PLACING THE CITY

Anti Randviir

In the context of the topic of space and its subdivisions (expanse, space, place, location, etc.) there already exists a huge variety of angles for selecting a phenomenological standpoint. Conceptualisation of a selected spatial level determines the contents and the range of data used for description. On the other hand, the outcome of analysis depends on the interpretive language selected (philosophy, psychology, semiotics, geography, etc.). Further, clarification of the selected spatial category from a chosen viewpoint is conditional on the societal level selected (individual, society, subculture, etc.).

The city has been treated as a phenomenon concurrent to the emergence of civilisation. Thus, from the semiotic perspective, analysis of the city as a spatial entity ought to be departing from the societal level, taking into account the social understanding of this semiotic entity via relevant descriptions. Social representation of the city is usually focused at either depicting the city as (an individual) cultural space or as a place in a wider cultural space. Social representation of a city refers to social cooperation resulting in an artefactual outcome depicting the city as a semiotic phenomenon (beginning from sketched maps, ending with *mappaemundi*). Stressing the societal level of interpretation of the city as a semiotic phenomenon distinguishes the social from the individual, or the nuclear from the variable. The treatment of socio-cultural phenomena through individual understanding delimits the semiotic value of representations in which it is reflected, since the shared value of meaning is then diminished. As an example of individualism one can refer to, e.g. the textual tradition (both in respect of taking individual texts for analytic material and textualising socio-cultural phenomena) of interpreting the semiotic value of the city where, on the one hand, material for analysis is formed of individual texts depicting a city and, on the other hand, interpretive results on the metalevel depend on the very viewpoint of a given researcher. Additionally, if viewing the tradition of interpreting

the city as a text on the basis of individual artistic works, it is seldom possible to find any self-reflective explanatory texts by an author analysed. The textual tradition (e.g. the so-called text of St. Petersburg and the similar) opposes socio-semiotic analysis of the city so as the latter pays attention to the city as a social phenomenon, focusing on the social production and reproduction-representation of the city as a semiotic phenomenon. Social collaboration in and of cultural production refers to the creative participation of very diverse layers of a social organisation that presupposes, at least to a certain degree, a communally unified and shared understanding of the city as both a meaningful place and space. Therefore the following will be focused on maps and views of the city as the articulations of social understanding of the city as a semiotic phenomenon. On the one hand, it is possible to use the semiotic perspective in the analysis of the city as a semiotic phenomenon for an individual, using methods of the social sciences (e.g. Lynch 1960; Lagopoulos, Boklund-Lagopoulou 1992). On the other hand, one can analyse the meaning of spatial structures as presented in socio-cultural discourse in accordance with the consensus on using socio-cultural resources for types of representation. In addition to the socially agreed nature of meanings in socio-cultural discourse it is often possible to also find social reflective discourse on the methods, purposes and material of the produced socio-cultural phenomena. This supplements the analytic discourse with much more trustworthy mechanisms of correctness control over judgements on the semiotic gamut of the phenomena analysed.

It is important to keep in mind connections between the individual and social levels of representation so that the latter is founded on the first: no cultural production can avoid its psycho-biological basis. Thus individual understanding of the city (my city in my space, my city in my cultural space, my city in my cultural space as related to other cultural spaces) biologically and connotatively precedes and simultaneously, via socialisation, depends on collective understanding (our city in our space, our city in our cultural space, our city in our cultural space as related to other cultural spaces). It is crucial to distinguish between the primary and secondary semiotisation of space as related to the individual level and higher socio-cultural cooperation; metalevel analysis, then, appears as the third level of spatial description. The placement of the city concerns, first, the spatial arrangement of it in the cognitive map; second, the adjustment of it according to socio-cultural norms, and third, the representation of spatial understanding in

socio-cultural artefacts. One can argue about diffusion of the object- and meta-level when using the notion of socio-cultural representation, but obviously the socio-semiotic perspective considers the understanding of space as it is presented in reflective discourse.

From physical environment towards meaningful place

Relations between the ontogenetic and phylogenetic abilities of mapping the environs, including the manners of placing the city into the worldview or maps, are deeply bound. Thus the study of placing the city must be in accordance with the understanding of the overall semiotic development (regarding Charles S. Peirce's distinction between *firstness, secondness*, and *thirdness*, cf. *CP* 1.300). The growth of individual semiotic abilities and competence from perceptive potentials towards conventionality can also be detected on the cultural level. Realisation of semiosic abilities, in turn, is tightly bound with the level and mode of the placement of cities into different (con)textual circumstances that guide interpretation by semiosic and textual techniques of representation. The semiosic aspect of representation concerns the particularity of triadic sign relations (whether the meaning of representation of a city comes from indexical, iconic, or symbolic sign relation), while textual placement and contextualisation have to do with the genre and intention of representation (a city in a postcard, poster, map, world map, work of art, literary piece). It is of course evident that on the level of representation as a whole, the meaning emerges from symbiosis between the semiosic, textual and generic mechanisms, keeping in mind both intersemiosis between different sign systems (e.g. verbal and pictorial), and intertextuality between a given work and cultural tradition.

