

ARTICLES

<http://dx.doi.org/10.15762/ZH.2019.46>

WALDEMAR KOMOROWSKI
(National Museum in Krakow)

VIEWS OF CRACOW FROM THE OLD POLISH TIMES
IN THE RESEARCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE CITY:
PICTURE, SIGN, SYMBOL, TEXT

Key words: views European and Asian cities, iconography, *laudatio urbis*, the history and culture of Cracow

I shall not consider the views presented in the article as works of art and I shall not analyze their aesthetic value (and if so, I will do it marginally, to the extent needed to consider the content). In this case, I treat the view as a source of information about the city and ways of seeing it in a real and mental space, as a pictorial testimony of social moods, mentality, political state of affairs, economic situation and general condition, and as an effect of the city being perceived by external observers. In the article, I only describe real views, rejecting fantastic ones, which Krakow has received at least a few¹.

The view was often, and in principle, not only a mere reproduction of reality, but also contained additional content that influenced its character. Although it was most often affixed with an ordinary signature, it was quite common to add evaluative comments – like the widely known “Cracovia, urbs celeberrima...” in the panorama of Matthäus Merian of 1619, or complementary comments, like the description of the view of 1493 by Konrad Celtis. In both cases (and many others), comments on the paintings became a kind of *laudatio urbis*, a panegyric in honour of the city².

¹ About both types of views, and the use of the term ‘portrait’ in the title to refer to the city’s images see Jerzy BANACH, *Ikonografia Wawelu*, vol. 1, Kraków 1977, p. 12; idem, *Dawne widoki Krakowa*, Kraków 1983, pp. 5–8, 165. I only include general views showing Krakow in full; views of its fragments are presented in the publication: 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. This text was created using some expressions and theses from my part of the cited article.

² About this issue see Roman KRZYWY, *Deskrypcja Stambułu w „Przeważnej legacyi” Samuela Twardowskiego wobec topiki laudatio urbis*, *Pamiętnik Literacki. Czasopismo Kwartalne*

Often, contrary to the popular belief, seemingly veristic views constituted conscious distortions, especially when their creator exaggeratedly enlarged one or several buildings (a town hall, church, castle) at the expense of others, or even deformed the entire panorama, striving to emphasize the idea encoded in it. This was due to both artistic and ideological reasons, the latter being even more frequent.

Sometimes the views were a testimony and proof of triumph, such as the performance by Eric Dahlberg, showing the victorious Swedish siege in 1655, or the panorama of Krakow on the tombstone of Melchior Hatzfeldt (located in Prusice), who had defeated the Swedes. It should also be remembered that the panoramic views of the city were, in general, part of propagation and propaganda – carried out from different positions and resulting from different motivations. An example is the layout and selection of coats of arms of Krakow's Tri-City as well as royal and state emblems on the most beautiful view of Krakow of 1602–1605. Many motifs of this kind may be developed; they are also to constitute the main message of the article.

* * *

“The oldest general view of Krakow is included in the *Book of Chronicles* (*Liber chronicarum cum figuris ymaginibus ab inicio mundi*), popularly known as the *Chronicle of the World* by Hartmann Schedel, telling the history of humanity from the creation of the world to the year when the book was published (Nuremberg 1493, published by Anton Koberger). The chronicle was richly illustrated with woodcuts presenting views of European and Asian cities, both real and fantastic. The large woodcut of Krakow (Fig. 1) was reflected on two neighbouring pages and constitutes a special combination of a portrait and a fantastic view. On the one hand, it informs about the basic features of the layout and plans of Krakow, Kazimierz and Kleparz, providing also their Latin names. On the other hand, it does not reflect the actual appearance of any of the buildings presented, neither was it drawn from any specific site. It is probably the work of the outstanding German humanist Konrad Celtis, who left Krakow in 1491. When the *Book of Chronicles* was printed, he was in Nuremberg and probably prepared a comprehensive description and drawing prototype of the city's view”³. This is how Jerzy Banach, an eminent expert on

Poświęcone Historii i Krytyce Literatury Polskiej, vol. 102: 2011, no. 4, pp. 41–45. Encomia (*laudatiae*) were constructed according to the rules developed in ancient times, and they were brought into its developed form in the 16th century, when the matrices used by the authors of the city descriptions were created.

³ Jerzy BANACH, *Ikonografia* [of Krakow], [in:] *Encyklopedia Krakowa*, Warszawa–Kraków 2000, p. 313. Cf. idem, *Dawne widoki*, pp. 15, 17, 177. On the circumstances of the creation of the *Book of Chronicle*, see *Sarmacja. Hartmann Schedel o europejskiej Sarmacji. Fragment dzieła Liber chronicarum wydrukowanego w Norymberdze przez Antoniego Kobergera w 1493 r.*

iconography, who died in 2005, characterized the first panorama of Krakow⁴. I would like to supplement these characteristics with a few remarks, also largely inspired by his thoughts⁵. First of all, the Cracow view should be placed in the context of the entire *Chronicle* by Schedel, considered the most important incunabulum after Gutenberg's *Bible*⁶. Krakow was among the hundred cities whose images are included in the Nuremberg work – on par with such metropolises as Basel, Buda, Florence, Cologne, London, Marseille, Milan, Mainz, Naples, Nuremberg, Paris, Prague, Regensburg, Ulm, Venice, Wroclaw,



Fig. 1. View of Krakow and Kazimierz from the north, coloured woodcut; partly imaginary view, partly real, probably according to a drawing by Konrad Celtis, published in Hartmann Schedl's publication, *Liber chronicarum*, Nürnberg 1493, pp. 228v–229r; National Museum in Krakow, Czartoryski Library, inventory no. R. 9851

z drzeworytami Michała Wolgemutha i Wilhelma Pleydenwurffa, ed. and trans. Bogdan DEREŚIEWICZ, intro. Aleksander JANTA, Londyn 1973, pp. 6–7, 9–11; Adrian WILSON, Joyce Lancaster WILSON, *The Making of Nuremberg Chronicle*, Amsterdam 1976; J. BANACH, *Dawne widoki*, p. 177; Elisabeth RÜCKER, *Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik, das größte Buchunternehmen der Dürerzeit*, München 1988; Eberhard SLENCZKA, *Anno quingentesimo libri cronicarum. 500 Jahre "Buch der Croniken". 500 Jahre Schedelsche "Weltchronik"*, 12. Juli 1493 – 12. Juli 1993, Nürnberg 1993. The thesis that Celtis was the author appeared in older literature, see Krystyna PIERADZKA, *Kraków w relacjach cudzoziemców X–XVI wieku*, *Rocznik Krakowski*, vol. 28: 1937, p. 190. Cf. also Jerzy BANACH, *Widok Krakowa z roku 1493 i Konrad Celtis*, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 19: 1957, no. 4, pp. 355–361; idem, *Dawne widoki*, pp. 20–22.

⁴ Iwona KĘDER, *Jerzy Banach (1922–2005)*, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 68: 2006, no. 3–4, pp. 457–465.

⁵ Banach included the most comprehensive analysis of the view in the *Chronicle of the World* in: J. BANACH, *Dawne widoki*, pp. 15–22.

⁶ Hartmann SCHEDEL, Wilhelm PLEYDENWURFF, Michael WOLGEMUTH, *Liber chronicarum*, Norimbergae 1493. I used the electronic version of the copy preserved in the Jagiellonian Library. The view of Krakow is to be found on f. 228v–229r.

Vienna⁷. Naturally, Rome is also included in Schedel's *Chronicle*⁸, not only because of its significance, but also for confessional reasons, just like other centres of this kind, including Babylon, Damascus, Jerusalem, Jericho and Nineveh⁹, since religious history intertwines in the *Chronicle* with political elements. The basic feature of these representations is the principle of combining relatively faithfully reflected general topographic features with the invented shapes of individual components, which was already signalled in the case of Krakow. Jerzy Banach puts this observation as follows: "on the one hand, we have the veracity of the essential features of the spatial arrangement; on the other hand, the false appearance of the building"¹⁰. In the case of Krakow, we guess that the Wawel Castle is reflected in the buildings at the top of the image, but none of the buildings corresponds to our knowledge about their appearance at the end of the 15th century¹¹. A similar thing occurs in the case of St. Mary's Church, Collegium Maius or the Dominican church, which we would be inclined to see reflected in specific buildings in the view, but the images of which differ from their actual appearance at that time. The body of the structure are shaped and decorative details reveal a stronger connection with the then architecture of Nuremberg rather than Krakow; St. Mary's Church is in fact a faithful image of the main Nuremberg Church of St. Sebald¹², while, Wawel confusingly resembles the castle in Würzburg¹³. Were it not for the inscriptions 'Cracovia', 'Casmirus', 'Clepardia' and the fact that the engraving illustrates the text about Krakow in Schedel's work, we could not have guessed that it shows the capital of the Kingdom of Poland with adjacent areas.

Making such observations, it should be remembered that the *Chronicle* was created by Schedel at a time when the veduta was in the process of creation and the portrait took on individual features, both in the case of human counterfeits and the natural and cultural landscape, including views of cities. Schedel's *Chronicle* itself gives numerous examples. The 'portraits' of the characters presented in it have a conventional form – for example only 28 images were sufficient to show 225 popes¹⁴. The graphic symbol with a commentary was important, less care was taken about faithfulness of the presentation. The individualization of portrait presentations progressed slowly. For example, images carved on tombstones and portraits painted on them are most often not

⁷ Ibid., f. 39r, 39v, 42r, 43v, 46r, 72r, 87r, 229v–230r, 233v–234r.

⁸ Ibid., f. 57v–58r.

⁹ Ibid., f. 17v, 20v, 23r, 24v, 50r.

¹⁰ J. BANACH, *Dawne widoki*, p. 17.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 17.

¹² Using the view of the Church of St. Sebald to 'map' St. Mary's Church is justified because both sacred buildings were parish churches.

¹³ H. SCHEDEL, W. PLEYDENWURFF, M. WOLGEMUTH, *Liber chronicarum*, f. 159r–160v.

¹⁴ *Sarmacja*, p. 11.

similar to real figures. The images of the rulers were shaped according to the principles of physiognomy, that is, through the use of techniques aimed at the individualization of portraits, but with a certain amount of standardization and such an interpretation of details as to obtain an idealized counterfeit¹⁵. This was in line with the "Aristotelian view that the reception of the outside world is done through the intellect, not the artists' interest in reproducing the face 'from the model'"¹⁶. Here you can refer to such well-known 'portraits' as counterfeits of John 'the Good' (ca. 1360), Charles IV or Władysław Jagiełło (before 1432). The first independent European portrait, probably painted by Simone Martini in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, depicting Guidoriccio da Fogliano, a horse-riding *condottiero* (military leader) in the service of the urban republic, dates from 1330¹⁷. In the 14th and 15th centuries, due to cultural changes, the pursuit of realism led to the development of a proto-Renaissance portrait, created in the central part of Italy and mainly in Flemish art¹⁸. However, many portraits painted later than the image of Guidoriccio do not bear the features of the portrait presentation.

