

European Cultural Heritage through Historical Images of Towns in Nowadays Romania

Anda-Lucia Spânu*

vol. 13, 2024, no. 1, pp. 71–86

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33542/CAH2024-1-04>



Over the centuries, important towns and cities around the world have been the subject of a significant number of drawn, painted, engraved and printed representations. Cultural historians and art historians have tended to neglect such images considering them of low quality. However, historical images are important testimonies, recording on-the-spot observation of the events depicted, thus allowing us to imagine the past more easily. In fact, their roles have included bringing news to the public and presenting curiosities from the exotic worlds of others, of those with other customs, languages, religions, geographical locations and so on. They satisfied a need for images from distant places felt by those who could not travel. We are tempted to look at historical images only as valuable objects displayed in museums or kept in special cabinets, forgetting from our modern technology-dependent perspective that their purpose was different. This paper aims to draw attention to the cultural and educational purpose of historical images of towns, studying their role as a medium for transmitting important knowledge on European cultural heritage.

Keywords: Historical images; Towns and cities; Urban views, Urban representations.

I consider graphic urban representations as true historical documents and for two decades I have been trying to decipher the messages and information they contain and, why not, even to “translate” them into a contemporary language. This approach is not always easy and requires thorough interdisciplinary training. The historian interested in the historical information provided by urban views needs to acquire the concept of urban space and study the way in which it has been depicted over the centuries. They are forced to approach the topic of interest from several perspectives related not only to history but also to the history of art.

Images of towns and cities, although they have often been considered inferior to great art, are an integral part of this discipline. In understanding an urban view, from the earliest, probably painted, to the most recent, almost certainly printed, each member of the “team” who created it must be taken into consideration: painter and/or draftsman, engraver, publisher, typographer. Of course, one should not forget the very important characters thanks to whom the historical images have survived the passing of time, managing to reach us: the merchant and the collector. About the latter however, on another occasion.

Urbanists have long been concerned with the concept of the “city as artefact”, and visual evidence is particularly important to this approach to urban history. The representation of urban places as the backgrounds to some fifteenth-century paintings

* Anda-Lucia Spânu, Ph.D., The Institute of Social Sciences and Humanities, Sibiu, România; andaluciaspanu@yahoo.com; ORCID iD: 0000-0003-1327-8231.

reproduce architectural details from the past, now gone and forgotten.¹ Symbolic or real, these formed the background against which some dramatic events in the lives of inhabitants had unfolded.² Since antiquity, schematic representations of towns were painted on the walls of public buildings and churches,³ and sometimes also in private residences, an example at hand being the buildings decorated in this way discovered in Pompeii.

Historical images of towns and cities have been created on a variety of surfaces: on walls (of houses or chapels), on coins and medals, on altars and other objects of worship, on scenographic decorations, on documents and other guild items, on playing cards and even on tableware. They have been marked by the spirit of each historical and cultural era to which they have belonged, by the artistic styles of the time, but also by the purposes for which they were made. Some have formed the subject of paintings or other works of art, but most types of images are known by their printed versions.

While most of my texts mainly refer to historical printed images of the towns in nowadays Romania, in this instance I will focus upon urban representations created in other techniques, and which were not made with the intention of being multiplied and distributed as printed flyers or book illustrations, even if prints thereof were later created.

Realistic views of European towns and cities appeared regularly from around 1400 as backgrounds for paintings and manuscript miniatures, especially in Flanders and Italy. Printed urban images appear in the last decades of the fifteenth century, with the first illustrated books. If in 1474 there was only one published image of a city, that of the city of Cologne, 100% fanciful, in 1486 there were already 44, of which two were identifiable (Venice and the Vatican). It seems that in increasing production of images an important role was played by the development of the mobility of Western European society. In the early sixteenth century, one was able to find 30 representations of European towns and cities published in books that dealt only or mainly with urban settlements. These were considered to be in line with reality. By the mid-century their number had doubled, and at its end, quadrupled. Thirty years later their number had doubled again, and by the middle of the seventeenth century there were 2000 overviews in Matthäus Merian's textbooks alone.⁴

Images have always been an excellent tool for information and documentation, because they have illustrated political events, consecrated the celebrity of characters, and made known the appearance of nearby or distant localities. They represent a successful combining of science and technology in which the drawing frequently communicates more than the word.⁵ Henri Focillon considered that those images representing a mere curiosity for amateurs have a deep meaning for those who study them professionally.⁶ This seems to have been borne out over the last 50 years by urban history research revealing the importance of representations of towns and cities as reliable sources of historical information, not only from the point of view of art history.⁷

1 BURKE, *Eyewitnessing*, 84.

2 HARTZER NGUYEN, *The Made Landscape*, 13.

3 MILLER, *Mapping the City*, XIV.

4 BEHRINGER, *Die großen Städtebücher*, 82.

5 ADRIAN, *Vedute europene*, 21.

6 FOCILLON, *Viața formelor*, 74.

7 SCHÜPP, *Stadtbild und Historismus*, 355.

From the appearance of wood engraving and copper engraving, which only date from the beginning of the fifteenth century, to the spread of the photographic reproduction technique, graphic art was the engine of cultural exchange, which hardly finds a counterpart in the entire history of culture. It was, from the very beginning, the popular art par excellence, penetrating all layers of the population.⁸ Prints have a privileged place, and not only because they represent most of the urban images.

