

**Lomonosov Moscow State University
St. Petersburg State University**

Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art

IV

Collection of articles

**St. Petersburg
2014**

**Lomonosov Moscow State University
St. Petersburg State University**

Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art

IV

Collection of articles

**St. Petersburg
2014**

Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова
Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет

Актуальные проблемы теории и истории искусства

IV

Сборник научных статей

Санкт-Петербург
2014

УДК 7.061
ББК 85.03
А43

Редакционная коллегия:

С.П. Карпов (председатель редколлегии), Дж. Боулт (Университет Южной Калифорнии), Е.А. Ефимова, Н.К. Жижица, А.В. Захарова (отв. ред. выпуска), А.А. Карев, С.В. Мальцева (отв. ред. выпуска), Н.А. Налимова, Р. Нелсон (Йельский университет), С. Педоне (Римский университет Сапиенца), А.С. Преображенский, А.В. Рыков, А.П. Салиенко, Е.Ю. Станюкович-Денисова, М.В. Соколова, И. Стевович (Белградский университет), И.И. Тучков, А. Якобини (Римский университет Сапиенца)

Editorial board:

Sergey Karpov (chief of the editorial board), John Bowlt (University of Southern California), Elena Efimova, Antonio Iacobini (Sapienza University of Rome), Nadia Jijina, Andrey Karev, Svetlana Maltseva (editor in charge of the present volume), Nadezhda Nalimova, Robert Nelson (Yale University), Silvia Pedone (Sapienza University of Rome), Alexandr Preobrazhensky, Anatoly Rykov, Alexandra Salienko, Ekaterina Stanyukovich-Denisova, Maria Sokolova, Ivan Stevović (Belgrade University), Ivan Tuchkov, Anna Zakharova (editor in charge of the present volume)

Рецензенты:

к. иск. доц. З.А. Акопян (Ереванский государственный университет)
д. иск. проф. Е. Ердельян (Белградский университет, Сербия)
д. иск. проф. Т.В. Ильина (СПбГУ)
д. иск. проф. В.С. Турчин (МГУ имени М.В.Ломоносова)

Reviewers:

Elena Erdeljan (Belgrade University, Serbia)
Zaruhi Hakobian (Yerevan State University)
Tatyana Ilyina (St. Petersburg State University)
Valery Turchin (Lomonosov Moscow State University)

Печатается по постановлению Ученого совета исторического факультета МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова и Ученого совета Института истории СПбГУ

A43 Актуальные проблемы теории и истории искусства: сб. науч. статей. Вып. 4. / Под ред. А.В. Захаровой, С.В. Мальцевой. – СПб.: НП-Принт, 2014. – 662 с.
Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art: Collection of articles. Vol. 4. / Ed. S.V. Maltseva, A.V. Zakharova. – St. Petersburg: NP-Print, 2014. – 662 p.

ISSN Bib-ID: 2312-2129

Сборник научных статей содержит материалы Международной конференции молодых специалистов, проходившей на историческом факультете МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова 21-24 ноября 2013 г. и посвященной актуальным вопросам истории искусства и культуры от древности до современности. В статьях отечественных и иностранных авторов (на русском и английском языках) представлены результаты исследований в области изучения искусства Древнего мира, Византии, Древней Руси, Западной Европы от Средневековья до Нового и Новейшего времени, России XVIII-XX вв., а также теории искусства.

Издание предназначено в первую очередь для специалистов. Может быть использовано в учебной, научно-практической деятельности, а также интересно широкому кругу любителей искусства.

The collection of articles presents the materials of the International Conference of Young Specialists held at the Faculty of History of Lomonosov Moscow State University on November 21-24, 2013. It deals with the actual problems of art history and theory from Antiquity to the present day. The articles by Russian and foreign authors (in Russian and in English) present the results of research in the art of the Ancient World, Byzantium, Medieval Russia, Western Europe from the Middle Ages to the 20th c., Russian art from the 18th to the 20th c., theory of art.

The edition is addressed to art historians, historians, art students and art lovers.

© Авторы статей, 2014
© Исторический факультет Московского государственного университета имени М.В. Ломоносова
© Институт истории Санкт-Петербургского государственного университета

На обложке использован плакат Игоря Гуровича к спектаклю Петра Фоменко «Одна абсолютно счастливая деревня». 2012 г.

On the cover: Igor Gurovich, poster for Pyotr Fomenko's performance "An Absolutely Happy Village", 2012.

Предисловие организаторов конференции «Актуальные проблемы теории и истории искусства»

Всякое начинание, особенно в области гуманитарных наук и исследований, связанных с творческой деятельностью, требует не только трудовых затрат, интеллектуальных и эмоциональных вложений, но и поддержки чисто практической. Этот дуализм творчества, которое затухает без заинтересованного материального участия, был осознан еще в глубокой древности, когда не ставшее еще нарицательным имя римского патриция Мецената с почтением упоминали в своих сочинениях облагодетельствованные им Овидий и Гораций. Вклад, который сегодня вносят в развитие научных исследований отдельные предприниматели и целые фонды, необходим для сохранения высокой планки гуманитарного знания — залога того созидательного начала, которое движет нас по пути сохранения всего лучшего, чем располагает современное общество из наследия прошлого.

Проведение IV Международной конференции молодых специалистов «Актуальные проблемы теории и истории искусства» в 2013 году и издание сборника статей по материалам ее работы было осуществлено при финансовой поддержке фонда «Русский художественный мир». Организационный комитет и участники конференции выражают свою глубокую признательность директору фонда Елене Казимировне Жуковой и надеются на дальнейшее плодотворное сотрудничество.

*От имени Организационного комитета и участников конференции,
А.В. Захарова, С.В. Мальцева*



Предисловие директора фонда «Русский художественный мир»

Основной целью своей деятельности фонд «Русский художественный мир» (РХМ) считает содействие реализации культурных и научных программ и мероприятий — выставок, лекций, семинаров и конференций, способствующих изучению культурно-исторического, архитектурного и художественного наследия нашей страны. В рамках этого направления деятельности Фонд принимает участие в разработке программ взаимодействия научного сообщества России и других стран в обмене идеями и ознакомлении с результатами исследований. Те же задачи ставят перед собой и организаторы Международной научной конференции «Актуальные проблемы теории и истории искусства». Поэтому мы с радостью поддержали проведение в 2013 году IV Международной конференции и издание сборника статей по материалам работы конференции в 2014 году. Отмечу, что особое внимание Фонд уделяет проектам, связанным с изучением искусства Византии и Древней Руси, а также искусства России XX и XXI веков, что делает нашу программу содействия работе конференции в буквальном смысле адресной.