Similar processes took place in the field of landscape mapping. The fact that the first independent and probably quite faithful city landscape of the city (Siena, located in the town hall, 1337–1339)¹⁹ was created by Ambrogio Lorenzetti almost at the same time and in the same place as the portrait of the *condottiero*, does not mean that the subsequent 14th and 15th century city views accurately depicted the material reality. Slow evolution, which began in the mid-13th century in the Paris miniature painting, led from symbolic representations of cities, constituting the images of e.g. Heavenly Jerusalem (presented by details selected from reality), to faithful reproductions, meticulously noting every detail in real space (although still as the realization of the thought about the nature as ordered by God)²⁰. And although for one and a half centuries

¹⁵ See more Mateusz GRZĘDA, *Wizerunek Władysława Jagiełły na nagrobku w katedrze na Wawelu*, *Folia Historiae Artium*, vol. 13: 2015, pp. 54–69.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹⁷ Adam BOCHNAK, *Historia sztuki nowożytnej*, vol. 1, Warszawa–Kraków 1970, p. 27; Imke WARTENBERG, *Martini (Memmi) Simone*, [in:] *De Gruyter Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, Bd. 87, hrsg. v. Andreas BEYER, Bénédicte SAVOY, Wolf TEGETHOFF, Berlin–Boston 2015, p. 396.

¹⁸ For a summary of the topic, see Matilde BATTISTINI, Lucia IMPELLUSO, Stefano ZUFFI, *Historia portretu. Przez sztukę do wieczności*, trans. Hanna CIEŚLA, Warszawa 2001, pp. 11–19.

¹⁹ A. BOCHNAK, *op.cit.*, p. 27; Imke WARTENBERG, *Lorenzetti (Laurati, Laurenti) Ambrogio*, [in:] *De Gruyter Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, Bd. 85, hrsg. v. Andreas BEYER, Bénédicte SAVOY, Wolf TEGETHOFF, Berlin–Boston 2015, p. 310.

²⁰ Jan BIAŁOSTOCKI, *Narodziny nowożytnego pejzażu*, [in:] *idem, Refleksje i syntezy ze świata sztuki*, Warszawa 1978, pp. 70–72; Małgorzata Urszula MAZURCZAK, *Miasto w pejzażu malarstwie XV wieku. Niderlandy*, Lublin 2004, *passim*.

the process of reaching the veristic performance deepened (under the clear influence of humanism), with the best results in Flemish and Dutch painting²¹ (e.g. in *Madonna of Chancellor Rolin* by Johann van Eyck, ca. 1435), the tendency to maintain the conventionalisation was still clear. Schedel's *Chronicle* and its view of Krakow are the best example. As I mentioned, none of the buildings in his panorama was a reflection of reality; we deal only with their pictorial symbols. This is a rare case, even for the *Chronicle*, where in the case of other cities the appearance of at least one building matches the actual one. Exceptions, apart from Krakow, include Babylon, Damascus, Nineveh and Sodom (consisting of elements of southern German cities, compiled in various arrangements), and – surprisingly – London.

In Schedel's *Chronicle* there is also a view coming as if from much more distant times – a representation of Jerusalem²² – an almost fantastic image of the Holy City according to an early medieval pattern. The hierarchy of meaning determined its composition. Like on the 13th-century maps of the world, from Ebstorf (1234) or Hereford (1300), Jerusalem was located in its centre²³, so in the middle of the imaginary view of this city was – contrary to reality – the Temple of Solomon, supernaturally enlarged²⁴. Placing it in the geometric centre²⁵ was to illustrate physically – as Ryszard Knapieński writes – “the most important place in the consciousness of the People of the First Covenant”²⁶. In this context, crowning the view of Krakow with the silhouette of Wawel, clearly enlarged, may result not only from topographic conditions, but it may also have ideological significance. We shall encounter this phenomenon, called creative geography, in the next panoramas.

²¹ Zygmunt WAŻBIŃSKI, *Il paesaggio – nascita del tenere, 1400–1600. Introduzione. Pejzaż – narodziny gatunku, 1400–1600. Wstęp*, [in:] *Pejzaż – narodziny gatunku 1400–1600. Materiały sesji naukowej 23–24 X 2003*, ed. Sebastian DUDZIAK, Tadeusz J. ZUCHOWSKI, Toruń 2004, pp. 13–15, 21–22.

²² H. SCHEDEL, W. PLEYDENWURFF, M. WOLGEMUTH, *Liber chronicarum*, f. 17v.

²³ See more Adam KRAWIEC, *Jerozolima jako środek świata w średniowiecznej geografii kreacyjnej*, *Studia Periegetica*, 2010, no. 5, pp. 85–125.

²⁴ It must be stressed that the separate view of the Temple of Solomon is placed correctly in the topography of Jerusalem – in Zion, see H. SCHEDEL, W. PLEYDENWURFF, M. WOLGEMUTH, *Liber chronicarum*, f. 48r.

²⁵ About the centric situation of *templum Salomonis* see Magdalena GRUNA-SULISZ, *Świątynia jerozolimska jako homogeniczne centrum i model świata*, [in:] *Jerozolima w kulturze europejskiej. Materiały z konferencji zorganizowanej w Instytucie Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie w dniach 14–17 maja 1996*, ed. Piotr PASZKIEWICZ, Tadeusz ZADROŻNY, Warszawa 1997, pp. 357–370.

²⁶ Ryszard KNAPIŃSKI, *Sakralizująca funkcja kościoła w mieście. Tradycja i współczesność*, *Anamnesis*, vol. 11: 2005, no. 4, p. 96.

The textual commentary supplementing the view of Krakow's Tri-City in Schedel's *Chronicle* is more accurate than its graphic image²⁷. It begins with the general characteristics of the metropolis (along with its history), and then proceeds to the presentation of its main part, where "there are a lot of beautiful and sumptuous houses of burghers. There are also huge temples, especially the temple of the Holy Mother [St. Mary's Church], located in the middle of the city, with two very high towers. You can also see numerous monasteries in which there are many monks who are deeply devoted to God"²⁸. Then follows a meticulous account of the appearance of selected buildings in Krakow, with particular emphasis on the university and the Wawel Castle²⁹. It is significant that "none of the German cities, so well-known to Schedel, has not been as accurately described in the *Chronicle* as our Krakow", and this description "differs in the vividness of the presentation from dry accounts of other cities"³⁰. Celtis' text would be a basic source of information about Krakow for the reader, while the graphic image would complement it.

The description of Krakow along with the woodcut accompanying it introduced the capital of the Kingdom of Poland into the circle of the most important European metropolises. Moreover, they became *pars pro toto* for the description of the whole Kingdom. Krakow is the only city in the *Chronicle* to represent the Jagiellonian monarchy. This situation did not happen again in the next atlases, probably because the knowledge about Poland available in the West expanded rapidly. Nevertheless, in Schedel's time, the great East European monarchy was still poorly known, and the only noteworthy city was the seat of its king. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (later Pope Pius II) expressed this view writing in his historical and geographical work *De Europa* (1458): "civitates Poloniae praeter Cracoviam parum nitidae"³¹. It should be emphasized here that Krakow was one of a dozen or so cities – as mentioned by J. Banach – which in Schedel's *Chronicle* received distinctive two-page views.

²⁷ The complete translation from Latin see *Sarmacja*, pp. 43–46; short discussion K. PIERADZKA, *Kraków w relacjach*, pp. 190–191.

²⁸ *Sarmacja*, p. 44.

²⁹ K. PIERADZKA, *Kraków w relacjach*, p. 191.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

³¹ *Aeneae Sylvii Piccolomini postea Pii II Papae opera geographica et historica* [...], Francoforto-Lipsiae 1707, p. 272. About the description of Poland (based – supposedly – on the letters of Zbigniew Oleśnicki) and his mentions about Krakow see Rafał OJRZYŃSKI, *Obraz Polski i Polaków w pismach Eneusza Sylwiusza Piccolominiego (papieża Piusa II)*, Warszawa 2014, pp. 140–141. Piotr Kołodziejczak gave the latest interpretation of Piccolomini's text about Poland and Krakow in the conference paper "City – Culture – Nature: The Concept of the City in *De Europa* by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini", delivered on 7 June, 2018 at the Forum of Young Researchers of Urban History in Toruń.

The second image in the *Chronicle* related to Poland is a synthetic image of the country, seen from the south, with the Vistula River in the middle, flowing on the horizon into the Baltic Sea. The inscription “De regno polonie et eius initio”³² justifies that this fantasy landscape is Polish; The inscription is an incipit to a three-page description of the country, the significant fragment of which has already been discussed in the description of Krakow, entitled “De Cracovia urbe regia Sarmacie”³³. Sarmatia is quite a complex issue³⁴; there is no place here to discuss it. I will only quote the opinion of Aleksander Janta that “The *Nuremberg Chronicle* gives us a late medieval reflection of Western European concepts about the Jagiellonian state, usually appearing in the form of legendary Sarmatia”³⁵.

Schedel's *Chronicle*, containing the first printed account of Poland, became the gate through which Krakow entered the pantheon of European metropolises; the illustrative, not very useful, semi-fanciful iconographic source became an important element of propagation not only of the city, but also of the entire Kingdom.

* * *

The view in Schedel's *Chronicle* is an intermediate form between the plan and the panorama, which to some extent allows to read the spatial layout of the city³⁶. It is a medieval tradition, long continued into modernity. In the later views of Krakow – with one exception – it was not used. It was replaced by panoramic shots that did not allow to penetrate the spatial structure³⁷. The first example of this method and the first portrait shot was the view from the Krakus Mound (Fig. 2), dating from 1537, probably made by Mathias Gerung³⁸, which is part of the album constituting the pictorial itinerary of the

³² H. SCHEDEL, W. PLEYDENWURFF, M. WOLGEMUTH, *Liber chronicarum*, f. 257r.

³³ Ibid., f. 257r–259v.

³⁴ The concept of Sarmatia as we know it today was only being shaped at that time. Celtis came across this term and its interpretation probably in the Krakow academic community or took it directly from the ancient geographer Claudius Ptolemy, see K. PIERADZKA, *Kraków w relacjach*, pp. 188–189.