*
* *

There are several reasons for urban representations, one of them being the painters' taste for architecture, manifested in all times, as well as research on perspective, frequent towards the end of the Middle Ages, as a kind of art for art's sake; besides, there are painters of towns and cities, as there are portraitists of men and women. Whether an isolated building, or a group of edifices, the urban view appears in the background of paintings from almost all eras, and sometimes they become the painting itself, as often happened at the end of the Middle Ages. The connection between this phenomenon and the tendency towards an emphasis on the realistic representation of objects, not as they are, but as we see them from a distance, is clear. These trends result directly from the development of the new discipline of perspective.⁹ There are also fanciful representations, such as that of the appearance of a city in the form, often symbolic, of an animal. Rome reminds of the lion, Brindisi of the stag, Carthage of the ox. Abstracting them, it can still be said that the European urban view was represented as a conventional sign, an ideogram, until the fourteenth century.¹⁰ The first representations of towns and cities, on coins and seals, as a background for religious themes, defined the urban space not by its specific form, but by its content and nature. Religious, legal or economic values were expressed symbolically.¹¹ In the first individual urban representations, it is often only schematic architectural elements that are present, a dominant detail, usually the main church, depicted more or less faithfully. This was followed by the addition of representative buildings, towers, gates or administrative buildings with distinctive shapes. Dwellings continue to be represented schematically.¹²

In the Middle Ages, towns and cities were depicted in iconic terms, as the house of God on earth, a tradition lasting many centuries. In contrast to the irregularity of real medieval settlements, the countless images of holy cities are represented in medieval art in regularized, symmetrical forms, which strongly suggest the image of a planned city. From the eleventh–twelfth centuries, the city was symbolically depicted not only with architectural elements (walls, gates, towers), but also with vicious characters and scenes, considered typical of urban life.¹³ At the beginning of the fourteenth century, if not even before, one can see the increased tendency to represent the city in a more natural, detailed way, possibly with the introduction of perspective for a three-dimensional effect. By the end of the century, the first topographical paintings

8 HUIZINGA, *Cultura olandeză*, 106.

9 ADRIAN, *Vedute europene*, 13–14.

10 Ibidem, 14.

11 SCHMITT, *Vorbild, Abbild und Kopie*, 329–330.

12 Ibidem, 325.

13 BARASCH, *The City*, 430.

appeared and not long after, “bird’s-eye” (or *vol d’oiseau*) painted maps appeared in Florence. The Italians, through rich private patrons, set the tone. Urban painted views appeared in the Netherlands in the fifteenth century, especially in those cities that had trade links with Italy.¹⁴ The Renaissance developed in towns and cities, being an almost exclusively urban phenomenon. The idea that an ideal city can be identified, at least in part, with a real one, belonged to the Renaissance.¹⁵

The simple existence of city walls had a symbolic meaning. In medieval representations, the walls were the main emblem of the urban space, which is evident in the multitude of images of fortified settlements in medieval art. The strength and importance of city walls lies in their ability to defend the city and protect its population. The walls also offer psychological peace to the inhabitants, by dividing, surrounding and ordering the exclusive spaces. The walls, together with the city gates, define the space inside and delimit the space outside. The urban space was thus clearly demarcated: it was given a special name and was recognized as specific. By contrast, the suburban area was undefined; lacking borders, it was anonymous, unspecified and recognizable only in relation to the city.¹⁶ The time of the city, the life span of the city, is the time and the life span of history. Eras and events, institutions and beliefs, and customs and successive cultures become simultaneous in the spatial image of the city. An urban view restores the sequence of its entire past: a Romanesque cathedral in front of a Baroque palace and around it houses from the eighteenth or nineteenth century.¹⁷

*
* *

Most historians are only familiar with the authors of the texts of the books that published urban views, but not with the artists who created the images that made them memorable.¹⁸ On the one hand, in knowing the artist you can better understand the image; on the other hand, the image contains information about the artist: skill, personality, intellectual capacity, social and, why not, economic status.¹⁹ As in the case of the intellectual, before the fourteenth century there was no word to denote what is understood today by the term artist. He shared with the artisan the term *artifex*, the Latin word *ars* referring more to technique and trade than to science or the field that the West later called art.²⁰ The term artist was sometimes encountered in the Middle Ages, but it denoted a person who studied or practiced the liberal arts. At the end of the thirteenth century, it indicated a person endowed with special practical skills.²¹ The prevailing opinion about the place of the artist in society, an opinion dating back to antiquity, was maintained throughout the Middle Ages. The artist was considered a craftsman and was almost exclusively in the service of the church.²² Minor or major

