

TEXT & IMAGE

ESSENTIAL PROBLEMS IN ART HISTORY

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Editorial board address: 01601, Ukraine, Kyiv, Str. Volodymyrska, 60, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Faculty of History, Art History department; tel. +380442393407; e-mail: arthistory@univ.net.ua

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Image on the cover: Grygorii Pavlutskyi with his students in the Cabinet of fine arts of St. Vladimir's University of Kyiv. Early 20th century. Photographers: Andrii Gudshon and Olexander Gubchevskyi.

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THE ENGRAVING OF JOHN DROESHOUT 'KING JAMES I OF ENGLAND AND VI OF SCOTLAND WITH TRUTH AND TIME, MEMORY AND HISTORY' (1651): AN INTERPRETATION

Illia Levchenko

Інтерпретація постаті Якова I (VI) та образів довкола нього на гравюрі Джона Друзхаута «Король Яків I Англійський та VI Шотландський із Правдою і Часом, Пам'яттю та Історією» (1651)

Ілля Левченко

Здійснено іконологічний аналіз гравюри Дж. Друзхаут¹. В основі теоретико-методологічної бази – принципи історизму та науковості. Під час дослідження автор застосував класичні методи історії мистецтв – іконологічний та іконографічний, метод формально-стилістичного аналізу Г. Вельфліна, культурно-історичний метод Я. Буркгардта. У центрі дослідження – гравюра, створена 1651 р., після смерті короля, тому вона дає змогу дослідити комеморативні та репрезентативні практики наступників. Гравюра Дж. Друзхаута та поетичний коментар до неї засвідчують, що мову зображального мистецтва сприймали як річ опційну й допоміжну; таку, що допомагає краще (зримо) зрозуміти сюжет книги. Друзхаут засвідчує послаблення концепції «божественного права королів». Образи черепу, часу, свічки характерні для алегорій *temento mori* та *vanitas*. Ці ж образи в гравюрі функціонують одразу у двох вимірах: 1) указують на те, що королі помирають, як і звичайні люди; 2) у взаємодії з антропоморфними образами Часу, Правди, Історії, Пам'яті вказують на неминучість відновлення Правди, яку Час за допомогою Пам'яті поверне в Історію. Образ Якова I на гравюрі цілком збігається з тим образом, що функціонував у тодішньому історичному наративі (ідеться про амбівалентність, схильність до меланхолії як пограничного стану). Перспективою подальших досліджень є розкриття проблеми взаємодії наративу й образу короля, що функціонував ув англійському суспільстві революційного періоду (1640-1689 рр.). Разом із цим, слід дослідити візуальну мову окремих елементів гравюри (семіотичний аналіз зображення вікон поряд із Пам'яттю та Історією, килими позаду постаті Якова I).

Ключові слова: Яків I (VI), ранні Стюарти, ранньостюартівська Англія, яковіанська епоха, Меланхолія, Сатурн, *vanitas*, *acedia*, *temento mori*, іконографія Часу.

In the early modern times, English monarchy significantly altered the strategies of their self-representation. It happened mostly due to the invention of book printing that facilitated the mass production of engravings. 'Reshaping' the royal court as a governmental institution triggered this change too much. We have selected one of these engravings for analysis in order to explore how the King was perceived and 'remembered' by his successors; how these successors built up his image and how that image changed due to specific historical events (40-80s of the 17th century were a dynamic period for Britain, in particular).

¹ Since the artist is of Dutch origin, we think it is correct to transliterate his name in accordance with the norms of Dutch language.

Visual image of James I (VI) in Early Stuart England

In 1603, by the will of the childless Elizabeth I Tudor, James VI Stuart, a native of Scotland, became the King of England. The new King actively used art for his political purposes. At the court of James I, the fine arts served as political propaganda aimed to glorifying the monarch and represent the strength and power of the English state. In addition to exaltation, the visual strategies of the first Stuarts (1603-1649) used to assert, a legitimate right of the 'Scottish' dynasty in their plans for the English throne. James I himself is marked as *magna Britannia Franc. et Hibernia rex* (published by Nicolas de Clerck), *fidei defensor* (printed and published by Peter Stent), *beati pacifici* (unknown artist, possibly 17th century) in the portraits of that time (engravings in particular).

Mark Rankin's research is based on the written sources of analysis the image of Henry VIII during the years 1535-1625. He argues that artists of Jacobian England used the image of Henry VIII to assert the authority of James I. The latter, like Henry VIII, maintained stability in the Kingdom (Rankin 2007, p. 309).

First, James I Stuart, after becoming King of Great Britain, continued the visual practices of the Tudor dynasty. London was glorified as the 'new Rome', and Jacob himself as the one who is able to restore the 'Kingdom of Saturn' (Makarova 2017, p. 24). Elena Makarova analyzed how Charles I used the image of James I after his death (Makarova 2017).

James I, like his successor Charles I (1625-1649), aimed to strengthen absolute power. To achieve this goal, he also actively involved visual strategies aimed at establishing the legitimacy of the monarch's actions, creating an idea of his divine election and the inexpediency of criticism. Visual strategies those policies that actualize the political component of art. Art did not reproduce reality, but constructed it.

One of the court portrait painters was Flemish Paul van Somer. At the invitation of count Arundel, who had previously been engaged in an artistic patronage, a Dutch artist Daniel Mytens arrived in Great Britain in 1618, who later became a portraitist of King James I. James I left a court portraitist Nicholas Hilliard, who became famous at the court of Elizabeth I. Nicholas Hilliard was a miniaturist and managed to combine art of miniature with portraits painting. Hilliard created miniature portrait pendants of representatives of the royal court. Tudor artists continued to work (for example, Robert Peake the Elder and Rowland Lockey). In general, the tradition of representing royal power through a book (its text and image) was founded by Henry VII Tudor (1407-1509). He shaped the symbols of the dynasty, which began to be used even in books that did not relate to the royal crown.