Участие Фонда в подготовке и работе конференции «Актуальные проблемы теории и истории искусства» проходит в рамках Соглашения о сотрудничестве между МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова и Фондом «Русский художественный мир». Среди других проектов РХМ в настоящее время — участие в организации и проведении в марте 2014 года в Лондоне Международной научной конференции Института Курто, Кембриджского университета и МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова. Мы всегда рады сотрудничеству с ведущими университетами и научно-исследовательскими центрами мира, так как видим в этой деятельности высокую цель — сохранение творческих и интеллектуальных богатств и, в первую очередь, развитие отечественного научного потенциала и гуманитарного образования.

*Директор фонда «Русский художественный мир»
Елена Жукова*

СОДЕРЖАНИЕ CONTENTS

Предисловие Foreword.....	12
------------------------------	----

ИСКУССТВО ДРЕВНЕГО МИРА ART OF THE ANCIENT WORLD

Е.В. МОГИЛЕВСКАЯ. Миниатюрная ойнохоя из собрания Государственного Эрмитажа: к проблеме датировки, атрибуции и семантики росписи EKATERINA V. MOGILEVSKAYA. A Miniature Oinochoe from the State Hermitage Museum: Problems of Date, Attribution and Semantics of the Image	20
Д.С. ВАСЬКО. Об одной пелике Керченского стиля из собрания Государственного Эрмитажа DMITRII S. VAS'KO. On a Kerch Style Pelike from the State Hermitage Museum	29
Т. КИШБАЛИ. Смерть македонца в Писидии: о термесской «гробнице Алкета» TAMÁS KISBALLI. Death of a Macedonian in Pisidia: The "Tomb of Alketas" in Termessos	39
Е.Н. ДМИТРИЕВА. Хранители и коллекции. Исследование эрмитажного собрания античных резных камней в XX веке ELENA N. DMITRIEVA. Curators and Collections. Studies of the Hermitage Collection of the Antique Engraved Gems in the 20 th Century	50
Н.К. ЖИЖИНА. Образы античности в искусстве XX века. Вновь об актуальности прекрасного NADIA S. JIJINA. Classical Antiquity and the Art of the 20 th Century. More about Actuality of Beauty	61

ВОСТОЧНОХРИСТИАНСКОЕ ИСКУССТВО EASTERN CHRISTIAN ART

С.В. ТАРХАНОВА. Проблема перестройки языческих святилищ в христианские храмы на примере архитектуры северной Палестины позднеантичного периода SVETLANA V. TARHANOVA. The Problem of Transforming Pagan Temples into Christian Churches. The Case of North-Palestinian Architecture of Late Antique Period	79
ФРЕЗЕ А.А. Монастырская архитектура и традиция столпничества в Византии и Древней Руси в IX – начале XIII века ANNA A. FREZE. Monastic Architecture and Tradition of the Stylites in Byzantium and Ancient Rus' in the 9 th – Early 13 th Centuries	90
Д.Д. ЁЛШИН. Об устройстве и расположении лестницы на хоры Десятинной церкви в Киеве DENIS D. JOLSHIN. On the Design and the Position of the Staircase to the Gallery of the Desyatinnaya Church in Kiev.....	99
А.В. ЗАХАРОВА. Принципы группировки изображений святых в византийской монументальной живописи до и после иконоборчества ANNA V. ZAKHAROVA. Principles of Grouping the Images of Saints in Byzantine Monumental Painting before and after Iconoclasm.....	109
Д.А. СКОБЦОВА. Художественные особенности фресок южной капеллы Спасской церкви Евфросиниева монастыря в Полоцке DARIA A. SKOBTSOVA. Artistic Features of the South Chapel Frescoes in the Church of Our Saviour of St. Euphrosyne's Convent in Polotsk	123

С.В. МАЛЬЦЕВА. Триконхи в сербской архитектуре Моравского периода: обзор основных проблем изучения SVETLANA V. MALTSEVA. Triconchs in Serbian Architecture of the Moravian Period: Survey of the Basic Problems.....	131
А.Н. ШАПОВАЛОВА. Роспись церкви Михаила Архангела Сквородского монастыря в Великом Новгороде: архивные документы, экспедиционные исследования и актуальные проблемы изучения ALEKSANDRA N. SHAPOVALOVA. Rediscovering Frescoes of Archangel Michael Church in Skovorodsky Monastery of Novgorod the Great: Archival Documents and Field Research.....	144
П.Г. ЕРШОВ. К проблеме датировки Успенского собора Старицкого Успенского монастыря PETR G. ERSHOV. Assumption Cathedral of the Assumption Monastery in Staritsa: On the Problem of Dating.....	155
Д.С. СКОБКАРЕВА. К истории изучения псковской архитектуры XVI в. DARIA S. SKOBKAREVA. Regarding the History of Studying the Pskovian Architecture of the 16 th Century ...	162
Ю.Н. БУЗЫКИНА. Храмовый образ из Спасо-Преображенского собора Соловецкого монастыря: новооткрытое произведение новгородской иконописи XVI века IULIA N. BUZYKINA. Icon of the Transfiguration from Solovki Monastery: a Newly Discovered Masterpiece of the Novgorodian Icon Painting of the 16 th Century.....	173

ЗАПАДНОЕ ИСКУССТВО СРЕДНИХ ВЕКОВ И НОВОГО ВРЕМЕНИ WESTERN ART FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE 20TH CENTURY