14 CLARK, *European Cities*, 124–125.

15 BARASCH, *The City*, 430.

16 GEORGOPOULOU, *Mapping Religious and Ethnic Identities*, 472–473.

17 ASSUNTO, *Peisajul și estetica*, 103–104.

18 SMITH, *Art, Science, and Visual Culture*, 83.

19 PÄTZOLD, *Pforzheim – eine Stadt im Bild*, 14.

20 LE GOFF, *Omul medieval*, 24.

21 CASTELNUOVO, *Artistul*, 198.

22 KULTERMANN, *Istoria istoriei artei*, 41.

artists were everywhere in contact with religious authorities or religious organizations, or in their service. Production with a profane character (portrait, history, allegory) occupies a minor place.²³

A new attitude towards the artist and the art of the past appeared around the middle of the fifteenth century, becoming the basis of those great biographical works dedicated to artists that found their crowning glory in Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of Architects, Painters and Sculptors*.²⁴ He dedicated his collection to "artisans of drawing", i.e. "those who practiced visual arts".²⁵ The painters never detached themselves, neither from a social point of view, nor as artists, from the sphere of bourgeois life, and the consideration they enjoyed in society rose only very slightly above this level.²⁶ From the moment when wood engraving and copper engraving in all their variants came to the fore, either as an isolated sheet or as a series, the artist's creative work gradually freed itself from the order, often linked to the client's taste.²⁷

The status of artists changed: in 1651 French engravers were allowed to apply to become members of the Royal Academy and, in this capacity, to participate in the Official Salons.²⁸ A Venetian document from 1754 announced the liberalization of the art of engraving, which could from then be practiced by anyone; but when it came to printing and commercialization, only the authors of the miniatures had this right.²⁹ Until the beginning of the 1800s, the engravers' situation would be modified by their entry into or at least their collaboration with the world of commerce.³⁰ The seventeenth century and the following were generous with engravers, particularly thanks to art collectors who, in turn, boosted creation, stimulating the graphic quality of the works. The number of art dealers became appreciable, since this business had proved profitable. The varied means of disseminating engravings already corresponded to a need, because a fashion had been established for people from various social backgrounds, even among those with modest financial resources, to own engravings.³¹

Until the eighteenth century, reproduction engravings formed a distinct blanket in the world of European art. They performed functions in addition to those of their different independent publishers and were involved in the formation of collections and museums. In the service of their patrons, they reproduced cultural material of patrimonial power; they spread images of antiquity and served the trade in antiques. The engravings spread the news from the royal, aristocratic and institutional collections, and formed part of the propaganda machine of the European powers and their leaders (Louis XIV being one of the most famous).³² The painters built their reputations in collaboration with publishers and engravers of reproductions. At the same time, the painter's interest in engraving his works was also determined by the desire to

23 Ibidem, 230.

24 Ibidem, 43.

25 CHASTEL, *Artistul*, 213.

26 HUIZINGA, *Cultura olandeză*, 52.

27 ARNAU, *Arta*, 99.

28 COȘOVEANU, *Gravura franceză*, 11.

29 MARTIN, *Stampa venețiană*, 22.

30 FYFE, *Reproductions, cultural capital and museums*, 58.

31 CAȘOVEANU, *Gravura franceză*, 12.

32 FYFE, *Reproductions*, 57.

increase his profits: The painting *The Death of General Wolhe*, made by Benjamin West in 1763, enjoyed enormous success and, at the same time, through engraving, brought considerable wealth to the author. It would be followed, due to its success, in 1771 by William Penn's *Treaty with the Indians*.³³

Through the possibility of the mechanical reproduction of works, the connection between artistic production and what was called the industrial revolution also evolved. In England, works were engraved and reproduced on every surface imaginable: fans, furniture, vases, snuffboxes, ice trays, porcelain, tableware and all kinds of useful objects.³⁴ The engraver had the skill to imitate an original. But compared to the modern copy, it was possible for the engraver to improve the artist's original, from his perspective, according to his interests or purposes. We need not, therefore, be surprised if the engraver found it necessary to make strange alterations to the original.³⁵ It was considered that art and artists contributed to the development of science at least as much as scientists.³⁶ The phenomenon is explained by the fact that, especially through the printing press, their works were the best way to spread knowledge in general, especially scientific knowledge.³⁷