In spite of the uttermost complexity of spatial representations (usually one has to use the Peircean term *hypoicon*), it is possible to detect the semiosic development of representing cities (from indexical to symbolic signs; see Randviir 1998) in different genres from maps to literary works. In this development one can recognise similarities between the growth of individual semiotic capacity and spatial representation as a cultural practice. Phylogenetic development of mapmaking has also been related to the ontogenetic understanding of the world by Paul D. A. Harvey, who based his idea upon D. Wood's inspection. Harvey related the characteristics of signs used in spatial representation to the viewpoint

that: (a) symbols are connected with (a1) elevation that are (a2) simple outlines as viewed from the side, (b) pictures that are (b1) oblique that are (b2) outlines with shading suggesting perspective, and (c) surveys that are (c1) plans (c2) represented as seen from above (Harvey 1980: 26).

When trying to distinguish between the placements of cities according to sign relations used (icons, indexes, symbols) or (con)textual categories (regional map, picture, bird's-eye view, world map, literary text), it is easy to reach a uniform conclusion about the fusion of both semiosic and textual distinctive features. Even if separating the placement of cities in representations according to scale (e.g. an individual city *vs.* a city in a cultural space), it is usual that in actual cases we are dealing with several aspects simultaneously. Therefore it would be useful to involve the notion of discursive differences that set the perspective of genre, textual particularities, and also semiosic functives of interpretation. Just as well as the majority of cultural phenomena, cities are connected with both the physical and semiotic environments. From this duality discursive differences also emerge that have been connected with two basically different representational perspectives: cartography and chorography. At the description of these two perspectives and stresses of mapping, a distinction between the scientific and the artistic in terms of separating the geographically relevant from (cultural) informational noise has often been used. However, what exactly is being comprehended as either informational or noisy depends on the very discourse the representation is included in. The analytic discourse, however, has to take into account not only the representational placement of a city, but also the original ideological concerns that are sometimes connected with the creation of a city. The creation of a city may already involve aesthetic and purely ideological principles in addition to pragmatic considerations. In addition to the Greeks, who were probably the first to lay out complete cities according to a well-thought-out plan designed in advance (e.g. Hippodamus of Milet in the fifth century B.C.; cf. Harvey 1980: 12), we are also reminded of, e.g. Nero's plan of Rome (see Lagopoulos 1993), just as well as the creation of entirely new cities (e.g. Helsinki and its connection with St. Petersburg; general plan of the capital of Brazil). Such cases of building a city according to a formerly composed plan multiply connections between the city as a physical entity and representational discourse on cultural space. Setting a prior semiotic perspective for the (ideological) use of a city in a cultural space (e.g. St. Petersburg as the 'Window to Europe' for Peter

the Great's Russia) and the determination of its layout and structure, and often architectural style in a way as well, unites the cartographic and chorographic perspective on the representational level. Through the pre-designed plans a given cultural space is interpreted chorographically, and the city to be later described by cartographic techniques has already been loaded with meanings from another context.

Cartography and chorography: strategies of place creation

Spatial representation seems to have regularly been balancing between 'cartography proper' and chorography, and it is very difficult to outline the exact periods of the domination of one or the other. As already mentioned, on the one hand, such differentiation depends on the understanding of what is meant by 'scientific discourse', and on the other hand, chorographic features can be faced in practically any map on the level of signs. The semiotic nature of signs in maps also involves indexical, iconic and symbolic dimensions in the period of cartographic conventional signs that seem to have found their beginning in Philip Apian's map of Bavaria, published in Ingolstadt 1568 (Skelton 1952: 11). Conventional signs can be regarded as a move towards scientific discourse with the aim of describing space by the scale and relations that are depicted in such a symbolic manner which preferably lacks the iconic resemblance of signs used and objects depicted. Thus cartography has usually been associated with scientific features in contrast to chorography. A semiotic definition shares this view:

> Cartography is a discipline which belongs to that part of graphic communication addressing the visual channel which is concerned with the transmission of (scientific) data or other information in contrast to artistic graphics transmitting aesthetic information. (Krampen 1986: 98.)

