

ART ACADEMY OF LATVIA  
Institute of Art History

THE MIGRATION  
OF ARTISTS  
AND ARCHITECTS  
IN CENTRAL AND  
NORTHERN EUROPE  
1560–1900

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Edited by Anna Ancāne



2022





## **The Migration of Artists and Architects in Central and Northern Europe, 1560–1900**

**Edited by Anna Ancāne**

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## INTRODUCTION

The international scientific conference *The Migration of Artists and Architects in Central and Northern Europe 1560–1900* took place at the Art Academy of Latvia in Riga on 26–28 September 2019. Organised by the Institute of Art History of the Art Academy of Latvia within the ERDF project *Raising the Research and Innovation Capacity of the Art Academy of Latvia Institute of Art History* (No. 1.1.1.5/18/I/014), the conference focused on a broad range of problems involving research and interpretation of the intertwined processes of art and migration.

Still recently, the migration of artists and architects was treated as a secondary issue in art-historical literature. In the last decades, however, the number of scholarly publications on the artists' migration in the early modern period has substantially increased. This trend was advanced by a growing interest in the activities of travelling artists and architects in Central and Northern European regional centres, and it examines the role of previously little-known artists and workshops, replacing narrow local perspectives with broader contextual approaches. Academic publications produced in various countries over the last years show a significant art-historical tendency to create period overviews alongside studies of outstanding specific phenomena, such as contact networks and the development of art markets and workshops.

The migration of masters, typical to the period in question, is a phenomenon that cannot be explored today without a broader interdisciplinary perspective that includes sociological and economic aspects. The migration issue in the context of significant art-historical phenomena has been among the topmost research subjects in recent years, with art historians from the Netherlands, Belgium, Poland and Denmark being the most active in the field.

A multifaceted view of the early modern period's artistic and architectural heritage that includes interpersonal contacts among masters, consumers and cultural agents, export of cultural goods and trading routes allows building a broader interconnected informational network that through elucidating cultural processes of a particular epoch from an expanded perspective and providing information from various aspects, creates a valuable additional tool for art-historical exploration.

The conference embraced several directions: the routes of artists' migration, related general trends and favourable conditions; case studies of particular individuals' mobility; influential centres and peripheries; migration as a means of transfer of artistic innovations and promotion of stylistic changes;

spread of examples; trends and differences in the output of individual workshops and masters; methodological issues of studying artists' migration; art market and commissioners; the role of interdisciplinary studies in establishing the art market trends; the interaction of consumers and artists, as well as the geographic circulation of artistic production.

On 26 and 27 September the conference venue was the Art Academy of Latvia but on 28 September participants held a visiting session at Rundāle Palace Museum. The conference welcomed researchers from Lithuania, Estonia, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Poland, Belgium, Germany, the USA, Slovenia, Croatia, Italy, Denmark, Greece and Latvia. Several thematic blocks emerged at the conference, such as theoretical and methodological studies and in-depth discussions of individual artists, workshops and artistic phenomena. Latest researches on the routes of artists' migration in Europe were presented alongside models explaining the root causes of migration, art market and export during the early modern period, as well as the structure and capacity of masters' workshops.

After the conference, it was realised that these valuable conclusions deserve a publication to inspire a wider circle of scholars and connoisseurs for further work and discoveries in the diverse field of art history. Most of the conference participants agreed to extend their papers for publication in this edited volume. The articles are arranged in the order their themes were presented at the conference.

When analysing some concrete artist or phenomenon, we are also invited to notice the epoch's border-transcending tendencies, manifold background processes and conclusions of interdisciplinary studies. Having said that, the work of art remains at the centre of art-historical research, while these contributions provide valuable cognitive instruments and added enriching components.

Anna Ancāne

# MIGRATION OF ARCHITECTS IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE<sup>1</sup>

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*As far as Prague where the Emperor resides, as well as in other large cities, there are few architects or learned people with authority and expertise. In fact, the construction of buildings is principally undertaken by certain master builders who travel from Italy to those places and decide on things their own way. Thus the results are rough or even worse ...<sup>2</sup>*

(Vincenzo Scamozzi 1615)

## SUMMARY

This paper focuses on the diffusion of architectural inventions from the Low Countries to other parts of Europe, especially to the Baltic region and Scandinavia, from the late fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth century. Multiple pathways connected the architecture of the Low Countries with the world and various mechanisms of transmission can be discerned, such as the migration of building masters and sculptors who worked as architects abroad, networks of foreign patrons inviting Netherlandish artists, printed models and the role of foreign architects who visited the Low Countries for professional reasons. The paper discusses such questions as why experts from the Low Countries were called upon and what made them successful abroad. Were their design skills merely a spinoff of other, more important arts such as hydraulic engineering and fortification? Or did Netherlandish architecture possess particularly compelling traits that could also be studied by foreign architects? Did the attraction lie in qualities that were explicitly perceived as 'Netherlandish'? Or were the Netherlandish examples regarded as favourite models of an international architectural

1 The first part of this paper is based on my introduction to *Architects without Borders: Migration of Architects and Architectural Ideas in Europe 1400–1700*. Ed. by Konrad Ottenheym. Mantova, 2014, 7–13; the second part, on my chapter on "Travelling architects from the Low Countries and their patrons", in: *The Low Countries at the Crossroads: Netherlandish Architecture as an Export Product in Early Modern Europe (1480–1680)* (Architectura Moderna 8). Ed. by Konrad Ottenheym & Krista De Jonge. Turnhout, 2013, 55–88.

2 Scamozzi, Vincenzo. *L'Idea della Architettura Universale*, Venice 1615, Book III, 251 (quote from the English edition: Scamozzi, Vincenzo. *Venetian Architect: The Idea of a Universal Architecture. III, Villas and Country Estates*. Amsterdam, 2003, 98).



style desired by rulers, nobility and civic authorities who sought to keep up appearances among their peers?

When the famous Venetian architect Vincenzo Scamozzi was in Salzburg working on his designs for a new cathedral and the renovation of the prince-bishop's palace,<sup>3</sup> he found himself surrounded by numerous craftsmen of northern Italian origin, the *maestri comacini*.<sup>4</sup> Apparently, he was not quite convinced by the level of expertise of these craftsmen, as the quote above from his treatise of 1615 indicates. Scamozzi's complaint about the quality of his fellow countrymen he had met abroad, both in Austria and Bohemia, illustrates the two categories of emigrant architects in early modern Europe. On the one hand, there were a few star architects, such as Scamozzi himself, who were invited by monarchs, noblemen and other esteemed patrons for prestigious building commissions. On the other hand, there were large groups of travelling architects, building masters, stone carvers and stucco workers who lacked international fame but were well organised and often highly skilled – in contrast to what Scamozzi had to say about them. While many star architects enjoyed positions as court artists, others were treated as mere craftsmen, sometimes working on the same prestigious projects, but sometimes also for more humble patrons.

## ROVING RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTS, A EUROPEAN PHENOMENON

Migration of artists has always been essential to the diffusion of new inventions, and so was the role of Italian artists to the dissemination of *all'antica* architecture in early modern Europe.<sup>5</sup> The first well-documented wave of Italian sculptors and stone carvers working abroad dates from the second half of the fifteenth century. Their first patrons were the courts of

3 For Scamozzi in Salzburg, see: Lippmann, Wolfgang. *Der Salzburger Dom 1598–1630. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Auftraggeber und des kulturgeschichtlichen Umfeldes*. Weimar, 1999, 137–155.

4 For the *comacini* working in Salzburg around 1600, see: Ponn-Lettner, Gudrun. "Die Bautätigkeit der Maestri Comacini in Salzburg. Das Neubaugebäude im österreichischen Kontext"; *Strategien der Macht. Hof und Residenz in Salzburg um 1600 – Architektur, Repräsentation und Verwaltung unter Fürstbischof Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau 1587 bis 1611/12*. Ed. by Gerhard Ammerer and Ingonda Hanneschläger. Salzburg, 2011, 371–404; Rottensteiner, Margareta. "Die Arbeiten der Familie Castelli für den Salzburger Hof unter Fürstbischof Wolf Dietrich und die Bedeutung ihrer Stuckarbeiten in den Prunkräumen des Neubaus". In: *Ibidem*, 405–436; Bstieler, Stephan. "Oberitalienische Stuckateure im Dienste erzbischöflicher Repräsentation: Giacomo Bertolotto, Pietro und Antonio Castello, Giovanni Passarini, Bernardo Bertinalli und Giovanni Battista Orsolino". In: *Ibidem*, 437–466. For their activities in Poland, see: Arciszewska, Barbara. "Architectural Crossroads: Migration of Architects and Building Trade Professionals in Early Modern Poland 1500–1700". In: *Architects without Borders: Migration of Architects and Architectural Ideas in Europe 1400–1700*. Ed. by Konrad Ottenheim. Mantova, 2014, 60–75.

5 The bibliography on migrant architects from Italy is too extensive to be summarised here, starting with various volumes in the series *L'opera del genio italiano all'estero* (1933–1962) up to more recent publications, such as: *Architetti e ingegneri militari italiani all'estero dal XV al XVIII secolo*, 2 vols. Ed. by Marino Vigano. Livorno, 1994–1999; *Crocevia e capitale della migrazione artistica: forestieri a Bologna e bolognesi nel mondo (secoli XV–XVIII)*. Ed. by Sabine Frommel. Bologna, 2010. A critical survey of the historiography of this topic would be most welcome.

Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>6</sup> In the 1470s and 1480s, the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus invited various Italian masters to his court in Buda, some of them even mediated by Lorenzo il Magnifico.<sup>7</sup> Their main task was the transformation of the royal residence on the Buda Hill into a true *all'antica* residence comparable, for instance, to the ducal palace of Urbino (fig. 1).<sup>8</sup>



1. Capital from the palace of King Matthias Corvinus at Buda, c. 1480s. Budapest Történi Múzeum. Photo: Konrad Ottenheym

Chimenti Camici (his presence in Buda is mentioned by Vasari), Giovanni Dalmata, Tommaso Fiamberti, Giovanni Ricci and Gregorio di Lorenzo (a pupil of Desiderio da Settignano) were among the first masters to travel to

6 Bialostocki, Jan. *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe*. Ithaca (NY), Oxford, 1976; Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta. *Court, Cloister and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe 1450–1800*. London, 1995.

7 Matthias Corvinus, the King: *Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490*. Exh. Cat. Budapest History Museum. Ed. by Peter Farbaky et al. Budapest, 2008; Török, Gyöngyi. "Die Vermittlerrolle Ungarns in der mitteleuropäischen Renaissance". In: *Úsvit renesance na Moravě za vlády Matyáše Korvína a Vladislava Jagellonského (1479–1516) v širších souvislostech* (Historická Olomouc XVII). Ed. by Ivo Hlobil, Marek Perutka. Olomouc, 2009, 87–103.

8 Farbaky, Peter. "Chimenti Camici, a Florentine woodworker-architect, and the Early Renaissance reconstruction of the royal palace in Buda during the reign of Matthias Corvinus (ca. 1470–1490)". In: *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*. 50, 2006, 215–256.

Hungary. For some, the stay at the court in Buda was just a stepping stone for a career even further east. For instance, Ridolfo Aristotele Fioravanti from Bologna is documented to have travelled to Buda in 1468, and just a few years later, in 1475, he was invited to Moscow to construct the new Cathedral of the Dormition of the Virgin in the Kremlin.<sup>9</sup> He was followed by various other Italian architects, such as Marco Ruffo and Pietro Antonio



2. Alessandro Pasqualini.  
Tower of St Nicholas' Church,  
c. 1535,  
IJsselstein (The Netherlands).  
Photo: Konrad Ottenheim

Solari, who built the new banqueting hall of the Kremlin palace, the so called 'Faceted Palace', whose diamond-shaped rustica antedates Biago Rossetti's famous Palazzo dei Diamanti (1492) in Ferrara.<sup>10</sup>

Whereas in Buda and Moscow Italians were already responsible for prestigious architecture *all'antica* in the 1470s, the courts of Western Europe invited their first Italian architects in the early sixteenth century. Any survey of Renaissance architecture in Europe points to the important contribution

<sup>9</sup> Shvidkovsky, Dmitry. *Russian Architecture and the West*. New Haven–London, 2007, 80–91.

<sup>10</sup> Shvidkovsky 2007, 91–98. For earlier observations of Italian architecture by Russians, see: Rossi, Federica. "Italy in the view of the Russians at the Council of Ferrara and Florence in 1438–1439". In: *Architects without Borders: Migration of Architects and Architectural Ideas in Europe 1400–1700*. Ed. by Konrad Ottenheim. Mantova, 2014, 40–47.



of these artists to the development of an *all'antica* style outside Italy, such as Torrigiani's tomb for the English king Henry VII in Westminster Cathedral, Primaticcio's work at the French court of Fontainebleau and Paris, the marble courtyard imported from Genova in the castle of La Calahorra in Spain, Giulio Romano's contribution to the Residenz of Landshut (Bavaria), and Alessandro Pasqualini's citadel and palace in Jülich for the Duke of Guelders

3. Esteban de O Bray and  
Juan de Talavera.  
Entrance portal of  
the church of Santa María,  
1525, Catalayud (Spain).  
Photo: Konrad Ottenheim



and his tower of St Nicholas' church at IJsselstein (The Netherlands) (fig. 2). Notwithstanding the importance and high quality of these works, the exclusive focus on 'genius' Italian artists narrows the view on the phenomenon of migration of architects as such. It then seems that the roving careers of these artists were almost an exception, contrasting with 'traditional' sedentary building masters and craftsmen. In addition, artistic migration during the Renaissance then seems to be restricted to the Italian masters introducing *all'antica* architectural grammar and ornaments into the Gothic world north of the Alps. For a better understanding of how architectural ideas were transmitted during this period, it is essential to widen the view to artists from other countries who moved around Europe alongside the Italian masters. They too might have been





4. Nicolas Roy and Peter Flemishman. Falkland Palace, south wing, 1538–1542, Fife (Scotland).  
Photo: Konrad Ottenheym



5. Hans van Paeschen, Anthonis van Opbergen, Hans van Steenwinckel and others.  
Kronborg Castle, 1574–1586, Helsingør (Denmark). Photo: Konrad Ottenheym

invited by a local authority, or they might have been looking for new clients on their own initiative.

To mention just a few well-studied cases, in the sixteenth century there were well-established artistic connections between Normandy and Aragon, between France and Scotland, and between the Low Countries and Denmark.

In the 1510s the French cardinal Georges d'Amboise stimulated the creation of *all'antica* workshops in Normandy with the commission of his grand Chateau de Gaillon, attracting various highly skilled sculptors and masters of stone carving from Lombardy.<sup>11</sup> Later, several masters trained in Normandy travelled in search of new commissions to other parts of France and abroad to Aragon, where in 1525 Esteban de Obray from Normandy worked with Juan de Talavera on the magnificent and richly sculpted entrance portal of the church of Santa Maria de Catalayud (fig. 3).<sup>12</sup> We find important examples of close international connections also further north: in 1537–1541, the southern wing of Falkland Palace, one of the sixteenth-century residences of the Scottish king, was built by the French building master Nicolas Roy of Paris, assisted by the sculptor Peter Flemishman, apparently from the Low Countries (fig. 4).<sup>13</sup> In 1574 the Danish king Frederick II commissioned the complete reconstruction of his castle at Elsinore at the Sound and invited a whole team of building masters from the Low Countries, including Hans van Paeschen, Hans van Steenwinckel and the fortification engineer Anthonis van Opbergen (fig. 5).<sup>14</sup> The building site of Kronborg became a new hub for the dissemination of building masters from Germany and the Low Countries to the lands around the Baltic Sea, especially to the cities of Danzig/Gdańsk, Riga and Reval/Tallinn.