И.Б. АЛЕКСЕЕВА. Интерпретация евангельской притчи о богаче и Лазаре в западноевропейском искусстве XI–XIII веков: пути сложения иконографии IRINA B. ALEKSEVA. Interpretation of the Evangelic Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus in the West European Art of the 11 th –13 th Centuries: Origins of Iconography	187
К.Ш. БАРЕКЯН. Средневековый акваманил: оригинал и копия. Новый взгляд на атрибуцию акваманиллов из коллекции ГМИИ имени А.С. Пушкина KRISTINA SH. BAREKYAN. A Medieval Aquamanile: Original and Copy. A New Look at the Attribution of the Aquamaniles from the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts.....	194
К.Й. ФЭЛТ. Вопросы изучения средневекового церковного искусства в Финляндии — Страстной цикл в визуальной и материальной культуре средневековой Финляндии KATJA J. FÄLT. Challenges in Researching Medieval Ecclesiastic Art in Finland — The Passion of Christ in the Visual and Material Culture of Medieval Finland	204
М.В. ДУНИНА. Типология ренессансного палаццо: образ жизни и характер интерьера (на примере палаццо Даванцати) MARIA V. DUNINA. Typology of Renaissance Palazzo: Lifestyle and Design of the Interior. The Example of Palazzo Davanzati	213
У.П. ДОБРОВА. Фреска «Вознесение» Мелоццо да Форли в церкви Санти Апостоли в Риме. Специфика заказа ULIANA P. DOBROVA. “The Ascension of Christ” by Melozzo da Forli in Basilica dei Santi Apostoli in Rome. Specificity of the Commission	222
П.А. АЛЕШИН. Письмо Аньоло Бронзино о скульптуре и живописи PAVEL A. ALESHIN. Bronzino’s Letter about Sculpture and Painting	230
В.Н. ЗАХАРОВА. Дух и форма: Генрих Вёльфлин о портретной живописи итальянского Ренессанса VERA N. ZAKHAROVA. Spirit and form: Heinrich Wölfflin on Italian Renaissance Portraiture.....	238
Л.В. МИХАЙЛОВА. «Триумфальная процессия» императора Максимилиана I. Этапы воплощения проекта LIUDMILA V. MIKHAILOVA. “Triumphal Procession” of the Emperor Maximilian I Habsburg. Project Realization Stages.....	253
М.И. ПОЗДНЯКОВА. Порттики западных фасадов в церквях середины XV – начала XVI века во Франции. Поздняя готика в поиске новых форм MARINA I. POZDNYAKOVA. West Façade Porches in the Churches from the Middle of 15 th to Early 16 th Century in France. Late Gothic in the Search for New Forms.....	261

А.А. САВЕНКОВА. Готическая традиция и архитектура загородных поместий елизаветинской Англии ALEXANDRA A. SAVENKOVA. Gothic Tradition and the Architecture of Elizabethan Great Country Houses.....	270
С.А. КОВБАСЮК. Кермессы и карнавалы: хроматика народных празднований в ренессансных Нидерландах STEFANIYA A. KOVBASIUK. Kermises and Carnivals: Chromatics of Popular Feasts in Renaissance Netherlands.....	279
А. ШЁНИНГ. «Клевета Апеллеса» Даниэля Фрезе — образ, текст и контекст ANNIKA SCHÖNING. Daniel Frese's <i>The Calumny of Apelles</i> — Image, Text and Context.....	287
Я. ЗАХАРИЯШ. Продолжение и возрождение византийской традиции в творчестве Эль Греко JAN ZACHARIAS. Survival and Revival of the Byzantine Tradition in the Art of El Greco.....	295
П.В. ФЕДОТОВА. Французское часовое искусство XVI–XVII веков. Школа Блуа POLINA V. FEDOTOVA. French Horology of the 16 th –17 th Centuries. The School of Blois.....	301
О.Ю. ПЕРЕВЕДЕНЦЕВА. Цветочный натюрморт XVII века: от созерцания — к изучению природы OL'GA YU. PEREVEDENCEVA. Floral Still Life of the 17 th Century: from the Contemplation to the Studying of Nature.....	311
М.А. ИВАСЮТИНА. Пьер-Анри Валансьен — теоретик и живописец MARINA A. IVASYUTINA. Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes: Theorist and Painter.....	318
Е.А. ПЕТУХОВА. Западноевропейский и американский плакат конца XIX века на первой Международной выставке художественных афиш в Санкт-Петербурге 1897 года ELENA A. PETUKHOVA. West European and American Poster at the First International Poster Exhibition in Saint-Petersburg (1897).....	325

ЗАПАДНОЕ ИСКУССТВО XX ВЕКА И ТЕОРИЯ ИСКУССТВА WESTERN ART OF THE 20TH CENTURY AND THE THEORY OF ART

Е.М. ПОНОМАРЕНКО. Фотографические практики итальянского футуризма. Теория визуального EKATERINA M. PONOMARENKO. The Photographic Practices of the Italian Futurism. Visual Theory.....	333
А.В. АЛЕКСЕЕВА. Значение принципов нотной записи для развития языка абстрактного искусства Пауля Клее ANNA V. ALEKSEEVA. The Importance of Musical Notation for the Development of Paul Klee's Abstract Art.....	339
Д.Н. АЛЕШИНА. Британская абстракция. Картины-рельефы Бена Николсона DINA N. ALESHINA. The British Abstraction. Paintings-Reliefs of Ben Nicholson.....	346
А.А. ЗОРЯ. Скульптура Луиз Невельсон: модернистская традиция как основа художественного языка мастера ALINA A. ZORIA. Louise Nevelson's Sculpture: Influence of Modernism on the Artist's Individuality.....	352
А.А. БЕРДИГАЛИЕВА. Феномен отказа от живописи в искусстве XX века ALIYA A. BERDIGALIEVA. The Phenomenon of Rejection of Painting in the 20 th Century Art.....	360
И.А. ШИК. Интерпретация концепции <i>стадии зеркала</i> Жака Лакана в сюрреалистической фотографии IDA A. SHIK. Interpretation of the Jacques Lacan's Concept of "the Mirror Stage" in the Surrealist Photography.....	368
М.В. РАЗГУЛИНА. Антон Эренцвейг и проблемы психологии абстрактного искусства MARIA V. RAZGULINA. Anton Ehrenzweig and the Problems of Psychology of Abstract Art.....	374
А.В. РЫКОВ. Дискурс эстетизма/тоталитаризма (К социополитической теории авангарда) ANATOLII V. RYKOV. Discourse of Aestheticism/Totalitarianism (On Sociopolitical Theory of Avant-garde).....	381
С.В. ХАЧАТУРОВ. Феномен пустой рамы в искусстве Нового времени SERGEY V. KHACHATUROV. The Phenomenon of an Empty Frame in the Art of the Modern Times.....	392

