Articles

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The Representation of the Towns of the Pre-industrial Era in Contemporary Historical Research*

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The image of the towns created as a result of perception and representation processes has been the topic most often discussed by researchers of the history of cities in the pre-industrial era for almost 40 years. Due to the diverse base of primary sources, the research on this issue is characterized by high interdisciplinary and methodological diversity. The research is conducted by historians, art historians, literary scholars and urban planners. Looking through the list of publications devoted to this subject, one can get the impression that the term 'image' is used in very different contexts, and sometimes works containing the word in the title do not have much in common in terms of method and research questions. Therefore, reflection on the history of research on this problem seems to be a justified postulate, the implementation of which may contribute to a wider debate on the state of urban historiography at the turn of the millennium. The aim of the contribution is to present methodological conditions and the thematic scope of historians' research on the image of European cities in the pre-industrial era. The publications cited in the footnotes are primarily used to illustrate specific research trends. The presentation of comprehensive bibliographic documentation exceeded the scope of the article.

As a result of the cultural turn, questions about the way of thinking about the world and perception of the reality have been brought to the fore changing the methodological paradigm of research on the image of towns, but in no way may the merit of discovering this research issue be attributed to postmodernism. The beginnings of the research on the image of the city, whether created using iconography or words, date back to the 1920s, and Robert Ezra

Park should be considered its pioneer. He drew attention to the importance of the city as a mental phenomenon that is the result of perception processes. His thesis "The city is, rather, a state of mind" at the end of the 20th century constituted a kind of motto for the research on the subject of interest to us[1]. Another impetus to get interested in the processes of perception and creation of mental images of the city was provided by the book of the American urban planner Kevin Lynch *The Image of the City* of 1960. In the 1950s and 1960s[2], the problems of presenting and creating the image of the city began to appear in the studies of literary historians and art historians[3].

The increase in the interest in the subject of the image of towns, visible since the 1920s, can be regarded as the result of inspiration flowing from various methodological traditions. At the beginning of the 1970s, Aron Guriewicz recognized the "images of the world" and the "medieval way of seeing the world" as universal categories, essential for understanding the European Middle Ages[4]. A new methodological perspective was presented by the work of geographers on the perception of space (mental maps) and the work of the French philosopher Henri Lefebvre on the production of space[5].

On the basis of the research on medieval historiography in the late 1970s, Hans-Werner Goetz presented the concept of the history of imaginations, which he recognized as the third layer of historical research apart from structural and political history. The merit of this researcher is also the analysis of perception processes (*Wahrnehmung*) and creating performances of reality (*Darstellungen*). He pointed out various types of filters resulting from individual characteristics and cultural influences (knowledge, interpretation schemes, values, memory, education, intentions, literary/painting patterns and forms) through which the individual perceives the reality. The effect of perceiving the fact are mental images, which, in turn, make it possible to create representations[6].

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[1] Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City: Suggestions for the Study of Human Nature in the Urban Environment*, Chicago 1925.

[2] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, Cambridge 1960; Polish translation: Kevin Lynch, *Obraz miasta*, trans. Tomasz Jeleński, Warszawa 2011.

[3] John K. Hyde, *Medieval Descriptions of Cities*, Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, vol. 48: 1965–1966, pp. 308–340; Pierre Lavedan, *Représentations des villes dans l'art du Moyen Âge*, Paris 1954.

[4] Aron Guriewicz, *Kategorie kultury średniowiecznej*, trans. Józef Dancygier, Warszawa 1976, p. 17.

[5] Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace*, Paris 1974; Yi-Fu Tuan, *Images and Mental Maps*, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, vol. 65: 1975, no. 2, pp. 205–214; Antoine Bailly, *La perception de l'espace urbain. Les concepts, les méthodes, leur utilisation dans la recherche urbanistique*, Paris 1977.