## QUANTIFYING MIGRATION OF EARLY MODERN BUILDING MASTERS

The numbers of emigrant artists in early modern Europe, their origins and their destinations demonstrate that the few well-studied Italians were just part of a much more complex international network. In 1986 the Belgian historian Wilfrid Brulez and his students published facts and figures on travelling artists in the early modern period,<sup>15</sup> based on one-third of all artists mentioned in Thieme-Becker's *Künstlerlexikon*.<sup>16</sup> Though Brulez's biased sources were rightly criticised (Thieme-Becker is based on older scholarly publications in which Italy, Germany and France are the best-studied regions, neglecting

11 *L'architecture de la Renaissance en Normandie*, 2 vols. Ed. by Bernard Beck et al. Caen, 2003.

12 Ibáñez Fernández, Javier. *La portada de Santa Maria de Catalayud. Estudio documental y artístico*. Catalayud: Centro de Estudios Bilbilitanos, 2012; Ibáñez Fernández, Javier. "Renaissance à la française dans le Quinientos aragonais". In: *Les échanges artistiques entre la France et l'Espagne (XV<sup>e</sup>-fin XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. Ed. by Julien Lugand. Perpignan, 2012, 55–81.

13 Dunbar, John G. "Some sixteenth-century French parallels for the Palace of Falkland". In: *Review of Scottish Culture*, 7, 1991, 3–8; McKean, Charles. *The Scottish Chateau: The Country House of Renaissance Scotland*. Stroud, 2001.

14 Johannsen, Hugo. "Stonemasons in Denmark from the reigns of Frederik II (1559–1588) and Christian IV (1588–1648). The Emergence and Antecedents of the Renaissance Portal". In: *Masters, Meanings & Models. Studies in the Art and Architecture of the Renaissance in Denmark: Essays published in Honour of Hugo Johannsen*. Ed. by Michael Andersen, Ebbe Nyborg, Mogens Vedso. Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark, 2010, 160–183.

15 Brulez, Wilfrid. *Cultuur en getal: aspecten van de relatie economie-maatschappij-cultuur in Europa tussen 1400 en 1800*. Amsterdam, 1986.

16 *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 37 vols. Started by Ulrich Thieme & Felix Becker. Leipzig, 1907–1950.

many other parts of Europe),<sup>17</sup> even today his research provides a general overview of artistic migration between c. 1400 and 1800. About 18% of the total of 80,000 artists were migrants, 15,000 persons altogether.<sup>18</sup> A closer look at the countries of origin shows that there was a complex network of multinational artistic exchange, in which the most prominent were those coming from German lands, the Low Countries, Italy and France:

**Artists migrating within Europe between 1400 and 1800, ordered by country of origin<sup>19</sup>**

Germany and Austria	25%
Low Countries	21.5%
Italy	19.7%
France	15.5%
Switzerland	3.7%
Spain	3.4%
England	3.3%
Others	7.9%

A closer look at the destinations of the four most important emigrant groups reveals the importance of the connections with Italy but also shows the multiplicity of other contacts that existed in early modern Europe:

**Destinations of migrating artists ordered by country of origin (left column), indicating the rate of all migrating artists from that country<sup>20</sup>**

	Italy	Germany	France	Low Countries	Spain	Austria	England	Other destinations
Germans	21.4		14.3	11	1.1	15	6.3	30.9%
Italians		17.6	22.8	4.4	13.9	12.6	7.6	21.1%
French	45.3	9.9		9.3	4.3	1.8	11.1	18.3%
Netherlanders	24.7	13.9	18.8		3.6	3.5	11	24.5%

Brulez also made an overview of the number of migrating artists divided into periods of 50 years, by year of birth. This figure, excerpted below, clearly shows that the Italians had the lead in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In

<sup>17</sup> Bok, Marten Jan. Review of W. Brulez's *Cultuur en getal, aspecten van de relatie economie-maatschappij-cultuur in Europa tussen 1400 en 1800*. In: *Simiolus*, 18, 1988, 63–68.

<sup>18</sup> Brulez 1986, 40.

<sup>19</sup> Brulez 1986, 40–41. This does not include 'national' migrations within Italy, France and Germany according to the current state borders (the use of modern nation-states as places of origin of artists of this period is one of the shortcomings of this study, admitted by Brulez himself).

<sup>20</sup> Excerpt from Brulez 1986, 42, fig. 9.

the sixteenth century, however, Italy was challenged in this position: from the late sixteenth century, the largest group came from the Low Countries, and from the late seventeenth century onward, the Germans and the French became the dominant groups.

**Total number of artists emigrating between 1400 and 1800, ordered by year of birth<sup>21</sup>**

	Germans and Austrians	Italians	French	Netherlanders
1400–1450	96	141	45	60
1450–1500	147	225	39	90
1500–1550	198	339	102	375
1550–1600	336	324	144	603
1600–1650	426	342	396	918
1650–1700	660	366	441	414
1700–1750	930	366	579	288

These numbers of travelling artists include all kinds of artists; among them, painters formed the largest group. According to Brulez, some 13% of all migrants were building masters. This figure might be biased because the lack of a clear-cut distinction between architecture and sculpture meant that architects could also be found among sculptors (16.5% of all migrants). Indeed, many sculptors, such as Cornelis Floris, Willem Boy and Philip Brandin, are documented to have designed micro-architecture as well as full-scale buildings.<sup>22</sup> Half of the sculptors may have been involved in building projects (a guess), which brings the number of artists connected with architecture up to about 20% of all migrating artists, or about 3,000 persons. The real number of travelling masters working in architecture must have been considerably higher because Brulez's research is certain to have missed an even greater group of lesser-known craftsmen that are not mentioned in Thieme-Becker.

These numbers, notwithstanding the biased sources they are based on, illustrate the international complexity of artistic exchange in the late medieval and early modern period. The geography of the exchange network also makes clear that the traditional model of a dominant cultural centre and a dependant periphery does not illuminate the phenomenon. As other scholars have vigorously argued in the last two decades, the idea of the

<sup>21</sup> Excerpt from the overview by Brulez 1986, 42, fig. 8. His numbers are tripled here since Brulez investigated one third of all artists in Thieme-Becker.

<sup>22</sup> Ottenheim, Konrad. "Sculptors' Architecture. The International Scope of Cornelis Floris and Hendrick de Keyser". In: Ottenheim & De Jonge 2013, 102–127.

Renaissance as a single style based on the art and architecture of Rome and Florence, a style imitated on various levels of artistic quality elsewhere in Italy and Europe, obscures the true, pluralistic character of the search for *all'antica* architecture.<sup>23</sup> Though the Italian artists were very important in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Europe had other centres of innovation too, with other examples of antique architecture, other interpretations of antique texts and other ideas about the appropriate style in architecture. Artists originating from Florence, Venice or Lombardy and working abroad did not create mere copies of examples they knew from home. The same is true of Antwerp or Amsterdam in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Northern Europe. By introducing new architectural language in other parts of Northern and Central Europe, building masters and sculptors from those regions also contributed to the changes in local art and architecture and so became part of new cultural centres. In consequence, designs by masters from the Low Countries in Denmark, Sweden or the Baltic area are also not straight copies of buildings of Antwerp or Amsterdam. Migrating masters became part of local artistic networks abroad, not merely copying models from home but integrating their knowledge and adapting it to the local traditions and demands.

## MIGRATING BUILDING MASTERS FROM THE LOW COUNTRIES

The aforementioned statistics regarded merely one aspect of mobility among many. Indeed, the migration of building masters is most evident. However, architectural practices travelled in other, more indirect ways as well, as the example of the diffusion of Netherlandish architecture and architectural ideas during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may demonstrate. Thus, the direct transmission of Netherlandish architecture by actual migration as described above should be distinguished from the more indirect transmission achieved through working with models from the Low Countries. Both foreign artists who had received some training in the Low Countries and those who knew the Netherlandish models from printed sources only, could be influenced by Netherlandish architecture. In the past, research questions have been limited because they centred on naming the architects of important buildings. Past research has especially focused on finding well-known names in an effort to create new art heroes. Today, the main question is not *who*

23 Castelnuevo, Enrico & Carlo Ginzburg. "Centre and Periphery". In: *History of Italian Art*, vol. 1. Ed. by Peter Burke. Cambridge, 1994, 29–112; *Reframing the Renaissance*. Ed. by Claire Farago. New Haven–London, 1995; Guillaume, Jean. "Avant-propos: Renaissance ou Renaissances?". In: *L'invention de la Renaissance. La réception des formes 'à l'antique' au début de la Renaissance* (De Architectura 9). Paris, 2003, 7–8; Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta. *Toward a Geography of Art*. Chicago–London, 2004; Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta. "Acculturation, Transculturation, Cultural Difference and Diffusion: Assessing the Assimilation of the Renaissance". In: *Unity and Discontinuity. Architectural Relations between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1530–1700* (Architectura Moderna 5). Ed. by Krista De Jonge & Konrad Ottenheym. Turnhout, 2007, 339–349.



served as architect of a particular building, but *how* the Netherlandish sources were introduced and adapted.

In 2013 the results of a joint research project of architectural historians of the universities of Leuven (Belgium) and Utrecht (The Netherlands) and various colleagues from elsewhere were published. This book, *The Low Countries at the Crossroads: Netherlandish Architecture as an Export Product in Early Modern Europe (1480–1680)*, focuses on the mechanisms of diffusion of architectural ideas from the Low Countries to other parts of Europe.<sup>24</sup> It doesn't make sense to try to summarise this volume at full length. Instead, here I will just highlight some of its headlines.

Along with study visits of foreign architects to the Low Countries, the role of printed sources and of course the international networks of patrons, especially of the nobility and commercial magnates, migration of Netherlandish architects and sculptors is one of the important ways in which artistic knowledge spread. It illustrates the reasons for artistic emigration, which can be grouped in three categories. First are the 'push' factors that made people leave their homeland, such as the threat of war or an overcrowded art market at home. Second are the 'pull' factors, such as the attraction of new patrons and possibilities of a successful career abroad, both on invitation and on private initiative. The third kind of reasons for leaving home (perhaps not for emigration in a proper sense) are the educational travels, undertaken either as a compulsory part of the guild system or by the will of an important patron who needed an architect at home with international taste and experience, or even by the artists' own choice.

## MIGRATING ON INVITATION

Regarding the various mechanisms diffusing Netherlandish architects and architectural ideas in other parts of Europe, there is a prime role of the foreign patrons, their relationships to the Low Countries and amongst themselves, and some of their major commissions.<sup>25</sup> Artists profited from the many interwoven personal and political connections of their patrons. Once invited and established in a court position abroad, artists also received commissions from the patron's family members as well as from his peers at other courts. For example, the histories of migrating Netherlandish artists in the sixteenth century illustrated this kind of exchange between the courts of Copenhagen, Königsberg and Mecklenburg, as well as the mobility

24 *The Low Countries at the Crossroads: Netherlandish Architecture as an Export Product in Early Modern Europe (1480–1680)* (Architectura Moderna 8). Ed. by Konrad Ottenheim & Krista De Jonge. Turnhout, 2013. In the same year an international volume on the migration of Netherlandish painters and sculptors was published: *Art and Migration: Netherlandish Artists on the Move, 1400–1750*. Ed. by Frits Scholten, Joanna Woodall, Dulcia Meijers. *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 63, 2013.

25 See also: Scholten, Frits & Joanna Woodall. "Netherlandish Artists on the Move". In: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 63, 2013, 6–39; Koomen, Arjan de. "Una cosa non meno maravigliosa che honorata: The expansion of Netherlandish sculptors in sixteenth-century Europe". In: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 63, 2013, 82–109; Kavalier, Ethan Matt. "The diaspora of Netherlandish sculptors in the second half of the sixteenth century". In: Ottenheim & De Jonge 2013, 89–101.

between various courts in central Germany. Invitations to Netherlandish sculptor-architects mainly involved isolated objects like funeral monuments. Epitaphs and royal tombs were pieces of micro architecture not too distant from ‘real’ building elements such as chimneypieces, entrance gates, window frames, staircases and rood lofts. Such ‘architectural pieces’ could elegantly enhance even crude residential buildings. The prestige of such monuments influenced the development of architecture in the region, as did the few



6. Justus Vingboons. Façade of Riddarhus, the parliament building of the Swedish nobility, 1653–1656, Stockholm. Photo: Konrad Ottenheym

real building sites dominated by architects from the Low Countries, such as Kronborg in Denmark (1574–1586), the modernisation of the Tre Kronor, the royal palace in Stockholm (between 1577 and first half of the seventeenth century), and the Riddarhus, also in Stockholm (1650s, fig. 6). The size and complexity of these projects attracted experienced craftsmen, who by default created genuine epicentres of Netherlandish architecture abroad. Simultaneously, these Netherlandish building masters and stonemasons also received commissions from local noblemen for smaller projects that further stimulated the diffusion of the Netherlandish architectural vocabulary in the region.

Some of these foreign rulers engaged intermediaries as cultural agents who advertised and selected artists in the Low Countries, such as Jakob Binck (1500–1568), court painter in Copenhagen since 1546, who introduced the work of

Cornelis Floris to the courts of the King of Denmark (the tomb for Frederick I in Schleswig) and the Duke of Prussia (the epitaph of Duchess Dorothea in Königsberg).<sup>26</sup> These two funeral monuments introduced Cornelis Floris's qualities to the leading circles around the Baltic Sea. Other commissions followed. Later important agents, central to artistic connections between the Scandinavian-Baltic region and the Low Countries were Pieter Isaacs (1568–1625)<sup>27</sup>, Dirk Roodenburg (c. 1570–1644), who was in contact with Hendrick de Keyser's studio in Amsterdam,<sup>28</sup> and Peter Trotzig (1613–1679), who negotiated with the Amsterdam architect Justus Vingboons regarding the work on the Riddarhus,<sup>29</sup> to name just a few.

Cornelis Floris himself did not travel. The prestigious monuments were created in Antwerp. Complicated funeral monuments were packed in wooden crates and shipped in pieces. These shipments were accompanied by a skilled journeyman who knew how to put the pieces together correctly, could repair the damage caused during the transportation, and could produce on site the monument's foundation using local stone. This practice continued over decades but became less reliable in the late 1560s, when the political and economic situation in the Low Countries changed dramatically and people began seeking new opportunities abroad. Several of Cornelis Floris's assistants who were sent abroad did not return after their work was finished. Instead, they tried to begin new careers with a 'Cornelis Floris look-alike workshop', such as Willem van den Blocke, who moved to Gdańsk after his job for Cornelis Floris in Königsberg was finished.<sup>30</sup> Gert van Egen, who supervised the installation of Floris's royal funeral monument in Roskilde, was invited by the Danish king to stay. He became the sculptor to the court in Copenhagen.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to these artists, who were sent abroad to accompany Cornelis Floris's work but never returned, other workshop co-operators left Antwerp because they accepted commissions personally offered to them. In most cases, becoming a successful artist at a foreign court meant being more than just a capable sculptor because genuine art commissions were rare. The ability to design buildings and fortifications and supervise their construction was

26 Binck's letters are published by Hermann Ehrenberg in: *Die Kunst am Hofe der Herzöge von Preussen*. Leipzig–Berlin, 1899; also quoted in: Roggen, Domien & Jan Withof. "Cornelis Floris". In: *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, 8, 1942, 79–171.