РУССКОЕ ИСКУССТВО XVIII – НАЧАЛА XX ВЕКА RUSSIAN ART OF THE 18TH – EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Е.Ю. СТАНЮКОВИЧ-ДЕНИСОВА. Чертежи петербургских церквей 1740-х годов из Тессин-Хорлеманской коллекции EKATERINA YU. STANYUKOVICH-DENISOVA. The Architectural Drawings of St. Petersburg Churches of 1740's from the Tessin-Hårlemann Collection	401
З.В. ТЕТЕРМАЗОВА. Обратное «отражение». К вопросу о живописных портретах второй половины XVIII века, исполненных с гравированных оригиналов ZALINA V. TETERMAZOVA. Reverted "Reflection". On Painted Portraits of the Second Half of the 18 th Century Created After Engraved Originals.....	424
В.С. НАУМОВА. Итальянская живопись в собрании К.Г. Разумовского VERA S. NAUMOVA. Italian Painting in the Collection of Kirill G. Razumovsky.....	431
Е.Е. КОЛМОГорова. Мотив «портрета в портрете» и тема семьи в русской живописи второй половины XVIII – начала XIX века EKATERINA E. KOLMOGOROVA. "Portrait in the Portrait" Motive and Family Representation in the Russian Painting of the Second Half of the 18 th and Early 19 th Centuries	441
Е.А. СКВОРЦОВА. Гравер Джеймс Уокер (около 1760 – не ранее 1823): Англия и Россия EKATERINA A. SKVORTCOVA. Engraver James Walker (circa 1760 – not earlier than 1823): Great Britain and Russia.....	447
Д.А. ГРИГОРЬЕВА. Уильям Хогарт и русская художественная жизнь DARYA A. GRIGORYEVA. William Hogarth and Russian Art Life.....	457
А.К. МИНИНА. О путешествиях Льва Владимировича Даля по России в 1874 и 1876 годах «с научно-художественной целью собирания материалов по архитектуре» ANASTASIA K. MININA. About the Travel of Lev Vladimirovich Dahl across Russia in 1874 and 1876 "with Scientific and Artistic Purposes of Collecting the Materials for Architecture	466
А.О. ДОБИНА. Система обучения в Центральном училище технического рисования барона А.Л. Штиглица в период директорства М.Е. Месмахера ANASTASIA O. DOBINA. Educational System in Baron Stieglitz Central College for Technical Drawing during the Directorship of M. Mesmakher.....	477
Ю.И. ЧЕЖИНА. А.С. Попова-Капустина: неизвестная петербургская и известная сибирская художница YULIA I. CHEZHINA. Augusta Popova-Kapustina: an Unknown St. Petersburg and a Well-known Siberian Woman-artist.....	483
Э.Р. АХМЕРОВА. Границы жанра. Русская живопись конца XIX – начала XX века ELMIRA R. AKHMEEROVA. The Boundaries of Genre. Russian Painting of the Late 19 th – Early 20 th Century.....	492
И.М. ВОЛКОВ. Новое понимание портрета в русской фотографии начала XX века IGOR M. VOLKOV. The New Vision of Portrait in Russian Photography of the Early 20 th Century	499

РУССКОЕ ИСКУССТВО XX ВЕКА RUSSIAN ART OF THE 20TH CENTURY

А.И. ДОЛГОВА. Интерьеры особняков архитектора Карла Шмидта. Диапазон стилей ANASTASIA I. DOLGOVA. The Interiors of the Mansions of Architect Carl Schmidt. The Range of Styles	509
Е.А. МЕЛЮХ. Реставрация Д.В. Милеевым деревянной Богоявленской церкви Челмужского погоста к празднованию 300-летия дома Романовых в 1913 году EKATERINA A. MELIUKH. The Restoration of the Church of the Epiphany in Chelmuzhi in 1913 by D.V. Mileev to the Celebration of 300 Anniversary of the Romanov Dynasty	518
К.В. РЕМЕЗОВА. В преддверии авангардной практики: экспонирование детских рисунков на 5-й выставке «Нового общества художников» KSENIJA V. REMEZOVA. Eve of the Avant-garde Practice: Exhibition of Children's Drawings within the Fifth Exhibition of the "New Society of Artists.....	525

И.В. СЕВЕРЦЕВА. Первый педагогический опыт В.В. Кандинского — шесть писем из Мюнхена к начинающему художнику. К постановке проблемы INGA V. SEVERTSEVA. The First Pedagogic Experience of Vasily V. Kandinsky — the Letters from Munich to the Young Artist. Stating the Problem	532
О.В. ФУРМАН. Лучизм Наталии Гончаровой в координатах беспредметной живописи OLGA V. FURMAN. Natalia Goncharova's Rayonism in Coordinates of Abstract Art	540
Е.Н. КАМЕНСКАЯ. Александр Яковлев — художник-путешественник. Рождение образа ELENA N. KAMENSKAYA. Alexander Iacovleff — the Artist and the Traveller. The Birth of the Image	548
О.А. ГОЩАНСКАЯ. Творчество художника Николая Ивановича Прокошева OLGA A. GOSHCHANSKAYA. Art of the Painter Nikolay I. Prokoshev	557
П.К. МАНОВА. Традиции классицизма в монументально-декоративной пластике на примере творчества И.В. Крестовского POLINA K. MANOVA. The Classical Tradition in the Monumental-Decorative Sculpture Exemplified by the Works of Igor V. Krestovsky	566
Л. МИТИЧ. Выставка четырех советских художников в Белграде в 1947 г. LORA MITIĆ. The Exhibition of Four Soviet Painters in Belgrade, 1947	576
П.А. ШИШКОВА. Живописное наследие Вячеслава Афоничева в процессе развития петербургского неоксpressionизма POLINA A. SHISHKOVA. Pictorial Heritage of Vyacheslav Afonichev in the Process of St. Petersburg Neoexpressionist Development	584
М.А. ЧЕКМАРЁВА. Петербургский текстиль на рубеже XX–XXI веков. Свой путь MARINA A. SHEKMAREVA. Contemporary Textiles of Saint-Petersburg. Their Own Way	590

Иллюстрации

Plates	596
--------------	-----

Список сокращений

List of abbreviations	659
-----------------------------	-----

УДК 7.034(430)

ББК 85.14

A. Schöning

Daniel Frese's *The Calumny of Apelles* — Image, Text and Context¹

“Art is always political” — this sentence has been heard quite often lately. As it seems to be true for contemporary art, it was centuries ago. This essay will show, how a painting that was treated as a simple allegoric one for decades, can be understood as a political one when evaluating not only the iconographical details, but carefully taking into consideration their meaning in a special context.