*
* *

The first graphic images are dependent on pictorial traditions. However, painting and engraving treat urban representations quite differently: engraving sees it as an exclusive subject, while in painting the city is usually a background for religious, mythological or historical scenes.³⁸ The main characteristic of the painting is its uniqueness. No matter how many variations a painter makes of one of his paintings, each of them is unique. There is no painted copy, except for forgeries. Before the advent of printing, representations of cities appeared mainly in painting. But, even after other methods of rendering images became available, urban landscapes continued to be depicted in painting. Landscapes are social constructions, which must be seen in their natural or historical context to be properly understood. For individuals, landscapes can be real – alive, or distant – half imagined. Landscapes can be familiar and comfortable, exotic or unattractive, valuable or inspiring.³⁹

Any landscape is made up not only of what is in front of the eyes, but also of what is known to the beholder. The landscape perceived by a certain person is not the same as that perceived by another, even from within the same culture. Ten people can see a landscape in ten different ways, in terms of representing nature and inhabited space. The interpretation of the landscape may depend on the values and attitudes of individuals: an economist may interpret the landscape in financial terms, an artist in aesthetic terms and a researcher in scientific terms. The impression left by a certain

33 ARASSE, *Artistul*, 182.

34 *Ibidem*, 183.

35 FYFE, *Reproductions*, 57–60.

36 IVINS, *Prints and Visual Communication*, *passim*.

37 SMITH, *Art, Science, and Visual*, 88.

38 SCHMITT, *Vorbild, Abbild und Kopie*, 323.

39 WHYTE, *Landscape and History*, 7.

landscape can also vary, from people who are detached observers, being strangers to it, to those who, living and working in a certain landscape, interact with it daily.⁴⁰

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the landscape, like the genre painting, began to gain equal rights with religious, historical and allegorical painting.⁴¹ The realistic landscape, like any type of portraiture, is a form of bourgeois art. The seventeenth century in Holland was the era of the bourgeoisie, and art reflected its desire to see moments and facts of life represented, susceptible to being identified.⁴² Around the middle of the seventeenth century, the Dutch school also perfected the rendering of cities and buildings in paintings. Starting with the second half of the eighteenth century, France had the strongest artistic school in terms of landscape.⁴³ It was followed by England, where a new technique of expression had been adopted: watercolour, which would become one of the characteristic artistic methods of this country.⁴⁴

In the last decades of the eighteenth century, the landscape managed to assert itself as an independent genre, leaving behind the role of a simple background for historical events. If the first landscape painters still felt the tendency to reproduce perspective or panoramic views as comprehensively and as accurately as possible, up to that point they being claimed to be true documents, for the artists that followed, the corner of nature painted on canvas or laid out on paper began to acquire a poetic content, to be an object of contemplation and, therefore, to be transfigured according to the artist's vision.⁴⁵

Around the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth (neoclassical painting in France and Italy, the Nazarenes in Germany), some agreement is reached between the subject of historical paintings – especially those with ancient subjects – and the architectural environment. This phenomenon is also due to the development of archaeology as a science, archaeological discoveries, and the creation of ruinist fashion.⁴⁶ Napoleon's campaign in Egypt occasioned the emergence of an "orientalist" fashion that would last almost the entire century. With the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth in England, the fashion for nostalgic landscapes rose, the centre of interest being, most often, a Gothic edifice, preferably in ruins. In the Germanic countries, in Austria in particular, paintings with architectural subjects have, more than in other countries, a long tradition.⁴⁷

Except for during the first quarter of the century, when the style was predominantly neoclassical, nineteenth century painting was mostly romantic. The romantic urban painter sought to impose his personality not only in the choice of the perspective, but even on the subject. If Van Eyck, Carpaccio or even Canaletto or Guardi made a name for themselves in depicting constructions as they were, in the smallest and sometimes even insignificant details, in the middle of the nineteenth century the emphasis shifted to the choice of those details that lend themselves best to pictorial representation and

40 Ibidem, 9.

41 BIAŁOSTOCKI, *Iconography*, 533.

42 CLARK, *Arta peisajului*, 35.

43 PĂCURARIU, *Arhitectura în viziunea pictorilor*, 143.

44 GRIGORESCU, *Arta engleză*, 299.

45 FLOREA, *Pictura rusă*, 137.

46 PĂCURARIU, *Arhitectura*, 137.

47 Ibidem, 144–145.

that best complement the composition.⁴⁸ One of the characteristics of urban painting had become the fact that the paintings represent only parts of a town or city, depicting a well-defined and individualized place. Most artists chose to represent churches, squares, residences or other architecturally important monuments. But sometimes, especially in the second half of the century, on the contrary, anonymous places were preferred.⁴⁹

Paintings were made in the style that was called naturalism, the style of the masses, which could be understood without effort or culture. Being an art based on recognition, it spared the viewer the effort of focusing on the painter's intentions.⁵⁰ The landscape according to nature, one of the peaks of naturalism in the art of the nineteenth century, was best represented by the city views of Waldmüller and Rudolf von Alt in Austria or Eduard Gärtner in Germany.⁵¹ From the point of view of the academies and art schools, however, nature had to be corrected: to paint or draw what you saw was a form of vulgar art.⁵² For this reason, the public's taste for landscape was maintained by the success of many second-rate painters, authors of popular images.