³⁵ *Sarmacja*, p. 6.

³⁶ J. BANACH, *Dawne widoki*, pp. 17–18.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 19–20.

³⁸ The view was discussed in two separate monographs by Jerzy Banach and Elżbieta M. Firlet: Jerzy BANACH, *Nieznany widok Krakowa z lat trzydziestych wieku XVI*, [in:] *Nobile claret opus. Studia z dziejów sztuki dedykowane Mieczysławowi Zlatowi*, ed. Lech KALINOWSKI, Stanisław MOSSAKOWSKI, Zofia OSTROWSKA-KĘBŁOWSKA, Wrocław 1998, pp. 183–194; idem, *Die älteste Ansicht der Stadt Krakau aus dem Jahre 1537*, [in:] *Die Reisebilder Pfalzgraf Ottheinrichs aus den Jahren 1536/1537. Von seinem Ritt von Neuburg a. d. Donau über Prag nach Krakau und zurück über Breslau, Berlin, Wittenberg und Leipzig nach Neuburg. Faksimileband*, hrsg. v. Angelika MARSCH, Josef H. BILLER, Franz-Dietrich JACOB, Weißenhorn 2001, pp. 244–255; Elżbieta M. FIRLET, *Najstarsza panorama Krakowa*, Kraków 1998.



Fig. 2. Mathias Gerung (?), *View of Kazimierz and Krakow from the south*, feather and water-colour, 1537, in a collection of drawings constituting the pictorial itinerary of the travel to Krakow of the Palatine of the Rhine Ottheinrich Wittelsbach (*Reisealbum Pfalzgraf Ottheinrichs von seinem Zug nach Krakau*); Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg, (inventory no.) Delin. VI, 49

travel of the Palatine of the Rhine Ottheinrich Wittelsbach to Krakow; he came to the city to discuss financial matters with King Sigismund³⁹. Contrary to the title – *Die kinikliche Stat Craga in Boln* – it is not actually an image of Krakow itself, but Kazimierz visible in the foreground. It was only in the background on the left that the Wawel Castle was shown, and on the right a small part of Krakow with some of the most important downtown buildings, among which one may distinguish the Town Hall with a tower, the Dominican church and St. Mary's Church along with the Florian Gate. There are not many other buildings, which was probably a conscious omission, because the artist focused on characteristic elements, rejecting the less important ones. Kazimierz is too big in Gerung's drawing, while Krakow is too small, and the empty space between them (built up only in the second half of the 19th century) was tightly filled with houses. However, the work cannot be denied the title of the first portrait view of the former Polish capital, although its author made mistakes in details many times⁴⁰.

These shortcomings do not prevent us from considering the view of 1537 to be the oldest (among the known) modern counterfeit of Krakow, which

³⁹ When setting off to Krakow for talks with King Sigismund I 'the Old', the Palatine of the Rhine (*Pfalzgraf*, ruler of the principality of Palatinate-Neuburg) Ottheinrich took in his retinue an artist whom he instructed to record the views of cities observed on the way. Dozens of vedutas were created then, among them the one of Krakow, see J. BANACH, *Ikongrafia* [of Krakow], p. 313; E. M. FIRLET, op.cit., pp. 13–15, 20.

⁴⁰ J. BANACH, *Nieznany widok*, p. 193.

fulfils the conditions set in the classic works of early modern European iconography – Florence's *Carta della catena* of 1472–1481, attributed to Francesco Rosselli⁴¹, and in the view of Venice of 1500 by Jacopo de' Barbari⁴². Both used the linear perspective discovered in the 15th century, which gave rise to the belief that it was possible to map three-dimensionality in two dimensions (as Leone Battista Alberti scientifically argued), and thus – to depict faithfully material space⁴³. This, in turn, was followed by setting new standards, the effect of which is seen in the aforementioned view of Venice, which was made using trigonometric methods. Although the view of Krakow by Mathias Gerung does not show such precision, it is undoubtedly far from medieval 'disinvoltura', where the image of the landscape was the result of mental speculation, and not the close observation of nature.

Subsequent views will be more and more faithful in recreating reality. However, all of them, including the first one by Schedel, has a common, constitutive feature – a supernatural enlargement (sometimes even deformation) of important elements in the city's panorama. In the case of the view of 1537, these would be specific buildings of the Wawel Castle, the Krakow Town Hall and St. Mary's Church. The choice of the overlook is also significant. Banach explains his choice with a desire to show Wawel, which looks best from Krakus Mound⁴⁴. One can suppose that Wawel, dominating over both cities, was deliberately placed among the significant buildings of Krakow and Kazimierz, which were enlarged above their real state and surrounded with an unreal number of burghers' houses, as if the aim was to emphasize the importance of both cities. In this respect, the view in Gerung's album differs significantly from the other panoramas in his work, especially the ones of smaller cities, where the artist primarily exposes the nature surrounding the estate, without adding anything to the building. Only in the case of Prague and Wroclaw the reality was processed to a comparable extent as in the case of Krakow⁴⁵.

* * *

Processing, interpretation and deformation are a constant procedure in the composition of views (this issue is widely discussed in the literature⁴⁶, we only

⁴¹ Halina MANIKOWSKA, Anna POMIERNY-WĄSIŃSKA, *Główne nurty badań nad przestrzenią miasta średniowiecznego*, Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej, vol. 63: 2015, no. 2, p. 193.

⁴² Anna Maria SZYLIN, *Barbari, Jacopo de'*, [in:] *Saur Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten Und Völker*, Bd. 6, München–Leipzig 1992, p. 645.

⁴³ After Halina Manikowska and Anna Pomierny; H. MANIKOWSKA, A. POMIERNY-WĄSIŃSKA, op.cit., p. 193.

⁴⁴ J. BANACH, *Nieznany widok*, p. 185.

⁴⁵ *Die Reisebilder*, boards 41, 48.

⁴⁶ See for example Lucyna LENCZNAROWICZ, *Miasta w grafice*, [in:] *Portrety miast. Widoki miast europejskich od starożytności po wiek XIX na monetach, medalach i rycinach*, Kraków 2000, pp. 80–81.

remind it here), as demonstrated by the following panoramas. In 1581 the first native (made in this city) view of Krakow appeared (Fig. 3). It is a small vignette made using the woodcut technique, adorning the volume of the *Constitutions, statutes and privileges adopted by Crown Sejms* (*Konstytucje, statuta i przywileje na sejmiech koronnych uchwalone*). The illustration made in the publishing house of Mikołaj Szarfenberger (who had the royal privilege for the exclusive printing and sale of the *Constitutions*) was, in terms of composition,



Fig. 3. View of Krakow from the north-west, woodcut, used as a vignette in printing from the outbuilding of Mikołaj Szarfenberger *Constitutions, statutes and privileges of the General Crown Sejms adopted from 1550 until 1581*, p. 158; Jagiellonian Library, St. Dr. Cim. 8217

a precedent in the long tradition of depicting Krakow in the most spectacular shot from the northwest. The city view is dominated by the symbols of three authorities – the municipal, royal and ecclesiastical ones – on the left the towers of St. Mary's Church and the Town Hall, while on the right one may find the silhouette of the castle and cathedral. In order not to marginalize the royal seat (which from the north west would be visible only in a small part), it was shown along with the cathedral from the north. As a result, Wawel Hill took a disproportionately large part of the view. There was a reversal of the principle used in the veduta of 1493 – if individual buildings were faithfully presented, then the topography was deformed. Moreover, the panorama in the *Constitutions* was composed of several views taken from different places, as evidenced not only by the 'stretched' view of Wawel, but also by mutually exclusive shots of buildings standing next to each other, which should be visible the same way (i.e. from one side, while now they are shown from different directions). The whole was so neatly composed that we received a suggestive image of mimetic mapping of reality despite the fact that it is not real. This way of showing Krakow lasted almost until the end of the 18th century⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ J. BANACH, *Dawne widoki*, pp. 28–33, 35, 178, il. 3, 4.

In the view of 1581, there appeared ideological and political considerations. In addition to the unnatural enlargement of Wawel, to further emphasize the role of the royal seat, the head of the eagle in the coat of arms was directed towards it, looking in this case not to the right, as usual, but to the left, in accordance with the rules of heraldic courtesy⁴⁸. On the other hand, the significance of Krakow as a residential city was emphasized by the size of its coat of arms, placed in the upper right corner of the engraving, being the same as the size of the coat of arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, visible in the left corner. The shields of both coats of arms are turned in a heraldic slope towards the emblem of the Crown, which in this case is also a sign of the ruling dynasty. This combination was not undoubtedly a coincidence; the more so that the engraving adorns the official print. Krakow appears to have been treated equally with the monarchy in the engraving – it appears both in the image where it dominates, as well as in the coat of arms and description; the inscription ‘Cracovia’ is closely connected with the coat of arms of the Kingdom.

With this arrangement of ideological accents, it is also important that the building on the left side of St. Mary’s Church is particularly prominent; a huge roof is visible from it, significantly exceeding the size of the church’s roof. The building with such a covering is identified as *Bróg*, which took its name from the unusual shape of the covering. The roof was indeed very high (as evidenced by a separate woodcut dedicated to this building only), but not so far as to reach above the ridge of the church. The exaggeration in the representation of the roof in the illustration in the *Constitutions* may be related to the apogee of the fight against dissenters falling at the time of its creation. *Bróg* housed a Protestant church; the engraving was created between the first (1574) and the second (1587) destruction of the building during anti-Protestant tumults⁴⁹. We can, therefore, suppose that its creator wanted to draw attention to a current and sensitive matter, not only for Krakow, but also for the whole of Poland.

The illustration also contains other examples of how the view may be dominated by means of selected elements. Both the higher tower of St. Mary’s Church and the helmet of the Town Hall tower were exaggerated, exceeding

⁴⁸ About heraldic courtesy see Alfred ZNAMIEROWSKI, Janusz L. KACZMAREK, *Heraldyka i wesykologia*, Warszawa 2017, p. 441. Among the Polish examples of heraldic courtesy one can point to the relationship between the Eagle and the Pogoń in the coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where the Eagle is facing the coat of arms of Lithuania, see Stanisław RUSSOCKI, Stefan K. KUCZYŃSKI, Juliusz WILLAUME, *Godło, barwy i hymn Rzeczypospolitej. Zarys dziejów*, ed. Bogusław LEŚNODORSKI, Warszawa 1963, p. 47. In the view of 1581, the Eagle turns away from the Pogoń, heading towards the seat of the sovereign, the head of the dualistic monarchy.