This essay is about Daniel Frese's 249 x 451 *cm* large oil on canvas painting *The Calumny of Apelles*, which has been hanging in the town hall of Lüneburg since presumably 1600 (Ill. 51)². It is a part of the impressive programmatic town hall interior to which the artist contributed a large part since the 1570's on behalf of the city's council, and which is considered to be one of the most interesting — and also one of the best preserved — city hall interiors in Western Europe. Research on it mostly concentrates on the *Große Rathsstube* with its cycle of Lutheran imprinted paintings showing the pillars of good governance, which Daniel Frese also worked on from 1573 until 1578 [5]. The single painting *The Calumny of Apelles*, although remarkably large and therefore at least noticeable, is mostly ignored by art historic research, mentioned only in a few paragraphs and one essay by Friedrich Gross [4]³.

The Calumny of Apelles was given by the artist as a present to the city council of the Hanseatic City of Lüneburg. It is hanging in the main stairway of the city hall in Lüneburg opposite the main entrance — the first object every visitor would see and the most important visitors of Lüneburg had to face on the way to the city ceremonial hall.

Born in 1540 in a small town in Dithmarsia in the north of Germany, Daniel Frese had lived and worked in Hamburg for some years before he moved to the nearby city Lüneburg [4, p. 29]. From 1573 until his death in 1611, Daniel Frese lived and worked in this area, where he painted his main oeuvre [12, p. 123]. This oeuvre is very broad indeed and includes political paintings, religious works, portraits and townscapes, e.g. for Georg Braun's and Franz Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* urban atlas [4, p. 29]. Daniel Frese also worked as a cartographer and produced some of the first detailed maps of the northern German region⁴.

¹ This essay is a summary of the author's Bachelor thesis, submitted in 2012 to the University of Hamburg. Many thanks are due to Dr. Barbara Uppenkamp who not only gave the impulse to this work with her seminar on Daniel Frese in winter 2011 but also provided helpful information and the illustrations used in this essay.

² Because of its dimensions and the local circumstances that is quite safe to say. The painting is dated 1600.

³ On the status of research, cf. also [4, p. 30].

⁴ Oral information by Dr. Barbara Uppenkamp, cf. also [4, p. 68 f.].

It will become evident in the following, that the painting's title *The Calumny of Apelles* does not really reflect its contents, but as it is the official title and due to the lack of a better one, it will be used further on. Looking into the picture's poor history of research the difficulties regarding the title appear to be a constant. During the last centuries many titles were used in desperate and yet failing attempts to describe the actual pictorial narrative [4, p. 29]. This problem might be a symptom and indicator of the scale of the challenge to understand the picture.

Two larger topics emerge from *The Calumny of Apelles* at first sight: the calumny of Apelles as a topic in fine arts of the Renaissance and in the Lutheran pictorial conception as expressed in the law-and-gospel-representations in the style of Lucas Cranach the Elder. This essay tries to show the function these topics had in Frese's ambition to depict particular events and virtues related to the history and politics of Lüneburg. Consequently, the iconographic elements defining this painting are: a tree dividing the picture and a group of figures in the foreground. The captions below the figures mark them as personifications:

Iudex, the judge, sits on a richly decorated throne with *Sapientia* (wisdom) standing at his back to counsel him. In front of the throne *Avaritia* (avarice), *Suspitio* (suspicion) and *Mendacium* (lie) obviously try to bribe the judge to listen to their aspersions. *Invidia* (envy), *Ira* (anger) and *Calumniā* (calumny or slander) strike the kneeling *Patientia* (patience). At the root of a tree a miserable *Tristitia* (grief) sits hiding her face. To the right of the tree, we see *Veritas* (truth), *Innocentia* (innocence), *Constantia* (endurance) and *Victoria* (victory) guiding a now upright *Patientia* in a triumphal procession followed by the *Chorus Musarum*, the choir of muses.

As the painting's title implies, the personifications relate to an ekphrasis given by Lucian of Samosata in his essay *Slander — a warning*. It tells about Apelles' artistic revenge on Antiphilos, who had maligned him in front of Ptolemy, a general of Alexander the Great: "On the right sits a man with long ears almost of the Midas pattern, stretching out a hand to Slander, who is still some way off, but coming. About him are two females whom I take for Ignorance and Assumption. Slander, approaching from the left, is an extraordinarily beautiful woman, but with a heated, excitable air that suggests delusion and impulsiveness; in her left hand is a lighted torch, and with her right she is haling a youth by the hair; he holds up hands to heaven and calls the Gods to witness his innocence. Showing Slander the way is a man with piercing eyes, but pale, deformed, and shrunken as from long illness; one may easily guess him to be Envy. Two female attendants encourage Slander, acting as tire-women, and adding touches to her beauty; according to the cicerone, one of these is Malice, and the other Deceit. Following behind in mourning guise, black-robed and with torn hair, comes (I think he named her) Repentance. She looks tearfully behind her, awaiting shame-faced the approach of Truth. That was how Apelles translated his peril into paint" [15, p. 2–3]⁵.

⁵ Lucian was a well liked author in Byzantium and his works were brought to Rome [2, p. 14]. There they were first translated into Latin and then into Italian [3, p. 31]. He became a popular author for Renaissance readers because of his humorous style and vivid descriptions [2, p. 2; 3, p. 29].

The use of the personification *Calumniā* is a strong proof that Frese knew the ekphrasis and that he had it in mind while working on this painting and used it deliberately, because we only find her in Lucian's essay [4, p. 44]. However, Frese's painting does not strive to stick completely to the text; the comparison of text and picture demonstrates that he did not seek to reconstruct the lost ancient masterpiece that Lucian described either, different to another and better known painting by Botticelli. Examining the further text by Lucian, it is almost evident that Frese knew the whole essay and also absorbed details aside from the ekphrasis using them to characterize the personifications [15]⁶.

