.[643]

[641] Rosenmeyer, 1989, 112.
[642] The Stoic moral goal of life in harmony with nature meant living with an understanding of nature, including an awareness of how to select the "goods" that were in harmony with nature, an understanding of how these moral and physical processes played out in the life of the individual, and a deference to the intention to be guided by the virtue that was a fundamental quality of the world. Saunders, 95-96; J.M. Rist, *Stoic Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969, 264.
[643] Burckhardt, 63-64; De Piles, 1709, 1743, 69, 105.

Conclusion: Stoic Optimism in Rubens's Style

To varying degrees, late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century artists grappled with theoretical issues and drew on classical sources to understand and articulate their Early Modern art theoretical problems. For artists like Rubens practicing in the first half of the seventeenth century, classical theoretical sources could include Stoic philosophy. Art historical studies into Early Modern artists' use of theory have investigated issues of creativity, academic instruction, theoretical terminology, and visual art's debt to literary theory.[644] My contribution to this field, stemming from Williams's idea that Early Modern art systematizes the different forms of knowledge available to artists, has been to illuminate aspects of the philosophical system through which Rubens managed style.

In Early Modern Flemish and Italian milieus it was understood that style could indicate artistic heritage. In the case of Rubens, his style also connotes philosophy. Although one would be hard pressed to find written art historical evidence from the period linking Rubens's *style* to Stoic thought, my investigation has attempted to show that his knowledge of classical Stoic philosophy penetrated to the core of his practice and inheres in his style. Bellori, discussing artistic influence, noted that Rubens's characteristic touch evolved from his having intensely "looked at" the

[644] J.M. Muller, "'*Con diligenza*, *Con studio*, and *Con Amore*': Terms of Quality in the Seventeenth Century," in R. d'Hulst, ed., *Rubens and His World: Studies*. Antwerp: Gulden Cabinet, 1985, 273-278; F. Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Modern Artist*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000; E. Cropper, "Disegno as the Foundation of Art: Some Drawings by Pietro Testa," *Burlington Magazine*. Vol.116, 1974, 376-385; D. Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981; Mahon, 1971; Sohm, 2001; Williams, 1997.

Venetian masters, but I contend that Rubens's signature style was also informed by his having "looked at" Stoic *authors*.[645]

My sense is that as well as having high visual acuity and exemplary artistic expertise, Rubens was profoundly philosophical. He thought deeply about cultural, historical, and spiritual matters, and he intently studied classical texts both as artistic works and to apply classical knowledge to Early Modern inquiries. His sincere and abiding interest in classical philosophy led him to new approaches toward the visual arts. For example, he was the first to paint important works dealing with the subjects of Stoic history: he painted not only the death of Seneca but also Diogenes searching for a good man; and he also painted the classical philosophers as independent subjects. His treatment of classical philosophical subjects was unprecedented. As McGrath notes, besides the subjects Democritus and Heraclitus, "for all of Rubens's other pictures which involve philosopher stories, there were no painted precedents whatsoever."[646] Rubens read a vast array of important classical sources, and the knowledge he derived impacted upon not only his subject matter, but also his vision of art's important role in communication and in personal transformation, issues upon which Stoic philosophy has an important bearing.

My dissertation situates Rubens's Stoicism within the context of his interest in art theory. His expert use of classical sources, the critical thinking evident in his scholarly correspondence, and his practical artistic methods for working out art theoretical problems mean that Rubens should be considered an Early Modern art theorist even though his written theory is lost. It is difficult to unravel the debt of Rubens's theory and practice to Stoic concepts precisely, a task that is further

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[645] Bellori: "He looked always at Titian, Paolo Veronese, and Tintoretto." Bellori, 1672, 2010, 205.
[646] McGrath, 1997, 66, 103, 106-108.

compounded by the inherence of vestiges of Stoicism in other classical philosophies and in Christianity.[647] However, in order to understand how Stoicism affected Rubens's theory-rich art practice I have illuminated key Stoic concepts and have considered their potential relevance for Rubens's approach to meaningful art painted in his Baroque style.

I have argued that Rubens's Stoic philosophy inheres in many aspects of his work, including in his treatment of a unified picture plane, his approach to transformative viewer response, and his development of a brushwork that invites completion by the viewer. In Chapter One I described Rubens's ensemble forms, complex compositions designed to be understood at first glance but then to be gradually perceived as comprised of component parts whose meanings and shapes interrelate. I discussed the principles of Stoic ethics in terms of the Stoic insistence on individual effort in one's own moral transformation. I highlighted the centrality of the concept of *phantasia* (representation) to Stoic definitions of the self, and argued that the interconnected forms of Rubens's design can promote the viewer's sense of connection with the painted space and subject, and can serve to focus the individual viewer on his own psycho-spiritual identity.