[6] Hans-Werner Goetz, '*Vorstellungsgeschichte': Menschliche Vorstellungen und Meinungen als Dimension der Vergangenheit. Bemerkungen zu einem jüngeren Arbeitsfeld der Geschichtswissenschaft als Beitrag zu einer Methodik der Quellenauswertung*, Archiv für Kulturgeschichte,

At the end of the 1970s, Otto Gerhard Oexle also presented an inspirational study of interpretation schemes (*Deutungsschemata*), with which individuals and groups tried to understand the phenomena of their time. In the context of the study of pictures and images, his comments on the perception (*Wahrnehmung*) of social reality and the relationship between reality and its comprehension turned out to be particularly important[7]. At the same time, the subject of paintings as an element of research on medieval imagination also appeared in the works of historians belonging to the *Annales* school. Jacques Le Goff's essays of 1979 devoted to images of the city in literature and theological writings[8] were of pioneering importance. Although this researcher is based on a different historiographic tradition than the above mentioned German historians, he also took up the topic of the relationship between the image and reality, and the role of literary topoi and thought patterns in creating images. The work of philologists devoted to literary forms used to create the image of the city also constituted the inspiration for the subject of interest to us[9].

Interdisciplinary research at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s not only gave impulse to increased interest in the issue of the town's image, but also showed a new methodological approach. Treating perception as an individual and subjective process made reflection on factors determining image creation gain key importance. Therefore, the basic research postulate was to distinguish filters affecting the formation of individual layers of the image, which in turn led to questions about the relationship between it and reality. Thus, the concept of image has been included in broader research contexts, two of which are of special significance. On the one hand, the image as consequence of reception

and perception; on the other hand, creating the image of the town and the townspeople.

Literature researchers should be attributed the priority in undertaking new methodological challenges in research on the creation of the image of the city. Burton Pike in his book published in 1981 analyzed the role of rhetorical conventions and literary forms in creating images of cities. Patterns of the perception of large cities in German literature have become the focus of Susanne Hauser's attention[10]. Art historians followed the literary scholars[11].

In the 1980s, issues related to images of cities gradually began to arouse the growing interest of historians. A new methodological perspective very clearly appeared in the work by Andrew Lees devoted to the perception of a modern city[12]. Regarding the pre-industrial era, the interest of art historians and historians focused primarily on cartographic sources and city views. The critical edition of iconographic sources became one of the main research postulates. The research paradigms changed visibly. As part of the new cultural history, reflection on the credibility of reflecting reality was pushed to the background, and the question of the image of the city as a tool for presentation and representation gained in importance[13]. The researcher's attention was to focus – as one of the 'iconic turn' animators wrote – on deciphering the language of the image in order to learn the images and discourses contained in it[14]. One of the first attempts to look at the building layer of the city in an interdisciplinary way is the collective work *La città e la mura*, in which the city fortifications were also analyzed in the context of creating the image of the city and its perception[15]. The collective work devoted to the image of the city in the early modern period, in which iconographic representations of 46 selected cities were analyzed, may be considered to be the first sum of research into iconographic

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[10] Burton PIKE, *The Image of the City in Modern Literature*, Princeton 1981; Susanne HAUSE, *Der Blick auf die Stadt. Semiotische Untersuchungen zur literarischen Wahrnehmung bis 1910*, Berlin 1990; *Literature & the American Urban Experience: Essays on the City and Literature*, ed. Michael C. JAYE, Ann Ch. WATTS, Manchester 1981.

[11] *Unreal City: Urban Experience in Modern European Literature and Art*, ed. Edward TIMMS, David KELLEY, Manchester 1985.

[12] Andrew LEES, *Cities perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought, 1820–1940*, New York 1985.

[13] Carla GIOVANNINI, *Italy*, [in:] *European Urban History: Prospect and Retrospect*, ed. Rochard RODGER, Leicester–London 1993, pp. 19–35, here pp. 27–28; Holger Th. GRÄF, *Vom dekorativen Wandschmuck zur historischen Quelle – zur Konjunktur der Stadtansichten in der Geschichtswissenschaft*, [in:] *Das Ansehen der Stadt Halle in historischen Ansichten*, hrsg. v. Thomas MÜLLER-BAHLKE, Holger ZAUNSTÖCK, Halle 2009, pp. 25–38, here p. 32.

[14] Bernd ROECK, *Visual turn? Kulturgeschichte und die Bilder*, Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Jg. 29: 2003, H. 2, pp. 294–315, here p. 313.