The figures in the foreground are forming three groups: The *Iudex* with the three vicious accusers, not any less vicious group tormenting *Patientia* and the triumphal procession. Frese used the figures' wardrobe to underline the emotion and action which are demonstrated by each of the three groups. There are no signs of interaction between these groups. Apparently Daniel Frese depicted a very complex narrative structure; whilst the *Iudex* is confronted with the accusation, *Patientia* is tormented by envy, anger and slander, but will triumph at last.

Frese's most significant deviation from description given in Lucian's ekphrasis is the *Iudex*. The ancient author described him having a Midas-like appearance, which would characterize a corrupt judge. Frese on the other hand created a *Iudex* who is guided by *Sapientia* and who closes one ear; a habit, which according to Plutarch, Alexander the Great formed to keep one ear unblemished from the accusations [4, p. 31f.]. He is also marked by his wardrobe as to be a patrician and holds a judge's stick as a sign of his high status [4, p. 36]. The *Iudex* here is not explicitly an *iustus iudex*, but he is equipped with all insignia that make a good judgment plausible.

The martial details of the painting strongly remind of another type of picture: the fight between Vices and Virtues, the *Psychomachia* [4, p. 73]. But despite all that, Daniel Frese's painting is the complete opposite of an ancient fight: it shows a fair and civic process [7, p. 27f.]. So the preposition of the *Iudex* provides the opportunity of a just verdict and *Patientia* will overcome.

The other prominent element in the painting is the half bald, half leafed tree dividing it. On the leafed side hangs a shield showing a crown inscribed "*Der Ehren Schildt*" — the shield of honour. Corresponding to the treetop, the sky and the landscape left and right to the tree are characterized differently; whilst the left — bald — side is furthermore determined by a townscape threatened by a dramatic sky, the right side seems much friendlier with a brightened sky and an almost bucolic landscape. It is not hard to associate these details to the type of picture *Law and Grace (Law and Gospel)* Lucas Cranach the Elder created in cooperation with Martin Luther [4, p. 54] (*Ill. 52*)⁷.

⁶ A lot more could be said on Frese's use of the antique text, which seems to have been remarkably thorough, but due to the restricted volume of this essay the matter has to be left at this.

⁷ Based on the beginning of John's Gospel: "For the law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ" (John 1,17). From this derived Luther's doctrine of the antagonisms of law and Gospel or sin and redemption, whilst gospel correlates the grace [4, p. 54; 10, p. 2f.]. As a kind of propaganda Lucas Cranach the Elder, possibly in cooperation with Martin Luther, created the woodcut *Gesetz und Gnade (Gesetz und Evangelium)* in 1529/30 [4, p. 54f.]. This iconography was implemented quite often in the following decades.

Daniel Frese used those two different well known artistic topics for certain reasons and in this the key for understanding Frese's picture lies. What ultimately connects both of the painting's main iconographic themes as described earlier is the idea of justice implied in both of them — worldly justice as divine justice.

Avaritia holds a model of a mountain in her left hand, which most certainly represents the Kalkberg, one of Lüneburg's landmarks, which was the venue of important historic events [12, p. 77]⁸. It is not the only symbol of Lüneburg: *Constantia* is bearing a flag showing a column. Although a column is an attribute of *Constantia*, it has a more specific meaning here [4, p. 48, 61f.]. According to a founding myth of Lüneburg, in Roman times a sanctuary for the Luna, household deity of Julier, was built on the Kalkberg. It is believed that one of its columns has survived⁹. The Column and the mountain with its allusion to the former castle might depict, like a rebus puzzle, the two components of the town's name: Luna and Burg¹⁰.

Those connections are strengthened by the townscape to the left of the tree, which can easily be identified to depict Lüneburg itself¹¹. The St. Michael church and the so called Springintgut-Turm are overly prominent in the townscape. The latter is named after the former mayor Springintgut, who died being locked up there in the course of the Prelates' war in the middle of the 15th century [4, p. 56]¹², the shield of honour might refer to that incident. Daniel Frese was accustomed to depicting townscapes. The one he painted in *The Calumny of Apelles* differs from others by the overstated proportions the buildings show. This is not due to a lack of skill, it was done most certainly deliberately to ensure that the city would be recognized as Lüneburg.

To understand this painting entirely it is necessary to approach it intellectually, becoming familiar with the historical and social context of its origin, as the artist Daniel Frese was influenced by many factors: humanism, Lutheranism and the special local circumstances in Lüneburg.

Late Renaissance civic and intellectual life in Lüneburg was quite prosperous. With the upcoming bourgeoisie, decoration of civil halls became more and more important. In Lüneburg, this bourgeoisie consisted of proud, independent Lutheran merchants; after all Lüneburg was the most important source for salt in those times. The decoration of its

⁸ The Kalkberg is a symbol of political independence. In 1371 the reigning Duke Markus, who interfered too much with town's business, was driven out of town and his castle on Kalkberg was torn to the ground. Cf. [4, p. 56].

⁹ A founding myth of Lüneburg tells that Julius Caesar himself built a marble column in honour of his house deity Luna on the Kalkberg, which he saw first in moonshine. Although it cannot be proven, the Luna column indeed stood on the Kalkberg. When in 1371 the citizens destroyed the castle on it and banished the lord they took the column with them. So it became a symbol of proud citizenship and independence. Cf. [1, p. 164].

¹⁰ "Burg" means "castle".

¹¹ Dr. Barbara Uppenkamp pointed out that possibility.

¹² The Prelates' war was not literally a war. More precisely it was a dispute on the debts the town had made. The citizens wished the prelaty, which means the religious leaders of the city, to pay back their share of it. They denied and appealed to the pope, whilst the citizens got supported by the emperor. So Lüneburg had a *Iustus Iudex* in time they were in need of one [4, p. 58].

city hall expresses all this self-representation and the Lutheran principle the town relied on. Of particular importance was the Lutheran Doctrine of Justification, but biblical and antique motives were prominent alike [14, p. 8, 43f.]. So the pictorial themes Frese chose were consistent with the intellectual background the town had and most appropriate for the city hall interior¹³. The political situation was not as positive; the citizenry had troubles within their own ranks and the local nobility tried to interfere [4, p. 61f.]. Hence every bit of independence was held sacred. Of particular importance was the jurisdiction they held, Lüneburg was one of the first cities to have canonized law — no surprise the equipment of its town hall expresses that. Daniel Frese worked for a strong, independent and at least allegedly just city council shortly before its downfall [12, p. 26]. And so the thunderstorm raging above the negatively connoted landmarks of the townscape might be a hint of the difficult situation in the town [4, p. 62]. But at the same time the sun is breaking through the clouds above the Luna-column as a sign of final victory.