The paintings of many mediocre artists thus came to have the same importance as the paintings of the great masters. In the nineteenth century, it came to the point that landscape painters considered "second-rate" or even "less honourable" came to exhibit their paintings at the Royal Academy or the Paris Salon.⁵³ Let us not forget the Grand Tour, a journey of several years, for educational purposes and self-improvement, sometimes fulfilling cultural functions as travellers bought works of art or helped spread new tastes and cultural interests, but which was also travel for pleasure.⁵⁴

*
* *

Veduta is the most culturally complex landscape.⁵⁵ In literary translation, *veduta* means "what is seen" and implies the rendering of a reality. It evolved from the urban landscape, cultivated in seventeenth-century Holland. The artist who consolidated the genre in Italy was Gaspar Van Wittel, a Dutchman settled in Rome around 1675. Also, an Italian of the seventeenth century, Viviano Codazzizzi, made *vedutas*. At the peak of the trend inaugurated by them and continued by a group of minor surveyors from all over Europe were the Venetians Canaletto and Bellotto. In its sense of representing a place, a characteristic settlement, a monument or, by extension, an urban panorama, so in its most current sense of a topographical view, the *veduta* must be understood as the depiction of a point on which the gaze falls, the rendering of a place delimited by the defined frame of the visual pyramid.⁵⁶ From the point of view of art history, the *veduta* is a branch of landscape representation, changing and developing in different

48 Ibidem, 136–137.

49 Ibidem, 137.

50 CLARK, *Arta peisajului*, 89.

51 NOVOTNY, *Naturalism in Art*, 342.

52 CLARK, *Arta peisajului*, 86–87.

53 Ibidem, 83.

54 BLACK, *Grand Tour*, 84; CONSTANTINE, *Grand Tour*, 499–501.

55 WHYTE, *Landscape and History*, 12.

56 ADRIAN, *Vedute europene*, 10.

stylistic periods. Understood differently over time, vedutas are creations of painters certain of the absolute reproducibility of reality. The concept of veduta has been defined as a precisely described and identifiable landscape, which constitutes in itself a figurative testimony of a place and a specific environment, historically objective.⁵⁷

Along with exact views (*veduta esatta*), made with an optical camera or camera obscura, there are also imaginary views (*veduta ideata*), all culminating with the famous *capricci*, where fantasy reaches its peak. The public willing to finance the production of this type of art was made up of what today would be called tourists. Travel was recommended to every cultured person (especially in England), especially to Italy, and here necessarily to Venice. Having seen Italy was a kind of worldly attestation that travellers were quick to confirm, either by bringing with them as a “souvenir” their own face painted by Italian artists, or by buying in the San-Marco square “views” exhibited there for sale by a Canaletto or, later, by a Guardi. Vedutas were, therefore, what illustrated postcards are today: an export product, a local industry intended almost exclusively for tourists.⁵⁸ It must be considered that the vedutas did not show the real appearance of a town or city, but how it was seen and the impression it left on the viewer.⁵⁹ Vedutas were imaginary views of real places.

*
* *

The historical images of the towns in nowadays Romania were made in the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries by artists, amateurs or professionals coming from the West. Most did not see the towns represented. And those who travelled in this space did not stay long enough to understand it. To be able to draw a place unknown to them (which they had in front of their eyes or which they imagined), these artists had to fit it into a known pattern, depending on the information they had. They did this by adapting a typical town scheme, which they already knew, by adding several distinctive features, sufficient for the resulting view to be accepted (or even recognized) by its viewers, most often even those who had ordered it. Moreover, these images were intended for those who stayed at home, who did not see and probably would never see the respective places, but recognized in them what they defined by the terms town or city. As a result, the representations of towns in present-day Romania created by the artists of those centuries looked like Western ones. The images of the towns of Moldavia and Wallachia, represented as fortified (they never were!), are adaptations of some western medieval cities. Transylvania had fortified towns, but even these were not always represented according to reality although, from the point of view of the aspect, they would correspond to the Western reality.