27 *Pieter Isaacs (1568–1625). Court Painter, Art Dealer and Spy*. Ed. by Badeloch Noldus & Juliette Roding. Turnhout, 2007.

28 Worp, J. A. "Dirk Rodenburg". In: *Oud Holland* 13 (1895), 65–90, 143–173, 209–237.

29 Noldus, Badeloch. *Trade in Good Taste. Relations in Architecture and Culture between the Dutch Republic and the Baltic World in the Seventeenth Century* (Architectura Moderna 2). Turnhout: Brepols, 2004, 111–119.

30 Skibiński, Franciszek. *Willem van den Blocke. A Sculptor from the Low Countries in the Baltic Region*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2021, 37–79.

31 Johannsen, Hugo. "Dignity and Dynasty. On the history and meaning of the royal funeral monuments for Christian III, Frederik II and Christian IV in the cathedral of Roskilde". In: Andersen et al. 2010, 117–149; Johannsen, Hugo. "Stonemasons in Denmark from the reigns of Frederik II (1559–1588) and Christian IV (1588–1648). The emergence and antecedents of the Renaissance portal". In: Andersen et al. 2010, 160–83 (169).

necessary as well. For example, the contract for the new court artist at Kassel in 1577 explained that his duties were 'to direct a building site, to demolish, to design, to sculpt, and to work in plaster as well as trass mortar'.<sup>32</sup> Apparently, the journeymen of Cornelis Floris's workshop possessed a good reputation that gave them the opportunity to start their own careers abroad.

## MIGRATION WITHOUT INVITATION

While numerous architects and sculptors from the Low Countries were summoned by cultural agents, others who were seeking employment opportunities abroad emigrated without any formal invitation. In most cases, the former life at home of these travelling artists and the individual reasons for their emigration remain unknown. Often, the migration of artists has been mentioned only incidentally in the sources, with their eventual successes or failures abroad left undocumented. Generally, only those who began new workshops or joined guilds appear in the archival documents.

The routes chosen by various masters differed, yet a general pattern can be discerned. Those who were not invited by a court initially moved to a larger city, like Norwich, London, Emden or Hamburg, that enjoyed good connections with the Low Countries. Some artists found professional opportunities in these cities and stayed. Naturally, not all refugees could be employed in the closest cities. After a temporary stay, most immigrants moved further on to, for example, the Netherlandish community in Elsinore at the Sound, or further east to Gdańsk or Riga.<sup>33</sup> Emigrants from the Low Countries found these free cities more attractive than the Scandinavian cities of Copenhagen and Stockholm. While the reasons for this preference were not documented, perhaps both capital cities were reluctant to receive foreign craftsmen without royal invitation. Whatever the case, major mercantile cities like Hamburg, Gdańsk and Riga had the advantage of not being dominated by a single court. Instead, patricians and prosperous merchants offered a broader circle of future clients to migrating artists. In the last decades of the sixteenth century, the stream of Netherlandish artists emigrating to Gdańsk increased when the Vroom and Van der Meer families arrived from the southern Low Countries (and Van den Blocke from Königsberg). They assumed various functions within the city's building team and founded genuine dynasties of sculptors, stonemasons and architects that would dominate the city's architecture for the next century.<sup>34</sup>

32 "... mit Bauen anzugeben, abzureissen, Visierungen zu stellen, bildhauen, Gips auszuschneiden, Estrich zu schlagen, im Trass zu arbeiten"; contract with Willem Vernukken, 1 May 1577 (Marburg Staatsarchiv), quoted in: Kramm, Walter. "Die beiden ersten Kassler Hofbildhauerwerkstätten im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert". In: *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 8–9, 1936, 362.

33 Tonnesen, Allan. *Helsingørs udenlandske borgere og indbyggere ca. 1550–1600* (Byhistoriske Skrifter 3). Ringe: Misteltenen, 1985.

34 Tylicki, Jacek. "The Van den Blocke family in Gdańsk and in Central Europe". In: Ottenheim & De Jonge 2013, 142–157; Skibiński 2021.



Little is known about the international mobility of ordinary craftsmen from the Low Countries, the probable difficulties inherent to becoming a member of the local guild, and the struggles associated with working in local building teams. For architects, especially in comparison to painters and sculptors, employment in a foreign country was nearly impossible without a network of patrons, family members, traders in stone and wood, and a reliable team of craftsmen. Acceptance came only with extraordinary qualities that attracted the attention of the new patrons. Therefore, architects promoted themselves as specialists in a new style, or as experts in disciplines related to architecture, such as water engineering, military engineering or stone trading.

## FAMILY NETWORKS

Artists who had gained prominent positions abroad became anchors to the newly arrived countrymen. Stonemasons and building masters in the Low Countries traditionally operated in family clans, and some of them successfully maintained their close ties abroad whilst living and working in Northern Europe, especially along the route of Mechelen–Denmark–Gdańsk.<sup>35</sup> This might explain the professional success of some of these families such as the Van Duerne/Doren, van den Blocke, Van Egen and Van Opbergen. They all earned their money as sculptors, architects, fortification engineers and stone traders, thus keeping control of the shipping and delivery of their building materials as well as securing the best training for their sons by sending them as journeymen to related workshops.

In addition to the connections between Netherlandish workshops abroad, many of these families also maintained contact with their home country. Families sent their sons as apprentices or journeymen to relatives in the southern or northern Low Countries, or to other renowned masters. Thus, the second or even third generation of emigrants, who were often born abroad, became acquainted with their (grand)fathers' homeland and its art and architecture. The travels of Jacob van den Blocke (1577–1653), for instance, are well documented.<sup>36</sup> He was born in 1577 in Königsberg (Prussia) as the son of Willem van den Blocke. He was trained as a carpenter and in 1588, at the age of eleven, he travelled to Emden to work with a German master carpenter for four years. In 1592 he returned to Gdańsk, and during his journey years from 1595 to 1600 he travelled to Holland, Copenhagen, Königsberg and Elbląg. When he returned to Gdańsk in 1600, he was accepted as a master in the guild. Even the third generation of the van den Blocke family stayed in contact with the Low Countries by completing their professional training

35 Skibiński, Franciszek. "Early-modern Netherlandish Sculptors in Danzig and East-Central Europe: A Study in Dissemination through Interrelation and Workshop Practice". In: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 63, 2013, 110–135; Skibiński, Franciszek. "The expansion of Gdańsk and the rise of taste for Netherlandish sculpture in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the sixteenth and seventeenth century". In: Ottenheym & De Jonge 2013, 158–176.

36 Cuny, Georg. *Danzigs Kunst und Kultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1: *Baugeschichtliches. Danzigs Künstler mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der beiden Andreas Schlüter*. Frankfurt am Main, 1910, 49–50.



in Holland. In 1634 Jacob van den Blocke the Younger sailed from Gdańsk to Amsterdam where he expected to train as a carpenter; unfortunately, he died on the voyage.<sup>37</sup> The final phase of the education of Hans and Laurens van Steenwinckel was comparable. After their father Hans the Elder, the Danish Royal Building Master, died in 1600, the brothers were sent abroad for several years with royal permission, before they were qualified to take over their father's position. During this period, they stayed in Holland for some time, presumably also in Hendrick de Keyser's workshop.<sup>38</sup>

## REASONS FOR SUCCESS ABROAD

The reasons for the success of the Netherlandish stonemasons, sculptors and architects abroad are hard to define. Most often a conjunction of different factors rather than a single cause will have been at play. Among these were definitely the availability of precious building materials as well as the logistics and infrastructure of the workshops. These together must have resulted in a competitive power to be reckoned with, the cornerstone upon which the fame of the Netherlandish workshops within international circles of ruling nobility and civic elites abroad was based.

In 1563, Cornelis Floris mentioned in a letter two major problems in daily workshop practice that might cause delay in finishing the commissions: availability of good quality stone and the absence of competent assistants.<sup>39</sup> Artists working elsewhere in Europe would have encountered the same problems. Delivering precious commissions in due time was important for gaining favour at foreign courts. In order to comply with the time schedule of production, it was necessary to secure both the availability of raw materials, especially of stone, and the contribution of capable journeymen and assistants. For the latter, family members were the most reliable source; for the former, a close connection to the stone trade network was essential.

Thus, the availability of stone must have been another key to success. In the plains of northern Germany, northern Poland and the Baltic region, all stone had to be imported and connections to quarries or with the established stone traders were essential for success. In Sweden and Denmark, sandstone and granite were available locally, but this was not what was wanted for more prestigious commissions. From the mid-sixteenth century onwards, the combined use of black, red and white marble was regarded as a clear reference to Roman antiquity and to imperial/royal prestige. As a result, these precious materials gained enormous popularity among the highest class of patrons of architecture and micro architecture, such as tombs and rood lofts. In Northern

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<sup>37</sup> Cuny 1910, 50.

<sup>38</sup> Johannsen, Hugo. "The Steenwinckels: the success story of a Netherlandish immigrant family in Denmark". In: Ottenheim & De Jonge 2013, 128–141.

<sup>39</sup> Letter of 19 september 1563 (Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief), published at full length in: Huysmans, Antoinette & Jan Van Damme, Carl Van de Velde, Christine Van Mulders. *Cornelis Floris 1514–1575: beeldhouwer, architect, ontwerper*. Brussels, 1996, 245–246.

Europe, the epicentre for the quarrying and trading of these marble-like stones was situated in the southern Low Countries (even for those works designed and supervised by Italians, for instance, the funeral chapels in Freiberg and Vilnius).

Cornelis Floris and former assistants from his workshops took the lead in the design and production of these sumptuous architectural structures and their accompanying sculptures. Their logistics, with better connections to the quarries and better control of the sea transport, must have outreached those of their Italian competitors working in Northern Europe. Both those who were invited by a ruler or member of the high nobility and those settling abroad on their own initiative, maintained connections with colleagues and family at home. These networks were kept alive over several generations. For sculptors of funerary monuments, it was essential to keep in touch with the traders in red and black marble from the southern Low Countries, one of the backbones of their success. This may be one of the major reasons why Netherlandish artists were mostly working at places that were in contact with the sea. It was only in places like Cracow and Lviv,<sup>40</sup> where local quarries with stone of comparable quality were to be found, that Netherlandish building masters and sculptors could establish a career independent from the logistic lifeline with the Low Countries.

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<sup>40</sup> See, for instance: Lipińska, Aleksandra. "Eastern Outpost: The Sculptors Herman Van Hutte and Hendrik Horst in Lviv c. 1560–1610". In: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 63, 2013, 136–169.

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# THE PRE-MIGRATION PHASE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE MIGRATION OF FOREIGN ARTISTS WORKING AT THE TUDOR AND JACOBEOAN COURTS IN LONDON (1485–1642)

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## SUMMARY

This article explores the period before the act of migration, here called the pre-migration phase. It is examining foreign artists working at the Tudor and Jacobean courts in London between the coronation of King Henry VII in 1485 and the start of the first English Civil War in 1642. The study of the pre-migration phase is essential to answer the question why some artists came to London and why some of them left.

The analysis is based upon the Artist-Migration-Model (AMM, Wagner 2017), which distinguishes between voluntary and coerced migration. The voluntary group includes artists that were already fully established in their home countries, such as Hans Holbein or Anthony van Dyck, and who used their short- or long-term stay at the royal court as a stepping stone to advance their careers. The unusually rich source material for Pietro Torrigiano is used to analyse not only external factors for migration but also how much character traits impacted on the artist's career. Despite his personal flaws, Torrigiano emerges as an expensive and highly reliable artist, vouched for by fellow countrymen with enormous amounts of money.

The role of politically motivated migration is stressed with great urgency as the coming and going of the creative workforce was highly affected by the political situation in mainland Europe as well as in England, particularly during the Civil War. Here the focus is on Cornelis Ketel, child migrant Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, Hans Eworth and Cornelius Johnson. Transcultural networks and community spirit are of enormous importance, as well as the need for artists to position themselves as outsiders in a positive light and adapt to new working and living environments in an efficient and pragmatic way.

The motivations of human migration are often complicated and multifaceted and can be influenced by external as well as personal factors. The analysis of the movement of early modern artists is furthermore a challenging endeavour because of fragmentary documentation and a common lack of archival material. However, in order to fully understand an artist's migration history, a holistic approach is necessary that takes into consideration the complexity of each biography. The introduction of the Artist-Migration-Model (AMM) in 2017 was an attempt to tackle this intricacy, albeit it was done in the full knowledge that a schematic translation is not entirely free of defects.<sup>1</sup>

The analysis of the pre-migration phase and the conditions, motivations and reasons behind any short- or long-term movement is essential for the understanding of each unique artistic personality. To conduct this enquiry, I will discuss early modern European artists that were active at the Tudor and Jacobean courts in London between 1485 and 1642. The start of this period is marked by the coronation of King Henry VII and its end by Charles I's departure from London at the start of the English Civil War.

I will analyse voluntary movement to England through the example of Pietro Torrigiano, and from England by looking at Cornelis Ketel. The phenomenon of child migration will be examined through the case study of Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. Forced adult migration is going to be investigated by looking at the examples of Hans Eworth (to England) and Cornelius Johnson (from England).

The role of politically motivated migration will become apparent and needs stressing with great urgency. This applies not only to those arriving in England but also to artists forced to return to continental Europe, particularly during the English Civil War.

## THE ARTIST-MIGRATION-MODEL AND ITS RELEVANCE

The AMM was first introduced in 2017 as an attempt to capture, categorise, compare and contrast individual migration histories of artists in order to draw conclusions regarding more general trends (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> For example, when looking at a selected representative group of European artists through the lens of the AMM, we can state that a majority – predating the industrial revolution – left their place of origin voluntarily with the aim of improving artistic skills or because of financial circumstances.<sup>3</sup> Those individuals can be considered as part of the circulating elites.<sup>4</sup>

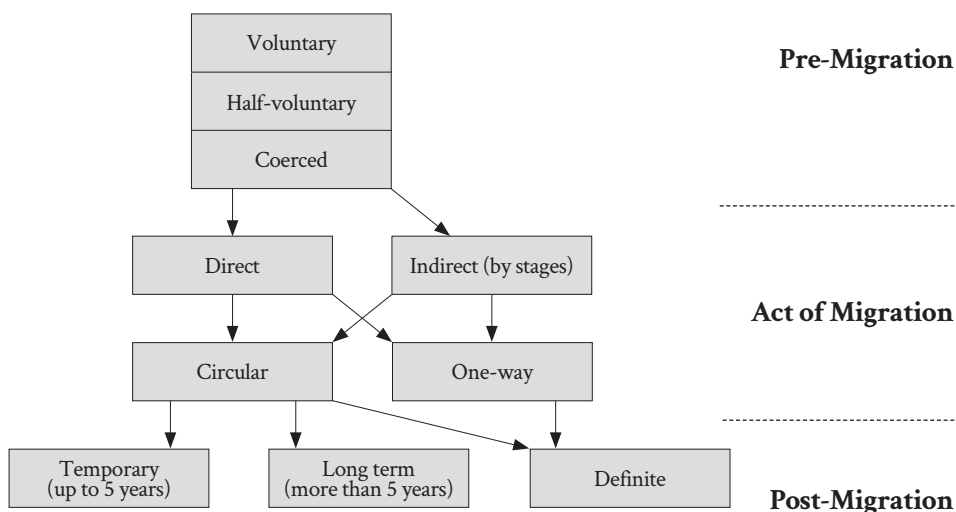
1 Wagner, Kathrin. "The Migrant Artist in Early Modern Times". In: *Artists and Migration 1400–1850. Britain, Europe and beyond*. Ed. by Kathrin Wagner, Jessica David and Matej Klemenčič. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017, 2–20.