James I continued another tradition started by Henry VII. These are theatrical acts in which the King is not only limited in control, but also takes an active part, sometimes even compiling a 'program'. In addition, James I continued to increase spending on the organization and conduct of court performances ('masks'). William Shakespeare and his theater group also worked at the court of Elizabeth I, but it was under James I that they became 'the King's people.'

In addition, family group portraits of the royal family remained traditional (for example, in works by Simon de Passe, by Renold or Reginold Elstrack (Elstracke)). They most often depicted Anne of Denmark; King Charles I when Prince of Wales; King James I of England and VI of Scotland. According to Clinton M. Lawrence, James I advocated the role of King as head of state and head of a personal family. Clinton M. Lawrence suggests considering the *paterfamilias*: 'It refers to the power that fathers exercised over every person living in their homes, including wives, children, other blood relatives, and slaves' (Lawrence 2013, p. 30). James emphasized the connection between the roles of fathers and Kings in the epigraph above, when he questioned, 'how can your laws be kept in the country, if they are broken at your ear?' (Lawrence 2013, p. 31).

The study aims to reveal the role of the allegories of Time, Truth, History and Memory played in the image of the King based on an example of a particular engraving. Achieving this goal implies following tasks: 1) to consider the functioning of Time as a structure of allegories *memento mori* and *vanitas*; 2) to analyze the iconography of Truth, History, Memory in the allegories of the 15th – 16th centuries, to investigate of the images specifics in the engraving of John Droeshout; 3) to describe the emotional state of James I (VI) depicted by the John Droeshout.

I. Sources and methods



Fig. 1. King James I of England and VI of Scotland with Truth and Time, Memory and History by John Droeshout line engraving

The engraving by John Droeshout 'King James I of England and VI of Scotland with Truth and Time, Memory and History' (1651) ('King James I of England and VI of Scotland with Truth and Time, Memory and History', NPG D18237) is in the centre of our essay (Fig. 1). The engraver was asked to illustrate Michael Spark's book 'Truth Brought to Light and Discovered by Time or A Discourse and Historical Narration of the First XIV Years of King James Reigne'. The murder of Sir Thomas Overbury was in the heart of this story. However, the authors also told other stories from the court life: for example, the one about the King's favorite, Robert Carr, who was involved in the organization of the poisoning of his friend Thomas and the death of Henry Stuart. The book also provided a variety of letters, invoices, and documents and so on, that the authors offer as evidence (Levchenko & Kukharuk 2019, p. 82).

The edition of 1651 contains a cover sheet with an engraving by John Droeshout. It is accompanied by a brief explanation of each of depicted images and the general conception of the overall artist or customer conception. We assume that the text was written before the engraving was created for it was quite common. This poetic commentary, printed on a separate sheet to the left of the title page, simplifies significantly not only the iconological but also the iconographic analysis of the engraving. It is easier to recognize Time or Truth because of the specificity of symbolism, but History or Memory, whose attributes were only books and parchments, are hardly recognizable without the text (Levchenko & Kukharuk 2019, p. 80).

The four characters are arranged symmetrically vertically. Denis Chernov writes that the number four is directly related to the division of time (Chernov 2010, p. 186). It becomes especially clear when considering certain cycles of time (time of day, four seasons, four mythical centuries). Chernov cites as example Nicolas Poussin's painting 'The Dance of human life', where the four girls incarnate symbols of time. The Droeshout's engraving images of Time, Truth, History and Memory are located in rectangles of identical size. We cannot say with certainty that the engraver does it specifically to emphasize the fluctuation of time or changes taking place, since there is no strong evidence for it.

The original image decryption (Fig. 2)

Translation by Stephaniia Demchuk

Triumphant Truth trampling on Errour base,
With one Hand hidden Secrets doth uncase ;
With t'other draws the Curtain, shews in King
JAMES,
That Death, Kings, Crowns, Sceptres and all
things tames Expressed by this dead Kings
posture, right.
Who Dead, all Regal Ornaments doth slight.

Тріумфуюча Правда попирає Оману,
Однією Рукою викриваючи приховані
Таємниці,
Іншою – відхиляючи Завісу, показуючи на
прикладі Короля Якова,
Що Смерть, Королі, Корони, Скипетри та усі
речі – марнота,
Як видно з положення та привілеїв цього
мертвого Короля,
Коли ти – Мрець, усі Королівські Регалії
щезають.

One father side All-Conquering Time doth stand,
A Watchfull Sentinel, and with his Hand
Draws back the other Curtain, to descree,
That Princes must as well as Pesants die ;
And helps t'uncover Secrets covered long,
And under's feet tramples on Death most
strong.

На іншій стороні стоїть всевладний Час,
Уважний Вартовий, який своєю Рукою
Відхиляє іншу Завісу, щоб показати,
Що Князі, як і Селяни, мають помирати;
І допомагає [він] розкрити давно приховані
Таємниці,
Нещадно попираючи своїми ногами Смерть.

Then, next, behold experienced Memorie,
The true Recorder of all Historie.
Spurning down black Oblivion with his looks,
Whiles He turns o're his Parchments and his
Books ;
And by his expert knowledge, calls to minde
The truths of Stories which thou here shalt
finde.