⁴⁹ Waldemar KOMOROWSKI, *Protestanckie miejsca w Krakowie w XVI wieku – zbory, domy, cmentarze*, [in:] *Reformacja w Krakowie (XVI–XVII wiek). Materiały z sesji naukowej 6 maja 2017 roku*, ed. Zdzisław NOGA, Kraków 2018, pp. 150–156.

almost all the towers of Wawel, which was not in line with reality. The accentuation of selected buildings, especially town halls and other prestigious city buildings, including related sacred buildings, was a common phenomenon. An example, one of many, may be the copperplate from the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries with a view of the Swiss city of Freiburg⁵⁰, where the cathedral tower was even colossal in size, while at the same time the urban residential buildings were reduced to Lilliputian size. In fact, there are no such disproportions. From among Polish examples we can give Przemyśl, in the image of which (coming around the same time⁵¹) stands out the supernatural size of the town hall, even distancing the cathedral, when in reality the building was not so big and so well seen from the Przemyśl suburb Zasanie, from where the drawing was made. Such representations are reflections deep into the modernity of the continuing tradition of hierarchical ordering, i.e. reflecting the significance of a building through its enlargement and central location, as in the Jerusalem view discussed earlier.

In all these cases: Krakow, Freiburg, and Przemyśl (as well as many others), the views were a graphical complement to the apologetic texts, praising the virtues of cities, which I mentioned. It is not surprising that the view, as in the text, focused on *mirabilia*⁵², emphasizing them by zooming.

* * *

“The first uniform collection of views and plans of the world’s cities with a detailed description of *Civitates orbis terrarum* was published in Cologne by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg: in 1572–1598 five volumes were published, in 1617 – the last, sixth volume came out. Volumes 2, 3 and 6 contain views of 16 cities of the Crown and Lithuania, including Krakow, which was the only one illustrated with two engravings. The first view, drawn from the south (Fig. 4), from Krakus Mound, shows, among others the defensive walls of Krakow with numerous towers and gates (omitted in the view of 1537, drawn from the same place); it also contains a caption referring to 14 buildings. The illustration shows the date when the copperplate was made (probably by Jakub Hoefnagel) – the year 1617 [...]. The view was painted (*depictum*) by Egidius van der Rye, a Flemish artist”⁵³. The drawing was made

⁵⁰ Martin Martini, view of Freiburg, 1606, copy in the author’s collection. Many thanks to Agnieszka Perzanowska and Iwona Długopolska from the National Museum in Krakow for their help in identifying the view.

⁵¹ Georgius BRAUN, FRANCISCUS HOGENBERG, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, lib. 6: *Theatri precipuarum totius mundi*, Coloniae Agrippinae 1617, no. 52.

⁵² See R. KRZYWY, op.cit., p. 43.

⁵³ J. BANACH, *Ikonografia* [of Krakow], p. 314; see idem, *Dawne widoki*, pp. 52–55, 58, 178–179, il. 6; idem, *Ikonografia Wawelu*, pp. 190–191; idem, *Pulchrum et verum. Z meaningów ikonografii Krakowa*, [in:] *Curia maior. Studia z dziejów kultury ofiarowane Andrzejowi*

in the years 1592–1598⁵⁴ and, like the Würzburg view, it shows, contrary to the inscription, not so much Krakow as Kazimierz (and almost the entire area of later Podgórze) exposed in the foreground. Krakow only complements the panorama of the agglomeration of the two royal cities (Kleparz was almost completely omitted), and the whole is crowned by the monumental Wawel building along with the distinctive edifices of the castle.



Fig. 4. Jakob Hoefnagel (?), *View of Kazimierz and Krakow from the south*, etching and coloured engraving, according to a drawing by Egidius van der Rye from 1592–1598, published in the publication of Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. 6, Colonia Agrippina 1617, table 44; National Museum in Krakow, inventory no. NMK III-fig. 28931

Braun and Hogenberg's views are the quintessence of the European veduta and constitute the representation of its development to date. The authors of the illustrations used the achievements of the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period in various ways. The albums contain both typical panoramas and perspective views. There are also plans that were adapted for the needs of the view called 'bird's eye view' (*visum aëria, oculi avem*). The use of the masterly

Ciechanowieckiemu, ed. Danuta GIEYSZTOR-ROSA, Maria PROSIŃSKA, Warszawa 1990, p. 69, footnote 1; idem, *Nieznany widok*, pp. 184, 187–191; L. LENCZNAROWICZ, *Miasta*, p. 90. See more about Braun and Hogenberg's publication in: *Cities of the World. 363 engravings revolutionize the view of the World. Complete edition of the colour plates of 1572–1617*, ed. Stephan FÜSSEL, Köln 2008. See also J. BANACH, *Dawne widoki*, pp. 48–49.

⁵⁴ G. BRAUN, F. HOGENBERG, *Civitates*, lib. 6, no. 44.

graphic technique – copperplate – and the high artistry made almost all illustrations included in *Civitates* good works of art. The views of cities were accompanied by staffage, more or less developed, which also played a role in old views, but here it became an important element of the extra-textual message. We have an example of this also in the case of Krakow. Its representation actually became the background for the image, which cannot be accidental and is not just an empty ornament. In the foreground we see two men (Fig. 5) – one dressed in an outfit reminiscent of eastern clothing, the other – in European clothes. The second half of the 16th century was the time of the formation of the nobility – the period of their oscillation between the West and the East⁵⁵, finally finished with the victory of the Eastern elements, with clear Hungarian and Turkish influences. At a time when this view was being created, orientalizing was not yet a foregone conclusion. There are opinions that the staffage in the engraving by van der Rye was to present alternative possibilities of the outfit of the Polish nobleman, more or less orientalized⁵⁶. However, I would put forward a different argument. Let us look at the issue more widely, also taking into account the representations of non-Polish cities, because staffage is a frequent element in *Civitates*. It is true that only some of the views related to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were adorned with staffage – these are images of Krakow, Przemyśl (1617), Warsaw (1617), Gdańsk (1575), Vilnius (1581) and Grodno (1575)⁵⁷ – and the national outfit was visible on four of them (particularly eye-catching in Warsaw's view), but in Krakow's view it is most prominently displayed with a clear emphasis on oriental features. The question then arises whether the nobleman on the left is really



Fig. 5. Staffage – fragment of the view of Kazimierz and Krakow from 1592–1598

⁵⁵ Magdalena BARTKIEWICZ, *Ubiór polski do 1864 roku*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1979, pp. 63–65.

⁵⁶ J. BANACH, *Dawne widoki*, pp. 58, 169.

⁵⁷ G. BRAUN, F. HOGENBERG, *Civitates*, lib. 2, no. 46, 48; lib. 3, no. 59; lib. 6, no. 43, 44, 47, 52.

Sarmatian. His physical appearance is clearly eastern, and the outfit resembles Turkish clothes (Fig. 6) in the view of Buda (signed *bassa budensis*)⁵⁸, which had been under the Ottoman rule for over half a century. For Jakub Hoefnagel, who engraved both panoramas – of Krakow and Buda, the view of a person in the eastern (or para-eastern)⁵⁹ attire could have been a kind of memento



Fig. 6. Staffage in the view of Buda and Pest in the publication of Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. 6, Colonia Agrippina 1617, table 30; National Museum in Krakow, Czartoryski Library, inventory no. R 9906

in relation to the Jagiellonian capital, in connection with the expansion of the Ottoman Porte to the Christian territories of Europe⁶⁰, despite its defeat at Lepanto (1571). Following this lead, one should also pay attention to the expression of gestures made by the protagonists of the scenes in both views and the fact that both hold the same mace in their right hand.

There is another element in the engraving that makes one reflect – the title inscription “Cracovia Minoris Poloniae Metropolis” (Krakow, the capital of Lesser Poland). Its meaning can be understood only after getting acquainted with the second view of Krakow in *Civitates*, which

I shall discuss promptly. In the discussed case, the role of the main city of the Kingdom was also emphasized as the capital of one of the two most important provinces, next to Greater Poland⁶¹.

⁵⁸ Ibid., no. 30.

⁵⁹ The artist used the book about attire including the copperplate of Abraham de Bruyn: *Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Africae atque Americae gentium habitus*, Antwerpen 1581. Some researchers associate the outer attire of the person on the left with the esquire's clothes.

⁶⁰ The author of the description of Buda's image frightens in the commentary on the character standing next to the pasha: “Genus hominum apud Turca Barbarum, ac temerarium, ad omne audax facinus perpetrandum paratum. Dellij vulgo appellantur plumis in ipsa capitis carne insertis quo truculentiores appereant” (comment posted in the cartouche under the view of Buda).

⁶¹ Jerzy BANACH, *Kraków stolica Małopolski*, [in:] *Magistro et amico amici discipulique, Lechowi Kalinowskiemu w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Jerzy GADOMSKI [et al.], Kraków 2002, pp. 285, 290–291.

The second of the views of Krakow published in *Civitates* (Fig. 7) is immeasurably more important and better known; according to J. Banach, it is “the most beautiful and informative image of the Polish capital in the entire iconography of our city”⁶². Its unknown original drawing prototype was created in 1603–1605 (engraving, as we know it, was created in 1617). “The panorama presents downtown buildings, above which there appears a ribbon with the inscription *Cracovia Metropolis Regni Poloniae* hovers. [...] The castle, explained by the inscription *Palatia S[erenissimae] M[aiestatis]*, is dominated by a shield crowned with a royal crown with an Eagle surrounded by a chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece (given to King Sigismund III in 1600). Also the palace in Łobzów (the monarch’s second residence in the capital) was shown with attention to detail. The foreground presents a royal entourage of about 200 people going from Wawel to Łobzów. The figure also contains invocations of 32 churches (the city complex of Krakow and its suburbs had 45 churches at the time), the names of eight gates in the defensive walls, the Primate’s palace, the bishop’s two residences, the seat of the Academy and the Jewish school”⁶³.



Fig. 7. View of Kleparz, Krakow and Kazimierz from the north-west, etching and coloured engraving, according to a drawing from 1603–1605, published in the publication *Civitates orbis terrarum*, vol. 6, Colonia Agrippina 1617, table 43; National Museum in Krakow, inventory no. NMK III-fig. 28932

As in the view illustrating the *Constitutions*, the unity of the viewpoint has not been preserved here. The complex of the three Krakow cities was taken from one place, located on the Bronowice Hills, but some buildings and

⁶² J. BANACH, *Ikongrafia* [of Krakow], p. 314; see idem, *Dawne widoki*, pp. 58–59, 62, 179–180, il. 7.