Without explicit reference to geographical data, this is quite a general and vague definition that may be applied to a variety of the outcome of diagrammatic semiosis. However, when considering geographical information and paying attention to the set opposition between the 'scientific' and 'aesthetic', the balance between the poles starts to blur. When turning to the Medieval sources of modern cartography, we can find that the Medieval translation of *geography* as a word derived from Greek was *orbis description* (see e.g. Lozovsky 2000: 3). Such a connection again shortens the distance between cartography and chorography. According to Natalia Lozovsky, *chorographia* as the description of places has one of

its first appearances in a ninth-century manuscript of Pomponius Mela with the original dating back to the first century (Lozovsky 2000: 9–10). It is noteworthy that the maps that have reached us in spite of historical hardships and that can be considered the foundation stones for contemporary spatial description date back to approximately the same period. However, according to the reflection of Medieval and even earlier scholars, places cannot be characterised by their mere geometry, but mostly by the cultural activities, people and times that have shaped them (so have the goals of mapping been maintained by Hugh of Saint Victor). At least until the middle of the 19th century, most of the actual maps are seldom either chorographic or cartographic, but rather of a blended nature. Still, if wishing to distinguish between the two perspectives as ideal types, we can refer to Howard Marchitello's clarification of chorography:

> Chorography is the typically narrative and only occasionally graphic practice of delineating topography not exclusively as it exists in the present moment but as it has existed historically as well. This means not only describing surface features of the land (rivers, forests, etc.) but also the 'place' a given locale has held in history, including the languages spoken there, the customs of its people, material artefacts the land may hold, etc. (Marchitello 1997: 22.)

Chorography, then, is representation of the Earth in terms of cultural spaces or socio-cultural chronotopes, inclining toward diachronic, rather than ahistorical synchronic description. Chorographic principles are what turn ancient maps into valuable sources of information on human walks of life, habits, production techniques and other cultural traits (e.g. *Carta Marina et Descriptio Septentrionalivm* by Olaus Magnus, 1539). Chorographic data provided in maps allows the arrangement of places in terms of cultural spaces to be discussed. It is all the more noteworthy that such chorographic reflection and comparison of cultural areas is practised through mapping as a cultural activity belonging, for cultural studies, to the object-level. Chorographic reflection does not concern only the registration of traits of cultural activities, it also describes the geographic features of landscape – or rather, it is the morphology of geographic and physical-biological environment as composed of meaningful structures. Examples can be found in the face of Medieval Psalter maps (e.g. a meaning and reason for existence of the mountain range in the Northeast being the separation of Gog and Magog), Renaissance world maps (e.g. sea and land monsters as possible denotations and explanations of dangerous places), descriptions of individual cities (e.g. the shape

of the city of Tartu described by Risingh being nobly heart-like – Risingh 1996: 25), or even connotative semiotisation in creative representation of regions (e.g. several depictions of Belgium in the shape of a lion).

The purpose of chorographic discourse is to disclose what lies behind the physical geographic appearances that mostly screen the 'actual contents' of reality. This, however, cannot be regarded as a factor subjecting chorography to aesthetic discourse instead of science. A similar situation of the blurring of boundaries between aesthetic and scientific discourse has emerged several times. Perhaps the last mentioned example, especially when considering representation of spatial structures, is early abstractionism and its aims as declared by its representatives (e.g. Piet Mondrian, Franz Marc, Wilhelm Worringer) at the beginning of the 20th century.

In addition to one possible intention to probe into the formative structures of reality, the approach often labelling sea and land monsters, antipodes and the like as redundant or noisy elements is hasty from the aspect of the emergence of such phenomena out of the actually encountered novel beings and objects. Beginning from the widening of travel opportunities in Medieval times, the switching of non-oecumenic elements into cultural discourse was to get help from the already existing elements and semiotic devices, either mythical, religious, or *ad hoc* imaginary. Understanding the savage had to proceed via the generation of intermediary meaningful structures, be they newly invented races, fauna or other marvels that helped to understand new experiences as based on what actually exists. As mentioned before, during the time preceding the introduction of cartographic conventional signs, monstrous beings could also be the symbolic indexes of dangerous places on land and in the sea, functioning by iconic similarity anchored in mythological consciousness. Therefore the degree of cultural and semiotic competence that also guides the interpretation of cartographic maps in terms of deciding about the balance between the iconic, indexical and symbolic dimensions of a sign influences the attitude to either scientific or aesthetic reading of maps. This applies to any era of mapping and, needless to say, the scientific and the aesthetic are not to be treated as mutually exclusive. The topic of trying to distinguish between maps on the basis of accuracy as connected with the antonyms 'scientific ↔ artistic' seems to be at least partially rooted in etymological background. The Medieval classification of arts and sciences is related to the ancient terminology in which the arts were related to

techne as professional skills or abilities. Thus art as a technique or skill was not to be understood as separated from the sciences, and mapmaking belonged in the latter as an ability to protrude into the true meaning of the visible geographic expanses and objects. These aspects of the status of geographic disciplines have been treated by Yelena Melnikova (1998) who, following H. v. Eicken, refers to a letter by Gilbert of Poitiers to St. Bernard of Clairvaux about science that must lead