Even fanciful representations of towns and cities can provide useful information to certain categories of historians; they tell us how “others” saw “our” urban environments (or how they imagined them). All historical images of the cities of today’s Romania – once beyond the symbolic phase of cartographic ideogram representation – were general views. At the end of the eighteenth century, the transition to partial views was made, which offered the possibility of revealing more details. The authors of the images from

57 Ibidem, 11. *Città d'Europa*, passim; DE SETA – STROFFOLINO, *L'Europa moderna*, passim.

58 PLEȘU, *Guardi*, 8–10.

59 PÄTZOLD, *Pforzheim – eine Stadt im Bild*, 15.

the nineteenth century were mostly professional painters, or at least amateur artists, their presence “on the spot” being almost always documented. The images show, most often, representative monuments from a political, social or cultural point of view, the importance of architectural details being obvious in this case. However, from this century there are also images, admittedly less numerous, that show anonymous places of the cities, full of details regarding daily life, not forgetting those related to the specific architecture of the place either.

*
**

All the urban representations of Romania were made by men, and this is because art, like history, was exclusively a male occupation until the twentieth century. Perhaps it should be mentioned that, except for those of the Saxon and Hungarian artists, natives of or naturalized in Transylvania in the eighteenth and especially the nineteenth century – some of whom worked (also) in Wallachia and Moldavia – only four images were made by Romanian authors. All four representations are partial views (of the towns of Iași, București, Câmpulung and Târgoviște), made in the middle of the nineteenth century. From the total of 1,110 views of the cities of present-day Romania indexed in 2012,⁶⁰ Sibiu has 107 representations. Most of them, painted, drawn, engraved or printed, can be found in the collections of the Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu. From these I have selected four urban views, to be included in this text, representative of the different types of rendering from the period when they were executed, all paintings of the local artists Franz Neuhauser⁶¹ and Johann Böbel,⁶² two urban views for each painter.

The painter Franz Neuhauser (1763–1836), “the second” or “the younger”, of Viennese origin, moved to Sibiu young, and stayed there for the rest of his life. He was the first Transylvanian landscape painter, but also the first lithographer, in Transylvania, considered one of the best Saxon painters in the first half of the nineteenth century. He worked many *veduta* type landscapes, capturing many urban scenes, not only of the town that adopted him. The protégé of Baron Samuel von Brukenthal, for whom he restored several works, he followed the enlightenment model and created the first school of drawing and painting. Neuhauser also worked for Baron Wesselényi Miklós, and Joseph Benign von Mildeberg urged him to create a story in images: *Scenic Journey through Transylvania*, a cycle which, however, was not completed. *The Annual Fair in Sibiu* is one of his most complex works. An excerpt of this work was detailed by Josef Lanzedelly (1774–1832), who created a panorama of Sibiu’s fair, with types and characteristic costumes, over five drawings which continue horizontally, resulting in a stretch of 34 x 156 cm.

The painter finds in the representation of the *Annual Fair* (Fig. 1) – like Josef Lanzedelly, who popularized it through the circulation of his prints – the perfect opportunity to illustrate all the types characteristic of such an event. Characters of different ages, children, women, and men, who come from different cultures, social strata, professions and ethnicities, each wearing their specific costume, by which

60 SPĂNU, *Vechi reprezentări grafice*.

61 IONESCU. *Artă și document*, 136; MESEA – DELEANU, *Univers citadin*, 14–15.

62 AVRAM, *Monumente sibiene dispărute*, 169–182; MESEA – DELEANU, *Univers citadin*, 74–75.

they can be recognized, are at the same moment in the Great Square of Sibiu. Young gentlemen "French" dressed, traditional Saxons, Austrian officers, old priests, boys from beyond the Carpathians, clean and well-groomed peasants, ragged gypsies, elegant ladies and simple but beautiful peasants, sell or buy all kinds of handicrafts or food: barrels, pots, paintings, engravings, plates, blankets, fabrics and shawls, melons, fish, turkeys, and so on.

A large work, in terms of size, but especially in terms of the amount of information, Franz Neuhauser's painting *General View of Sibiu in 1808* (Fig. 2) was commissioned by the then mayor of the city, Martin Hochmeister (1817–1830) and is an emblem of the city from a topographical, architectural, ethnographic, social, religious and demographic point of view. The painting is made up of two registers bounded by the Cibin valley. The lower register is a dynamic image of the daily life of the city's inhabitants, while above, on the other, less active bank, the city unfolds in all its splendour. Several of the views of the city executed in the first half of the nineteenth century were modelled after Neuhauser's panorama, considered an unparalleled source of information regarding the history and architectural evolution of Sibiu.

Johann Böbel (1824–1887), an amateur artist, born in Sibiu, is the author of *Die vormals bestan-denen Stadt Thore von Hermannstadt nach Natur gezeichnet von Johann Böbel, 1885*, with 24 plates, 22 of them being representations of the town's towers and of other monuments in Sibiu. It is considered that the plates were made in 1885, but they depict an earlier reality, as Cisnădiei Gatehouse was demolished in 1836, and the Tower Gatehouse in 1858. Although in the album's title it is specified that the drawings are made "after nature", at the time that most of the monuments were demolished he was much too young to have been able to retain all of the architectural details. The images he used as a model for his drawings have not yet been identified.