[15] *La città e la mura*, ed. Cesare DE SETA, Jacques LE GOFF, Bari 1989.

representations of cities in the pre-industrial era[16]. The increase in the interest in the city's image was also reflected in exhibitions and conferences organized mainly in the 1990s devoted largely to iconographic sources[17].

The culmination of the interest in the issue of the image and perception of cities began at the beginning of the 21st century. In 2000, the International Commission for the History of Towns chose "Images of the towns" to be the theme of the project implemented in the years 2001–2004, which included four conferences, in sequence in Bologna (2001), Toruń (2002), Vienna (2003) and Münster (2004)[18]. Francesca Bocchi, the organizer of the Bologna conference, pointed to three main contexts in which the issues raised could be embedded:

- the image of the town as an interpretation of reality, used e.g. for its own representation;
- the image of the town as a mental construct, expressed primarily in literature;
- finally, a picture which the town derives from its own history and which was used to create specific attitudes of citizens, in particular to create the group identification[19].

Peter Johanek put the focus of the program of the conference in Münster on the reception of the city in fine arts, historiography, literature and generally in the history of culture determined by time, place and interpretative schemes[20]. The content of four volumes published as part of the Commission project reflects the interdisciplinary nature of research on the image of the town, which results primarily from the collection of primary sources including iconography (seals, painting, cartography), literature, various types of written

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[16] *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit 1400–1800*, hrsg. v. Wolfang Behringer, Bernd Roeck, München 1999; Michael Schmitt, *Das Stadtbild in Druckgraphik und Malerei. Neuss 1477–1900*, Köln–Wien 1991; *Westfalia Picta. Erfassung westfälischer Ortsansichten vor 1900*, hrsg. v. Jochen Luck-Hardt, Michael Schmitt, Bd. 1–10, Bielefeld–Münster 1987–2007.

[17] *Città d'Europa. Iconografia e vedutismo dal XV al. XIX secolo*, ed. Cesare de Seta, Napoli 1996; *Stastbider in Flandern. Spuren bürgerlicher Kultur 1477–1787*, hrsg. v. Jan van Stock, Brüssel 1991.

[18] *Imago Urbis. L'immagine della città nella storia d'Italia. Atti del convegno internazionale*, ed. Francesca Bocchi, Rosa Smurra, Roma 2003; *Das Bild und die Wahrnehmung der Stadt und der städtischen Gesellschaft im Hanseraum im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, hrsg. v. Roman Czaja, Toruń 2004; *Das Bild und Wahrnehmung der Stadt*, hrsg. v. Ferdinand Opll (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas, Bd. 19), Linz 2004; *Bild und Wahrnehmung der Stadt*, hrsg. v. Peter Johanek (Städteforschungen, Bd. 63), Wien–Köln–Weimar 2012.

[19] Francesca Bocchi, *Introduzione*, [in:] *Imago Urbis. L'immagine della città nella storia d'Italia. Atti del convegno internazionale*, ed. Francesca Bocchi, Rosa Smurra, Roma 2003, pp. 1–4.

[20] Peter Johanek, *Bild und Wahrnehmung der Stadt. Annährungen an ein Forschungsproblem*, [in:] *Bild und Wahrnehmung der Stadt*, hrsg. v. Peter Johanek (Städteforschungen, Bd. 63), Wien–Köln–Weimar 2012, pp. 1–25.

sources, rituals and archaeological remains. The spatial and construction aspects of the town were emphasized, while the image and perception of individual social groups were treated marginally. The issue of the perception of urban society and the role of image in creating the urban identity occupies somewhat more space in the volume containing the results of the 2001 conference on the subject of "Word, image and representation of urban society". The territorial framework of this conference covered mainly the Netherlands and France[21].