Потім далі бачимо Пам'ять,
Істинного Літописця Історії,
Який нехтує чорним Забуттям,
Коли перегортає усі свої Пергаменти та Книги
І своїми пізнаннями нагадує
Істину Історій, яку ви тут знайдете.

On th'other side sits Historie most grave,
Writes down what Memorie unto him gave.
To countenance both Time and Truth most
sweet,
And treads down lazy Sloth under his feet ;
Relating here, the Ranting daies of old,

На іншій стороні сидить Історія і поважно
Записує усе, що їй дала Пам'ять,
Щоб примирити якнайкраще Час і Правду
І скинути під ноги неробу-Лінь;
Є тут і марнославні Дні Минулі,
Про ниці витівки чії, багато мовлено дурних

Of whose base pranks, many foul Tales are told. Казок.

At last, i'th' midst, thou may'st a Coffin spie,
Wherein a murdered-Corps enclosed doth lie ;
On which, a Light, and Urn, thou plac'd may'st see,
And in the midst to grow a spreading Tree,
Full fraught with various Fruits, most fresh and fair,
To make succeeding Times most rich and rare.

Нарешті, посередині ви можете помітити Домовину,
Де Мрець забитий вже лежить,
На ній стоять, як бачите, Світильник та Урна,
А у середині росте розлоге Дерево,
Багате на різні плоди, свіжі та гарні,
Які зроблять наступні Часи більш щедрими та славними.

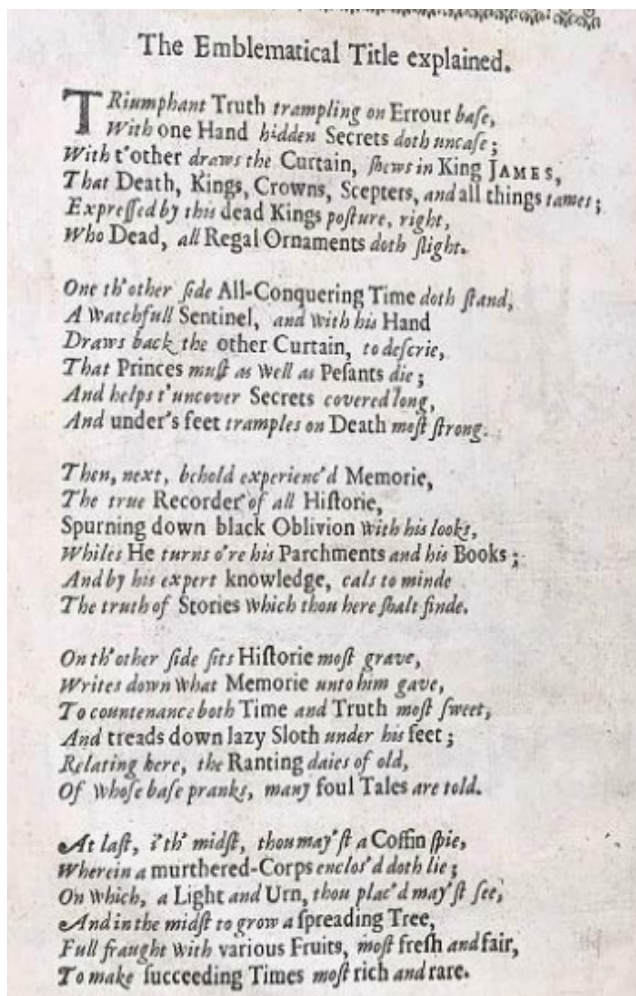


Fig. 2. The original image of the title

The title is displayed in the centre; a small room, where James I sits, is above it; a tree, growing above the coffin, is beneath. It has heavy but fresh fruits – new parchments and books; a candlestick, with a lit candle and a flowerpot, stands on the brownie. Consequently, the composition can be divided into six parts, which are combined with the idea that in good Time Memory will return Truth to History.

Classical methods of art history (such as the iconographic Kondakov-Mâle method, the method of formal and stylistic analysis of Heinrich Wölfflin, the iconological method of Erwin Panofsky, the cultural and historical method of Jacob Burkhardt) were applied during the study. Despite criticism of American post-structuralist Keith Moxey² and Michael Ann Holly, the iconological method allows us to get a holistic view of functioning of individual images in engraving and their role in the representation of monarch. The fact that the artist was one of the emigrants from Netherlands is all we actually know about him. Thus, it is impossible to trace any sources that might have inspired Droeshout. If sometimes the image 'pulls on' functions of the text and serves as a kind of 'stories', in our case it is an illustration to the text. The picture's

symbolism is twofold: the first part is dictated by the text, and the second is driven by the unknown sources.

II. Results

² Moxey argues that Panofsky's interpretation is interpreter's projection and object of interpretation (Yuzhakova 2010; Moxey 1994, pp. 72-75).

The iconography of the allegory of Time



Fig. 3. *Triumph o/Time, Florentine illumination, 1442.*
Florence, Biblioteca Laureriziana, Pa1.72. fol. 86'

narrative source for masters of the Renaissance was the 'Triumph of Time' ('Trionfo del Tempo') by Francesco Petrararch (1304-1374). Petrararch's vivid images attracted more than one generation of artists. Panofsky was first to identify Kronos-Saturn³ as a prototype of personification of time depicted by Petrararch⁴.



Fig. 4. *Strozzi Zanobi. 1440-45. Triumph of Time.* Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna, Italy



Fig. 5. *Triumph of Time, published by G. De Gregoriis.*
1508. Venice, Biblioteca Civica, Trieste, Italy

³ Greek Chronos (Cronos) according to the mythological tradition corresponds to Roman Saturn.