2 Wagner 2017, 5–6.

3 Wagner 2017, 17.

4 The term 'zirkulierende Elite' was used by Schwings, Rainer Christoph. *Deutsche Universitätsbesucher im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1986; *History of the University in Europe*, 2 vols. Ed. by Walter Rugg. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011; Hahn, Silvia. *Historische Migrationsforschung*. Frankfurt a. M.–New York: Campus, 2012.

Sabrina Lind suggests that ‘journey’ needs to be distinguished more clearly from the term ‘temporary migration’.<sup>5</sup> However, she agrees with Silvia Hahn that we can call it ‘migration’ when the person travelling gives up their place of residence to look for a new one; she also states that it is often difficult to find evidence due to the previously mentioned issue of a lack of primary and archival sources.<sup>6</sup> Outlining this empirical-evidence-conundrum of early modern migration research is important and necessary. However, it needs to be raised in a wider discussion about the relevance of theoretical models in the humanities and social sciences, where hard factual evidence is often lacking in discussing



1. Kathrin Wagner. Artists-Migration-Model, 2017

the early modern period. The question then arises whether models such as the AMM should be omitted altogether, or used to draw relevant conclusions while openly acknowledging their flaws and imperfections. The latter approach will be taken in this text.

The circumstances of the pre-migration period require close inspection as they set the framework for any movement that is to follow. As outlined in the AMM, they can be categorised as voluntary, half-voluntary and coerced. These conditions affect the actual undertaking of the act of migration and how it is conducted (direct, indirect, circular or one-way). An insight into the motivation of artists leaving their original places of residence is also paramount to the understanding of their later retention. The AMM was devised to investigate early modern artists, sculptors and architects but, in fact, could be used to analyse any migration movement, whether taking place five hundred years ago or today.

<sup>5</sup> Lind, Sabrina. “Review of Kathrin Wagner, Jessica David and Matej Klemenčič (eds.) *Artists and Migration 1400–1850. Britain, Europe and beyond*”. In: *Journal für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 24, no. 2, 2020, 164–169.

<sup>6</sup> Lind 2020, 168.

## THE TUDOR AND JACOBEOAN COURTS AND MIGRATION OF FOREIGN ARTISTS

During the period relevant to this discussion – 1485 to 1642 – the Tudor and Jacobean courts were dominated by foreign artists. As one would expect, this dominance, and the consequent lack of employment for native artists, was widely criticised. In 1531, five years after Holbein's first arrival, Sir Thomas Elyot complained that 'in the said artes englisshmen be inferiors to all other people, and be constrayned, if we wyll have any thinge well paynted, kerved, or embrawdred, to abandon our own countraymen and resort unto straungers'.<sup>7</sup> A century later, Henry Peacham in his *Treatise on Drawing and Limning* (1634) expressed a similar discontent. 'I am sorry that our courtiers and great personages must seek far and near for some Dutchmen or Italian to draw their pictures, our Englishmen being held for Vauniens'.<sup>8</sup> Christopher Brown described the deeply divided artistic landscape in England as 'effectively a two-tier system of artistic patronage in operation, with the court favouring foreign, especially Netherlandish, artists and less socially elevated patrons having their portraits painted by native artists'.<sup>9</sup>

Although England attracted foreign artists also from Germany, Italy and France, the most important axis between London and the European continent was with the Low Countries, mainly Antwerp. Wool was England's main export to Flanders, and English merchants commissioned portraits and religious paintings while in the region. The link between these two countries grew stronger after Henry VIII declared himself Supreme Head of the Church in England in 1534 and the protestantisation of the country was in full flow. The Revolt of the Netherlands, starting in the 1560s, had a devastating impact on the demand for artworks in the region and many artists from the Low Countries, encouraged by proximity and request, made their way to England.

## VOLUNTARY MIGRATION

A lack of reliable source material is often the reason why we are not able to fully reconstruct the movements of artists and their motivations. The case of Pietro Torrigiano (1472–1528) is particularly interesting as it provides sufficient evidence to reconstruct both his migration story and motivation. Torrigiano arrived in London as early as 1507, when he is assumed to have modelled a bust of Mary Tudor for her proposed marriage with Charles I (later Emperor Charles V).<sup>10</sup>

7 Sir Thomas Elyot: *The Boke Named the Governor*. Ed. by Henry Croft, 1888, 1, 140. URL: [https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=L51OHEai8K4C&hl=en\\_GB&pg=GBS.PP1](https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=L51OHEai8K4C&hl=en_GB&pg=GBS.PP1) (12.3.2021).

8 Quoted in: Gerson, Horst. *Ausbreitung und Nachwirkung der holländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Amsterdam: B.M. Israël, 1983 (first edition 1942), 369.

9 Brown, Christopher. "British Painting and the Low Countries 1530–1630". In: *Dynasties. Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630*. Ed. by Karen Hearn. London: Tate Publishing, 1995, 31.

10 Darr, Alan. "Pietro Torrigiano". *Grove Art Online*, 2003. URL: <https://www-oxfordartonline-com.ezproxy.hope.ac.uk/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-700008573?rskey=GAoU8W> (15.3.2021).

It is not often possible to draw conclusions about the character traits of early modern artists, but Torrigiano was notorious for his bad temper and uncontrolled anger, which Giorgio Vasari describes in the *Lives of the Artists*.<sup>11</sup>

[He] was not only powerful in person, and proud and fearless in spirit, but also by nature so overbearing and choleric, that he was for ever tyrannizing over all the others both with words and deeds.<sup>12</sup>

But the most important event, leading to Torrigiano's departure from Florence, was an argument with Michelangelo, resulting in serious injury. The exact date is not documented, but we can assume that it took place around 1497.

He had a particular hatred for Michelangelo, for no other reason than that he saw him attending zealously to the study of art, and knew that he used to draw in the secret at his own house by night and on feast days, so that he came to succeed better in the garden [of San Marco] than all the others and was therefore much favoured by Lorenzo the Magnificent. Wherefore, moved by bitter envy, Torrigiano was always seeking to affront him, both in word and deed; and one day, having come to blows, Torrigiano struck Michelangelo so hard on the nose with his fist, that he broke it, insomuch that Michelangelo had his nose flattened for the rest of his life. This matter becoming known to Lorenzo, he was so enraged that Torrigiano, if he had not fled from Florence, would have suffered some heavy punishment.<sup>13</sup>

Following the attack, probably in 1498, Torrigiano moved to Rome, where he completed a number of stucco works and other smaller pieces. Over the next few years, the artist joined several armies. According to Vasari, he fought for Cesare Borgia in the war against Romagna (1499–1500), for Paolo Vitelli in the war with Pisa (1499) and for Piero de' Medici in the Battle of Garigliano (1503).<sup>14</sup> A marble statue of St Francis for the Piccolomini altar in Siena cathedral, made in 1501 by 'Pietro Turrisani', is the earliest documented work.<sup>15</sup> It is assumed that Piccolomini, Cardinal Protector of England up until his election as Pope Pius III in 1503, was instrumental in securing Torrigiano's later appointment at the English court.<sup>16</sup> But before moving to England, Torrigiano travelled regularly between Florence, Bologna and Rome, to the Marche and Romagna and even to Avignon.<sup>17</sup> Archival evidence proves that the artist was employed by Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Netherlands

11 Vasari, Giorgio. "Torrighiano scultor fiorentino". In: *Vite*, vol. 2, 1568. Scuola Normale Superiore. URL: <http://vasari.sns.it/vasari/consultazione/Vasari/indice.html> (15.3.2021).

12 I used the Gaston du C. de Vere version for the English translation: Vasari, Giorgio. "Life of Torrigiano. Sculptor of Florence". In: *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, 1913. URL: [https://www.gutenberg.org/files/28420/28420-h/28420-h.htm#Page\\_181](https://www.gutenberg.org/files/28420/28420-h/28420-h.htm#Page_181) (15.3.2021).

13 Vasari 1913.

14 Vasari 1913.

15 Darr 2003.

16 Darr 2003.

17 Darr 2003.



in 1509–1510. Once in England, documents show that Torrigiano was well established among Florentine merchants. Both Bernardo Bardi and Girolamo Migiotto each paid him a monthly salary and in January and February 1515 (modern style 1516), the artist even lodged with two servants in Bardi's house.<sup>18</sup>

His first fully documented work in England is the tomb of Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII. The surviving contract is dated 1511 and shows that the Florentine merchants Leonard Fristobald (Leonardo Fristobaldi) and John Cawalcant (Giovanni Cavalcanti) posted a bond of five hundred pounds sterling, guaranteeing Torrigiano's completion of the work.<sup>19</sup>

There is every reason to believe that Torrigiano's work in London was greatly admired and that he was regarded as trustworthy. In 1512 Henry VIII commissioned the artist to design and execute the tombs of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York in Westminster Abbey for the sum of £1,500 sterling.<sup>20</sup> Several other prestigious commissions followed, such as the High Altar in Henry VII's chapel for £1,000 and the monumental tomb for Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon in 1519. In need of assistants, Torrigiano returned to Italy in 1519 to contract other artists, among them Antonio Toto del Nunziata, Antonio di Piergiovanni di Lorenzo da Settignano and Benedetto Rovezzano. The marital tomb was never executed, most likely due to Henry's loss of interest in his first wife. Torrigiano moved to Spain in the early 1520s, where he was again very active. Documents referring to his widow show that he died in 1528.<sup>21</sup> According to Vasari, but otherwise unsubstantiated, Torrigiano was imprisoned for destroying a terracotta statue of the Virgin and starved himself to death in protest.<sup>22</sup>

But what does all of this tell us about the pre-migration phase and Torrigiano's character traits that might have led to his migration to England? We know that the artist was obstreperous, prone to regular violent outbursts, which probably caused him to move often. His army record further suggests an adventurous nature and, quite possibly, a constant need for money. However, despite these personality issues, we can assume that he had an outstanding professional reputation and network, and his many contacts included fellow artists, patrons and commissioners. The large amounts of money he was paid for commissions and the underwriting of Florentine merchants indicate that his reputation and reliability were not affected by the difficulties of character. When he moved to England, he probably did so voluntarily and was supported by influential men like Cardinal Piccolomini and Cardinal Wolsey. Thanks to the detailed documentation of Torrigiano's life, we are provided with an

18 Darr, Alan. "New Documents for Pietro Torrigiani and Other Early Cinquecento Florentine Sculptors Active in Italy and England". In: *Kunst des Cinquecento in der Toskana*. Ed. by Monika Cämmerer. Munich: Bruckmann, 1992, 108–138.

19 Sicca, Cinzia. "Vasari's Vite and Italian artists in sixteenth-century England". In: *Journal of Art Historiography*, no. 9, December 2013. URL: <https://core.ac.uk/reader/80254070> (20.3.2021).

20 Darr 2003.

21 Darr 2003.

22 Vasari 1913.

extraordinary example of an early modern artist whose wanderlust resulted in a migrational movement that included long-term stopovers all over Europe.

The voluntary return is illustrated through the example of Cornelis Ketel (1548–1616). Ketel was a friend of Karel van Mander who wrote about him extensively in *Het Schilder-Boek* (originally published in 1604). He spent parts of his early career in Paris and Fontainebleau.<sup>23</sup> But while on his way to Italy in 1567, he was forced by a French decree to return to his hometown of Gouda. The unstable political situation in Holland and the lack of commissions forced Ketel to reassess both his work prospects and domicile. In 1573, he lodged with a family friend in London, married, had children and pursued a successful career in portraiture in England. Following in the tradition of Hans Holbein, Ketel even painted a rare portrait of Queen Elizabeth: ‘conterfeytte Ketel de Coninginne van Engelandt nae t’leven’.<sup>24</sup>

But the most interesting period of Ketel’s life, for our purposes, is the phase that led to his return to continental Europe (Amsterdam) in 1581.<sup>25</sup> Personal as well as professional reasons may have contributed to the decision to leave England for good, despite his success as a portraitist. According to some authors, such as To Schulting and Karen Hearn, Ketel was unable to secure commissions on the English market for his large and complex allegorical paintings.<sup>26</sup> These were much more appreciated in Holland, especially by the rising burgher elite. Not many of Ketel’s allegories have survived, but there is sufficient evidence in van Mander’s text to acknowledge their existence. A portrait of a man of the Wachendorf Family (1574) that Ketel made for a member of the German Hanseatic League community in London, illustrates the integration of an allegory on the back of a circular portrait.<sup>27</sup>

It is also possible that some devastating personal losses in the 1570s contributed to Ketel’s decision to return to the continent. After his marriage in 1574 to Aeltje Gerritsdr, also from Gouda, the couple had three children who were baptised in London. The first child (Gedeon) died in 1579 at the age of three; the other two children, Ezechiell (b. 1578) and Eve (b. 1579), are recorded as dead in February 1595.<sup>28</sup> Whether they died in London or Amsterdam is unclear, but it remains a possibility that personal losses left an impact on the pre-migration phase during the late 1570s and contributed to Ketel’s wish to return to Holland.

23 Cornelis Ketel’s biography can be found here: Mander, Karel van. “Het leven van Cornelis Ketel, uytnemende Schilder, van der Goude” [The life of Cornelis Ketel, outstanding painter, from Gouda]. In: *Het Schilder-Boek* [The painting book], 1604. URL: [https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/mand001schi01\\_01/mand001schi01\\_01\\_0257.php](https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/mand001schi01_01/mand001schi01_01_0257.php) (12.4.2021).

24 Van Mander 1604.

25 N.a. “Cornelis Ketel”. RKD – Netherland’s Institute for Art History. URL: <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/artists/44136> (12.4.2021).

26 Schulting, To. “Cornelis Ketel en zijn familie: een revisie” [Cornelis Ketel and his family: a revision]. In: *Oud Holland*, vol. 108, no. 4, 1994, 171–207; *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630*. Ed. by Karen Hearn. London: Tate Publishing, 1995, 105.

27 For more information, see Hearn 1995, 104–105.

28 N.a. “Cornelis Ketel”. RKD – Netherland’s Institute for Art History. URL: <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/artists/44136> (12.4.2021).

## COERCED MIGRATION

Karl Bücher noted in 1886 that the significance of movement in past periods was more crucial than in the late nineteenth century.<sup>29</sup> He named three reasons for this. Firstly, societies would have developed at a much slower pace without knowledge and cultural exchange. Secondly, the high mortality rate during the Middle Ages and in the early modern period, caused by war, plagues and other fatal illnesses, required movement and migration to avoid demographic and economic hardship. And thirdly, it was common practice during the medieval and early modern periods to move to distant labour markets that were more attractive than local ones.

These observations are important for the discussion of the Tudor and Jacobean courts and the connected art market in London, as they outline the importance of coerced migration. It is interesting, but of course entirely speculative, to contemplate how art at the Tudor court would have developed had Holbein not decided to come back to England in 1531/32 after iconoclastic riots broke out in Basel.