⁶³ J. BANACH, *Ikongrafia* [of Krakow], p. 314.

individual parts of the landscape invisible from it were drawn separately, from a shorter distance, and their images were included in the whole. The proficiency of the artist caused that even the dumbfounding counterfeit of Kazimierz does not offend or surprise, because we accept it as a necessary solution to show an important part of the agglomeration. The anonymous viewer was an experienced expert on Krakow and its surroundings, faithfully presenting almost all the objects included in the panorama. In none of the views created to date do we encounter such an accumulation of details, often shown for the first time. We get acquainted with the city at a special moment in its history, when it was still the monarch's seat, just before the onset of its splendour. It was still medieval in nature, but with a distinct early modern stigma. The aesthetic and substantive value of the view seemed to publishers so important that they ordered to reflect it in a double-long format; no other city in *Civitates* has a panorama of this size⁶⁴. The description accompanying the view leaves no doubt as to the reason for such a decision, emphasizing that "the city itself [Krakow] with the splendour of private and public buildings, and with the abundance of everything that belongs to the needs and comforts of life, along with the kindness and elegance of people, not only holds the first place among the cities of the North, but it also competes with the most famous towns of Germany, Italy and France"⁶⁵.

Heraldic descriptions and representations add splendour to the engraving of 1617. In their mutual relations, symbolic references were shown according to the intentions of the anonymous creator, or maybe also the publisher: the coat of arms of Krakow, larger and placed higher from the coats of arms of the accompanying cities – a kind of *primus inter pares* – was equated with the royal coats of arms – the Snake of Sforza and the Pogoń (coat of arms of Lithuania) – in terms of size, shape and ornamentation. As in the view of 1581, the capital city aspires to participate in the political life of the country, although the reality of the era is different.

The view from the beginning of the 17th century, constituting the peak achievement of the veduta images of Krakow – made outside of Poland, but with a good knowledge of Krakow's realities – was the recapitulation of the achievements to date, while becoming a source of inspiration for the majority of the views that followed it⁶⁶. The features of all the views, including the one just described, is the location of Krakow's counterfeit in a broad topographic context, with the indispensable towns of Kleparz and Kazimierz, lush nature and well-managed surroundings. Over time, the topographical cover

⁶⁴ J. BANACH, *Dawne widoki*, p. 58.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

of Krakow would expand, and the tendency to slim down the proportions of selected buildings mentioned in the view of 1581 would grow.

* * *

Let us move on to the repetitions and imitations of the views of 1603–1605. The most important of them is the first copperplate copy, made by the engraver Matthäus Merian, commissioned by the Amsterdam publisher Justus Hondius, which was published as a separate card in 1619 (Fig. 8). The figure is over two-



Fig. 8. Matthäus Merian, *View of Kleparz, Krakow and Kazimierz from the north-west*, etching and engraving, ca. 1619, based on the view from *Civitates* (Cf. Fig. 7), copy of the edition from ca. 1626; National Museum in Krakow, Czartoryski Library, inventory no. R 9849

meter long and is twice as large as the original. “Merian strictly followed the original, but treated it primarily as a beautiful urban landscape. And from this point of view, it is necessary to assess the modifications made to it: they make Krakow’s image nicer to the eye, give the landscape a more consistent perspective – but in many places the original was distorted. The coats of arms are now arranged more symmetrically, almost in one line, but their connections, and mutual relations with each other, and with parts of the city were broken. Kleparz’s coat of arms, once rightly erected above its town hall – is now found on the side, on the left edge of the engraving, far behind ‘Florence’ and even behind Prądnik. Instead, the coat of arms of Krakow was placed above the one of Kleparz [...]. Similarly, three coats of arms flew across the sky, symbolically guarding Wawel; so somewhat unexpectedly the Sforza’s Snake now watches over St. Mary’s parish church and Town Hall”⁶⁷. In many places, the pursuit of artistic quality caused a deformation of the appearance of both extensive fragments of the city landscape and individual objects. To paraphrase the words of J. Banach, the view by M. Merian one may spot in the triumph of *pulchrum* over *verum*, because he sacrificed the truth for beauty; the original he used

⁶⁷ J. BANACH, *Ikonomia* [of Krakow], pp. 314–315; see idem, *Dawne widoki*, pp. 77–80, 180–181, il. 8.

reflected the truth so faithfully. The degree of transformation is revealed by a simple combination of the form of any building in the panoramas and Merian's copy already discussed⁶⁸. For many years, owing to high artistic values and widespread accessibility, the copperplate by M. Merian was regarded as the prototype of the view from the beginning of the 17th century⁶⁹.

Matthäus Merian provided the view with the famous and frequently repeated inscription: "Cracovia totius Poloniae urbs celeberrima atque amplissima regia atque Academia insignis" – aptly reflecting the real position of Krakow, which in 1619 no longer served as the residence of the Polish monarch, but still was the undisputed ornament of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. At the same time, the inscription formulated in such a way, running over the entire view, also capturing the images of Kleparz and Kazimierz, is another proof of Merian's misunderstanding of the specific nature of Krakow's Tri-City.

Thanks to the popularity of Merian's work, Krakow was recognized in the Renaissance form at its peak and for the next 200 years was seen as such outside Poland, although it was then that it stopped developing and at first slowly, and after the Swedish occupation of 1655–1657 faster, started to decline. Regardless of the substantive value of the view (or lack of it), "Merian's copperplate is to this day the greatest tribute that graphic arts paid to Krakow. It is not surprising that such an engraving has become a model for the whole family of copies slavishly repeating the features of the mother copy"⁷⁰. In each view, however, the artist and engraver made modifications to the original. In Merian's view, the artist introduced numerous adjustments – the horizon over Kazimierz was lowered, the royal garden in Łobzów was enlarged, numerous clouds to fill the space above the city and trees and shrubs were added wherever it was possible.

⁶⁸ An example is the tower of Krakow's Town Hall. Its Gothic helmet, drawn by the anonymous viewer in the *Constitutions*, is undoubtedly closer to the view from *Civitates* than the 'improved' structure on M. Merian's engraving, rendered with some rigidity and a clear lack of understanding of the architectural details of the building. The engraver wanted to finish what was left unsaid in *Civitates*, and distorted it in good faith. The popularity of the view from the Amsterdam printing house caused that Merian's artistic interpretation became the foundation of many scientific interpretations, including erroneous ones. Thus, the tower of the Town Hall of Krakow entered the 19th century iconography as a building similar to Prague's towers from the times of Charles IV (although it had never had such a form), because as such it was seen in the engraving of M. Merian by the author of a pioneering work on Krakow's Gothic architecture August Ottmar ESSENWEIN, see idem, *Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale der Stadt Krakau*, Nürnberg [1866], pp. 143–144, tabl. LVIII. Cf. Waldemar KOMOROWSKI, *Ratusz miasta Krakowa*, [in:] *Urbs celeberrima. Księga z okazji jubileuszu 750-lecia lokacji Krakowa*, ed. Andrzej GRZYBKOWSKI, Teresa GRZYBKOWSKA, Zdzisław ŻYGULSKI, Kraków 2008, pp. 176–177.

⁶⁹ J. BANACH, *Dawne widoki*, pp. 79–80.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 80.

There appeared even more of them in the subsequent views. The image of the city breaks away from its real view, evolving towards free interpretation.

* * *

I will return to this main issue after a short excursion towards a secondary research problem, which is, however, worth discussing for a moment. I will present the latest discovery in Krakow's iconography, made in 2011 in the buildings of the former Norbertine monastery in Hebdów. A small painting from the second or third quarter of the 17th century was found there⁷¹, showing an anonymous city (Fig. 9), made with the *al secco* technique on the wall of the former monastery gate⁷². In its composition, the aforementioned convention of combining the plan with the panorama was used: the city plan was superimposed with views of the buildings that filled them in (not in perspective). There are doubts whether the painting depicts Krakow, because it is not commented on by any captions or inscription, and the most important part for its identification – the buildings of the alleged Main Market Square – was destroyed. In my opinion, the number of preserved details, which can be undoubtedly combined with the image of the 17th century Krakow, is so large that the risk of error becomes small. One can easily identify the west side of the city (at the bottom of the view) with Shoemakers' Gate and St. Anne's Wicket. A little higher on the left side there appears the Jesuit college complex with the Church of St. Stephen and the chapel dedicated to the St. Matthias and St. Matthew, above the Churches of St. John and the Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary belonging to Bernardines, and on the eastern outskirts of the city – the Church of Our Lady of the Snows of the Dominican nuns. In the center of the view, which is, as I mentioned, heavily damaged, among the remains, one can recognize the wall surrounding St. Mary's Church.

The view of Hebdów faithfully reflects not only the location (though not the shape) of individual buildings, but also complies with the topographic layout of the city. Nine streets go out of the Main Market Square – as in reality, and the Small Market Square is where it should be – behind St. Mary's Church (default here because of the destruction of the painting).

The view is schematic and – it must be said – primitive; it cannot be an iconographic source for research of the buildings presented in it, but in one aspect it gives reason for reflection – with regard to the form of residential

⁷¹ The upper dating limit is 1667 (National Archives in Krakow, Cartographic Collection, reference number I-1), because Krakow's map from that time records the foregate of Shoemakers' Gate, which is not in this view; see Jarosław WIDAWSKI, *Miejskie mury obronne w państwie polskim do początku XV wieku*, Warszawa 1973, p. 221.