⁴ Comprehensive visual images of Time are associated with Petrararch's lack of specific characteristics and attributes in his work. It determines creative freedom of artists in the visual reproduction of image.

First interpretations of the image appeared in Florence between years 1440-1450 (Fig. 3-4). Time was depicted as a bearded infirm old man with crutches, riding on a reindeer-driven chariot (Cohen 2008, p. 303-306). These details hinted at the destructive force of Time: if Petrarch's Time was a destroyer itself, now it has changed to a weak old man, exposed to destructive influence himself. One can easily note how the symbols varied: in one case, Time holds a globe divided into three spheres (Europe, Asia, and Africa); in the others cases, a simple geocentric armillary sphere replaced the globe (Fig. 3). At the same time, if the globe symbolized the 'power' of Time, then the artillery sphere is the possibility of determining coordinates, the transformation of the sacral into a physical one. The emergence of cosmic elements, we suppose, is linked to the pantheistic worldview. Illustrations show, that time, space and matter are all categories in the hierarchy of emanations, the beginning and end of which is God. As early as 1332, the rector of St. Albans was engaged in the creation of a clock, which would show not only time, but also the movement of the sun, moon, and stars. If earlier Time was shown in front and immovable, then from the midst of the 15th century – in



Fig. 6. Jacopo del Celayo. 1480. *Triumph of Time* (from the series 'Four Triumphs'). Bandini Museum, Fiesole, Italy



Fig. 7. Engraving 'Triumph of Time' to the series 'Triumphs' by Petrarch. 1460-1470 biennium Florence, Albertina, graphic collection, Austria



Fig. 8. *Triumph of Time*, copy of the 16th century original by the Antwerp artist Pieter Coecke van Aalst, Rijksmuseum, the Netherlands

profile, moving (Mortimer 2018).

In the 1450s-60s natural symbols replaced cosmic elements in visualizations of Time. At the same time, the sandglass was introduced (*Trionfo del Tempo*, 1450). For the first time, the Moon and the Sun appear in the images of Time in the Florentine engravings in the 1460-80s (Fig. 6, 7).

Yet Petrarch referred to Time within the context of the infinity of day and night alternation, for astronomical observations have long been the only way to calculate time. In addition to images of luminaries, sandglass, there is a late antique image of phoenix (a symbol of renewal and immortality). Time is also transforming, now it, in the image of human, sits on a globe, devouring its children ('tempus edax rerum'). Time, in genre scenes, symbolizes futility and absurdity of everything. All these details in their own way reflect the words of Petrarch: 'The passage of time sweeps all the masters // And then I realized how futile // All that I used to appreciate in my life'.

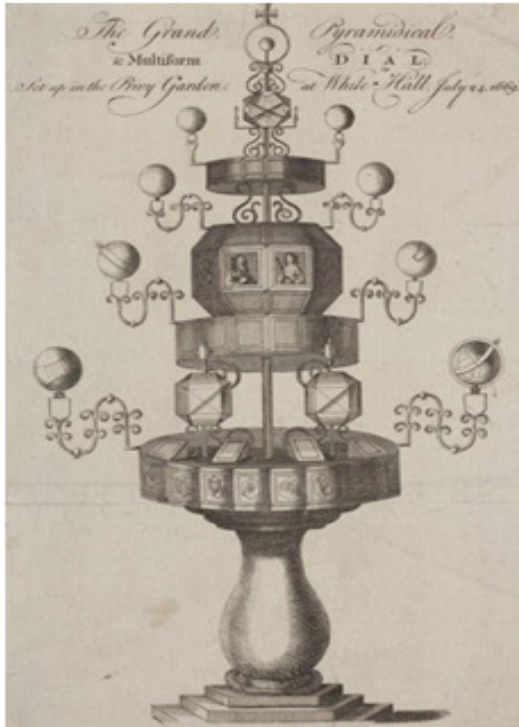


Fig. 9. A majestic pyramid and multi-format dial set in a secret garden in Whitehall, July 24, 1669. London Underground Archives, United Kingdom.

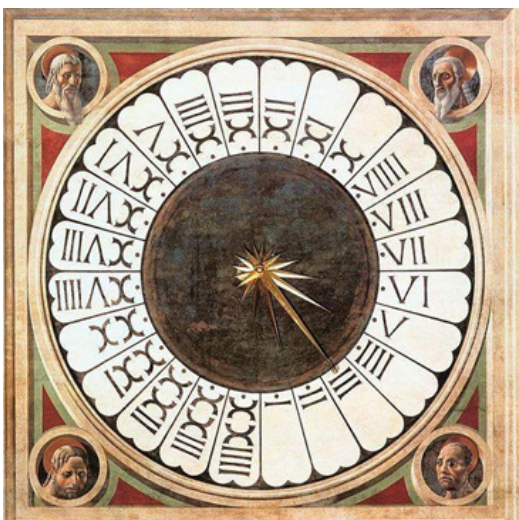


Fig. 10. Watch by Paolo Uccello, 1443. Cattedrale di Santa Maria del Fiore, Italy

Image, developed by personalities of the Italian quattrocento, serves as basis for visualization of Time in the 16th century (Fig. 5, 8). There is a change in the images: a great man-destroyer replaced an old man, who personified time. In the edition of Gregory (1508), Time represents death and destruction, it took the Scythe of Death, and Death acquired the hourglass of Time. Time begins to be depicted as Saturn of Greek-Roman mythology. The image of the man was transformed from an old powerless to a muscular naked man. Thus, Time first becomes a destroyer, then a monster, and later a demon.