The popularity of issues relating to the urban image in the first years of the 21st century is evidenced by the fact that in 2004, in addition to the above mentioned conference of International Commission for the History of Towns, there took place four other conferences related to this topic. Their programs fit into a wide variety of methodological contexts, and the chronological framework primarily covered the early modern period and modern times. A conference on 'urban icons' was held in Los Angeles, the concept of which was to answer the question of how images moved in time and space; the final effect of the project was to be an atlas of icons[22]. In June 2004, the International Center for Cultural Studies (*Internationales Forschungszentrum Kulturwissenschaften*) in Vienna organized a conference on the subject of "Kulturelle Ökonomien und Geschmackslandschaften", which was primarily devoted to the creation of images and meanings used to represent metropolis by their own inhabitants[23]. Similar subjects were discussed by the participants of the session on "Urban images and representations in Europe and beyond during the 20th century", organized as a part of the congress of the European Association of Urban History in Athens. Authors of papers, the majority of which was devoted to large European cities, analyzed factors affecting the content of images and various strategies for their creation which were used by cities for marketing purposes. The second thematic group was made up of papers dedicated to the role of images in building the urban identity, whilst the third thematic block included papers on the implementation of a specific image of the city in architecture and spatial planning[24].

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[21] *Le verbe, l'image et les representations de la société urbaine au Moyen-Age*, ed. Marc Boone, Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, Jean-Pierre Sosson (Studies in Urban Social, Economic and Political History of the Medieval and Early Modern Low Countries, vol. 13), Antwerpen–Apeldoorn 2002.

[22] Philip J. Ethington, Vanessa R. Schwartz, *Introduction: An atlas of the urban icons project*, Urban History, vol. 33: 2006, no. 1, pp. 5–19.

[23] https://www.hsozkult.de/event/id/termine-2883 [accessed December 17, 2018].

[24] See the review: Joachim Schloer, *Urban Images and Representations during the 20th Century in Europe and beyond*, Humanities and Social Sciences, H-Net Reviews; http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=28409 [accessed December 17, 2018].

A conference organized in Cambridge in July 2004 was devoted to inter-disciplinary research on creating ideas about the city and the image of the city; it was attended by specialists in the field of cultural history, cultural geography and literary studies. Two thematic blocks may be distinguished in the published post-conference materials. The first volume contains mainly studies on literary ideas about the city, while the second one contains articles on urban space and the physical form of the city[25].

In the last decade, the interest in the subject of the town's image has not decreased. More publications appear, increasing the number of iconographic sources to the history of towns in the pre-industrial era, accompanied by methodological considerations on image creation and its reception[26]. The subject of the image of towns presented by narrative sources also retains its relevance[27].

After 2005, however, one may notice a decrease in the number of works in the title of which the term "image of the town" appeared, which is primarily due to the inclusion of the image of the city in the framework of other research topics and the emergence of new terminology. A new approach to the subject matter is offered by research on 'city branding' and the media used for self-presentation. Carla Meyer, studying medieval 'city branding', does not write about images, but about the media (text, image, material), which she understands as techniques that enable man to create network connections and communication[28]. Using new terminology, she refers to the subject of the perception and representation of the city and urban commune, along with the means used to create the urban identity, i.e. problems addressed in urban historiography

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[25] *Imagining the City*, vol. 1: *The Art of Urban Living*, ed. Christian Emden, Catherine Keen, David R. Midgley, Oxford 2006; *Imagining the City*, vol. 2: *The Politics of Urban Space*, ed. Christian Emden, Catherine Keen, David R. Midgley, Oxford 2006.

[26] *Tra oriente e occidente. Città e iconografia dal XV al XIX secolo*, ed. Cesare de Seta, Napoli 2004; *Schweizer Städtebilder. Urbane Ikonograpien (15.–20. Jahrhundert)*, hrsg. v. Bernd Roeck [et al.], Zürich 2013; Martina Stercken, Lotti Frascoli, *Hülle als Konzept. Konstruktion und Rekonstruktion von Stadtbildern*, [in:] *Die mittelalterliche Stadt erforschen – Archäologie und Geschichte im Dialog*, hrsg. v. Armand Baeriswyl [et al.], Basel 2009, pp. 181–192; Andreas Beyer, *Wie kommt die Stadt ins Bild? Das Stadtbild zwischen Realienkunde und eigenem Recht*, [in:] *Stadtbilder und Denkmalpflege. Konstruktion und Rezeption von Bildern der Stadt*, hrsg. v. Sigrid Brand, Hans-Rudolf Meier, Berlin 2008, pp. 20–27; Brecht Dewilde, Jan Dumolyn, Bart Lambert, Bram Vannieuwenhuyze, *"So one would notice the good navigability": Economic decline and the cartographic conception of urban space in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Bruges*, Urban History, vol. 45: 2018, no. 1, pp. 2–25.