I returned to Stoic theories about *phantasia* in Chapter Two, because they relate to the commitment in Stoic logic and rhetoric to the communication of truth as determined by the perspective of the individual. Viewer response also relates to Stoic logic, specifically to theories about how words convey meaning and how an individual's speech relates to the *phantasia*. Because Stoic rhetoric, and Stoic logic

[647] Seneca commented that Livy's dialogues were avowedly philosophical works, and Kennedy writes that they were certainly *Stoic*. Seneca, "On the Writings of Fabianus," Epistle C.9, in Gummere, trans., 1917-1925; Kennedy, 1972, 420; Rasimus, Engberg-Pedersen, and Dunderberg, eds., 15, 60-61, 77, 115, 239, 242; M. Staniforth, ed., "Introduction," *Marcus Aurelius. Meditations*. London: Penguin Books, 1964, 25; On Stoic eclecticism and intermixing among classical philosophies see Hahm, 1977, xiv.

generally, was conceived of as supporting a person's evolution toward understanding truth, wisdom, and goodness, truth is a foundational subject in Stoic rhetoric. Where rhetoric is intended to relate to truth, style serves the purposes of elucidating truth yet must be adaptable to audience and occasion. I label Rubens's Baroque brushwork the abundant style, a corollary of rhetorical *copia*, and maintain that his development of this style was supported by the pointed style he read in Seneca and Tacitus.

In Chapter Three I followed a scholarly thread linking Rubens's style to the Stoic theory of the *continuum*, or the flexible, coherent *pneuma* that pervades all matter. I outlined Stoic natural philosophy, highlighting the Stoic description of nature as constantly moving and dynamically changing, an explanation of the constant fluctuation and contact of energy and matter that is akin to field theory. I related the unified painted surface in Rubens's *oeuvre* to the Stoic knowledge of interdependent vivified matter. What was revolutionary about Stoic physics, and has been called "transcendent naturalism," was that matter itself, the substance of the cosmos, is upheld as the cause of change, and therefore as the locus of human transformation.[648]

My investigation into Rubens's debt to Stoicism has been tethered to his development of a distinctive style that evoked the physical and spiritual realities of both subjects and viewers, a stunning style that depicted verisimilitude and tactility through its abundant brushwork. Rubens gleaned theory and method from classical sculpture and texts and from Early Modern Flemish and Italian art practices and theory to create a revolutionary style that became widely adopted.[649] Discussing the

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[648] Chrysippus's theory of the corporeal nature of causes rejected the incorporeal causes postulated by Plato and Aristotle. Rosenmeyer, 1989, 95; Inwood and Donini, 683; Hunt, 26. The structure of nature itself was believed to lead a person to understand the concepts of "God" and "right", for example. Christensen, 62.
[649] Huvenne, 1990, 28, 31, 38, 43; Jean Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens: Documenten uit den kunsthandel te Antwerpen in de XVIIe eeuw van Matthijs Musson*. Antwerp, 1949; on Rubens and Bernini see Held, 1982, 182; C. Scribner,

energetic surface treatment and interlocking circular movements in Rubens's work, Jacob Burckhardt asserted that Rubens's art constituted a radical pivot point in European painting. He wrote: "Rubens stands at the crossroads of time as the greatest master; there is one kind before him and another after him."[650] Puttfarken argues that in the continuous drive in European painting from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries to improve on visual illusionism while painting on a rectangular ground, there is one break in this development. He writes that this break is reflected in De Piles's theory of vision and composition, a theory, I believe, that was fomented by De Piles's experience of viewing Rubens's art. Rubens's focus on *visible* rather than *narrative* form required that the artist fully integrate *disegno*, *colore*, and *chiaroscuro*. That is, it required *Rubens's Baroque method*. As Puttfarken explains,

> The two demands that a work should be both illusionistic to the degree of sustaining a sense of figural presence, and at the same time harmonious in overall colour composition and *clair-obscur*, may be pulling too much in opposite directions to be realistically reconcilable, unless one happens to be Rubens.[651]

My investigation into how Rubens's passionate, deeply moving, abundant style could coexist with his abiding interest in Stoicism led me to the fundamental element of optimism in classical Stoic philosophy. I define classical Stoicism as a positive force in Rubens's art practice and theory. I posit that the stylistic priorities

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"Rubens and Bernini," in W. H. Wilson, ed., *Papers Presented at the International Rubens Symposium, 1982*. Sarasota, FL: John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 1983, 164-178; A. Georgievska-Shine and L. Silver. *Rubens, Velazquez, and the King of Spain*. Burlington, UK: Ashgate, 2014; W. Armstrong, *The Art of Velazquez*, London: Seeley and Co., 1896, 32-35; P. Bertrand, M. Boudon-Machuel, *et al*. *Le rubenisme en Europe aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005; Rubens's nephew also mentioned Erasmus Quellinus, Peter Soutmans, Johannes Brouchorst, Johannes van den Hoecke, Justus van Egmond, and Anthony Van Dyck. Philip Rubens the Younger, 41. See, for example, the Portrait of Woverius, 1626-1630, oil on canvas, 62x48 cm, Belton House, Lincolnshire, UK, attributed to Van Dyck.