Sociological and historical literature discusses early modern child migration only occasionally.<sup>30</sup> It is mostly concerned with labour migration and servanthip. Forced child migration on a large scale, e.g. the shipment of 1,500 children from Lisbon to the West Indies in 1609 to work in the plantations, was justified by offering children work and a better future.<sup>31</sup> Interdisciplinary research that investigates the role of children, as part of wider transnational networks and as human assets to ensure the survival of knowledge and traditions in the new place of residence, is still pending. For example, Italian builders and stonemasons of the early modern period working in Northern Europe represent an early model of transculturalism that relies heavily on family networks and intergenerational structures.<sup>32</sup>

The artists Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger (1561/62–1635) and John de Critz (1551/52–1642) are two examples of child emigres that illustrate the importance of family and community ties during and after migration, but also prior to leaving the home country, during the pre-migration phase. Both of them came to England as small children during the Spanish persecution of protestants in the Habsburg Netherlands. One might assume it to be normal that a whole family migrates, especially if the political situation in the homeland is making the professional and personal lives of artists difficult. This was the case for John de Critz, son of Troilus de Critz, a goldsmith from Antwerp, who came to England around 1568 at the age of about thirteen with both of his parents. He was trained by Lucas de Heere in London,

29 Bücher, Karl. *Die Bevölkerung von Frankfurt am Main im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert: Sozialstatistische Studien*, vol. 1. Tübingen: H. Laub 1886, 19.

30 Goldberg, Peter Jeremy Piers. "Migration, youth and gender in later medieval England". In: *Youth in the Middle Ages*. Ed. by Peter Goldberg and Felicity Riddy. York: Medieval Press, 2004, 98–99.

31 Hahn 2012, 121.

32 Wagner 2017, 13.

also from Antwerp. After that, de Critz went travelling in France and possibly Italy.<sup>33</sup>

More thought-provoking is the example of Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. He came to London with only his father, Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, while his Catholic mother Johanna and his sister stayed behind in Bruges.<sup>34</sup> This shows that the move to England was not only politically motivated, as Marcus the Younger could have stayed behind with his mother. It was instead strategic and testifies to the very early plans for the boy to continue in his father's trade. The fact that both have the same first name and can only be distinguished by the addition of 'the Elder' or 'the Younger', supports the theory of strategic planning of the child's future career. The name duplication ensured that any success both men had – Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder was a popular painter, draughtsman and printmaker – would always be linked back to the family. The element of family pride must therefore have been ingrained in Marcus the Younger from a very early age. It is, together with a pride in his original inheritance, expressed through the way he developed his artistic identity in London. Despite spending most of his childhood and all his adulthood in England, he added 'Brugiensis' (from Bruges) to his signature for more than forty years.<sup>35</sup>

It can be argued that the migration of children should be classified as an act of forced migration. The threat of serious harm or death is only one aspect. Most parents, now and then, would protect their children by moving them away from danger, ideally providing the safety of a family network that is moving together. However, this does not diminish the fact that underaged children had no say in decisions about their future domicile. The migration of children, as in the case of Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, albeit for future professional purposes, must therefore be seen as a forced act.

The pre-migration phase of Hans Eworth (1520–1574), the most important figure for an understanding of Tudor painting after the death of Holbein, is particularly interesting and provides another example of how much London benefitted from emigres forced to leave their home. His unique monogram 'HE' enables the attribution of more than forty paintings.<sup>36</sup>

We know that Jan Eeuwouts was the brother of merchant and jeweller Nicholas. Jan became a member of the Antwerp St Luke's Guild in 1540.<sup>37</sup> There is speculation that he worked as a journeyman painter in the Antwerp studio of Jan and Cornelis Metsys in the early 1540s.<sup>38</sup>

In 1544, the brothers had been proscribed as members of the Loistens, an Anabaptist sect founded by Loy Eligius Pruystinck that spread rapidly throughout

33 Hearn 1995, 171.

34 Hearn, Karen. *Marcus Gheeraerts II: Elizabethan Artist in Focus*. London: Tate Publishing, 2003, 11.

35 Hearn 1995, 9.

36 Hearn 1995, 63.

37 Walker, Hope. "Netherlandish immigrant painters and the Dutch reformed church of London, Austin Friars, 1560–1580". In: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ)*, vol. 63, 2013, 62.

38 N.a. "Hans Ewouts". URL: <https://rkd.nl/en/explore/artists/26925?lang=en> (15.4.2021).

Flanders. The Inquisition started its prosecution in 1544, and Pruystinck, together with four other members, was executed in October of the same year.<sup>39</sup> Hans and Nicholas were lucky enough to survive but their property was confiscated, and they had to flee the city. In late 1545, Nicholas Ewotes is recorded in the London borough of Southwark.<sup>40</sup> We do not know if Hans arrived at the same time or at a later point. It is possible that he stayed behind on the continent and only joined his brother in London in the late 1540s. In 1546, Jan Ewouts appeared in Amsterdam, applying for permission to sell books.<sup>41</sup> The name Hans Eworth and its various modifications, such as 'John Ewottes' or 'John Euwoots', is traceable in connection to various addresses in Southwark in 1549. Here the artist could have practised outside of the jurisdiction of the City of London guilds. In the same year, the first works appear with the signature 'HE'. We have no evidence of a wife or children that might have stayed behind. But we do know that his sister-in-law Heylken, wife of Nicholas, remained in Antwerp. In 1550, she approached the deken of the Guild of St Luke, asking him for help with the collection of rent on a house and also to act on her behalf since her husband was an exiled fugitive.<sup>42</sup> As already seen with the Gheeraerts family, this is another example of a man migrating alone, leaving female members of the household behind. The close proximity to London might have contributed to this decision.

But London and the royal court did not only become a safe haven for foreign artists who had to escape from political and religious prosecution. During the 1640s, many artists had to leave the city because they feared for their lives. The English Civil War (1642–1651) was fought between parliamentarians and royalists, mainly over the issues of governance in England and religious freedom. King Charles I, who was eventually executed in 1649, left London in 1642. A number of foreign and local artists, especially those who had previous connections to the royal household, followed suit.

Cornelius Johnson (1593–1661), called by Karen Hearn 'the forgotten man of seventeenth-century British art', was one of them.<sup>43</sup> Born to Flemish/German immigrants in London, he was baptised at the Dutch church of Austin Friars. His mixed heritage attributed to him a variety of names, such as Cornelis Jonson van Ceulen or Cornelis Janssen van Ceulen.<sup>44</sup> According to George Vertue, he returned to London from Amsterdam in 1618/19, which most likely means that he received some training abroad.<sup>45</sup> He found a market that was still mainly targeted towards the production of portraits but whose main practitioners, Robert Peake, Robert Larkin, Nicholas Hilliard

39 N.a. "Loisten". Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online. URL: <https://gameo.org/index.php?title=Loisten> (15.4.2021).

40 Hearn 1995, 63.

41 Hearn 1995, 63.

42 Walker 2013, 62.

43 Hearn, Karen. *Cornelius Johnson*. London: Paul Holberton, 2015, 7.

44 Hearn 2015, 7.

45 Vertue, George. "Note Books". In: *Walpole Society*, XVIII, 1929–30, 54.



and Isaac Oliver, had either died or were about to die.<sup>46</sup> Immigrants such as Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger and John de Critz, and a few years later Daniel Mytens, started to dominate the artistic scene. For most of his later career, Cornelius Johnson stood in the shadow of Anthony van Dyck, who came to England in 1632.

Johnson exemplified, like few other artists, the importance of transcultural connections and a mutual support system within the immigrant community. Following his return to England in 1618/19, he painted portraits that could not have been any more Dutch, both in presentation, composition and handling of paint. Two works made in 1619, portraits of Sir Thomas Boothby and Ann Grafton, exemplify his training in the Netherlands. By the early 1620s, Johnson was fully integrated into London's large immigrant Dutch community. In 1624 he married Elizabeth Beck (or Beke, or Beek), who came from another large Dutch community in Colchester.<sup>47</sup> The couple settled in the North London parish of St Ann, Blackfriars, outside of the jurisdiction of the City guilds and therefore popular with foreign artists and craftsmen. Johnson established himself painting portraits of the leading members of the Dutch community, such as Willem Thielen (1634), Minister of Austin Friars, and Derrick Hoste (1628), a Calvinist merchant and member of the British East India Company supplying the Spanish royal household. His wife, Jane Hoste, née Desmaistres, was Johnson's first cousin.

Johnson also cultivated a clientele among important members of English society. Among them were senior legal figures, such as the lawyer Thomas, 1st Baron Coventry, and Sir John Finch, appointed as Lord Chief Justice in 1633 and Lord Keeper in 1640.<sup>48</sup> However, it seemed that Johnson, unlike his contemporaries Daniel Mytens and later Anthony van Dyck, received few royal commissions, apart from three full-length portraits of Charles I's children that he painted in the late 1630s. When Anthony van Dyck died in 1641 at the age of only 42, Johnson's time seemed to have come. But any hopes to assume the master's mantle were cut short by political events and the need to leave the country due to Johnson's closeness to the royal court. The start of the first English Civil War in 1642 pitted King Charles I's supporters against those of the Long Parliament. George Vertue reports that Johnson and his family emigrated to the Netherlands in October 1643 because of 'being terrifyd with those apprehensions & the constant perswasions of his wife'.<sup>49</sup> In March 1644, the records of the English church in Middelburg report the arrival of Cornelius Johnson and his wife. In 1645, they became official members of the English church in Amsterdam.<sup>50</sup> His signatures indicate that Johnson was now cleverly marketing himself as a painter from London and remained

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46 Hearn 2015, 12.

47 Hearn 2015, 16.

48 Hearn 2015, 19.

49 Vertue 1929–30, 54, 61.

50 Hearn 2015, 55.

popular with local customers, such as Jan Cornelisz Geelvinck, burgomaster of Amsterdam (1646), as well as British clients, exemplified in the double portrait of William, Earl of Lanark and 2nd Duke of Hamilton, and John Maitland, later Duke of Lauderdale (1649). After settling in Utrecht in 1652, Johnson dropped the addition 'Londini' from his signature following the outbreak of the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654).<sup>51</sup>

No matter where Cornelius Johnson lived and worked, he was always aware of his position as an outsider. He knew how to market this position, whether in London, Middelburg, Amsterdam or Utrecht. His excellent transcultural network was the foundation stone of his life as a migrant artist, enabling him to be a successful portrait painter independent of political events, even when they impacted on the choice of his place of residence.

## CONCLUSION

Although more detailed data about foreign workers at the court of London need to be analysed, it is widely accepted that both the Tudor and the Jacobean royal households, and the wider catchment area of the capital strongly benefitted from the incoming community of artists from mainland Europe. There is no lack of research about the big court names, such as Holbein and van Dyck, who were attracted to England by the strong incentive of financial gain and rise in status. What had not been examined clearly enough up until this point – and what has been established in this paper – is how much the coming and going of the remaining creative workforce was affected by the political situation in mainland Europe as well as that in England, particularly the effects of the Civil War.

The study of the pre-migration phase is essential to answer the question why artists came to London and why some of them left. Two groups emerge from such a discussion of voluntary and involuntary arrival and departure. The voluntary group includes names who were already highly established in their home country, such as Hans Holbein, Pietro Torrigiano or Anthony van Dyck. Interestingly, none of them remained long in London during their first stay. Holbein returned to the city in 1532, probably affected by the political situation in Basel, and van Dyck came back in 1632, most likely having understood the potential of rising to fame in England. Torrigiano, who never stayed long in any place, saw London as a stepping stone in his career as a European artist. Despite his personal flaws, he emerges from the picture as an expensive but highly reliable artist, vouched for by fellow countrymen with enormous amounts of money.

The vast majority of artists working at the London courts, however, were deeply affected by the political situation in mainland Europe and England alike. We looked at the example of Cornelis Ketel, who arrived in London due to political turbulences in Holland but decided to return to continental Europe

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<sup>51</sup> Hearn 2015, 59.

in 1581. This decision might have been influenced by the wish to be more than a portrait painter but possibly also by a difficult personal situation shaped by the loss of several family members. It was also established that child migration was an important element for the recruitment of future artistic workforce, as demonstrated through the example of Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. The emphasis needs to be put on the forced nature of child migration and more research is needed to fully understand this phenomenon.

Many artists, possibly a majority, arriving in and leaving London, were not doing so voluntarily. Hans Eworth, whose life as a member of the Flemish Loistens sect, escaped prosecution and possibly death by fleeing the country in 1544. Conversely, Cornelius Johnson, an artist close to the English royal household, was forced to leave London after the abdication of Charles I in 1642. His example, as so many others, illustrates the importance of transcultural networks and community spirit, as well as the need to use their position as outsiders in a positive light and, supported by relevant networks, to adapt to a new working and living environment in an efficient and extremely pragmatic way.

To conclude, the artistic development at the royal courts in London, and beyond, benefitted from political turbulence in Europe, and most of all in the Low Countries, especially during the latter part of the sixteenth and earlier seventeenth century. The aspect of forced migration of the creative workforce requires more investigation as it has become clear how far it shaped the Tudor and Jacobean court culture in a most striking way.

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SCULPTORS JOSEPH VAN ENDEN (EYNDEN),  
AUGUSTIN VAN OYEN  
AND MARTIN CHRISTIAN PETERSON:  
LAST 'MANNERIST' NETHERLANDISH  
AND DANISH IMMIGRANTS IN  
THE POLISH–LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH?

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SUMMARY

Previous studies on early modern Netherlandish sculpture and sculptors in the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth have focused exclusively on the urban artistic milieu in Danzig. In contrast to architects and military engineers, their widely understood role in the stylistic and formal development of small-scale architecture and statuary sculpture in the late Mannerist period there (c. 1610–1650) remains underestimated. New archival sources allow us to accept the fact of their declining presence and activity in and out of Royal and Ducal Prussia. Dutch and Flemish masters had to step numerous German-speaking artists aside, dealing still the most prestigious orders with Italians from the royal court as well as those from three historical capital cities: Cracow, Warsaw and Vilnius. Article presents a general reflection upon the presence and artistic activity of Flemish, Dutch and Northern European masters in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth during the reign of the Swedish Vasa dynasty.

Three of them deserve special attention: builder-stonemasons' guild member Joseph van Enden (Eynden) in Cracow, talented statuary sculptor Augustin van Oyen in Chęciny and Martin Christian Peterson of Copenhagen in Cracow. The first of them belonged probably to the Dutch artistic van Enden/van den Eynden family of Antwerp. His oeuvre still remains unclear; however, there are some Netherlandish epitaphs and commemorative plaques of the time possibly linked to this master. Van Oyen deserves a monograph, first of all because of his highly skilled and precise figurative work (bas-relief portraits) in alabaster from Crown Podolia (today Ukraine) together with his primary role in reception of the de Keyser's Amsterdam graphic series. Peterson seems to be the last Northern European mannerist



sculptor settled in Cracow; he played a crucial role in the dissemination of the Dutch *Kwabornament* and German *Knorpelwerk* decorative forms there. It's worth mentioning that all of them practiced with the 'black marble' of Dębnik, near Cracow, which was used during the seventeenth century as a regional substitute for the black Mosan compact limestone. This tricolour (black–red–white/whitish) gamut of materials *op Nederlandse manier* was one of the recognisable features of their works too.