[27] *Towns and cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Image of the Town in the Narrative Sources: Reality and/or Fiction*, ed. Irena Benyovsky Latin, Zdrinka Pešorda Vardić, Zagreb 2017.

[28] Carla Meyer, *„City branding" im Mittelalter? Städtische Medien der Imagepflege bis 1500*, [in:] *Stadt und Medien. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Städteforschung, Bd. 85), hrsg. v. Clemens Zimmermann, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2012, pp. 19–48.

since the 1980s. Discourses, staging, symbols, rituals and media, sometimes referred to as 'corporate branding' still belong to current research topics in the context of creating the self-image of cities along with legitimizing and stabilizing power[29]. In the last two decades the image understood as the subject of social and political discourse has become also an element of research on symbolic communication, which presents a new view on social and political-ruling relations within the commune and on the town's activities outside[30]. The issue of symbolic communication is also closely related to the representation of the city. The research on it also includes the processes of creating the image of the city understood both as an urban structure and as a socio-political community[31].

The German sociologist Rolf Lindner analyzed aptly the transformation of the methodological paradigm that took place at the beginning of the 21st century in the research on the image of cities. In his opinion, image research should be based on the assumption that an imaginary city is not an escape from reality, but a tool for coming into contact with a real city. Thus, analyzing the relationship between the image and the real city is of secondary importance, as close interaction occurs between imagining and a specific material and cultural reality. The way the city is presented is not only a product of a particular stage of the city's development, but it definitely affects its development[32]. This assumption should lead to the inclusion of image creation

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[29] Daniela Kah, *Die wahrhaft königliche Stadt. Das Reich in den Reichsstädten Augsburg, Nürnberg und Lübeck im Späten Mittelalter* (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, vol. 211), Leiden–Boston 2017, p. 37 f.; *Reichszeichen. Darstellungen und Symbole des Reiches in Reichsstädten (2. Tagung des Arbeitskreises „Reichsstadtgeschichtsforschung" Mühlhausen 3. Bis 5. März 2014)* (Studien zur Reichsstadtgeschichte, Bd. 2), hrsg. v. Helge Wittmann, Petersberg 2014; Elisabeth Gruber, *Bilder, Ansichten und Einschätzung von Stadt im lateinischen Westen Europas*, [in:] *Städte im lateinischen Westen und im griechischen Osten zwischen Spätantike und Früher Neuzeit. Topographie – Recht – Religion* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Bd. 66), hrsg. v. Elisabeth Gruber [et al.], Wien 2016, pp. 257–272; *Kommunale Selbstinszenierung. Städtische Konstellationen zwischen Mittelster und Neuzeit*, hrsg. v. Martina Stercken, Christian Hesse, Zürich 2018.

[30] *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns*, ed. Jacoba Van Leeuwen, Leuven 2006; Klaus Krüger, *Bilder als Medien der Kommunikation. Zum Verhältnis von Sprache, Text und Visualität*, [in:] *Medien der Kommunikation im Mittelalter* (Beiträge zur Kommunikationsgeschichte, Bd. 15), hrsg. v. Karl-Heinz Spiess, Stuttgart 2003, pp. 155–204.

[31] *Portraits of the City: Representing Urban Space in Later Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Studies in European Urban History 1100–1800), ed. Katrien Lichtert, Jan Dumolyn, Maximiliaan P. J. Martens, Turnhout 2014; *Repräsentationen der mittelalterlichen Stadt*, hrsg. v. Jörg Oberste (Forum Mittelalter – Studien, Bd. 4), Regensburg 2008.