Depiction of Time as a courageous man and the use of symbols, which traditionally accompany Time in the sixteenth century paintings, appears in the next century as well. In particular, John Droeshout used similar means of Time visualization in the engraving 'King James I of England and VI of Scotland with Truth and Time, Memory and History' (printed in 1651).

In Droeshout's engraving, Time is embodied in the image of a muscular, naked man with wings. With his right hand, Time holds the veil with miniature room of Jacob I hidden behind. By this movement, it somehow reveals old secrets and indicates that Kings die just like other people. In the left hand, it has the Scythe of Death, lowered by the sharp edge downwards. Under its feet, there is a skeleton, which represents Death itself. Thus, Time is equated with Death and destruction.

There is no hourglass in the composition. The artist depicts instead a relatively large clock, which seems to have grown into the chest of a man (Time). It is interesting, that the dial is mirrored or depicted 'back to front' (XI is to the right from XII, and I is to the left), so the arrows should move in the opposite direction, 'unwinding' time back. It is difficult to say whether there was any subtext (for example, it could be considered as an attempt to emphasize that Time will absorb everything and only the triumphant Truth will remain) or whether the artist resorted to this

accidentally, simply by drawing some specific 'wrong' clock. There are any notes about in the poem-commentary on the engraving. Thus, we propose the following hypotheses to explain the 'inverted' clock: 1) the distortion was due to the technical process of engraving; 2) the engraving shows the sundial⁵; 3) Droeshout deliberately creates a 'mirror' dial⁶. In the latter case, the author of the study is free to interpret this position of the artist, and therefore none of the proposed hypotheses can be definitively proved.

There is a piece of sky with two stars and a crescent moon above the head of Time. Engraver depicts the Sun on the opposite side of the picture above the head of the woman-Truth to demonstrate cyclical nature of day and night.

The Construct of Truth



Fig. 11. Ripa. Verita, 1709

Droeshout places Truth (Verity)⁷ along with the personification of Time to the left. In general, the engraver follows Cesare Ripa's image. Woman is naked and illuminated by the sun, just as Ripa's (Fig. 11). 'Nude, because absolute simplicity is natural to her' (Ripa 1709, p. 78). The sun illuminates her right hand, and the heart appears through her breasts. Truth does not lean towards the prejudice, but remains equally favorable to all sides, possibly embodying divine justice. On Sandro Botticelli's painting 'The Calumny of Apelles', for example, Truth is in the left



Fig. 12. Poussin Nicolas. 1641. Time protecting Truth from the attacks of Envy and Discord. Oil on canvas. diam. 297 cm. The Louvre. France.

⁵ The following testifies that the sundial was still relevant. The central part of Whitehall in the second half of the 17th century was a watch created by Charles II in 1669. King valued it so much that he even hired a security guard to keep the watch safe. The clock had a very original mechanism. The dial consisted of three tiers decorated with portraits of the royal family. Iron branches supported bowls of water. There were lines in one of the bowls. One had to put his hand in this bowl; the sun rays refracted and indicated the hour. The clock was destroyed before the fire of 1698 by the drunken courtier John Wilmot (Fig. 9).

⁶ An example of such a 'mirror' dial is the clock created by Paolo Uccello at the Cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence (Fig. 10).

⁷ In the engraving title 'King James I of England and VI of Scotland with Truth and Time, Memory and History', we translate 'Truth'. In the book 'Moral Emblems' by Cesare Ripa we find only an explanation of image of Verita (Latin - Veritas, English - Verity), which should be translated 'Truth'.

corner. If all other figures are depicted in motion, Truth though, is still and only pointing up with her finger. Droeshout's Truth is pointing up to the Sun in the same way. She is standing on the erroneous judgment, which is also mentioned in the poetic commentary.

Ripa's 'Iconology' contains other Truth's attributes aside from the Sun and Nudity. Among these are a book, a palm branch, and a globe⁸. Droeshout chose not to depict the book or the globe. The originality is not of importance in this case, for it was just necessary to make the image recognizable like it is recognizable in works of Carracci 'The Allegory of Truth and Time' (1585, Royal Collection of Buckingham Palace), Nicolas Poussin 'Time saves Truth from Envy and Strife' (1641-1642, Paris, Louvre, Fig. 12), The Dance of Human Life (London, Wallace Collection), Tulden 'Time Saves Truth' (1657, St. Petersburg, Hermitage).

Remarkably, sculptors were inspired by Ripa's image as well. During 1646-1652 Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini was working on 'Truth Unveiled by Time' piece. Unfortunately, he didn't have a chance to finish the figure of Time. However, Bernini sculpted Truth accurately following Ripa's guidelines: the Sun is put in Truth's hand, the globe is beneath (her feet) and someone (apparently Time) is undressing her. In 1671(1672)-1678 Bernini was working on the engraving that featured Pope Alexander VII where Truth was also nude. Traditionally she supported the Earth with her leg. But a small detail suggested the actual bias of the engraving: with her second leg Truth was standing on England suggesting that Pope Alexander VII was confronting Anglicanism.

Depiction of Truth near the King was spread through the 17th century. Although, there were some differences: sometimes Truth is unmasking crimes of James I, and in other cases (like in Guy-Louis Vernansal's work) the King is shown as the representation of Truth. Vernansal represented images of Religion, Piety, Truth and Faith beside the Louis the XIV (18th century, Versailles).