> to super-worldly, holy and deepest secrets, to the intimate and pleasing abysses of ins and outs, to the unattainable light in which there lives God. This art I can name the art of all arts… (Melnikova 1998: 28.)

The aim of mapping up until modern times was, beginning at least from the Middle Ages, in a sense more complex than today, since single artefacts were to represent quite numerous dimensions and phenomena included in spatial units. Description of spatial units in the chorographic diversity of objects that adds a seemingly artistic bias to representations may also be rendered as proof of mapmakers being conscious of cultural influence on both spatial modelling and usage of maps as spatial models. These seemingly artistic elements in maps from the Middle Ages to occasional contemporary instances (e.g. Olev Soans's cultural-historical maps of Estonia) include the representation of figures, events, beings and phenomena both historical and imaginary. It would be inappropriate to make a rigid distinction between the historical and the fictional in maps, since both belong in the socio-cultural storage of meaningful entities. Such 'non-scientific' units reveal that such maps might not have had a pretension to try to describe 'objective physical reality', but rather were intended to transmit socio-cultural facts in their semiotised geographical context. The notion of socio-cultural facts allows us not to choose between, e.g. *cultural unit* (Schneider 1968), *historical fact* (Uspenskij 1988), *social fact* (Durkheim 1938), *institutional fact* (Searle 1995): socio-cultural facts are the socially contracted and established facts of historical, physical, social, semiotic phenomena. As a genre representing these phenomena, mapping was both a cultural and metacultural socially organised activity and thus belonged to what today is understood by scientific discourse.

Historical background of symbolic placement: the cultural role of cities

Against the background outlined above we can sketch a semiotic development of depicting cities and placing them in different semiotic contexts. The semiotic approach to the representations of cities is different from the purely cartographic interpretation, for it allows this development to be treated from the viewpoint of the referential relationship between the representation and the object. It is probably beyond doubt that, because of a lack of evidence on the one hand and historical background on the other, we are to take the Middle Ages as the root system for depicting cities up to today. Back then, the main type of maps was the T-O map the aim of which was visual support to the religious worldview. The concentric spatial arrangement of the world in Medieval maps was centred at Jerusalem, and already the existence of certain cities in representations provided them with symbolic value. Religious context determined the organisation of the world around Jerusalem, which was a worldly correspondent to its Heavenly Twin. This meant the arrangement of the Earth in terms of 'the cultural', i.e. the literal arrangement of cultural areas in representations according to the spread of Christianity: the closer a place was to Jerusalem, the more cultivated it was. Thus the placement of cities in world maps served not always geographic exactness, but religious. Religious context made it unnecessary to depict concrete cities on their own: the meaning of a city was attainable only in the context of cultural spaces. Cities could mostly be met in world maps in which they had their role in representing an oecumenic worldview. In this sense we cannot speak of the representation of cities, but just about placing them in relation to Jerusalem (Delphi, Kangdiz or other cities, respectively, in maps produced in other cultures). Therefore it is worthless to look for geographical or physical information about cities in world maps; even the iconic signs standing for cities in maps were not presumed to convey morphological information about a city: the meaning of such iconic signs was mainly recognisable in their size, which made them symbolic. However, it seems to have been the oecumenic principle of creating proportions and features that formed the background for representing cities in their individual ways.

The symbolic accent of chorographic signs in ancient maps was added to indexical, and also iconic value only at the emergence of pilgrim maps that are also referred to as road maps, or sometimes as scale maps. Pilgrim maps meant elaboration of the distinctive features of a city. Being travel instructions for pilgrims,

we can relate such representation of cities with iconic signs. The success of using such maps was to depend on the user's ability to recognise items in physical space (e.g. church towers, peculiarities of the town wall) as related to the image. The indexical element, however, is only to be found in the relations between images themselves. The symbolic dimension was continuously kept in the size and scale of sign-vehicles. In the course of time, the iconic element of a similarity between the object and the sign-vehicle was neglected, especially after contemporary conventional signs had their beginning in the 16th century.