It is also an interesting fact, that the flag with the column depicted on it is in the same place where the flag of the resurrected Christ, a sign of overcoming death and destruction, would be in a law-and-gospel image. Frese himself offered this way of interpretation by using the tree as a symbol. This finding directly leads to another approach towards the picture and it becomes clear that *The Calumny of Apelles* cannot be the main subject here. *Patientia* is Lüneburg itself and it finally triumphs because justice, truth and god's grace are on its side.

Having identified Lüneburg as the main subject of the painting, it becomes clear, why it is so hard to decipher: Frese had no known iconography on hand which he could use in order to represent the history of the city. The Lutheran tree and the ekphrasis imply completely different genres. But Frese used different iconographic elements to create a message of his own. He created something like a historic painting that appears to be an allegory only at the first glance. He used elements that he knew — that he was sure other educated people would recognize as well — to tell his story. Lucian's ekphrasis was well known and provided him the opportunity to depict justice without having to do it by simply using the allegory [3, p. 29; 9, p. 15]. The law-and-gospel imagery was an obvious choice, because of the strong Lutheran imprint Lüneburg had and it also provided the possibility of leading the beholder, to stress the bisection of the picture and the different valuations associated with it. *The Calumny of Apelles* is one of the first known depictions of local history [14, p. 88].

It has not been entirely proven yet, but there is some evidence in his works that Frese might have been well acquainted with contemporary Dutch etchings and woodcuts. A woodcut by Jacob Matham might demonstrate this assumption: Frese's *Invidia* is very close to it, but it also becomes evident, that Frese practiced a free handling of his models.

¹³ Although it seems unlikely that Daniel Frese by his own choice only picked these pictorial themes. He probably had advisors, most likely Lucas Lossius and Franz Witzendorf [4, p. 70]. Lossius was an important humanist who published inter alia an issue of Melanchton's writings. Witzendorff on the other hand was the town's mayor and had studied in Wittenberg, where he built himself a network. Both were familiar with the most important humanist texts and the Lutheran writings alike [4, p. 72f.; 16, p. 138f.].

So he had paragons, yet did not simply copy them, but put them into the new context and use instead. This finding is consistent with his signatures on other works: he did not only sign them with *DF*, but also used the expression “*Daniel Frese invenit et pinxit*” [12, p. 124]¹⁴. He distinguishes himself by free and unconventional use of these paragons, so that the term “inventor” seems justified [4, p. 40]¹⁵.

Frese's most amazing achievement is that he does not simply reproduce his resources, but rather intelligently and appropriately quotes them. He uses known pictorial codes to subtly lead beholder's thoughts and to create an entirely new pictorial message.

In one way, the painting also is a manifest of the artist's self-conception: his main motifs are humanism and Lutheranism, last but not least embodied in the Christian affected *Patientia* [4, p. 47]. By quoting the associated iconography, Frese also demonstrates his knowledge of contemporary prints. As he does not merely copy, but rather adjusts them to his own style and purpose he proves to be an “inventor”. Not by founding a new iconographic tradition, but by putting all his knowledge and skills into depicting a topic, which was quite new in the fine arts. Daniel Frese did not want to compose an elegant scenery, but rather stressed the intellectual construction behind the picture. He most surely intended to depict a certain event in Lüneburg's history, which may be seen as an encouraging present to the town council. But Frese also provides the beholder with an almost dialectic construction of justice. Between earthly and heavenly justice it is up to a wise and truthful judge to ensure justice is served on earth.

Even if Daniel Frese's painting presents art historians with problems incident to the specific situation in Lüneburg, it also demonstrates some issues of highest importance, namely: significance of the context. In the late Renaissance Lüneburg, this context was between the poles of humanism, Lutheranism and the arising civic self-confidence which sought a way of expressing itself. Without considering those circumstances there is no way of finding an understanding of Daniel Frese's painting. As this depiction of local history is the first one of this kind, it also bears a more general significance and possibly opens new perspectives for art historic research¹⁶.

Literature

1. *Boockmann H.* Die Stadt im späten Mittelalter. – Munich: C.H. Beck, 1986. – 357 p.
2. *Cast D.* The Calumny of Apelles. A Study in the Humanist Tradition. – New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1981. – 243 p.
3. *Förster R.* Die Verläumdung des Apelles in der Renaissance // Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen. – 1887. – Vol. 8. – P. 29–56.
4. *Gross F.* Lutherische Gerechtigkeit für einen Apelles von Lüneburg? Zum stiefmütterlich behandelten Hauptwerk des Daniel Frese (1540?–1611) im Rathaus der Salzstadt // Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte. 2000. Vol. 39. – P. 29–77.

¹⁴ Latin: Inventor; invented and painted.

¹⁵ According to Tipton, Frese had no paragons, but this is not correct [16, p. 138].

¹⁶ There could be said a lot more on Frese's use of the antique text, which seems to have been remarkably thorough.