Truth's attributes were optional, although often linking it to Time. After analyzing already mentioned Pussen's canvas, Denis Chernov concludes that Time was embodied in Vault of Heaven, wilted plants - vanitas (Chernov 2010, p. 185-186). Thereby Time opens Truth, since she is his daughter - the author concluded. He not just opens her but gives an opportunity to understand and discover her ('veritas filia temporis') (Chernov 2010, p. 184; Zolotova 1988, p.150). Therefore 'Verity should not be undercovered or adorned'. So that Truth is 'stronger' than Time, she must

overcome it eventually. We can see it in Jean-Jacques de Boissieu (1736-1810) work (Time is banished by Truth. No date. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Collection, New York, USA). So we can separate two plots, where Time and Truth are interacting. The first one: Time saves Truth, discover and show it to the world. Recollecting François Lemoyne's work (Time Saving Truth from Falsehood and Envy, 1737, The Wallace Collection, London). It depicts Father-Time with naked Truth



Fig. 13. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, 'Acedia', c. 1556-58

⁸ Delight.

in his hands. Time with a scythe is conquering Untruth, who is tightly wrapped in the material. Meanwhile the Falsehood and the Envy are defeated depicted behind Time and Truth. Second plot: Truth is banishing and overcoming Time, as it is in Jean-Jacques de Boissieu's work.

Droeshout is following Greek-Roman ideals of beauty in depiction of Truth. It is evident even in the tiniest details like the size of her second toe, which is bigger than the hallux⁹. Truth is supporting Untruth's face, which is depicted inaccurately hinting that it should be trampled into the mud and destroyed. It has an explicit link to the book's plot and it's aim. The book was printed after James I death. Nevertheless, the ideas of Truth brought to light became prominent to the society. Hence motive of getting out Truth from a well or a dark cave. Being illuminated by the Sun, Truth lightens up a darkness and uncovers Untruth.

Royal Acedia. Saturn – Melancholy



Fig. 14. Albrecht Dürer, *Melancholy-1*, 1514

Droeshout depicted the King in the traditional pose for acedia's iconography¹⁰, which is emphasized with a skull depicted next to the King. The skull traditionally functions in memento mori allegories¹¹. In their work, Erwin Panofsky, Fritz Saxl, and Raymond Klibanski claim that melancholy is a mythical substance that was transformed in different historical periods (Klibansky and oth. 1964; Panofsky, Saxl 1933; Yuzhakova 2010, p. 209). Heinrich Wölfflin notes that melancholy was not only stick with pose but rather with its attributes (Yuzhakova 2010, p. 209).

In the Middle Ages, melancholy was believed to be a real disease, but the acedia of the temptation of the midday devil¹². Theophan the Recluse, while explaining this condition, quoted the scripture: 'My soul is flowing out of sorrow' (Ps. 118: 28). Cult of melancholy was not new to England: images of Kabbalistic magic, astrology and alchemy were increasingly appearing on canvases of the 16th-17th centuries. Jacob's court painter Robert Peak (1551-1619) also wrote in this manner (Korol 2016, p. 45). Increasingly, courtiers were

⁹ The Greeks considered this foot right, so they call it 'Greek'. Inheriting ancient ideals, Renaissance artists portrayed this footstep, such as: Michelangelo in the David sculpture (1501-1504, Florence, Academy); Sandro Botticelli in The Birth of Venus (1482-1486, Florence, Uffizzi Gallery); even Raphael Santi in the Madonna Sistina (1513-1514, Dresden, Old Masters Gallery).

¹⁰ We deliberately do not translate by lack of a dictionary. After all, we consider 'Acedia' as just one of states and manifestations of melancholy. In our opinion, matches, functioning for the designation of 'Acedia' do not fully correspond to the content, which was invested in early modern times or even in antiquity.

¹¹ Literally: Remember, that you are mortal.

¹² Here we go into the field of 'history of concepts': first we have *taedium vitae* (Ancient Rome); *acedia* (III cent., and reborn in the XVII cent.); *spleen* (XIX cent.); *depression* (XX cent.) (Kinyar 2000).

depicted 'in flowers of Saturn' and 'in pose of melancholy' (Korol 2016, p. 45; Nesterov 2015, pp. 49-50, 70). However, 'melancholy' was attributed to Henry VI (1421-1471). He refused to wash himself, considering himself glass; sometimes he did not get out of bed and did not move his limbs.



Fig. 15. Hieronymus Bosch, 1475-1480. *The Seven Deadly Sins and the Four Last Things*, Fragment of the Lin. Oil on canvas. 120 × 150 cm. Prado Museum, Spain



Fig. 16. Albrecht Dürer. 1510. *Landsknecht and Death*. Engraving on copper

Literally, 'μέλας χολή' is 'black bile'. According to the humoral theory, black bile is formed due to fusion of blood, lymph and yellow bile, so melancholic is able to exhibit all types of temperaments (Aristotle 1927). There are all liquids in melancholic's body: being merged, they are not synthesizing, but on the contrary can function and manifest in stages. So after emotional arousal, periods of burnout, of reluctance to do anything, and depression itself may come. In fact, laziness and acedia are either manifestations or one of the phases of melancholy, not melancholy itself. Hieronymus Bosch's laziness is one of the deadly sins. Pieter Bruegel the Elder has a separate engraving 'Laziness'¹³ (?) from the cycle 'Sins', where we can see classical for iconography acedia pose in the center (Fig. 13).

Aristotle, according to Hippocrates doctrine of four humors, was first to stop considering melancholy as a pathology. According to him, the black bile could heat or cool (earlier texts – including the Hippocratic Corpus – do not mention it). Heat governs the whole organism and can affect the character and abilities of individual. If black bile is too cold, it affects intellectual abilities, making absorbing any knowledge almost impossible. If, however, the humor is too hot (which, according to Aristotle, could be influenced by a number of factors, say the use of a large amount of wine), individual becomes too excited, unreasonable, prone to crazy actions and various exaltations, which in most cases only brings harm and may cause complete insanity.