Historical background of placing cities: settling roles through techniques

The above outlined rough development of placing cities in maps and knowledge of people in terms of creating informational clues by semiosic relations, and also dynamism between scientific and artistic representation, are important for

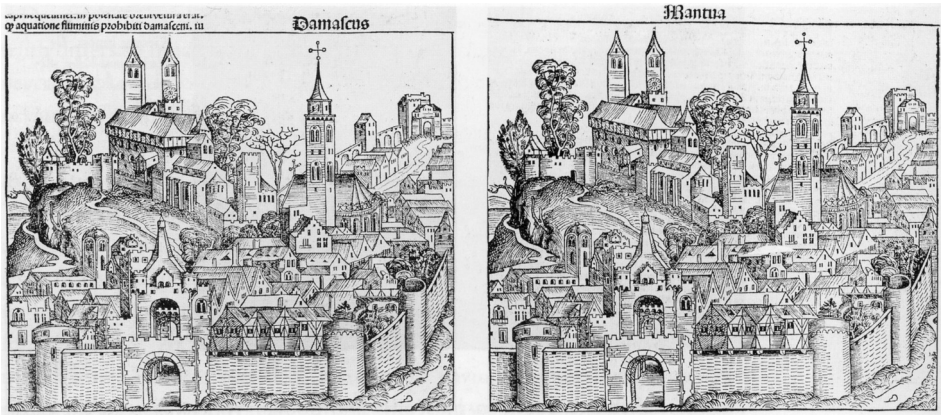

Figure 1] Illustrations for Damascus and Mantua from the *Nurenberg Chronicle*, 1493 (from Gombrich 1996: 94).

understanding the wider use of cities in representations. Paradoxically, when examining the exactness of iconic representation of cities, it is possible to notice fluctuations even at instances concerning the cities of Central Europe. In an interesting way, when keeping in mind the individualisation of European cities that accelerated in the era of pilgrim maps, the symbolic use of cities can also be met in the Renaissance. We can talk exactly about symbolic use, rather than the similar depiction of cities, especially in cases when the cities are pictorially used as illustrations. An example bringing the placement and mapping of cit-

ies back to the style of Medieval encyclopedic discussion can be found in E. H. Gombrich's treatment of the so-to-speak stereotypical truth (see Fig. 1). The first woodcut claims to illustrate the city of Damascus, and the second stands for Mantua, both obviously used just for conveying the idea of a socio-cultural phenomenon rather than claiming contextual exactness.

Such cases probably do not signify a mainstream tendency, but will remain exceptions, since the late Medieval and Renaissance city representations mostly are noticeably individualised. Individualisation can be met in world, regional or city maps or other pictorial representations where semiotisation proceeds by outlining the distinctive features of concrete cities themselves rather than by placing them in a cultural space as related to other cities. In regional or world maps the cities may be represented by hypoicons (e.g. the Eiffel tower as an icon condensed symbolically to be 'most characteristic of Paris'). Yet the cities more and more gained importance on their own, and in case of individual towns and cities we can already talk about their representation according to a certain world-view, rather than of cities themselves representing a given world view.

The above used example of symbolic use of cities in individual representations may still indicate certain religious concerns: individualisation of cities by outlining their distinctive features can be interpreted as having its roots in religious considerations. Whereas during the Middle Ages, religion determined which of the cities were worthy of representing, this value being articulated by their position and pictorial size in relation to Jerusalem, during the Renaissance, religion apparently influenced the technique of representation. This can be recognised in the genre of bird's-eye views, also in horizontal views of the cities that seem to have developed out of the former. Whereas until the Renaissance we can detect a profound generic relation between the representation of the physical and the purely semiotic phenomena, the bird's-eye views and skyline city views represent the ideology that shapes the technique and viewpoint of depiction. On the one hand, we witness an interconnection of the physical items and ideologically loaded semiotic units, and on the other hand, a fusion of scholarly and artistic techniques of modelling also exists. A simplest example to explain this connection between the artistic and scientific representation of the environs also shows connection between the human and physical essence. Hereby we can refer to the proximity of several levels of modelling the environs as represented in Leonardo da Vinci's *Vitruvian Man* (Fig. 2).