Böbel's images represent scenes of a completely different type, an obviously urban environment, highlighted by the clothing of those who populate them, but especially by the architecture. The first partial view (Fig. 3) represents several townspeople (and, for variation, some peasants and carts) against the background of the solemn monument symbolic of Sibiu, the Gothic Evangelical church, and the other partial view (Fig. 4) depicts an anonymous corner of the city, a house seen from its yard, with its specific features.



Figure 1: NEUHAUSER, Franz. *Vue de la fête de Hermannstadt. Der Hermannstädter Jahrmarkt* [View of Sibiu Fair]. Brukenthal National Museum Sibiu (nr. inv. XI/935).



Figure 2: NEUHAUSER, Franz. *Vedere generală a Sibiului* [General View of Sibiu]. Brukenthal National Museum Sibiu (nr. inv. 1742).



Figure 3: BÖBEL, Johann. *Peisaj din Sibiu* [Landscape in Sibiu]. Brukenthal National Museum Sibiu (nr. inv. 3054).



Figure 4: Böbel, Johann. *Case* [Houses]. Brukenthal National Museum Sibiu (nr. inv. XI/804).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ADRIAN, Victor H. *Vedute europene*, Bucharest: Meridiane Publishing House, 1982.
- ARASSE, Daniel. Artistul. In: VOVELLE, Michel (ed.). *Omul Luminilor*. Iași: Polirom Publishing House, 2000, pp. 166–185.
- ARNAU, Frank. *Arta falsificatorilor – falsificatorii artei*. Bucharest: Meridiane Publishing House, 1970.
- ASSUNTO, Rosario. *Peisajul și estetica. Natură și istorie*. Vol. I. Bucharest: Meridiane Publishing House, 1987.
- AVRAM, Alexandru. Monumente sibiene dispărute în viziunea lui Johann Böbel. In: *Studii și comunicări Brukenthal. Galeria de artă*, 1978, no. 1, pp. 169–182.
- BARASCH, Moshe. The City. In: *The Dictionary of the History of Ideas*. The Electronic Text Center at the University of Virginia Library, vol. 1, p. 430. Accessed 1 May 2003. <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/DicHist/dict.html>
- BEHRINGER, Wolfgang. Die großen Städtebücher und ihre Voraussetzungen. In: BEHRINGER, Wolfgang – ROECK, Bernd (eds). *Das Bild der Stadt in der Neuzeit 1400–1800*. München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1999, pp. 81–93.
- BIAŁOSTOCKI, Jan. Iconography. In: *The Dictionary of the History of Ideas*. The Electronic Text Center at the University of Virginia Library, vol. 2, p. 533. Accessed 1 May 2003. <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/DicHist/dict.html>
- BLACK, Jeremy. Grand Tour. In: DEWALD, Jonathan (ed.). *Europe 1450 to 1789: Encyclopaedia of the Early Modern World*. Vol. 3. *Gabrieli to Lyon*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, pp. 85–86.