5. Haupt M.G. Die große Ratsstube im Lüneburger Rathaus (1564–1584). Selbstdarstellung einer protestantischen Obrigkeit. – Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2000. – 312 p.
6. King James Bible. Authorized Version, Cambridge Edition. URL: <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/John-1-17/> (accessed: 28.03.2014).
7. Kissel O.R. Die Justitia. Reflexionen über ein Symbol und seine Darstellung in der bildenden Kunst. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1984. 143 p.
8. Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst. Kunsthalle Hamburg: catalogue / hrsg. von W. Hofmann. Munich: Prestel, 1983. – 685 p.
9. Massing J.M. Du texte à l'image. La Calomnie d'Apelle et son iconographie. – Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 1990. – 551 p.
10. Ohly F. Gesetz und Evangelium. Zur Typologie bei Luther und Lucas Cranach. Zum Blutstrahl der Gnade in der Kunst. Münster: Aschendorff, 1985. 135 p.
11. Prenter R. Der barmherzige Richter. Iustitia dei passiva in Luthers Dictata super Psalterium 1513–1515. – Aarhus; Copenhagen: Universitetsforlaget, 1961. – 152 p.
12. Reinecke W. Das Rathaus zu Lüneburg. – Lüneburg, 1925. – 160 p.
13. Schuster P. Abstraktion, Agitation und Einfühlung. Formen protestantischer Kunst im 16. Jahrhundert // Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst: catalogue / Kunsthalle Hamburg; hrsg. von W. Hofmann. – Munich: Prestel, 1983. P. 119–125.
14. Simon K. Abendländische Gerechtigkeitsbilder. – Frankfurt am Main: Kramer, 1948. – 108 p.
15. The Works of Lucian of Samosata / transl. by H.W. Fowler, F.G. Fowler. – Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1905. Vol. 4. P. 1–11.
16. Tipton S. Res publica bene ordinata. Regentenspiegel und Bilder vom guten Regiment. Rathausdekorationen in der Frühen Neuzeit. – Hildesheim: Olms, 1996. – 684 p.

Название статьи. «Клевета Апеллеса» Даниэля Фрезе — образ, текст и контекст.

Сведения об авторе. Шёнинг Анника — студент магистратуры, Институт искусства и визуальной истории, Университет имени А. Гумбольдта, Георгенштрассе, 47, Берлин, Германия, 10117. annika_schoening@web.de

Аннотация. Исследование проведено в контексте дискуссии о лютеранской живописной концепции и роли гуманизма в Северной Германии. С этими темами связаны и вопросы о живописной пропаганде и месте художника в лютеранской Германии в эпоху Ренессанса. Все перечисленные аспекты рассматриваются на примере картины Даниэля Фрезе «Клевета Апеллеса». Это произведение может быть понято только через исследование контекста его создания, местной среды ганзейского города Люнебурга, расположенного в Северной Германии. Даниэль Фрезе использовал известную иконографию, которая была основана на гуманистических идеях и лютеранской образности, чтобы воплотить свои идеи в художественном произведении. В результате появилось одно из первых изображений местного исторического события. Хотя Даниэль Фрезе не изобрел новой иконографии, он оказался настоящим новатором в своем незаурядном умении увлечь зрителя, почти играя на его визуальном и интеллектуальном опыте.

Ключевые слова. Экфрасис, Ренессанс, лютеранская художественная концепция, Люнебург, гуманизм, Лукиан из Самосаты, иконографическая композиция «Закон и Благодать».

Title. Daniel Frese's *The Calumny of Apelles* — Image, Text and Context.

Author. Schöning, Annika — M.A. student, Institute of Art and Visual History, Humboldt's University, Georgenstraße 47, Berlin, Germany, 10117. annika_schoening@web.de

Abstract. This essay is embedded in the context and discussion of the Lutheran pictorial conception and the role of humanism in Northern Germany. Related topics are networking, pictorial propaganda and the artist in Lutheran renaissance Germany — all shown based on the example of Daniel Frese's painting *The Calumny of Apelles*. This painting can only be understood by considering the context, local environment of the Hanseatic city of Lüneburg in northern Germany. The artist used known iconography, which was based on humanistic ideas and Lutheran imagery, to create a pictorial message of his own; the result is one of the first depictions of local history. Although he did not find a new iconography, Daniel Frese proved to be an inventor by his remarkable way of leading the beholder and almost playing on his visual and intellectual experience.

Keywords. Ekphrasis, Renaissance, Lutheran pictorial conception, Lüneburg, humanism, Law-and-Grace type of picture, Lucian of Samosata.

References

- Boockmann H. *Die Stadt im späten Mittelalter*. Munich, C.H. Beck, 1986. 357 p.
- Cast D. *The Calumny of Apelles. A Study in the Humanist Tradition*. New Haven, London, Yale University Press, 1981. 243 p.
- Förster R. Die Verläumdung des Apelles in der Renaissance. *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1887, vol. 8, pp. 29–56.
- Gross F. Lutherische Gerechtigkeit für einen Apelles von Lüneburg? Zum stiefmütterlich behandelten Hauptwerk des Daniel Frese (1540? –1611) im Rathaus der Salzstadt. *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, 2000, vol. 39, pp. 29–77.
- Haupt M.G. *Die große Ratsstube im Lüneburger Rathaus (1564–1584). Selbstdarstellung einer protestantischen Obrigkeit*. Marburg, Jonas Verlag, 2000. 312 p.
- King James Bible*. Authorized Version, Cambridge Edition. Available at: <http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/John-1-17/> (Accessed 28 March 2014).
- Kissel O.R. *Die Justitia. Reflexionen über ein Symbol und seine Darstellung in der bildenden Kunst*. Munich, C.H. Beck, 1984. 143 p.
- Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst. Kunsthalle Hamburg: Catalogue*. Hofmann W. ed. Munich, Prestel, 1983. 685 p.
- Massing J.M. *Du texte à l'image. La Calomnie d'Apelle et son iconographie*. Strasbourg, Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 1990. 551 p.
- Ohly F. *Gesetz und Evangelium. Zur Typologie bei Luther und Lucas Cranach. Zum Blutstrahl der Gnade in der Kunst*. Münster, Aschendorff, 1985. 135 p.
- Prenter R. *Der barmherzige Richter. Iustitia dei passiva in Luthers Dictata super Psalterium 1513–1515*. Aarhus, Copenhagen, Universitetsforlaget, 1961. 152 p.
- Reinecke W. *Das Rathaus zu Lüneburg*. Lüneburg, 1925. 160 p.
- Schuster P. Abstraktion, Agitation und Einfühlung. Formen protestantischer Kunst im 16. Jahrhundert. *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst: Catalogue*. Kunsthalle Hamburg. Hofmann W. ed. Munich, Prestel, 1983, pp. 119–125.
- Simon K. *Abendländische Gerechtigkeitsbilder*. Frankfurt, Main, Kramer, 1948. 108 p.
- The Works of Lucian of Samosata*. Fowler H.W., Fowler F.G. transl. Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1905, vol. 4, pp. 1–11.
- Tipton S. *Res publica bene ordinata. Regentenspiegel und Bilder vom guten Regiment. Rathausdekorationen in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Hildesheim, Olms, 1996. 684 p.