The influence of depicting the microcosm as related to the macrocosm was articulated by Leonardo himself as follows:

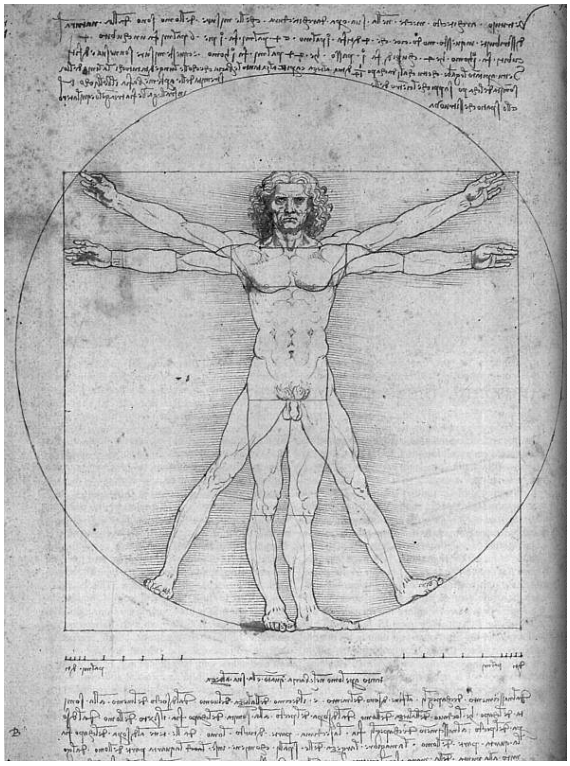

Figure 2] Leonardo da Vinci, *Vitruvian Man*.

> Therefore, by my plan you will become acquainted with every part of the human body … There will be revealed to you in the fifteen entire figures the cosmography of this *minor mundo* in the same order as was used by Ptolemy before me in his *Cosmographia*. And therefore I shall divide the members of the body as he divided the whole world into provinces, and then I shall define the function of the parts in every direction, placing before your eyes the perceptions of the whole figure. (Quoted in Edgerton 1987: 12–13.)

This most remarkable passage shows tight connections between the work by Ptolemy (Fig. 3) that became the foundation stone for Medieval and later geographic thought and mapping, and the conceptualisation of artistic discourse during practically the same cultural epoch. Leonardo disclosed biological matter, using Ptolemy's method of describing physical environment, at the same time choosing, instead of the scientific genre, the one today rendered as artistic.

Human and geographic matter was treated by analogous techniques, and it is interesting that the inspection of the nature of man was preceded by the created

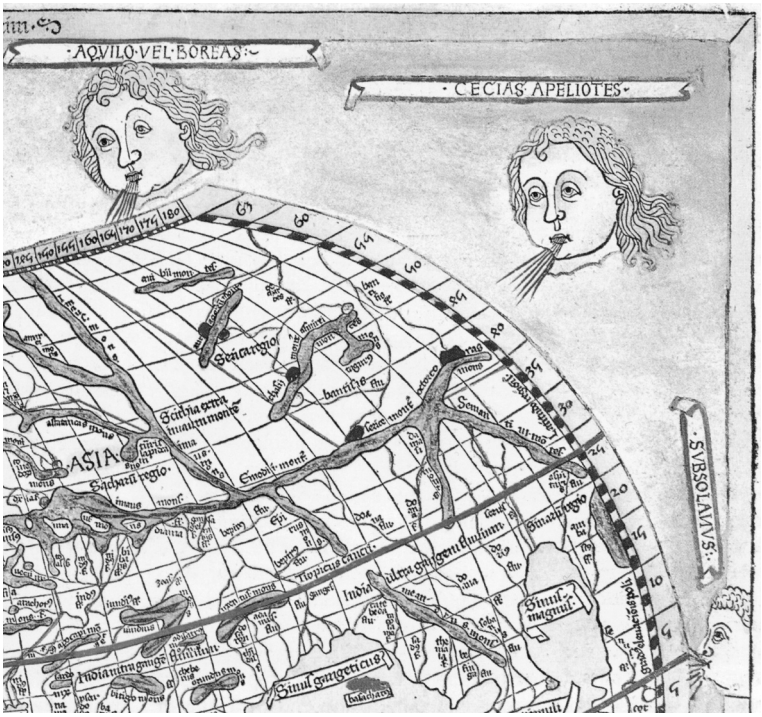

Figure 3] Excerpt from Ptolemy's world map (ca 150 AD, current reprint 1482).

framework for geographic environs. It was not simply similarity between the microcosm and macrocosm, and more or less the same perspective of description: as we shall soon see, the reasons for recognition of these parallels were ideologically important as well. It seems that Leonardo's conception not only joins the idea of the Medieval and Renaissance placement and representation of the city, but it helps to understand the structure and popularity of later city-views as well. Namely, without hereby turning special attention to the importance of **organisation** of representation, we can refer to Ptolemy's principle of world depiction and an understanding articulated by Petrus de Limoges and referred to by Edgerton as follows:

> Ptolemy insisted in his *Cosmography* that the mapmaker first view that part of the world to be mapped as if it were connected at its centre to the centre of the viewer's eye by an abstract 'visual axis'; that is, a line perpendicular to both the earth's

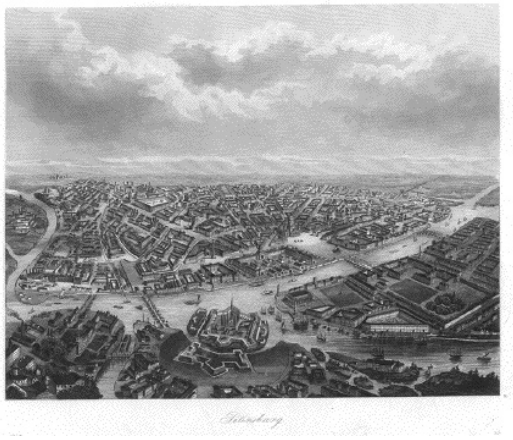

Figure 4] Anonymous, *Petersburg* (1857).

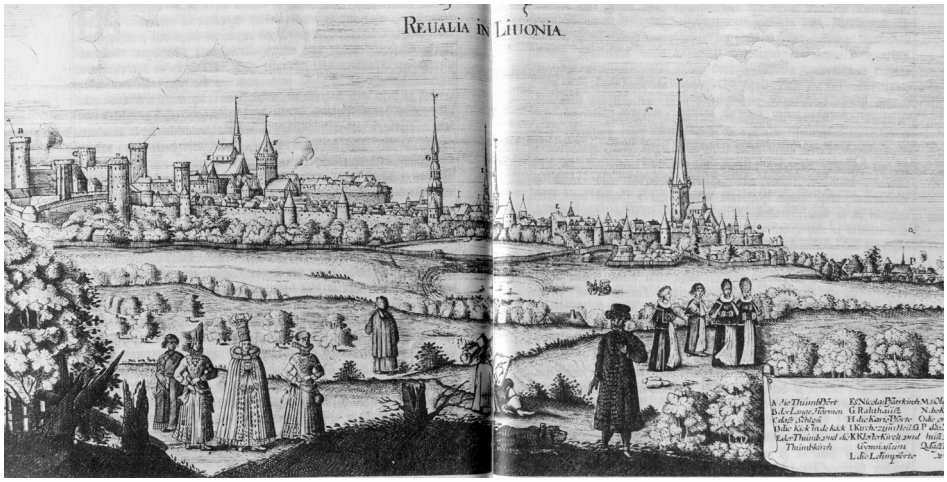

Figure 5] Adam Olearius, *Revalia in Livonia* (1656; excerpt).

> surface and the surface of the eye. This followed from an optical theorem stating that only the aspect of an object on axis with the centre of the eye could be clearly observed. [---] Ancient Greek optics seemed to explain how God transmitted his divine grace to the human soul. If the human soul were 'clean', God's grace would touch it perpendicularly, entering it, as light does transparent glass, undiminished and unrefracted. If, however, the soul were stained with sin, God's grace must strike it obliquely and be refracted or reflected away. (Edgerton 1987: 13.)

The background of European cartographic tradition, being so connected with a striving for divine understanding, brings forth the ideology lying behind the

so-called scientific geography and cartography characterised by the gridline method invented by Ptolemy. Vertical perpendicularity made it possible to use the proportional gridline method and thus to 'objectively' describe the contents of a region or other spatial unit systematically. Horizontal perpendicularity was a means to place items into discourse from a selected viewpoint in order to convey the 'true nature' of a locale. Perpendicular clarity and the systematic gridline method, however, do not apply only for the descriptive level: it is possible to also notice here a probable ground for both planning the city in terms of

Figure 6a; 6b] Tallinn spicy sprats (produced by AS Dagotar, 2003); Tallinn spicy sprats (produced by Kihnu Kala, 2003).

general plans (straight streets, orthogonal axis, rulers' monuments on crossings, etc.), and designing the skyline of cities (e.g. defining the height of buildings by the cathedral of a city, strive for symmetrical skyline, etc.). The bird's-eye views of cities bring along another interesting topic which was probably connected with representing places from the 'ideal angle' – we can detect massive falsifications of viewpoints that use nonexistent places for viewing cities in an ideologically acceptable manner. Especially during the Renaissance it is possible to get a glimpse of a city from a mountain top or spot on waters which actually did not exist or was unattainable (Fig. 4; see also Harvey's treatment of 'impossible viewpoints'; Harvey 1980: 68).