[32] Rolf Lindner, *The Gestalt of the Urban Imaginary*, [in:] *Urban Mindscapes of Europe*, ed. Godela Weiss-Susses, Franco Bianchini (European Studies, vol. 23), Amsterdam–New York 2006, pp. 35–42.

issues in the canon of monographs devoted to the history of individual cities. A book on the history of Bath in the early modern and modern period should be considered a successful attempt to implement this postulate. Its author Peter Borsay rightly pointed out that one cannot write about the city's history without taking into account its own representation and the images created for this purpose[33]. The postulate of a monographic elaboration of images and views of individual cities, which would take into account the political, social, cultural, and media context, is mainly undertaken by sociologists and culture researchers. For this reason, the chronological scope of the research, which usually covered European metropolises, is mostly limited to the early modern period and modern times[34].

In Polish research on the history of towns in the pre-industrial era, the issue of perception and presentation of towns began to be addressed on a larger scale in the 1990s. Initially, the image of cities and burghers presented in literary works and descriptions created during the journey was of particular interest to researchers[35]. These issues were most often addressed on the basis of written and iconographic sources concerning the largest cities in Poland[36].

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[33] Peter Borsay, *The Image of Georgian Bath, 1700–2000: Towns, Heritage, and History*, Cambridge 2000, pp. 5–8.

[34] Patricia van Ulzen, *Imagine a Metropolis: Rotterdam's Creative Class 1970–2000*, Rotterdam 2007; *Imaging Vienna. Innensichten, Außensichten, Stadterzählungen*, hrsg. v. Monika Sommer, Marcus Gräser, Ursula Prutsch, Wien 2006; *Selling Berlin. Imagebildung und Stadtmarketing von der preußischen Residenz bis zur Bundeshauptstadt*, hrsg. v. Thomas Biskup, Marc Schalenberg, Stuttgart 2008; Marina Stalljohann-Schemme, *Stadt und Stadtbild in der Frühen Neuzeit. Frankfurt am Main als kulturelles Zentrum im publizistischen Diskurs*, Berlin–Boston 2016.

[35] Maria Bogucka, *Das Bild der Stadt im Poem „Flösserei" von Sebastian Fabian Klonowic*, [in:] *Literatur und Institutionen der literarischen Kommunikation in nordeuropäischen Städten im Zeitraum vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. v. Edmund Kotarski, Gdańsk 1996, pp. 38–46; eadem, *Die Weichselstädte im Bild der polnischen Literatur des ausgehenden 16. und der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Bild und Wahrnehmung der Stadt*, hrsg. v. Peter Johanek, Köln–Wien–Weimar 2012, pp. 71–78; Andrzej Wyrobisz, *Mieszczanie w opinii staropolskich literatów*, Przegląd Historyczny, vol. 82: 1991, no. 1, pp. 51–77.

[36] Jadwiga Krzyżaniakowa, *Gdańsk w średniowiecznej historiografii polskiej*, [in:] *Gdańsk średniowieczny w świetle najnowszych badań archeologicznych i historycznych*, ed. Henryk Paner, Gdańsk 1998, pp. 142–146; Dariusz Kaczor, *„Orbis Gedanense". Wizja Gdańska w kronice dominikanina Martina Grunewega (XVI w.)*, [in:] *Dominikanie. Gdańsk – Polska – Europa. Materiały z konferencji międzynarodowej pt. „Gdańskie i europejskie dziedzictwo. Zakon dominikanów w dziejach Gdańska"*, ed. Dariusz A. Dekański [et al.], Gdańsk 2003, pp. 549–569; Julia Możdżeń, *Przedstawianie świata przez kronikarzy gdańskich na przełomie XV i XVI wieku* (Roczniki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, vol. 95, no. 2), Toruń 2016; Henryk Samsonowicz, *Obraz miasta jako przekaz symboliczny*, [in:] *Historia narrat. Studia mediewistyczne oferowane Profesorowi Jackowi Banaszkiewiczowi*, ed. Andrzej Pleszczyński [et al.], Lublin 2012, pp. 65–74.

In Polish historiography, as well as in European research, much attention was devoted to the critical analysis and editing of iconographic sources to the history of cities[37]. The image of cities presented in the works of Jan Długosz has been of particular interest for many years[38]. Research on the religiousness and sacred topography of cities referred to the issues of perceiving the city and creating its image[39]. The image of the city was also an important element of research into its spatial order[40]. The iconic turn has been reflected in the research on urban sphragistics which has been developing in the last decade[41]. To a small extent, Polish researchers addressed the universal theme of the image of cities in theological thought, art and European literature[42].