⁷² More details about the view in Hebdów will be provided by an article being prepared for publishing by Paweł Dettloff and Waldemar Komorowski.

buildings. Almost all houses are topped with decorative parapet wall – not a single medieval roof can be seen. This does not reflect reality, because undoubtedly some of Krakow's houses preserved a medieval silhouette⁷³ until the mid-17th century, when the view was created, which the draftsman creating such a detailed view of the city must have known. Therefore, it should be assumed that the creator adopted the convention of using a symbol, a graphic abbreviation. And just as the temples are shown – regardless of their actual size and shape – as one-nave churches with a spirelet, so the houses were marked with almost identical decorative parapet wall (also made up almost entirely of a comb), which was supposed to mean residential buildings. At the same time, the monastery (and university) buildings were graphically defined as multi-wing complexes covered with roofs, the shape of which was difficult to determine. To sum up, it can be said that the creator of the view introduced a far-reaching typification for the concise presentation of the city. I cannot

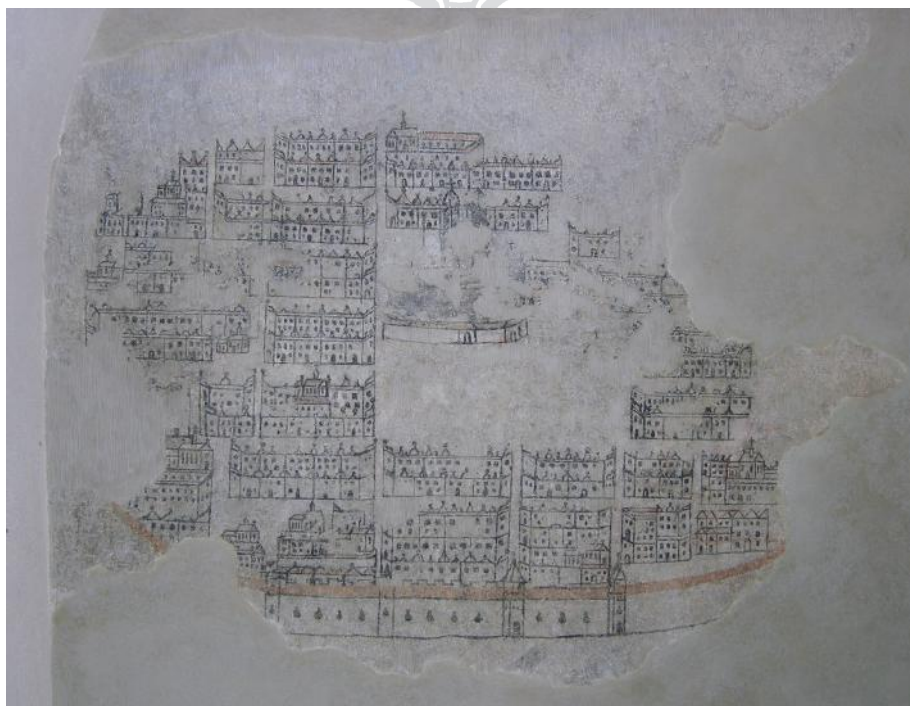


Fig. 9. View of a city, probably of Krakow, polychrome on the wall of the former monastery gate in Hebdów, second or third quarter of the 17th century. Photo by Paweł Dettloff

⁷³ Waldemar KOMOROWSKI, *Średniowieczne domy krakowskie (od lokacji miasta do połowy XVII wieku)*. *Kamienice, pałace miejskie i rezydencje kanonicze. Trwałość gotyckiego modelu w nowożytności*, Kraków 2014, pp. 264, 277–278.

find the answer what the purpose of the painting was. I would like to point out that Hebdów's view fits into the popular trend of similar images associated with Krakow's monasteries such as the images of the Dominican monastery (1632)⁷⁴ and the convent of Carmelite nuns (after 1657)⁷⁵. They all have the character of a pictorial guide to the city or its fragment. Perhaps they were to serve such didactic purposes.

* * *

After this brief digression, I return to the main subject of the article. I have already mentioned that the views created after 1619 were inspired by the work of Matthäus Merian. The list of copies, imitations or various types of processing is great. These copies and their further copies were made in many countries, described in at least six languages (except Polish)⁷⁶. Merian, already the owner of the editorial office and printer, published in 1638 *New Archontology*, which he illustrated with an 'improved' copy of the view from *Civitates*. By the end of the 17th century, five editions of this work had been published⁷⁷.

Over time, the view of Krakow from *Civitates* and the works of M. Merian began to be treated as a kind of decorative motif in images having a weak connection with the scene depicted in them or even having no connection whatsoever. Sometimes it served as a symbol, a sign. In an impressive copperplate showing the siege of Krakow by the Swedes, made according to a drawing by Eric Dahlberg (Fig. 10), and published only at the end of the 17th century (1696)⁷⁸, a small view of Krakow is crowned by a vast panorama of suburban lands, on which almost the entire siege army of King Charles Gustav, who from 25 September to 19 October 1655 carried out activities aimed at conquering the city⁷⁹, was precisely reflected. To convey historical truth, the creator of the drawing failed to maintain loyalty to the truth of the place; having no view of the city from the east, from where the main attack on Krakow came from and where the Swedish army was gathered, he turned a copy of the view from

⁷⁴ Waldemar KOMOROWSKI, Iwona KĘDER, *Ikonografia kościoła Dominikanów i ulicy Grodzkiej w Krakowie*, Kraków 2005, p. 472.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp. 413–414.

⁷⁶ J. BANACH, *Dawne widoki*, p. 76.

⁷⁷ Ibid., pp. 80–82, 181–182, il. 9.

⁷⁸ Included in the publication of Samuel PUFENDORF, *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo Sveciae Rege, gestis commentariorum libri VII* [...], Nürnberg 1696, tabl. 16. See. Samuel PUFENDORF, *Siedem ksiąg o czynach Karola Gustawa króla Szwecji*, Wojciech KRAWCZUK translated it, wrote the preface and prepared, Warszawa 2013, pp. 72–73. Comp. Bronisław HEYDUK, *Dahlberg w Polsce. Dzienniki i ryciny szwedzkie z dziejów „Potopu” 1656–1657*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1971, pp. 151–157.

⁷⁹ Ludwik ŚKORA, *Szwedzi i Siedmiogrodzianie w Krakowie od 1655 do 1657 roku*, Kraków 1908, pp. 13–33.



Fig. 10. Krakow on a copperplate according to a drawing by Eric Dahlberg showing the siege in 1655, in: Samuel Pufendorf, *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo Sveciae rege gesta commentariorum libri VII* [...], Nürnberg 1696, table 16

Civitates and included such a mirror image in the composition⁸⁰. As a result, Kleparz was on the right side of Krakow, as in the urban complex it should be seen from the east, but the individual objects of both cities received images! From the illustrator's point of view, this did not matter – the view of Krakow was deliberately marginalized by being placed almost on the horizon and being covered partly with artillery fumes so that the Swedish army, the basis of Charles Gustav's triumph, dominated the foreground to create a greater effect, as if in a military revue.

* * *

In the first half of the 18th century, panoramic views of Krakow, very few, copied the pattern preserved in *Civitates* almost without changes. The only view that was created as a result of observing the city landscape is also not free from the influence of the drawing from the beginning of the previous century (Fig. 11). Its creator, Friedrich Bernhard Werner⁸¹ (*nota bene* known from esteemed vedutas of Silesia⁸²) made a kind of modernization of the view from *Civitates*, introducing modifications resulting from the comparison of

⁸⁰ J. BANACH, *Dawne widoki*, pp. 86–88.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 91–92, 94, 184; Angelika MARSCH, *Friedrich Bernhard Werner 1690–1776. Corpus seiner europäischen Städteansichten, illustrierten Reisemanuskripte und der Topographien von Schlesien und Böhmen-Mähren*, Weißenhorn 2010, pp. 160, 218, 228.

⁸² Angelika MARSCH, *Friedrich Bernhard Werner (1690–1776) – śląski rysownik europejskich widoków*, Głogów 1998, pp. 1–19; eadem, *Friedrich Bernhard Werner 1690–1776. Corpus*, pp. XI–XIV, 1–40.

the engraving with the state that he had observed during his stay in Krakow (probably in 1734)⁸³. "How passively he referred to his model is demonstrated not only by the 'slave' repetition of the city's composition; he also repeated the whole arrangement of coats of arms preserved years ago; the Sforza's Snake still rises over Krakow, in the mid-18th century with no current connection with the city's situation or the genealogy of the Polish king from the Saxon's Wettin dynasty. Let us add that the artistic values of Werner's work are insignificant. The tendency to pull the building up too much seems funny; the city is unrealistically slender in the drawing"⁸⁴.

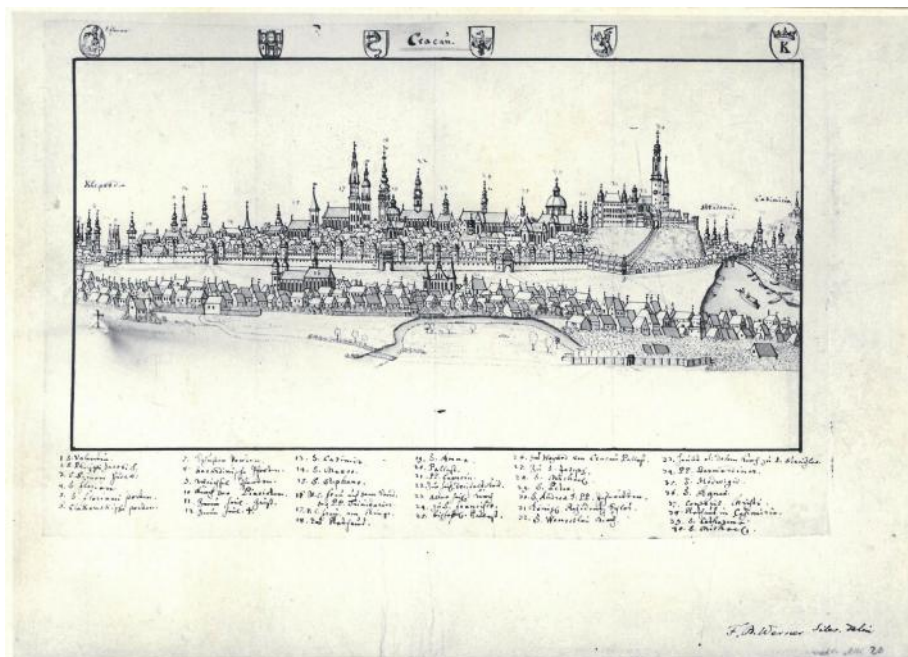


Fig. 11. Friedrich Bernhard Werner, *Cracau*, view of the city from the north-west, ink drawing, stamped, before 1715, Historical Museum of the City of Krakow, inventory no. Fr. 1353

Werner's panorama was disseminated among others by copperplate engravings by Alexander Glässer and Georg Balthasar Probst⁸⁵, who not only added new elements, but individually interpreted the existing details, often

⁸³ Urszula POPŁONYK, *Widoki miast polskich Friedricha Bernarda Wernera*, Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie, vol. 19: 1975, pp. 404, 426–427.

⁸⁴ J. BANACH, *Dawne widoki*, p. 92.

⁸⁵ Urszula POPŁONYK, *Panoramy miast według rysunków Friedricha Bernarda Wernera wydane przez oficynę Probstów w Augsburgu*, Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie, vol. 30: 1986, pp. 97–163.

without understanding, which led to further distortions. In the engraving by Probst (Fig. 12)⁸⁶, Shoemakers' Gate in the caption was mistaken for Side Gate, and the view of the city was almost dominated in relation to the drawing by Werner. Here the creator focused on the extensive staffage and completely changed the topography, as a result of which the Vistula River almost disappeared, while in the Rudawa River, which had never been navigable, rafts began to flow. The suburban population wears outfits which were unusual for them (and typical of German countries) consisting of tailcoats and three-legged hats.