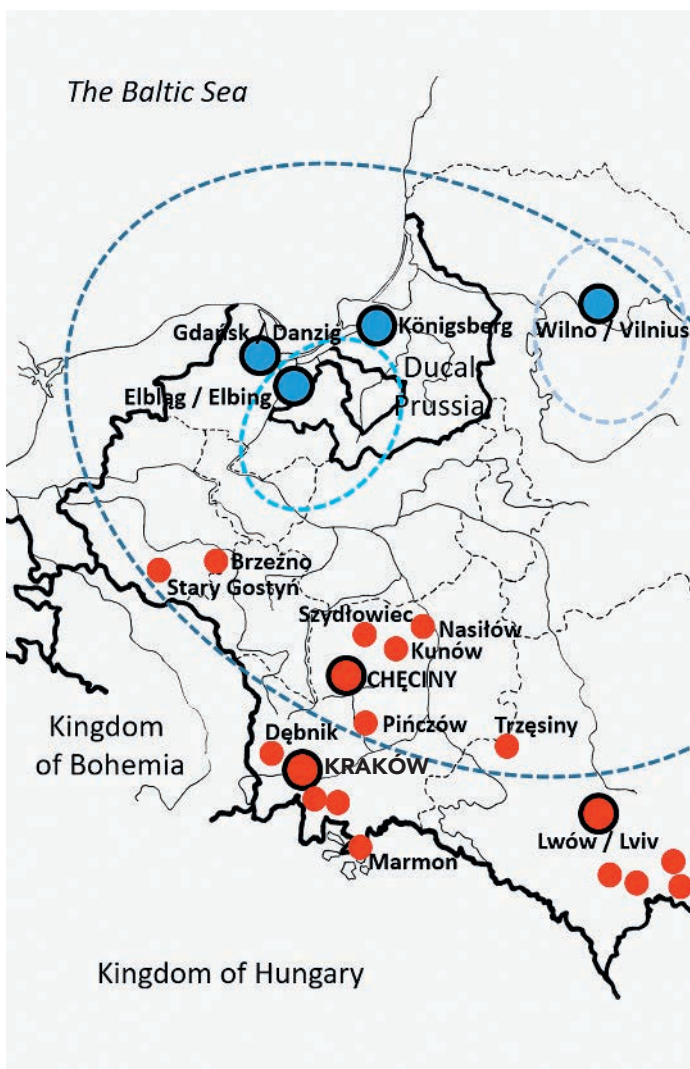
Previous studies on early modern Netherlandish sculpture and sculptors in the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth have focused exclusively on the van den Block/Blocke family from Mechelen and the urban artistic milieu in Gdańsk/Danzig. In contrast to architects and military engineers, their widely understood role in the stylistic and formal development of small-scale architecture and statuary sculpture in the late Mannerist period (c. 1610–1650) remains underestimated. Newly discovered archival sources allow us to confirm their declining presence and activity in and out of Royal and Ducal Prussia. Dutch and Flemish masters had to give way to numerous German-speaking artists, at the same time sharing their most prestigious orders with Italians from the royal court as well as those residing in the three historical capital cities: Cracow, Warsaw and Vilnius. Three of them deserve special attention: builder-stonemasons' guild apprentice Joseph van Eenden in Cracow, talented statuary sculptor Augustin van Oyen in Chęciny (Lesser Poland, former Sandomierz voivodship, 1623–1655 mentioned)<sup>1</sup> and Martin Christian Peterson of Copenhagen in Cracow (1649–1664 listed).<sup>2</sup>

The article presents the newest stage of research on the biographies and oeuvre of these three masters and contains general reflection upon the presence

1 Karpowicz, Mariusz. "Chronologia i geografia niderlandyzmu w rzeźbie 1. połowy XVII wieku" [Chronology and geography of the Netherlandism in sculpture in the first half of the 17th century]. In: *Niderlandyzm na Śląsku i w krajach ościennych* [The Netherlandism in Silesia and the neighbouring countries]. Ed. by Mateusz Kapustka, Andrzej Koziół and Piotr Oszczanowski. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2003, 45–48, figs. 2–4; Wardzyński, Michał. "Artifices chencinenses. Rola i miejsce warsztatów chęcińskich w produkcji kamieniarsko-rzeźbiarskiej w Rzeczypospolitej (koniec XVI – 1. połowa XVII wieku)" [Artifices chencinenses. The role and place of the Chęciny workshops in sculpture and stonemasonry production in the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (end of the 16th – first half of the 17th century)]. In: *Franciszka z Krasieńskich Wettyn, księżna Kurlandii i Semigalii, prababka dynastii królów włoskich. Dziedzictwo rodziny Krasieńskich w regionie świętokrzyskim* [Franciszka Wettin née Krasieńska, Princess of Courland and Semigalia, great-grandmother of the Italian royal dynasty. The heritage of the Krasieńskis in the historic Holy Cross province]. Ed. by Dariusz Kalina, Radosław Kubicki, Michał Wardzyński. Kielce–Lisów: Urząd Marszałkowski Województwa Świętokrzyskiego, 2012, 160–168, figs. 19–21, 25, 26, 28, 30, 35.

2 "Krystian Marcin" [Christian Martin]. In: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających: malarze – rzeźbiarze – graficy* [Lexicon of Polish and foreign artists active in Poland: painters – sculptors – graphic artists], vol. 4. Ed. by Jolanta Maurin-Białostocka and Janusz Derwojed. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź: Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, 1986, 294; Wardzyński 2012, 166–168; Wardzyński, Michał. "Migracje artystyczne w XVII wieku w Rzeczypospolitej. Tło i uwarunkowania historyczno-ekonomiczne, kierunki oraz mechanizmy na przykładzie kamieniarzy i snycerzy w 2. połowie stulecia w Małopolsce" [Artists' migrations in the 17th-century Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Historic economic background, directions and mechanisms on an example of stonemasons and woodcarvers in the 2nd half of the 17th century in Lesser Poland]. In: *Migracje. Materiały LXIV Ogólnopolskiej sesji naukowej Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*, Warszawa, 24–25, listopada 2016 r. [Migrations. Proceedings of the nationwide conference of the Polish Art Historians Association, Warsaw, 24–25 November 2016]. Ed. by Katarzyna Chrudzińska-Uhera, Anna Czyż. Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki, 2017, 113, 115.

1. Map of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth marking the historic quarries and deposits of marble, alabaster, limestone and building stone, together with a geographic range of the main sculpture centres in Hanseatic (Baltic) region (blue circles) and Lesser Poland, Crown Rus' and Podolia (red circles).  
Design:  
Michał Wardzyński, 2017



and artistic activity of Flemish, Dutch and Northern European masters in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth during the reign of the Swedish Vasa dynasty.<sup>3</sup> Its high point concerned a Warsaw royal commission of 1637 for court and garden statues ordered to Adriaen de Vries workshop, which was active in Prague at the time. Sculptures stolen by Swedes in 1655–1657 are preserved in Stockholm and other local aristocratic collections.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Wardzyński, Michał. "Rezydencje królewskie Wazów – europejskie inspiracje architektury i rzeźby" [Residences of the Vasa royal family – European inspiration for architecture and sculpture]. In: *Świat polskich Wazów: eseje* [The World of the Polish Vasas: Essays]. Ed. by Jacek Żukowski and Zbigniew Hundert. Warszawa: Arx Regia, 2019, 265–273.

<sup>4</sup> Badach, Artur. "Statuae cudowne, nie złote ale kosztowne. Z dziejów Villa Regia w Warszawie" [Marvellous statues, not gilded but precious. A study on the history of the Villa Regia residence in Warsaw]. In: *Roczniki Humanistyczne Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego*, vol. 47, no. 4, 1999, 155–180.

Apart from the studies by Lech Krzyżanowski,<sup>5</sup> Janusz Pałubicki,<sup>6</sup> Ryszard Szmydki,<sup>7</sup> Jacek Tylicki,<sup>8</sup> Franciszek Skibiński<sup>9</sup> and the author of the present article<sup>10</sup> on the Baltic Hanseatic cities (Gdańsk/Danzig, Elbląg/Elbing, Toruń/Thorn and Królewiec/Königsberg and, from 1620, Riga), the social and professional situation of Netherlandish artists and craftsmen, with reference to the centres lying in the hinterland of the vast areas of the Crown and Lithuania, has not received proper scientific treatment. Except for a small number of builders and stonemasons based in the capital city of Vilnius (Willem Pohl, Jan Filipijn Wallon from Amsterdam and Königsberg),<sup>11</sup> the centres of mining and stonemasonry of decorative rock and building materials in the mountainous southern part of the country, i.e. Lesser Poland and Crown Rus' aka Ruthenia (particularly in Pińczów and Chęciny near Kielce, Dębnik near Cracow, Nasiłów and Męcierz on the

- 5 Krzyżanowski, Lech. "Plastyka nagrobna Willema van den Blocke" [Willem van den Blocke's tombstone sculpture]. In: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 20, 1958, no. 3–4, 270–298; Krzyżanowski, Lech. "Niderlandyzm w Gdańsku" [Netherlandism in Gdansk]. In: *Sztuka pobraża Bałtyku* [Art in the Baltic Region]. Ed. by Teresa Hrankowska. Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1978, 267–273.
- 6 Pałubicki, Janusz. *Artyści i rzemieślnicy artystyczni Gdańska, Prus Królewskich oraz Warmii epoki nowożytnej: skorowidz kwerydalny* [Artists and artisans of Gdansk, Royal Prussia and Warmia in the early modern period: Research index]. Gdańsk: Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku, 2019.
- 7 Szmydki, Ryszard. *Artystyczno-dyplomatyczne kontakty Zygmunta III Wazy z Niderlandami Południowymi* [Artistic and diplomatic contacts between King Sigismund III Vasa and the southern Netherlands]. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2013; Szmydki, Ryszard. "Les marbres belges dans les demeures royales en Pologne au XVIIe siècle". In: *Marbres de Rois*. Ed. by Pascal Julien. Aix-en-Provence: Publication Université Provence, 2013, 253–265.
- 8 Tylicki, Jacek. "Künstler aus dem Königlichen Preußen im Dienst polnischer Könige". In: *Tür an Tür. Polen – Deutschland; 1000 Jahre Kunst und Geschichte*; Martin-Gropius-Bau [23 September 2011 – 9 January 2012]. Ed. by Małgorzata Omilanowska. Köln: DuMont, 2011, 326–331; Tylicki, Jacek. "The Van den Blocke family in Gdańsk and in Central Europe". In: *The Low Countries at the Crossroads: Netherlandish Architecture as an Export Product in Early Modern Europe (1480–1680)* (Architectura Moderna 8). Ed. by Konrad Ottenheym & Krista De Jonge. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, 142–157; *Art of the Southern Netherlands, Gdańsk, and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth*. Ed. by Jacek Tylicki, Jacek Żuchowski and Agnieszka Żuchowska. Gdańsk: Gdańsk Shakespeare Theatre, 2017.
- 9 Skibiński, Franciszek. "The expansion of Gdańsk and the rise of taste for Netherlandish sculpture in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries". In: Ottenheym & De Jonge 2013, 158–176; Skibiński, Franciszek. "Immigration, integration, expansion: Foreign architects, masons and stone sculptors in Danzig between c. 1550 and 1630". In: *Architects without Borders: Migration of Architects and Architectural Ideas in Europe 1400–1700*. Ed. by Konrad Ottenheym. Mantova: Il Rio Arte, 2014, 76–89; Skibiński, Franciszek. "Early-modern Netherlandish sculptors in Danzig and East-Central Europe: A study in dissemination through interrelation and workshop practice". In: *Art and Migration: Netherlandish Artists on the Move, 1400–1750 / Kunst und Migration. Nederlandse Kunstenaars op Drift, 1400–1750*. Ed. by Frits Scholten, Joanna Woodall, Dulcia Meijers. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2014 (Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek, 23, 2014), 111–134; Skibiński, Franciszek. *Willem van den Blocke: A Sculptor of the Low Countries in the Baltic Region (Early Modern Cultural Studies)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2020.
- 10 Wardzyński, Michał. "Zwischen den Niederlanden und Polen-Lithauen: Danzig als Mittler niederländischer Kunst und Musterbücher". In: *Land und Meer. Kultureller Austausch zwischen Westeuropa und dem Ostseeraum in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Ed. by Martin Krieger and Michael North. Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2004, 23–50; Wardzyński, Michał. "Flemish Trend in Schleswig-to-Königsberg Baroque Sculpture in Marble and Stone in the Second Half of the 17th Century". In: *Polish Baroque, European Contexts: Proceedings of an International Seminar held at the Institute for Interdisciplinary Studies "Artes Liberales"*, University of Warsaw, 27–28 June 2011. Ed. by Piotr Salwa. Warszawa: Artes Liberales. Instytut Badań Interdyscyplinarnych. Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2012, 229–256; Wardzyński, Michał. "Flemish current in sculpture in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in High Baroque period (second half of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century): An introduction". In: *Art of the Southern Netherlands: Gdańsk and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth*. Ed. by Jacek Tylicki, Jacek Żukowski and Agnieszka Żukowska. Gdańsk: Gdańsk Shakespeare Theatre, 2017, 149–172.
- 11 Jamski, Piotr J. "Kaplica świętego Kazimierza w Wilnie i jej twórcy" [Saint Casimir's Chapel in Vilnius and its creators]. In: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 48, no. 1, 2006, 20, 32, 33; Szmydki 2013, 221–222, 234.

Vistula, Szydłowiec and Kunów near Radom),<sup>12</sup> as well as the country's major centres of sculpture – Cracow and Lviv – were dominated in the first half of the seventeenth century by Ticino and Comacine masters respectively, as well as those arriving from German-speaking countries, with an increasing number of Poles themselves (fig. 1).

In the Polish Crown's capital, the Netherlandish community was composed mainly of merchants and craftsmen/artists (incl. the haberdasher Jakob von



2. Unknown Netherlandish sculptor of Cracow.  
The epitaph for Marcin Krzecieski (d. 1610). C. 1610.  
'Black marble' of Dębnik near Cracow  
and Pińczów limestone.  
Dominican cloister, Cracow.  
Photo: Michał Wardzyński

Houen from Antwerp and van Enden brothers: Jakob the musician and Jan the merchant);<sup>13</sup> the other group of immigrants comprised craftsmen and artists led by Hendrick van Uylenburgh (c. 1587–1661, the son of the Frisian Gerald Rombout, a cabinet-maker at the court of Sigismund III Vasa, married to Sara and Maria von der Brandt respectively, a half-brother of Rombout, a Cracow painter, and Anna, the wife of Hendrik van der Muller). Hendrick van Uylenburgh, initially trained to be a painter, ultimately became an artistic

12 Wardzyński, Michał. *Marmur i alabaster w rzeźbie i malej architekturze Rzeczypospolitej. Studium historyczno-materialoznawcze przemian tradycji artystycznych od XVI do początku XVIII wieku* [Marble and alabaster in sculpture and small-scale architecture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. A study of the transformation of artistic traditions through the lens of history and materials science from the 16th to early 18th century]. Warszawa: Fundacja "Hereditas", 2015, 62.