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[37] Zofia Jakrzewska-Śnieżko, *Gdańsk w dawnych rycinach*, Wrocław 1980; Iwona Kęder, Waldemar Komorowski, *Z ikonografii Starego Krakowa*, [in:] *Urbs celeberrima. Księga z okazji jubileuszu 750-lecia lokacji Krakowa*, ed. Andrzej Grzybkowski, Teresa Grzybkowska, Zdzisław Żygulski, Kraków 2008, pp. 237–252; Edmund Kizik, *Danziger Veduten und Straßenszenen aus dem 18. Jahrhundert*, Vana Tallinn, vol. 21: 2010, pp. 140–159; *Miasto w obrazie, legendzie, opowieści*, ed. Róża Godula-Węcławowicz, Kraków–Wrocław 2008; Ewa Gwiazdowska, *Gryfino w świetle źródeł ikonograficznych*, [in:] *Dzieje Gryfina i okolic*, ed. Przemysław Kołosowski, Gryfino 2009, pp. 303–321; Janusz Zbudniewek, *Mały widok Starego Miasta Warszawy na tablicy wotywnej pielgrzymów na Jasną Górę z 1711 roku*, [in:] *Artyści włoscy w Polsce XV–XVIII wiek*, ed. Juliusz A. Chrościcki, Warszawa 2004, pp. 315–332.

[38] *Klasztory, miasta i zamki w życiu i twórczości Jana Długosza*, ed. Jerzy Rajman, Dorota Żurek, Kraków 2016; Czesław Deptuła, *Księdza kanonika Jana Długosza osobliwe spojrzenie na miasta Regni Poloniae*, [in:] *Ecclesia – cultura – potestas. Studia z dziejów kultury i społeczeństwa*, ed. Paweł Kras, Kraków 2006, pp. 673–687; Julia Możdżeń, *Estetyka i obronność miast w narracji Roczników Jana Długosza*, [in:] *Jan Długosz – 600. lecie urodzin. Region – Polska – Europa w jego twórczości*, ed. Jacek Maciejewski [et al.], Toruń–Bydgoszcz 2016, pp. 85–98.

[39] Roman Michałowski, *Princeps fundator. Studium z kultury politycznej w Polsce X–XIII wieku*, Warszawa 1989; Halina Manikowska, *Geografia sakralna miasta*, [in:] *Animarum cultura. Studia nad kulturą religijną na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*, ed. Halina Manikowska, Wojciech Brojer, Warszawa 2008, pp. 95–132.

[40] Rafał Eysymontt, *Laudacja i siatka urbanistyczna. Jak pisano o miastach. Uwagi dotyczące studiów nad urbanistyką miast Śląskich*, [in:] *Marmur dziejowy. Studia z historii sztuki*, Poznań 2002, pp. 33–48; idem, *Kod genetyczny miasta. Średniowieczne miasta lokacyjne Dolnego Śląska na tle urbanistyki europejskiej*, Wrocław 2009.

[41] Marek Adamczewski, *Heraldyka miast wielkopolskich do końca XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 2000; Henryk Seroka, *Herby miast małopolskich do końca XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 2002; Beata Możejko, *Przywileje Kazimierza Jagiellończyka z 1457 r. dla Gdańska a zmiany heraldycznego wizerunku miasta*, [in:] *Okręt Kościoła z gdańskiego Dworu Artusa*, ed. Edward Śledź, Gdańsk 2008, pp. 5–37.

[42] Stanisław Kobielus, *Niebiańska Jerozolima. Od sacrum miejsca do sacrum modelu*, Warszawa 1989; Katarzyna Kolendo-Korczak, *Utopia czy rzeczywistość. Obraz miasta idealnego w dekoracjach budowli municypalnych w miastach europejskich w okresie nowożytnym*, [in:] *Polis – Urbs – Metropolis. Materiały LIX Ogólnopolskiej Sesji Naukowej Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Lublin 25–26 listopada 2010*, ed. Lechosław Lameński, Elżbieta Błotnicka-Mazur, Warszawa 2010, pp. 91–103; Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz, *„Bóg nie kocha miast?" Miasto w średniowiecznej myśli filozoficzno-teologicznej (zarys problemu)*, [in:] *Miasto czyni wolnym. 790 lat*

While appreciating the achievements of Polish researchers so far, one should remember about the deficits of Polish research on the history of the city, among which the lack of methodological reflection and interdisciplinary discussion seems to be particularly acute.