Fig. 12. Georg Balthasar Probst, *View of Krakow from the north-west*, copper engraving, coloured etching, according to a drawing by Friedrich Bernhard Werner, the second quarter of the 18th century; National Museum in Krakow, inventory no. NMK III-fig. 28933

In Werner's view and its copperplate versions, the three above mentioned tendencies coincided: unnecessary expanding of Krakow's suburbs leading to the marginalization of the very city, emphasizing vertical elements, and completely ignoring the current cultural and social context. The view became a kind of decoration, without understanding the essence of the city.

* * *

⁸⁶ L. LENCZNAROWICZ, *Miasta*, p. 102.

The Old Polish period in the panoramas of Krakow is closed by the *Prospect of the city of Krakow from Błonie Zwierzynieckie* placed on the *Kołątaj's Plan* made in 1785 (Fig. 13). The view presents the panorama of the city, starting from the Church of St. Casimir belonging to Franciscan friars to the slopes of Wawel, the Wawel Castle itself and the Church of St. Catherine in Kazimierz⁸⁷. In contrast to the image from *Civitates*, the view was drawn from one place, in this case located in Błonie, therefore from a low point, which resulted in the panorama being flattened; at the same time difficulties in reflecting some of its characteristic elements appeared. However, the author, who was probably Kazimierz Szarkiewicz and whose signature appears on the plan, did not make any distortions or attempts to allow, even with some falsification, to present more spectacular fragments of the view. He followed a rationalist approach consistent with the period, which ordered the objective presentation of the landscape. That is why the work is characterized by the perceptible 'classic dryness' and lack of emotional attitude towards the presented object – Krakow⁸⁸. In this regard, the view corresponds to the spirit of the plan, which it decorates. The rector of the university Hugo Kołątaj, who commissioned the work, wished that it should present the city without embellishments, which was not without connection with the work undertaken at that time to improve the city's condition⁸⁹.



Fig. 13. Kazimierz Szarkiewicz, *View of Krakow from the west*, ink drawing on the *Kołątaj's Plan*, 1785; Historical Museum of the City of Krakow, inventory no. MIC-2104/VIII

The view associated with the *Kołątaj's Plan* is the first veduta of Krakow, where Kleparz and Kazimierz were not shown along with the metropolis. It is

⁸⁷ J. BANACH, *Ikongrafia* [of Krakow], p. 315; see Stanisław TOMKOWICZ, *Kołątajowski plan Krakowa z roku 1785*, *Rocznik Krakowski*, vol. 9: 1907, pp. 149–176; Karol ESTREICHER, *Emanuela Murrya „Opisanie Krakowa” a literatura o Krakowie i plan Kołątajowski*, *Rocznik Krakowski*, vol. 48: 1977, pp. 75–76; Michał ODLANICKI-POCZOBUTT, Zofia TRACZEWSKA-BIAŁEK, *Plan Kołątajowski źródłem informacji o Krakowie*, *Rocznik Krakowski*, vol. 48: 1977, pp. 9–18.

⁸⁸ J. BANACH, *Dawne widoki*, pp. 95–99, 102, 184, 185, il. 16; see idem, *Ikongrafia Wawelu*, pp. 58–59.

⁸⁹ Joanna KOSTECKA, *Krakowskie Komisje „Boni Ordinis”. Próby reform miejskich w latach 1750–1789*, Kraków 2017.

also the first view of the city in which the generally prevailing principle of *oculi avem* was definitely abandoned. It did not contribute to the communicativeness of the image; on the contrary – it lost what was an advantage in the earlier panoramas. The Enlightenment pursuit of truth and clarity damaged the power of message and its instructionality. In conclusion, it can be stated that *verum* turned out to be weaker than *pulchrum*, since the former, while falsifying the reality, is actually closer to it.

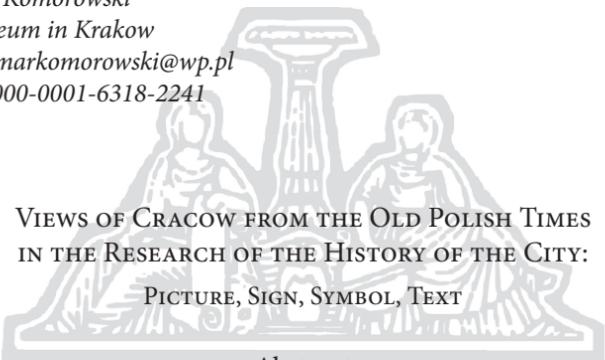
trans. by Agnieszka Chabros

Received 17 September 2018

Received in revised form 15 November 2018

Accepted 14 December 2018

Dr Waldemar Komorowski
National Museum in Krakow
e-mail: waldemarkomorowski@wp.pl
ORCID ID: 0000-0001-6318-2241



VIEWS OF CRACOW FROM THE OLD POLISH TIMES
IN THE RESEARCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE CITY:
PICTURE, SIGN, SYMBOL, TEXT

Abstract

Key words: views of European and Asian cities, iconography, *laudatio urbis*, the history and culture of Cracow

The article constitutes an overview of the most important views of Cracow in the Old Polish times. The keynote is the presentation of specific representations (11 views have been discussed) along with the rules of showing the city and – which is the basic thesis – their subjective interpretation in the social and political context. A view beyond the axiomatic principle of the faithfully portrayed urban space usually carried out interpretations which were more or less visualized (both by their creators and recipients). It should be read as a testimony of the epoch, exploring the circumstances of their creation and possible cultural analysis.

The first of the discussed representations is the view in the work of Hartman Schedel of 1493; it is not so much the real image of the city as its sign – it corresponds to the views of the city landscape at that time. The second view, from 1537, probably by Mathias Gerung, despite being generally the faithful reflection of the reality, omits many details or distorts them. However, the first representation which faithfully presents the details is the view of 1581; however, it, in turn, deforms the urban space (which, incidentally, was a conscious choice of the creator). Two views in *Civitates*

orbis terrarum by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, published in 1617, are the most informative views presenting Cracow. The latter is the most beautiful picture of the capital city and it also became the source which was later used by the creators of the next panoramas of Cracow, who changed the prototype more or less uncritically (1619, 1696, the second quarter of the 18th century). A breakthrough in the representation of the city, rooted in modern thinking, was the "rationalist" view of 1785.

Iconography, like any historical source, is subject to critical review; it should also be – for verification purposes – confronted with other archival sources. In this process, methods from the area of art history, history of architecture, urban planning and historical landscape architecture are applied. There are mutual relations between iconography and written communication; iconography can be the complement, but it can also be the main source, or even the only one.

ANSICHTEN VON KRAKAU AUS ALTPOLNISCHER ZEIT
IN FORSCHUNGEN ZUR STADTGESCHICHTE

BILD, ZEICHEN, SYMBOL, TEXT

Abstract

Schlüsselwörter: Ansichten von europäischen und asiatischen Städten, Ikonografie, *laudatio urbis*, Geschichte und Kultur Krakaus

Der Artikel bietet einen Überblick über die wichtigsten Ansichten von Krakau in altpolnischer Zeit. Leitender Gedanke ist die Präsentation sowohl von einzelnen Darstellungen (11 Ansichten werden besprochen) wie der Regeln, nach denen Städte dargeboten wurden, sowie – dies ist die fundamentale These – deren subjektive Interpretation im gesellschaftlichen und politischen Kontext. Außer dem axiomatischen Prinzip, den städtischen Raum getreu wiederzugeben, realisierte eine Ansicht in der Regel eine mehr oder weniger bewusste (sowohl vonseiten der Schöpfer wie der Rezipienten) Interpretation. Sie ist als Zeugnis der Epoche zu lesen, das die Umstände der Entstehung ergründet und einer Analyse der kulturellen Voraussetzungen offensteht.

Die erste besprochene Ansicht aus dem Werk von Hartmann Schedel von 1493 ist weniger ein tatsächliches Bild der Stadt als ein Zeichen für sie; dies entsprach den zeitgenössischen Ansichten von der Anschauung einer städtischen Landschaft. Die zweite Ansicht, von 1537, die wahrscheinlich von Mathias Gerung stammt, gibt zwar im Allgemeinen den tatsächlichen Zustand getreu wieder, lässt aber viele Details aus oder gestaltet sie um. Die erste Ansicht, die die Details getreu wiedergibt, stammt aus dem Jahr 1581, jedoch deformiert sie wiederum den städtischen Raum (was *nota bene* eine bewusste Wahl des Schöpfers war). Am informativsten wird Krakau (und seine Umgebung) in zwei Ansichten in den *Civitates orbis terrarum* von Georg Braun und Franz Hogenberg wiedergegeben, einem Werk, das im Jahr 1617 erschien. Die zweite von ihnen ist das schönste Bild der Hauptstadt und sie wurde auch zu einer Quelle, aus der die Schöpfer der folgenden Panoramen von Krakau schöpften, die das Vorbild

mehr oder weniger unkritisch veränderten (1619, 1696, zweites Viertel des 18. Jahrhunderts). Einen Durchbruch in der bildlichen Darstellung der Stadt, der seine Wurzeln bereits im neuzeitlichen Denken hatte, bedeutete eine „rationalistische“ Ansicht von 1785.