13 Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska [Jagiellonian Library], sign. 5350, Acta consularia Cracoviensia (inscripciones) ab anno 1392 ad annum 1809, Acta scabinalia Cracoviensia ab anno 1431 ad annum 1697 – index, fol. 584r (1598, Jakob van Ende mentioned as a musician), 597r (1615, announcement of Jakob van Houen's testament).



agent of King Sigismund III Vasa; subsequently, after moving to Gdańsk in 1612 and to Amsterdam in 1625, he became a famous Amsterdam-based promoter of Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn, Govaert Flinck and Ferdinand Bol.<sup>14</sup> Other members of the same profession, trained in their native country, arrived in Cracow before 1600 too, most notably Jacob Mertens (a student of Huybrecht Brüggemann in Antwerp, mentioned from 1589, d. 1609)<sup>15</sup> and his students Pieter van Enden and Frans van der Velle.<sup>16</sup> The Lviv of the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the activity of the sculptors Jan Bloch and Bernard Dickembosch (a woodcarver),<sup>17</sup> the latter of whom was famous in 1612–1620 for collaborating with Wrocław/Breslau artist Johann Pfister on the most excellent work of late Netherlandish Mannerism in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the monument to the Princes Ostrogski in Tarnów.<sup>18</sup>

Joseph van Enden was probably a member of the famous Flemish artistic van Enden/van den Eynden family of Antwerp.<sup>19</sup> His parents were the valued royal musician Jacob, called Nederland (d. 1621), and Elisabeth; his uncle was Jan van Enden aka Koniecki (which stands for ‘van Enden’ in Polish), noticed in 1623 as a merchant from Gdańsk. Joseph’s brother Pieter studied painting under Jacob Mertens.<sup>20</sup> The only certain source information about him is a

14 Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska [Jagiellonian Library], sign. 5350, fol. 252r (under the year 1609 – a genealogy of Van Uylenburgh family in Cracow and their house marks); 254v (confirmation of Cracow painter Rombout Uylenburgh’s birth). Cf. *Uylenburgh & Son: Art and Commerce from Rembrandt to de Lairese 1625–1675*. Cat. exh. Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, 7 June – 3 September 2007; Museum Het Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam, 14 September – 10 December 2006. Zwolle: Waanders, 2006, passim; recently Szymdyki 2013, 7, 94, 139–147; Pałubicki 2019, 701.

15 Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska [Jagiellonian Library], sign. 5350, fol. 226r (note in 1606 on Jakob’s imprisonment due to his immoral behaviour), 265r (brothers David and Jakob, both painters, quoted at the beginning of the year 1618); 584 (1598, Jakob and Barbara, a married couple, mentioned as immigrants from the Spanish Netherlands).

16 Samek, Jan. “Mertens Jacob”. In: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających: malarze – rzeźbiarze – graficy [Lexicon of Polish and foreign artists active in Poland: painters – sculptors – graphic artists]*, vol. 5. Ed. by Janusz Derwojed. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Krag, 1993, 488–489.

17 Gębarowicz, Mieczysław. *Studia nad dziejami kultury artystycznej późnego renesansu w Polsce [Studies in history of art culture of the Late Renaissance period in Poland]*. Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 1962, 234–236, 286–287, 295–296, 327–328; “Blok Hanus”. In: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających: malarze – rzeźbiarze – graficy [Lexicon of Polish and foreign artists active in Poland: painters – sculptors – graphic artists]*, vol. 1. Ed. by Jolanta Maurin-Białostocka. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź: Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, 1973, 181; “Dickembosch Bernard”. In: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających: malarze – rzeźbiarze – graficy [Lexicon of Polish and foreign artists active in Poland: painters – sculptors – graphic artists]*, vol. 2. Ed. by Jolanta Maurin-Białostocka. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź: Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, 1975, 49.

18 Cracowski, Piotr. “Pomnik nagrobny ks. Ostrogskich” [Tombstone for the Princes Ostrogski]. In: *Studia Renesansowe [Renaissance Studies]*, vol. 2, 1957, 263–302; “Dickembosch Bernard”. In: Maurin-Białostocka 1975, 49; recently Oszczanowski, Piotr. “Wrocławski rodowód Jana Pfistera” [Hans Pfister’s Breslau Ancestry]. In: *Między Wrocławiem i Lwowem. Sztuka na Śląsku, w Małopolsce i na ziemiach ruskich Korony od XVI do XVIII wieku [Between Breslau and Lviv. The art in Silesia, Lesser Poland and Crown Rus’ from the 16th to 18th century]*. Ed. by Andrzej Betlej, Katarzyna Brzezina and Piotr Oszczanowski. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersyteckie, 2010, 89–91, 94, 96, figs. 5–12 a–b.

19 Philippot, Paul & Denis Coekelberghs, Pierre Loze, Dominique Vautier. *L’architecture religieuse et la sculpture baroques dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux et la principauté de Liège 1600–1770*. Spirmont: Pierre Madraga, 2003, 791–794.

20 Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska [Jagiellonian Library], sign. 5350, fol. 273r (note under the year 1623, Jan van Ende, merchant from Gdańsk), 274v (1623, sale of house on Szczepańska [St Stephen’s] street between Jan Rottermund and Jan van Ende), 277v (1627, note on Elisabeth and Catherine, daughter and widow of Jakob), 595v (1614, note on Agnes Pernusowa, widow of Pieter von Ende [d. 1613]), 600r (1620, deal between Jan Van Enden, called Nederland, and his wife Cathrina on their house on Golebia [Pigeons] street). Cf. Samek 1993, 489.



note made on 23 June 1604 at a session of the Cracow Stonemasons Guild concerning a pledge to pay a quarterly fee of 16 gr for training in the trade with a duty to work for the guild.<sup>21</sup> It remains unknown whether he became a journeyman, as there is no further mention of his presence or activity in the guild. Joseph's oeuvre still remains unclear; however, there are some Netherlandish epitaphs and commemorative plaques of the time possibly linked to this journeyman.<sup>22</sup>

It is worth remembering that the Netherlandish influence on Cracow and Lesser Poland sculpture was represented in the third quarter of the sixteenth century solely by the Pole Jan Michałowicz of Urzędów (c. 1525–1530 – c. 1583);<sup>23</sup> in the early seventeenth century, it is pointless to look for an artist in the Crown's capital showing northern traits of an individual stylistic manner. The few works drawing on the graphic models from the Meuse, Scheldt and Rhine regions were those by German-speaking artists from Pińczów and Chęciny: Thomas Nikiel (d. 1605), Melchior, Michael Werner and Blasius Gocman (d. post-1631).<sup>24</sup> They were mainly preoccupied with supplying building and sculpture materials to their Cracow clients.<sup>25</sup>

Augustin van Oyen, aka de Oien, ran a greatly prosperous sculpture-masonry studio in Chęciny, near Kielce (northern Lesser Poland), together with his wife Regina Gienetz, at least from 1611 until his death in 1655.<sup>26</sup> The choice of the town for studio purposes was motivated by the presence of burgeoning quarries of multicolour limestone operating there from the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century (said limestone being regarded as marble at the time<sup>27</sup>) and a great demand in the first half of the seventeenth century for prefabricated elements and ready-made products

21 Cracow, Archiwum Narodowe [National Archives], sign. AD 480, Regest seu Liber Actorum Contuberni Murariorum et Stameciorum clarissi Urbis Cracoviensis AD MDLXXII, 1590–1723, 190.

22 Cf. epitaphs for Marcin Krzeczieski (d. 1610) and Katarzyna Wierzcharzewska (d. 1617), both located in the Dominican cloister in Cracow. See *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce* [Catalogue of the Art Monuments in Poland], vol. IV: *Miasto Kraków* [City of Cracow], part III: *Kościół i klasztor Śródmieście* [Churches and cloisters of the Old Town]. Ed. by Adam Bochnak and Jan Samek, issue 1. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, 1971, 164, 165, figs. 797, 809, 815.

23 Kozakiewiczowa, Helena. "Rzeźba renesansowa w Polsce" [The Renaissance sculpture in Poland]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986, 151–152, figs. 201, 207, 208, 212–214.

24 Stolt, Franciszek. "Testament Tomasza Nikla (Przyczynek do dziejów pińczowskich warsztatów budowlanych i kamieniarsko-rzeźbiarskich na przełomie wieków XVI i XVII)" [Thomas Nikiel's Testament (Contribution to the history of Pińczów building and stonemasonry workshops at the turn of 16th–17th centuries)]. In: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 32, no. 3–4, 1970, 227–243; recently Wardzyński, Michał. "The Quarries, the 'Marble' and the Centre of Stonemasonry and Sculpture in Chęciny during the Modern Era, in the Commonwealth of Two Nations". In: *Actes du XVII Colloque International de Glyptographie à Cracovie, 5–9 juillet 2010*. Ed. by Jean-Louis Van Belle. Braine-le-Château: C.I.R.G., 2011, 379–384.

25 Rożek, Michał. *Katedra wawelska w XVII wieku* [The Wawel Cathedral in Cracow in the 17th century]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1980, 57–60; Wardzyński 2015, 79, 212, 216, 219.

26 Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska [Jagiellonian Library], sign. 5231, Regestra mierzenia kruszców ołowianych w górach Chęcińskich i pobierania tamże olbory z lat 1610–1615 [Register of the lead-ore excavation tax called 'Olbora' in the Chęciny mines for the years 1610–1615], fol. 34r (16.12.1611), 44r (6.09.1612), 66v (6.09.1612); sign. 5232, *Acta officii consularis civitatis Chencinensis ad anno 1631 usque ad annum 1649*, fol. 28r; sign. 5477, *Prothocollon actorum civilium officii consularis civitatis Chencinensis ab anno 1622 usque ad annum 1696*, fol. 207v. Cf. Wardzyński 2011, 387.

27 Wardzyński 2011, 379–382.

throughout the country and abroad (the Principality of Transylvania, Upper Hungary).<sup>28</sup> Van Oyen became part of the local cosmopolitan artistic community comprising the following sculptors: the German Michael Werner,<sup>29</sup> brothers Bartholomeo, Sebastiano (and his sons), Giacomo and Agostino Venosta from Val Venosta (eastern Tyrol),<sup>30</sup> the Scotsman Casper



3. Augustin van Oyen of Utrecht (?) and Chęciny (attributed). The tombstone for Marcin Leśniowolski the Younger (d. 1627), St Martin's bas-relief in the coping. 1627–1629. 'Red-brown marble' of Bolechowice near Chęciny, 'black marble' of Dębnik and Podolian alabaster from Wasiuczyn (Васючин, today Ukraine). Former Jesuits church, Lublin. Photo: Michał Wardzyński

Achterlon<sup>31</sup> and numerous Poles, the most renowned of whom was his main competitor Janusz Oleksy.<sup>32</sup> Of all of them, van Oyen's figural and design work deserves the highest regard.

Due to his peculiar surname, the artist can be tentatively linked to the famous van Noyen family, aka d'Oia, from Utrecht,<sup>33</sup> whose most distinguished

<sup>28</sup> Wardzyński 2015, 270, fig. 779, 780, 832.

<sup>29</sup> Stolot 1970, 228, 231, 239.

<sup>30</sup> Wardzyński, Michał. "Rzeźbiarsko-kamieniarska rodzina Venosta vel Venesta, Venusta i jej działalność w 1. połowie XVII wieku w Chęcinach" [Sculptors and stonemasons from the Venosta family and their activity in the 1st half of the 17th century in Chęciny]. In: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 76, no. 3, 2014, 403–472.

<sup>31</sup> Grzeliński, Witalis. *Monografia Chęcin* [Monograph of Chęciny village]. Kielce: Gazeta Kielecka, 1908, 39.

<sup>32</sup> Wardzyński, Michał. "Nowożytny ośrodek kamieniarsko-rzeźbiarski w Chęcinach. Zarys historii od 4. ćwierci XVI do końca XVII wieku" [Early-modern stonemasonry and sculpture centre in Chęciny. Outline of history from the late 16th until the end of 17th century]. In: *Chęciny przez stulecia* [Chęciny through centuries]. Ed. by Lidia Michalska-Bracha, Jerzy Szczepański. Chęciny–Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2019, 91–93.

<sup>33</sup> "Oyen (Sébastien van)". In: *Bibliographie Nationale de Belgique*, vol. XVI. Bruxelles: Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique, 1901, 434–437.

member was Sebastiaan, known in Spanish by the name of Bastien d'Oya (1493–1557), a sculptor and architect at the court of Emperor Charles V and King Philip II of Spain, both of the House of Habsburg, and the Emperor's Chancellor Nicolas Perrenot de Granvelles and his son Cardinal Antoine. Giorgio Vasari mentions him in his *Lives of the Artists*. His son Francis (noted



4. Augustin van Oyen.  
The former high altar for the cathedral in  
Włocławek, in Kuyavia. 1633–1636.  
'Red-brown marble' of Bolechowice  
near Chęciny, 'reddish nodular marble'  
of Zygmuntówka/Jerzmaniec,  
pinkish veined calcite from  
Zelejowa Mountain, 'black marble'  
of Łagów and Dębnik  
and Podolian alabaster from  
Wasiuczyn (Васючин, today Ukraine).  
Parish church, Zduńska Wola near Łódź.  
Photo: Michał Wardzyński

1523–1600) played an equally prominent role, holding a similar post at the court of the regents of the kings of Spain in Brussels and Besançon.<sup>34</sup>

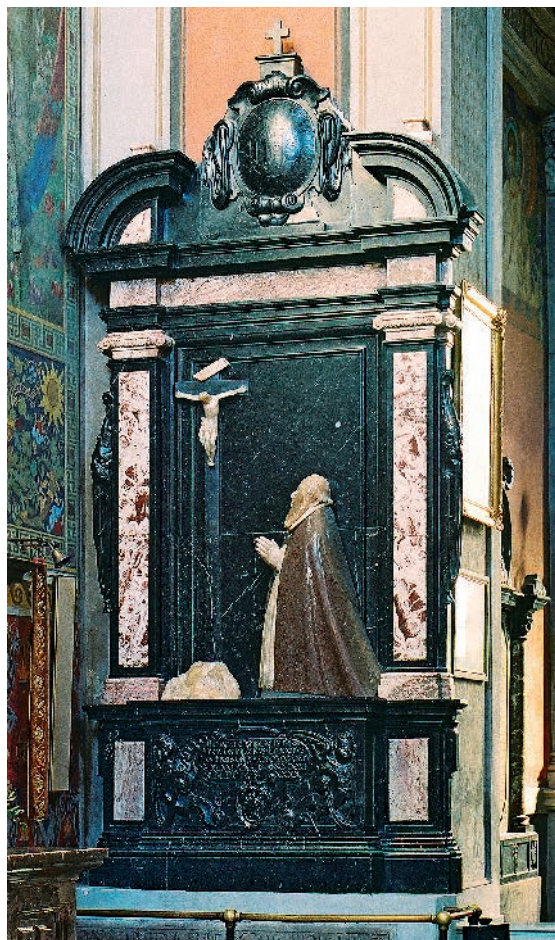
After achieving substantial financial success and social position at the turn of the 1620s and 1630s, the sculptor was repeatedly appointed a juror and city councillor.<sup>35</sup> Van Oyen's key to success in Poland was establishing a relationship and subsequent regular cooperation with several families of wealthy nobility from eastern Greater Poland, who were interlinked by marriage. The families' carriers as senators were promoted by the highest officials of the country's Latin Church, who at the time were associated with the court of the Vasa dynasty: the primates Jan Lipski of the Łada coat of arms from Lipie near Rawa Mazowiecka (pontificate: 1638–1641) and Maciej

34 Ozinga, Murk D. "Noyen (Noye, Oyen usw.) Sebastiaan van". In: *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 25. Started by Ulrich Thieme & Felix Becker, ed. by Hans Vollmer. Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann Verlag, 1931, 532–533.