Aristotle points to existence of another rare and special condition when the humor of black bile has a slight inclination toward heat. This inclination (*eukraiosanomalia*) brings one to a state of insanity, but at the same time is incapable to cause inflammation or serious illness. On the contrary, these conditions give rise to extraordinary talent. In this case, melancholic becomes an outstanding personality, endowed with exceptional qualities. Such a person has

an extremely developed propensity for philosophical, political and poetic activity. Nonetheless, it

¹³ So, at least, they translate into Ukrainian and Russian engravings by P. Bruegel from the cycle 'Sins' (Fig. 13) and a fragment of 'The Seven Deadly Sins' by I. Bosch (Fig. 15).

has many virtues and is able to achieve ethical excellence. Such an exceptional personality has a heightened sense of dignity for it understands the value of its gift. This condition is extremely rare and is a sign of a genius.

However, a number of external factors could lead to the violation of the temperature of bile (the tendency to excess, the use of too much wine, excessive emotionality, especially anger), which immediately destroys balance in the human body and will cause serious illnesses. That is why a person, who is endowed with such a 'gift', must first strive for mediocrity, try not to destroy the natural balance, be modest enough in life and its desires, not to become angry and so on.



Fig. 17. Castration of Saturn. 15th c. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Manuscrits, ms. français 226, folio 9 in



Fig. 18. After Jacob de Gheyn, Saturn as Melancholy, c. 1595



Fig. 19. Droeshout, 1651

Yet, the perception of melancholy itself, as well as methods of its treatment, was different. For example, the famous engraving by Albrecht Dürer 'Melancholy-1' (1513) depicts heavy reflections with subsequent awareness of vanity of all human deeds and mind efforts in front of imminent death (Fig. 14). Maybe, it explains why Time firstly as a weak old man with wings; later – as anatomically perfect giant-destroyer; and after all, as

Saturn, eating his own children), was present in this engraving and similar artworks¹⁴.

At the beginning of the 16th century Time, as we see, arises with the attributes of Death - Scythe and (or) sandglass (let's recall the 'Death with Landsknecht' by Dürer, Fig. 16). Probably, that is why some thinkers from ancient times believed that melancholics were born 'under the influence' of Saturn. It should be noted, that in the same 1514 Dürer created engravings 'Knight, Death and the Devil' and 'Saint Jerome in the Cell'. Therefore, the attributes of melancholy function in several concepts at once, acquiring the attributes of Time and Death. However, Saturn-likeness of Time is only optional thing. Yes, it could embody the idea of a transient life (especially in allegories of *memento mori* or *vanitas*) (Fig. 17, 18). A necessary element of the latter is a skull. However, in paired plot images with Truth or History, Time could confirm the idea of inevitability of ascertainment and / or return of Truth (truth) with its

¹⁴ This idea was well implemented by Isaac Penard (1619-1676), who created a skull pendant, which opened and had a clock face inside. 'Scull' clock was peculiarity of Geneva and Blois - outstanding centers of Protestantism of 17th century (Vincent Clare; Leopold, Jan Hendrik; Sullivan, Elizabeth 2016, p. 48-49) (Fig. 20).

passing.

The fashion for melancholy was introduced (or re-introduced) by Neo-Platonist Marcilio Ficino. He translated Plato and Plotinus (Korol 2016). Plotinus wrote, that Greek Chronos (in the Roman tradition Saturn) stands closest to the origins of life and embodies absolute intellect that feeds on its ideas (children) and is full of them (Plotinus 2003). Casting aside fears and contempt, which prevailed around Melancholia in the middle Ages, Ficino, relying on Plato and Aristotle, again gave this temperament a halo of genius. Melancholics became creators of higher values and even began to be imitated (Korol 2016, p. 42).

In the historical narrative of the first half of the 17th century James I began to be characterized as a King-intellectual, who insists on strengthening the 'divine right' of Kings¹⁵. At the same time, the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711 - 1776) characterized the King ambivalently: 'affectionate and indiscriminate', 'peaceful character neighbored with cowardice' (Trunov 2010, pp. 64-65).

Timothy Peters and his colleagues studied medical history of diseases of James I. In their study, they cite record of court doctor Theodore de Mayerne (1623), where he, in addition to probable bisexuality and susceptibility to alcoholism, indicates a predisposition of the King to 'hypochondriac melancholy' (Peters et al. 2012, p. 281). In addition, there is a detailed description



of the King's body after his death and autopsy¹⁶. Enlarged lungs and excretory bladder indicated, according to humoral theory, this predisposition to melancholy. All this shaped the King's image after his death¹⁷. The visuals, therefore, went along with the narrative.

Fig. 20. Watchmaker: Isaac Penard (Swiss, 1619–1676)

III. Conclusions. Prospects for the further research

Jacob Droeshout's engraving and poetic commentary testify that visual images were considered optional or ancillary; one that helps to better (visibly) understand plot of a book.

¹⁵ See more about it in Trunov A. 'Historiographical image of James I' .

¹⁶ 'The King's body was about the 27th of March disbowelled, and his harte was found to be great but soft, his liver as a young man's, one of his kidneys was very good but the other shrunk so little as they could hardly find it wherein there were two stones. His lites [lungs] and gall blacke [bladder] judged to proceed of melancholy; the semyture [skull] of his head so stronger as they could hardly break it open with a chisel and a saw and so full of braynes as they could not upon the opening keep them from spilling, a great mark of his infinite judgement. His bowels were presently put into a leaden vessel and buried; his body embalmed and remained until the 4th of April' (Letters of Sir Simonds d'Ewes. A copy of Mr. William Neeves letter to Sir Thomas Hollande, dated 5 Apr. 1625. British Library; Harlein MSS 383, f. 28v. Cited according to Peters et al. 2012, p. 282).