[650] Jacob Burckhardt. *Recollections of Rubens*. Trans. M. Hottinger, London: Phaidon Press, 1950, 142. Burckhardt was refering to Rubens's animal paintings. Rosand, 32.

[651] Puttfarken, 2000, 290; Puttfarken, 1985, 89-90.

that render Rubens's art so moving are potentially supported by the joyful, earthy, optimistic Stoicism he discovered in classical texts. In terms of Williams's theory that Early Modern artists became aware that art manages a vast body of knowledge, I have argued that the worldview, or knowledge system, that Rubens's art visualized, included a complex, vital Stoicism that I define as optimistic and life-affirming. Classical Stoicism was a system of thought that optimistically affirmed the capacity of an individual to live a meaningful and compassionate life. According to Seneca:

> The fact is, no School is more kindly and gentle, none more full of love of man and more concerned for the common good, so that it is its avowed object to be of service and assistance, and to regard not merely self-interest, but the interest of each and all.[652]

The optimistic Stoicism that inheres in Rubens's *oeuvre* included the beliefs that people can transform themselves and that a rational individual can naturally come to discern a path toward virtue.[653] As Stoic sources became available in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Early Modern theorists such as Rubens came to define Stoicism as complex, life-affirming, and practical. Tacitus had described a "middle road" that a wise person would navigate, eschewing both complete stubbornness and "shameful servitude," ideas taken up and popularized by Erasmus and Lipsius.[654] Rubens seized classical Stoicism's optimism about humanity and communication, and developed an emotionally and visually enlivening style.[655]

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[652] Seneca, *De clement* II, v.2, in L. *Manuductio*, 1.15 (IV, 670) in Saunders, 79.

[653] The Stoics were optimistic that wisdom was a goal that everyone could potentially achieve, with the natural world supporting the process. Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, iv.6 quoted in Davidson, 69; Zeno and Chrysippus discussed this. Cicero wrote that the Stoics believed there were never "men in which not so much as a glimmer of awareness or respect for good was evident." Inwood and Donini, 726; Verbeke, 1991, 24; On Christian optimism in early seventeenth-century art, see Verstegen, 22-26.

[654] Lipsius, *De Constantia Libri Duo, Qui alloquium praecipue continent in Publicis malis*. Antwerp: Plantin Press, 1584; Morford, 1991, 152, 162; Van Ruler argues that one result of Erasmus's treatment of Christianity and Stoic philosophy was that the Epicurean emphasis on seeking pleasure could no longer serve as an Early Modern criticism of Stoicism – Erasmus had proven that the body itself and its passions were

In sum, Rubens's distinctive approach to painting, which Bellori prized as "stupendously free," ensued not only from his visual acuity, but also from the rich classical Stoic philosophy and the creatively complex classical texts that he avidly read for his entire life. Rubens's style was fundamentally shaped by his absorption of Italian examples, and by his Flemish artistic milieu, but also by his knowledge of classical textual sources. Bellori noted that Rubens painted "with the intention" of the Italian masters; I posit that he also painted "with the intention" of classical Stoic philosophers of ethics, logic, and physics.[656] Rubens's study of the Stoic classics, among other systems of knowledge, became his entrée to the visual arts, melding with his stylistic fluency to create a personal practice enriched by deep theoretical knowledge, and uniting his empathetic understanding of human nature with his abiding passion for visual communication.

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identified with spiritual transformative processes. Citing Erasmus, *Enchiridion*, Chapters 6-7, Van Ruler writes: "With classical views on the bodily passions surfacing right at the heart of a book devoted to spiritual salvation and redemption, a complete harmony of philosophical and religious aims was suggested, as well as a complete identity of the means of attaining them." Van Ruler, 240, 247.

[655] When Cato said, "Seize the subject, the words will follow," he meant that meaning and style would reciprocally form each other. Kennedy, 1972, 56; Huemer argued that the Stoicism that Rubens investigated was anti-dogmatic and characterized by a sympathetic view of the human condition. She wrote that Lipsius must be considered a moderate, that religious dogmatism and persecution were contrary to his thinking, and that moderation was at the core of Lipsius's entire philosophical position. Lipsius's optimism was pivotal in shaping the seventeenth century, not least because of what Huemer describes as his "restoring of humane attitudes and the dignity of the individual." Huemer, 1985, 124; Huemer, 1983, 178, 186, 195.

[656] Bellori was discussing the harmony with which Rubens had positioned certain expressive elements in his Vallicella altarpiece. Bellori wrote: "Andatosene dopo a studiare a Venezia, vi si fermo, e rivolse tutto il suo studio sopra Tiziano, e Paolo Veronese; onde, tornato a Roma, dipinse nella Chiesa nuova de' Padri dell'Oratorio il quadro del maggiore Altare (…) eseguite con l'intenzione di Paulo Veronese." Bellori, 1671, 1821, 226; Bellori, 1672, 2010, 205; Muller, 1982, 244 note 103.

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