On the basis of the considerations presented, several stages of the development of research on the image of cities of the pre-industrial era may be distinguished. In 1980s and 1990s, the focus of researchers' interest on iconographic and historiographic sources is visible. At that time, methodological foundations for research on the perception and reception (interpretation) of the world were also created, which largely affected the problems of research on the image of cities at the beginning of the 21st century. In recent years, the focus of interest of historians has shifted from the analysis of the premises determining the creation of the image to the question of its functions. For this reason, these issues are addressed in a broader thematic context, in research on the staging of power and communal life, the representation of the city, and symbolic communication. Summing up the research achievements, one should also point to the very large methodological and thematic problematic diversity of publications dealing with the subject of the image of the city. Along with studies analyzing the cultural and functional conditions of the processes of the perception of reality and creating images, many works were created that were limited only to describing the content of the image and reflecting on its relation to the actual spatial and social situation of the city.

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The Representation of the Towns of the Pre-industrial Era in Contemporary Historical Research

Abstract

Key words: the history of iconography, the representation of cities, perception of cities, pre-industrial city

The aim of the article is to present the material scope and methodological assumptions of the research on the image of cities undertaken since the late 1970s. The author points out that the image of the city is a very broad term in which various research directions are included. The subject matter had been addressed in the works of sociologists, geographers and art historians since the 1920s. The so-called cultural breakthrough in historical sciences in the 1970s has contributed to the increasing interest in the problem of the representation of cities. The essence of the new approach has become the interest in the principles of creating an image, the ways of its construction and its functions. The priority in undertaking new methodological challenges in the research on the perception of cities and its representations should be attributed to researchers of literature and art historians. Historians started to be more seriously interested in the area in the 1980s. According to the author, the studies developing until the beginning of the 21st century were characterized by a large methodological diversity. Over the last ten years, the focus of researchers has been the issue of creating an image of their own city in various research contexts: city representation, city branding, symbolic communication and communal staging.

Das Bild der Stadt in vorindustrieller Zeit in der modernen Geschichtsforschung

Abstract

Schlüsselwörter: Geschichte der Historiografie, Stadtbild, Wahrnehmung von Städten, vorindustrielle Stadt

Der Artikel setzt sich zum Ziel, den sachlichen Umfang und die methodologischen Voraussetzungen von Forschungen am Bild von Städten darzulegen, die seit den siebziger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts unternommen wurden. Der Autor weist darauf hin, dass das „Bild der Stadt" ein sehr weitgefasster Begriff ist, der verschiedene Forschungsrichtungen umschließt. Die Thematik ist seit den zwanziger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts in Arbeiten von Soziologen, Geografen und Kunsthistorikern aufgegriffen worden. Zum wachsenden Interesse am Thema des Stadtbilds hat der sog. „Cultural Turn" in den historischen Wissenschaften in den siebziger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts beigetragen. Wesentlich für den neuen Ansatz wurde das Interesse für die Grundsätze der Schaffung eines Bildes, für die Art seiner Konstruktion und für seine Funktionen. Die Vorreiterrolle beim Angehen neuer methodologischer Heraus-

forderungen bei der Forschung zur Wahrnehmung der Stadt und ihrer Darstellung ist den Literaturwissenschaftlern und Kunsthistorikern zuzuschreiben. Seit den achtziger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts macht sich auch ein stärkeres Interesse der Historiker an der Problematik bemerkbar. Nach Ansicht des Autors haben sich die Forschungen bis zum Beginn des 21. Jahrhunderts durch eine große methodologische Vielfalt ausgezeichnet. In den letzten Jahrzehnten standen im Zentrum des Interesses der Forscher die Fragen der Schaffung eines Bildes von der eigenen Stadt in verschiedenen Forschungskontexten: Repräsentationen von Städten, *city branding*, symbolische Kommunikation und kommunale Inszenierung.

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