Bird's-eye views are historically connected with skyline city-views that represent the city in its environmental context. The placement of cities in natural and cultural contexts gives indirect instructions for the interpretation of the rep-

resentation. For example, fashion, people's postures, groupings and other details in a view on Tallinn by Olearius (1656; Fig. 5) place the city as a Hanseatic one into a wealthy and cultivated context in contrast to several representations in the same book of peripheral Livonian or Russian towns with the rustic, if not barbaric behaviour of locals depicted in the contextual frame.

The skyline views of cities that help to 'understand' a place by horizontal perpendicularity are today often used as monolithic condensed iconic signs helping to identify both the cultural position of a city and the status of cultural phenomena connected with it. City skyline representation is often used for placing cultural production into the 'proper' ideological perspective (e.g. the skyline of New York before 9/11 in movie production). Ideological considerations may be connected with economic, political, or other spheres, just as well as with the modality of a given production (e.g. trustworthiness). Thus the skyline is turned into an image of certain values and a city may again, like during the Middle Ages, obtain the symbolic function. Examples can hereby be drawn from the so-called daily consumer production (Fig. 6a, 6b), as well, and that what is being considered as a 'typical view' of Tallinn, or the so-called sprat tin view of the city, differs from the very same item produced the same year by different companies.

We can see a striving for historical authenticity which is appealed by either 'historicalness', resembling the above mentioned view by Olearius (Fig. 6a), or by (as) photographic exactness (Fig. 6b). In the latter case, maybe unintentionally, an ideological moment is added by focusing the view on the Russian orthodox cathedral and losing St. Olaf's Church, once the highest building in the world; there is an interesting tension with this emphasis due to the swallow, the Estonian national bird, over the image of Tallinn (the actual emblem indicating the product as branded in Estonia).

Conclusion

Representations of cities are rarely mere depictions, but reflections on the essence of living place with the totality both of physical and semantic features. Cities are placed into discourse according to a certain worldview, and cities may represent a certain worldview by their plan, skyline, or place in cultural space. Cities are placed in the cognitive map of individuals by the semiosic relation of representative signs to their objects, and the semiosic path of semiotisation is often guided

by the textual and generic contexts they appear in. Regardless of contemporary advanced technological possibilities, placing cities reveals ideological structures concerning culturally adequate representation that dates back to Medieval and Renaissance worldviews. The actual symbiosis of cartography and chorography explains the placement of cities in cultural memory and thereby also the continuity in placing them in representational discourse.

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Linna paigutamine

Kokkuvõte

Linna paigutamist võib kutsuda igasuguse linnakäsitluse üldnimetajaks, olgu siis tegemist tsiviliograafilise, sotsioloogilise, semiootilise, kunstilise või muu vaatepunktiga. Linna paigutatakse eri tasanditel: nn. objektitasandil (linna asukoht, arhitektuur, "mööbel" jms. valikud), kultuurilisel metatasandil (linna esitlemine reklaambrošüürides, postkaartidel jne.), teaduslikul metatasandil (teadusliku kirjelduspersektiivi valik). Metakultuuriline linna esitlemine toimub näiteks kaartidel, linnaplaanidel, turismibülletäänides, linnavaadetel, ning logode, loosungite ja mitmete teiste vahendite kaudu. Linna kui eripärase kultuuriruumi representeerimine on seotud ka linna positsiooni määratlemisega kultuuriruumis aktiivse (harva passiivse) kultuurilise toimijana (alates nutulaulu-taolistest žanridest Peterburi-tekstideni). Sotsiokultuurilised lausungid linnade kohta võivad nende käsitamise allutada eripärastele kultuurilistele stereotüüpidele (sealhulgas arhitektuur, käitumine, representeerimine) nii omas kui ka muudes kultuuriruumides. Linnakäsituse kultuurilised stereotüübid on seo-

tud nii eksisteerivate ruumide kui ka utopistliku diskursusega (alates Utoopiast Babülon 5-ni), mis esitavad alternatiivsete kultuurikontseptsioonide võimalikku toimimist.

Artiklis käsitletakse linna representatiivses diskursuses. Et linna esit(l)us on seostatav hiliskeskaja ja renessansiga, kus see hakkas võtma mingil määral siiani kehtivaid funktsionaalseid ja tüpoloogilisi vorme, pööratakse tähelepanu linna toonasele pildilisele esitlusele. Vaadeldakse ka linna semiootilise ja puhtpragmaatilise rakenduse vahekorda ning linnaloomet, ning nende kaudu laiemategi kultuuriruumide tekitamist seeläbi, kuidas linna paigutatakse eri semiootilistes süsteemides ja diskursustes.