- BURKE, Peter. *Eyewitnessing: The Use of Images as Historical Evidence*. London: Reaktion Books, 2001.
- CASTELNUOVO, Enrico. Artistul. In: LE GOFF, Jacques (ed.). *Omul Medieval*. Iași: Polirom Publishing House, 1999, pp. 193–222.
- CHASTEL, André. Artistul. In: GARIN, Eugenio (ed.). *Omul Renașterii*. Iași: Polirom Publishing House, 2000, pp. 211–238.
- CLARK, Kenneth. *Arta peisajului*. Bucharest: Meridiane Publishing House, 1969.
- CLARK, Peter. European Cities, Culture and Innovation in a Regional Perspective. In: NIEMI, Marjaana – VUOLANTO, Ville (eds). *Reclaiming the City: Innovation, Culture, Experience*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2003, pp. 124–127.
- CONSTANTINE, David. Grand Tour. In: SPEAKE, Jennifer (ed.). *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- COȘOVEANU, Dorana. *Gravura franceză din secolul al XVII-lea*. Cabinetul de Stampe 14. Bucharest: Meridiane Publishing House, 1983.
- DE SETA, Cesare – STROFFOLINO, Daniela (eds). *L'Europa moderna. Cartographia urbana e vedutismo*, a cura di, Napoli: Electa, 2001.
- DE SETA, Cesare (ed.). *Città d'Europa. Iconographia e vedutismo dal XV a XVIII secolo*. Naoli: Electa, 1996.
- FLOREA, Vasile. *Pictura rusă*. Bucharest: Meridiane Publishing House, 1973.
- FOCILLON, Henri. *Viața formelor și elogiul mâinii*. Bucharest: Meridiane Publishing House, 1995.
- FYFE, Gordon. Reproductions, Cultural Capital, and Museums: Aspects of the Culture of Copies. In: *Museum and Society*, March 2004, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 47–67. Accessed 1 May 2003. <http://www.le.ac.uk/ms/museumociety.html>
- GEORGOPOULOU, Maria. Mapping Religious and Ethnic Identities in the Venetian Colonial Empire. In: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 1996, vol. 26, no. 3, pp. 467–496.
- GRIGORESCU, Dan. *Arta engleză*. Bucharest: Meridiane Publishing House, 1989.
- HARTZER NGUYEN, Kristina. The Made Landscape: City and Country in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Prints. In: *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin*, 1992, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1–47.
- HUIZINGA, Johan. *Cultura olandeză în secolul al XVII-lea*. Bucharest: Meridiane Publishing House, 1991.
- IONESCU, Adrian-Silvan. *Artă și document. Arta documentaristă în România secolului al XIX-lea*. Bucharest: Meridiane Publishing House, 1990.
- IVINS, William M. *Prints and Visual Communication*. New York: Harvard University Press, 1953.
- KULTERMANN, Udo. *Istoria istoriei artei. Evoluția unei științe*. Bucharest: Meridiane Publishing House, 1977.
- LE GOFF, Jaques. Omul medieval. In: LE GOFF, Jacques (ed.). *Omul Medieval*. Iași: Polirom Publishing House, 1999, pp. 5–34.
- MARTIN, Ana. *Stampa venețiană din secolul al XVIII-lea. Difuziune europeană și frecvența în colecțiile românești*. Oradea: Publishing House of the Țara Crișurilor Museum, 2005.
- MESEA, Iulia – DELEANU, Natalia. Univers citadin. Paliere de spațiu și timp. Orașul istoric – orașul memorie în lucrări de pictură și grafică din colecția muzeului Brukenthal. In: *Studii și comunicări Museum Arad*, 2001–2002, vol. 7, pp. 66–89.
- MILLER, Naomi. *Mapping the City: The Language and Culture of Cartography in the Renaissance*. London – New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2002.
- NOVOTNY, Fritz. Naturalism in Art. In: *The Dictionary of the History of Ideas*. The Electronic Text Center at the University of Virginia Library, vol. 3, p. 342. Accessed 1 May 2003. <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/DicHist/dict.html>
- PĂCURARIU, Dan. *Arhitectura în viziunea pictorilor*. Bucharest: Albatros Publishing House, 1990.
- PÄTZOLD, Stefan. Pforzheim – eine Stadt im Bild. Zu einigen Stadtansichten des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts und ausgewählten methodischen Aspekten der Vedutenforschung. In:

- Concilium medii aevi*, 2004, vol. 7, pp. 1–20. Accessed 1 May 2003. <http://cma.gbv.de/dr,cma,007,2004,a,01.pdf>
- POPESCU, Elena, *Pictura germană din Transilvania. Secolul al XVI-lea – începutul secolului al XIX-lea*. Sibiu: Brukenthal Museum, 2004.
- SCHMITT, Michael. Vorbild, Abbild und Kopie. Zur Entwicklung von Sehweisen und Darstellungen in druckgraphischen Stadtabbildungen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts am Beispiel Aachen. In: FAHLBUSCH, Friedrich Bernward – JÄGER, Helmut – PETRI, Franz – QUIRIN, Heinz – STOOB, Heinz (eds). *Civitatum Communitas. Studien zum Europäischen Städtewesen. Festschrift Heintz Stooß zum 65. Geburstag*. Teil 1. Köln – Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1984, pp. 322–354.
- SCHÜPP, Heinrich W. Stadtbild und Historismus. Überlegungen Serie von Braunschweig-Abbildungen, in Otto von Heinemanns, „Das Königreich Hannover und das Herzogtum Braunschweig“. In: FAHLBUSCH, Friedrich Bernward – JÄGER, Helmut – PETRI, Franz – QUIRIN, Heinz – STOOB, Heinz (eds). *Civitatum Communitas. Studien zum Europäischen Städtewesen. Festschrift Heintz Stooß zum 65. Geburstag*. Teil 1. Köln – Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1984, pp. 355–373.
- SMITH, Pamela H. Art, Science, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe. In: *Focus – Isis: The History of Science Society*, 2006, vol. 97, pp. 83–100.
- SPĂNU, Anda-Lucia. *Vechi reprezentări grafice ale oraşelor din România*. Sibiu: ASTRA MUSEUM Publishing House, 2012.
- WHYTE, Ian D. *Landscape and History since 1500*. London: Reaction Books Ltd., 2002.