Die Ikonografie unterliegt wie jede historische Quelle der kritischen Betrachtung, und sie sollte auch – zum Zweck der Verifizierung – mit anderen archivalischen Überlieferungen konfrontiert werden. Bei diesem Prozess finden Methoden aus dem Bereich der Kunstgeschichte, der Architekturgeschichte, der Urbanistik und der Architektur der historischen Landschaft Anwendung. Zwischen der Ikonografie und der schriftlichen Überlieferung bestehen wechselseitige Beziehungen; die Ikonografie kann eine Ergänzung sein, sie kann aber auch die wesentliche oder sogar die einzige Quelle darstellen.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Banach, Jerzy. *Dawne widoki Krakowa*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1983.
- Banach, Jerzy. "Die älteste Ansicht der Stadt Krakau aus dem Jahre 1537." In *Die Reisebilder Pfalzgraf Ottheinrichs aus den Jahren 1536/1537 von seinem Ritt von Neuburg a.d. Donau über Prag nach Krakau und zurück über Breslau, Berlin, Wittenberg und Leipzig nach Neuburg. Kommentarband*, edited by Angelika Marsch, Josef H. Biller and Frank-Dietrich Jacob, 244–255. Weissenhorn: Anton H. Konrad Verlag, 2001.
- Banach, Jerzy. "Ikonografia." In *Encyklopedia Krakowa*, edited by Antoni Henryk Stachowski, 313–316. Warszawa, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2000.
- Banach, Jerzy. *Ikonografia Wawelu*, vol. 1. Kraków: Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki, 1977.
- Banach, Jerzy. "Kraków stolica Małopolski." In *Magistro et amico amici discipulique, Lechowi Kalinowskiemu w osiemdziesięciolecie urodzin*, edited by Jerzy Gadomski, 283–292. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2002.
- Banach, Jerzy. "Nieznany widok Krakowa z lat trzydziestych wieku XVI." In *Nobile claret opus. Studia z dziejów sztuki dedykowane Mieczysławowi Zlatowi*, edited by Lech Kalinowski, Stanisław Mossakowski and Zofia Ostrowska-Kęłowska, 183–194. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1998.
- Banach, Jerzy. "Pulchrum et verum. Z meandrów ikonografii Krakowa." In *Curia maior. Studia z dziejów kultury ofiarowane Andrzejowi Ciechanowieckiemu*, edited by Danuta Gieysztor-Rosa and Maria Prosińska, 64–70. Warszawa: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 1990.
- Banach, Jerzy. "Widok Krakowa z roku 1493 i Konrad Celtis." *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 19/4 (1957): 355–361.
- Bartkiewicz, Magdalena. *Ubiór polski do 1864 roku*. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk: Ossolineum, 1979.
- Battistini, Matilde, Lucia Impelluso and Stefano Zuffi. *Historia portretu. Przez sztukę do wieczności*. Translated by Hanna Cieśla. Warszawa: Arkady, 2001.

- Białostocki, Jan. "Narodziny nowożytnego pejzażu." In Jan Białostocki. *Refleksje i syn-tezy ze świata sztuki*, 70–79. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1978.
- Bochnak, Adam. *Historia sztuki nowożytnej*, vol. 1. Warszawa, Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970.
- Deresiewicz, Bogdan, ed. *Sarmacja. Hartmann Schedel o europejskiej Sarmacji. Fragment dzieła Liber chronicarum wydrukowanego w Norymberdze przez Antoniego Kobergera w 1493 r. z drzeworytami Michała Wolgemutha i Wilhelma Pleydenwurffa*. Londyn: Oficyna Stanisława Gliwy, 1973.
- Essenwein, August Ottmar. *Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale der Stadt Krakau*. Nürnberg: Ch. Schneider, 1866.
- Estreicher, Karol. "Emanuela Murrya 'Opisanie Krakowa' a literatura o Krakowie i plan Kołłątajowski." *Rocznik Krakowski* 48 (1977): 57–157.
- Firlet, Elżbieta Maria. *Najstarsza panorama Krakowa*. Kraków: Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Krakowa, 1998.
- Fribourg artistique à travers les âges. Album trimestriel*. Fribourg: Librairie Josué Labastrou, 1914.
- Füssell, Stephan, ed. *Cities of the World. 363 engravings revolutionize the view of the World. Complete edition of the colour plates of 1572–1617*. Köln: Taschen, 2008.
- Gruna-Sulisz, Magdalena. "Świątynia jerozolimska jako homogeniczne centrum i model świata." In *Jerozolima w kulturze europejskiej. Materiały z konferencji zorganizowanej w Instytucie Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk w Warszawie w dniach 14–17 maja 1996*, edited by Piotr Paszkiewicz and Tadeusz Zadrozny, 357–375. Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 1997.
- Grzęda, Mateusz. "Wizerunek Władysława Jagiełły na nagrobku w katedrze na Wawelu." *Folia Historiae Artium. Seria Nowa* 13 (2015): 52–72.
- Heyduk, Bronisław. *Dahlbergh w Polsce. Dzienniki i ryciny szwedzkie z dziejów 'Potopu' 1656–1657*. Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk: Ossolineum, 1971.
- Kęder, Iwona. "Jerzy Banach (1922–2005)." *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 68/3–4 (2006): 457–465.
- Kęder, Iwona and Waldemar Komorowski. "Z ikonografii Starego Krakowa." In *Urbs celeberrima. Księga z okazji jubileuszu 750-lecia lokacji Krakowa*, edited by Andrzej Grzybowski, Teresa Grzybkowska and Zdzisław Żygulski, 235–277. Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2008.
- Knapiński, Ryszard. "Sakralizująca funkcja kościoła w mieście. Tradycja i współczesność." *Anamnesis* 11/4 (2005): 96–104.
- Komorowski, Waldemar. "Protestanckie miejsca w Krakowie w XVI wieku – zbory, domy, cmentarze." In *Reformacja w Krakowie (XVI–XVII wiek). Materiały z sesji naukowej 6 maja 2017 roku*, edited by Zdzisław Noga, 139–164. Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 2018.
- Komorowski, Waldemar. "Ratusz miasta Krakowa." In *Urbs celeberrima. Księga z okazji jubileuszu 750-lecia lokacji Krakowa*, edited by Andrzej Grzybowski, Teresa Grzybkowska and Zdzisław Żygulski, 272–201. Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2008.
- Komorowski, Waldemar. *Średniowieczne domy krakowskie (od lokacji miasta do połowy XVII wieku). Kamienice, pałace miejskie i rezydencje kanonicze. Trwałość gotyc-*

- kiego modelu w nowożytności*. Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze „Historia Iagellonica”, Muzeum Narodowe, 2014.
- Komorowski, Waldemar and Iwona Kęder. *Ikonografia kościoła Dominikanów i ulicy Grodzkiej w Krakowie*. Kraków: Universitas, Muzeum Narodowe, 2005.
- Kostecka, Joanna. *Krakowskie Komisje 'Boni Ordinis'. Próby reform miejskich w latach 1750–1789*. Kraków: Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 2017.
- Krawiec, Adam. “Jerozolima jako środek świata w średniowiecznej geografii kreatywnej.” *Studia Periegetica* (2010) issue 5: 85–125.
- Krzywy, Roman. “Deskrypcja Stambułu w ‘Przeważnej legacji’ Samuela Twardowskiego wobec topiki laudatio urbis.” *Pamiętnik Literacki. Czasopismo kwartalne poświęcone historii i krytyce literatury Polskiej* 102/4 (2011): 41–58.
- Lencznarowicz, Lucyna. “Miasta w grafice.” In *Portrety miast. Widoki miast europejskich od starożytności po wiek XIX na monetach, medalach i rycinach*. Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe, 2000.
- Manikowska, Halina and Anna Pomierny-Wąsińska. “Główne nurty badań nad przestrzenią miasta średniowiecznego.” *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 63/2 (2015): 189–199.
- Marsch, Angelika. *Bernhard Werner (1690–1776) – śląski rysownik europejskich wido-ków*. Głogów: Towarzystwo Ziemi Głogowskiej, 1998.
- Marsch, Angelika. *Friedrich Bernhard Werner 1690–1776. Corpus seiner europäischen Städteansichten, illustrierten Reisemanuskripte und der Topographien von Schlesien und Böhmen-Mähren*. Weissenhorn: Anton H. Konrad Verlag 2010.
- Mazurczak, Małgorzata Urszula. *Miasto w pejzażu malarzkim XV wieku. Niderlandy*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2004.
- Odlanicki-Poczobutt, Michał and Zofia Traczewska-Białek. “Plan Kołłątajowski źródłem informacji o Krakowie.” *Rocznik Krakowski* 48 (1977): 9–18.
- Ojrzyński, Rafał. *Obraz Polski i Polaków w pismach Eneasza Sylwiusza Piccolominiiego (papieża Piusa II)*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2014.
- Pieradzka, Krystyna. “Kraków w relacjach cudzoziemców X–XVI wieku.” *Rocznik Krakowski* 28 (1937): 183–224.
- Popłonyk, Urszula. “Panoramy miast według rysunków Friedricha Bernarda Wernera wydane przez oficynę Probstów w Augsburgu.” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 30 (1986): 97–163.
- Popłonyk, Urszula. “Widoki miast polskich Friedricha Bernarda Wernera.” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 19 (1975): 403–475.
- Pufendorf, Samuel. *Siedem ksiąg o czynach Karola Gustawa króla Szwecji*. Translated and edited by Wojciech Krawczuk. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2013.
- Rücker, Elisabeth. *Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik. Das größte Buchunternehmen der Dürer-Zeit*. München: Prestel, 1988.
- Russocki, Stanisław, Stefan K. Kuczyński and Juliusz Willaume. *Godło, barwy i hymn Rzeczypospolitej. Zarys dziejów*, edited by Bogusław Leśnodorski. Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1963.

- Sikora, Ludwik. *Szwedzi i Siedmiogrodzianie w Krakowie od 1655 do 1657 roku*. Kraków: nakł. Towarzystwa Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 1908.
- Slenczka, Eberhard, ed. *Anno quingentesimo libri cronicarum. 500 Jahre 'Buch der Croniken'. 500 Jahre Schedelsche 'Weltchronik'*, Nuremberga, 12. Juli 1493 – 12. Juli 1993. *Begleitheft zur Ausstellung: Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 13.7.1993–30.12.1993*. Nürnberg: Verlag Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1993.
- Szylin, Anna Maria. "Barbari, Jacopo de." In *Saur Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 6, 645–647. München, Leipzig: K. G. Saur Verlag, 1992.
- Tomkowicz, Stanisław. "Kołłątajowski plan Krakowa z roku 1785." *Rocznik Krakowski* 9 (1907): 149–176.
- Wartenberg, Imke. "Lorenzetti (Laurati, Laurenti) Ambrogio." In *De Gruyter Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 85, edited by Andreas Beyer, Bénédicte Savoy and Wolf Tegethoff, 309–311. Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2015.
- Wartenberg, Imke. "Martini (Memmi) Simone." In *De Gruyter Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 87, edited by Andreas Beyer, Bénédicte Savoy and Wolf Tegethoff, 394–398. Berlin, Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2015.
- Ważbiński, Zygmunt. "Pejzaż – narodziny gatunku, 1400–1600. Wstęp." In *Pejzaż – narodziny gatunku 1400–1600. Materiały sesji naukowej 23–24 X 2003*, edited by Sebastian Dudziak and Tadeusz J. Żuchowski, 13–24. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2004.
- Widawski, Jarosław. *Miejskie mury obronne w państwie polskim do początku XV wieku*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1973.
- Wilson, Adrian and Joyce Lancaster Wilson. *The Making of Nuremberg Chronicle*. Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1976.
- Znamierowski, Alfred and Janusz L. Kaczmarek. *Heraldyka i weksylologia*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Arkady, 2017.