¹⁷ In addition, James I immediately emerges as an intellectual melancholic: an enlarged bladder as an indication of melancholy, a brain that flows as a sign of an infinite mind.

The King's regalia lie at his feet, which is not explicitly stated in the poetic commentary (or was actually ordered) however. Thus, they represent the engraver's idea of the King. Charles II, ordering Peter Paul Rubens' paintings in Whitehall, wanted to emphasize the need to maintain or even strengthen the absolute power of monarch during his ruling without parliament. Droeshout's engraving, however, attests weakening of the concept of the 'divine right' of Kings. Another implicit message of the engraving, too, point at the same fact: the image of History, endowed with didactic functions by Renaissance artists (following their ancient colleagues¹⁸) and contrasted with lies, revealed by History and Time. A well-written story was thought to be able to correct shortcomings and make right policies. In addition, according to D. Louenthal, the two images are undoubtedly interconnected: memory refers to the past 'from second hands', therefore, to history; history is created on the basis of memories of the past, that are directly related to memory (Louenthal 2004, p. 336). Despite such community, Louenthal also makes a significant difference between History and Memory, quoting J. G. A. Pocock. The latter asserted, 'An isolated individual cannot know anything about the past except his own personal memories' (quoted in Louenthal 2004, p. 337). History, therefore, belonged to everyone equally; it was neither an individual experience nor a sum of individual experiences. At the same time, it concerned everyone and was meant to correct even mistakes of human life. Like Memory, History combines, squeezes, magnifies some moments of Time. Then these moments come to the fore, and fleeting and uninformative – retreats aside (Louenthal 2004, p. 344) .

Figure of the King thus attests that the concept of 'Acedia' was replaced with the concept of 'melancholy'. Image of the King, which functioned in English society of the second half of the 16th – at the beginning of the 17th centuries, confirms it: he could be depicted as intellectual, passionate but at the same time calm (on numerous contemporary engravings signed as *Beati pacifici*¹⁹); no laziness or temptation of the devil is at stake. With one hand the King props his head (which is common for the iconography for Acedia), the other rests on a skull. Images of skull, time, candles are characteristic for allegories of *memento mori* and *vanitas*²⁰. These details function in two dimensions at once: 1) they indicate that Kings die like ordinary people do; 2) in interaction with anthropomorphic images of Time, Truth, History, Memory, they indicate inevitability of restoration of Truth, which Time with the help of Memory shall return to History.

Although images of Memory and History²¹ can be identified with help of the poetic commentary, symbolic meaning of windows (the one with a parchment and the other with a book) in the engraving remains to discover. For it seems not without purpose that there is only a half of the window depicted in the quadrangle with the image of Memory²² (one leaf), while there are two halves reserved for History. We remember at the level of 'good', 'bad', while History should write its books, considering, like the Truth, all circumstances. However, one should carefully examine the iconography of Truth and History in the early modern times before going further in digging up the symbolic meaning of windows.

¹⁸ Recall at least the well-known *Historia est magistra vitae*.

¹⁹ Lat.: blessed peacemaker.

²⁰ Allegories that should have emphasized the fluidity of life; inevitability of death.

²¹ Let us not forget that Greek Muse of History (Κλειώ) is the daughter of Zeus and goddess of Memory Mnemosyne (Μνημοσύνη).

²² Burckhardt, for example, in 'Obscure sensibility' gives analogy of knowledge as a building with no windows, where light (knowledge) is brought in bags instead of preparing another building with windows, where light will fall according to the laws of nature. He considers windows as source of sensuality and knowledge – and then 'Divine light falls on events in the world, illuminates them' (This is Man 1995, p. 134).

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The engraving of John Droeshout 'King James I of England and VI of Scotland with Truth and Time, Memory and History' (1651): an interpretation

This essay aimed at iconological analysis of an engraving by John Droeshout. During the study, the author applied classical methods of art history: iconological and iconographical, method of formal stylistic analysis of Heinrich Wölfflin, culture-historical method of Jacob Burckhardt. The engraving dates back to 1651 – by that time the King has been already dead. Thus, it allows to explore the commemorative and representative practices of his successors. Droeshout's engraving and poetic commentary testify that the language of visual arts was perceived as optional and ancillary; one that helps to understand the plot of the book better (visually). Droeshout tests the weakening of the concept of 'the divine right of Kings'. The images of skulls, time and candles are typical allegories of memento mori and vanitas. These images function in two dimensions at once:

1) indicating that King dies in the same way as ordinary people do; 2) while connecting the anthropomorphic images of Time, Truth, History, Memory they also indicating the inevitable restoration of Truth, which Time will return to History with the help of Memory. The prospect of further research is the disclosure of interaction between the narrative and the image of James I, which functioned in the English society of the revolutionary period (1640-1689). At the same time the 'visual language' of the elements of engraving (the symbolism of windows next to the figures of Memory and History, rugs behind the King's figure) should be explored.

Keywords: James I (VI), Early Stuarts, Early Stuart England, Jacobean era, Melancholy, acedia, Saturn, vanitas, memento mori, iconography of Time.

Illia Levchenko, graduate student, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv (Ukraine)

ORCID ID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-4295-553X>

Ілля Левченко, магістрант, Київський національний університет імені Тараса Шевченка (Україна)

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