35 Cracow, Jagiellonian Library, sign. 5232, fol. 28r; sign. 5477, fol. 283v.



Łubieński (1641–1652) from Łubna near Sieradz; the bishops Andrzej Lipski of the Grabie coat of arms (1623–1630), Bishop of Kujawy and then of Cracow, and Jakub Zadzik from Zadzim (1635–1642), Great Chancellor of the Crown and subsequently the Bishop of Cracow. In the 1640s, they were joined by Stanisław Zaremba (1632–1653), the administrator of the Kyiv diocese and the commendatory abbot of the Cistercians in Sulejów.<sup>36</sup> Due to the involvement of the architect designer Tommaso Poncino of Ticino in the formation of the



5. Augustin van Oyen (attributed).  
The tombstone for Stanisław Łubieński,  
bishop of Płock (d. 1640). 1640.  
'Black marble' of Dębnik,  
'red-brown marble' of Bolechowice,  
veined calcite from Zelejowa Mountain  
and Podolian alabaster from Wasiuczyn  
(Васючин, today Ukraine).  
Cathedral, Płock.  
Photo: Michał Wardzyński

abovementioned persons, it cannot be ruled out that van Oyen's contribution was only to complete the artist's distinctive and stylistically late *delineations*.<sup>37</sup>

His oeuvre contains around 40 altars, tombstones, epitaphs and portals sent from Chęciny to the neighbouring regions of the Polish Crown: Lesser and Greater Poland, Mazovia and Kuyavia. Two of them belong to the best

<sup>36</sup> Karpowicz 2004, 45, 47–48. Cf. Karpowicz, Mariusz. *Tomasz Poncino architekt palacu kieleckiego*. Kielce: Muzeum Narodowe w Kielcach, 2002, 32–42.

<sup>37</sup> Karpowicz 2002, 33, 35–36, 55–56, figs. 15, 35–39, 77.

examples of small-scale architecture and sculpture of the time: the first is the former high altar in the cathedral of Włocławek in Kuyavia, ordered in 1633 and executed in 1636 (since 1891 in Zduńska Wola near Łódź),<sup>38</sup> the second preserved in the former collegiate-church in Chocz in Greater Poland (1645–1648).<sup>39</sup> The sculptor in question deserves a monograph, first of all, because of his great skills in creating figural sculpture in whitish alabaster from Podolia and Crown Rus'<sup>40</sup> (a new type of bas-relief portraits in medallions and religious scenes, the latter inspired by famous alabaster works from Mechelen studios),<sup>41</sup> and secondly, due to the prompt reception of the series of prints published in Amsterdam by Crispijn de Passe (1st edition, 1642), in which the designs for altars and epitaphs were modelled on the prints from c. 1600 by the Romans Bernardino Radi and Giovanni Battista Montano.<sup>42</sup>

The ornamental features include modest strapwork (German: *Roll- und Scheifwerk*) motifs with suspended serrated draperies and lush fruity-floral overhangs, lion and eagle heads or paws and characteristically designed strapwork cartouches and plaque framings provided with ornamental casings. Whilst designing them, van Oyen used the patterns of architectural and sculptural detail of Hendrick de Keyser of Amsterdam, which he must have known from his own experience or from etchings in de Keyser's *Architectura Moderna*, published in 1631. They were collected for the first time as late as 1630 in the volume *Architectura Moderna*<sup>43</sup> and became famous throughout Northern Europe. Similar ornamentation is seen post-1600, most importantly in Gdańsk stonemasonry and sculpture, particularly in the mature and late stage of the work of Abraham van den Blocke. Some similar

38 Włocławek, Dioecesian Archives, sign. A.Kap.pos. 9 (223), 1620–1637, fol. 335r–335v; Chodyński, Stanisław. "Wielki ołtarz katedry włocławskiej" [High Altar of the Cathedral in Włocławek]. In: *Przegląd Katolicki*, vol. 32, no. 10, 1894, 149.

39 Włocławek, Archiwum Diecezjalne [Dioecesian Archives in Włocławek], sygn. XVII-1, *Acta Venerabilis Capituli Lipsensis in Chocz ab anno Domini Millesimo Quadragesimo et Tertio in Mense Augusto*, fol. 39v, 58v, 64.

40 Rajchel, Jacek & Tomasz Śliwa, Michał Wardzyński. "Alabaster from the Ukrainian Carpathian Foredeep Basin in the Architecture and Sculpture of Cracow". In: *Geological Quarterly*, 58, 2014, no. 3, 552–559, fig. 2–5.

41 Van Oyen executed circa 20 such bas-reliefs in both models; one of them, however, deserves a special mention: *St. Martin of Tours donating mantle to a beggar*, located around 1629 in the coping of the Marcin Leśniowski the Younger's tombstone in the former Jesuits church (today arch cathedral) in Lublin, eastern Lesser Poland. Cf. fig. 3 in this article. For more about this monument, see: Tatarkiewicz, Władysław. "Srebrny nagrobek Marcina Leśniowskiego w katedrze lubelskiej" [The silver tombstone for Marcin Leśniowski in the Lublin Cathedral]. In: Tatarkiewicz, Władysław. *O sztuce polskiej XVII i XVIII wieku: architektura, rzeźba* [On the Polish art of the 17th–18th centuries: architecture, sculpture]. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966, 437–450, fig. 1–2. About Mechelenian alabaster bas-reliefs in Central and Eastern Europe, see: Lipińska, Aleksandra. *Moving Sculptures: Southern Netherlandish Alabasters from the 16th to 17th Centuries in Central and Northern Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2014 (= *Studies in Netherlandish Art and Cultural History* 11), especially 32–33, 36, 53, 84.

42 Betlej, Andrzej. "Przykłady oddziaływania wzorów Giovanniego Battisty Montany i Bernardino Radiego w sztuce polskiej XVII i XVIII w." [Examples of dissemination of the designs and prints by Giovanni Battista Montano and Bernardino Radi in the art in Poland of the 17th and 18th centuries]. In: *Barok i barokizacja*. Materiały sesji oddziału krakowskiego SHS, Kraków 3–4 XII 2004 [Baroque and barokisation. Conference proceedings of the Cracow branch of the Polish Art Historians Association, Cracow, 3–4 December 2004]. Ed. by Katarzyna Brzezina and Joanna Wolańska. Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych "Universitas", 2007, 171–172, pls. 46/1, 4, 51/14–15.

43 Ottenheim, Konrad & Paul Rosenberg, Niek Smit. *Hendrick de Keyser: Architectura Moderna: Moderne bouwkunst in Amsterdam 1600–1625*. Amsterdam: SUN, 2008, passim.



solutions are also present in the oeuvre of the day from the Chęciny studios of the Oleksy and Venosta families (modelled on the works of Alexander Colijn of Mechelen in Innsbruck and Tyrol),<sup>44</sup> who were competing with van Oyen. He also used some *Knorpelwerk* (auricular-style) patterns by Lukas Kilian from Augsburg for shaping cartouches and the so-called ornamental 'ears' on the sides of an altar or a tombstone structure.<sup>45</sup>



6. Augustin van Oyen (attributed).  
The altar of St Barbara. 1645.  
'Black marble' of Dębnik, veined calcite from Zelejowa Mountain and Podolian alabaster from Wasiuczyn (Васючин, today Ukraine).  
Parish church, Lisów near Kielce.  
Photo: Michał Wardzyński

Equally important was Van Oyen's large-scale introduction of three-colour material range *op Nederlandse manier* (black Meuse homogenous limestones *Noir de Dinant* or *Noir Belge* from Namur, reddish coral limestone *Rouge griotte*, aka *Vieux Rance* or *Rouge de Rochefort*, as well as whitish English alabaster), known from the Antwerp school of Cornelis Floris de Vriendt<sup>46</sup> and among his students and imitators operating in the Baltic region.<sup>47</sup> The Netherlandish artist managed to replace individual original materials, which were unavailable

44 Wardzyński 2014, 435–437.

45 Kilian, Lukas. *Neuues Schildtuchlin gstochen unnd an Tag geben durch Lucas Kilian Burgeerr und Kupferstecher in Augspurg, cum S.C.M. Privileg.*, 1610, fig. 9; Kilian, Lukas. *Emblemata Sacra Passionis Salvatoris Nostri Iesu Christi...* MDCXX, fig. 1, 9–11.

46 Huysmans, Antoinette & Jan Van Damme, Carl Van de Velde, Christine Van Mulders. *Cornelis Floris 1514–1575: beeldhouwer – architect – ontwerper*. Brussel: Gemeentekrediet, 1996, 81–83, 89–96, figs. 196–198, 217–223, 224, 226–227.

47 Meganck, Tine Lee. "Cornelis Floris and the 'Floris-school' in the Baltic". In: *Florissant. Bijdragen tot de kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden (15de–17de eeuw)*. Liber Amicorum Carl Van de Velde. Ed. by Arnout Balis, Paul Huvenne, Jeanine Lambrecht, Christine Van Mulders. Brussel: VUB Press, 2005, 171–184; Baresel-Brand, Andrea. *Grabdenkmäler nordeuropäischer Fürstenthäuser im Zeitalter der Renaissance 1550–1650*. Kiel: Ludwig Verlag, 2007, 138–140, 154–160, 174–177, 245–250, figs. 40, 42, 51–59, 61.

in central Lesser Poland due to financial reasons, with local surrogates: brown and reddish limestones from Chęciny: *Bolechowice*, *Zygmuntówka* (Sigismund royal marble) and *Różanka Zelejowska*<sup>48</sup>, dark grey limestone from Dębnik<sup>49</sup> (purchases from the local mining centre were confirmed by source information in June 1652)<sup>50</sup>, and the abovementioned whitish varieties of Podolia alabaster from Wasiuczyn (today Васючин in Ukraine) and Zhuravno (Журавно) near Stanyslaviv (Івано-Франківськ, Ivano-Frankivsk). In addition, van Oyen was the Commonwealth's second sculptor (after Abraham van den Blocke) to experiment with combining marble and alabaster elements in figures, which was a sixteenth-century Flemish invention.<sup>51</sup>

A large scale of production, as well as the high artistic quality of works from van Oyen's studio, fuelled the development of the Chęciny centre as late as the Second Northern War (1655–1660) and contributed to its successful competition with the burgeoning mining and stonemasonry centre in Dębnik, manned with craftsmen from Ticino as well as Poles from the guild in the nearby capital city of Cracow. The Netherlandish origin – just as the stylistic origin – of van Oyen's work incline one to draw comparisons with artists of the same artistic roots in Danzig: Wilhelm Richter, Abraham van den Blocke's student, from Bielefeld,<sup>52</sup> Hans Caspar Gockheller from Schorndorf in Baden-Württemberg,<sup>53</sup> Conrad Walther and Peter Häppner,<sup>54</sup> as well as their fellow countryman Leonhard Mertens operating in Elbing.<sup>55</sup>

48 Wardzyński 2011, 381–2, figs. 2–6.

49 Wardzyński, Michał. "In Black, Rosy and Whitish... Dębnik near Cracow, the Commonwealth of Two Nations' Foremost 17th-century Colour-limestone Quarry Complex and Statuary-and-Stonemasonry Centre". In: *Signum lapidarium. Estudios sobre gliptografia en Europa, America y Oriente Proximo. Actes du XVIII Colloque International de Glyptographie à Valence, 23–27 juillet 2012*. Ed. by Raul Romero Medina. Valence: Editorial Cultiva Libros S.L., 2015, 76–84; Wardzyński 2015, 268–269.

50 Czerna, Archiwum Krakowskiej Prowincji Karmelitów Bosych p.w. Ducha Św. [Discaled Carmelites' Cracow Province of the Holy Spirit Archives], sign. AKC 322, Accepta pieniędzy z roznych prawentow Folwarkow Naszych w Roku 1646 [Money collection from different incomes of our granges in the year 1646], 1646–1720, fol. 19v (20.06.1652).

51 Wardzyński, Michał. "Alabastry ruskie – dzieje eksploatacji i zastosowania w małej architekturze i rzeźbie na Rusi, w Koronie i na Śląsku w XVI wieku" [Ruthenian alabasters: History of excavation and dissemination in small-scale architecture and sculpture in Crown Rus', Polish Kingdom and Silesia in the 16th century]. In: *Między Wrocławiem i Lwowem. Sztuka na Śląsku, w Małopolsce i na ziemiach ruskich Korony od XVI do XVIII wieku* [Between Breslau and Lviv. Art in Silesia, Lesser Poland and Crown Rus' from 16th to 18th century]. Ed. by Andrzej Betlej, Katarzyna Brzezina and Piotr Oszczanowski. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersyteckie, 2010, 340–342, fig. 1; Wardzyński 2015, 233–238, figs. 45, 56, 626–632.

52 Heydel, Maria. "Richter Wilhelm". In: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających: Malarze – rzeźbiarze – graficy*, vol. 8. Ed. by Urszula Makowska and Katarzyna Mikocka-Rachubowa. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Sztuki PAN, 2007, 349–351; Pałubicki 2019, 476–477.

53 Łodyńska-Kosińska, Maria. "Gockheller Hans Caspar". In: *Saur allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 56. München–Leipzig: K. G. Saur, 2007, 354; Pałubicki 2019, 186–187.

54 Starzyński, Juliusz. "Do dziejów polsko-gdańskich stosunków artystycznych w XVII wieku (przyczynek archiwalny)" [An archival contribution to the history of Polish–Danzig artistic relations in the 17th century]. In: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1933/1934, 68–70.

55 Szmydki 2013, 213–240; Wardzyński, Michał. "Marmo bianco statuario z Carrary oraz inne importowane gatunki marmurów włoskich w małej architekturze i rzeźbie na terenie dawnej Rzeczypospolitej od XVI do końca XVIII wieku" [Marmo bianco statuario of Carrara and the other imported varieties of Italian marbles in small-scale architecture and sculpture in the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth from the 16th to the end of 18th century]. In: *Porta Aurea. Rocznik Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego* [Porta Aurea. Yearbook of the Art History Institute. Gdańsk University], XIII, 2014 (= *Rzeźba Prus Królewskich XVI–XVIII w.* [The 16th to 18th-century sculpture in the former Royal Prussia]. Ed. by Jacek Kriegseisen). 121–123, figs. 27–29; Pałubicki 2019, 645.

As van Oyen's two sons, unknown by name, did not follow their father's footsteps, his property and studio were auctioned after 1655, and the studio was managed by the Chęciny sculptor Andrzej Czernic, aka Kacik, who ran it until at least 1675.<sup>56</sup> According to the Chęciny law court sources dating from 1664, Czernic was a collaborator of Martin Christian Peterson, a Dane active in Cracow.<sup>57</sup>



7. Martin Christian Peterson of Copenhagen and Cracow (attributed).

The tombstone for Jakub Zadzik, Bishop of Cracow. 1645–1647.

'Black marble' of Dębnik, veined calcite from Paczółtowice near Cracow and Podolian alabaster from Wasiuczyn (Васючин) or Czerniejów, Czerniów (Чернівці, both today in Ukraine), gilded bras.

Cathedral, St James' side chapel. Cracow, Wawel Hill.

Photo: Michał Wardzyński

Martin Christian Peterson, regularly mentioned from 1649 until his death in late 1664 in the archives of Cracow and the Discalced Carmelites convent in Czerna, which administered the 'black marble' quarries in Dębnik, came from Copenhagen. His father, Christian, was a builder there, and his mother was Anna Macke, whereas the submission of a letter of good birth was witnessed by the cabinet-maker Johann Funck, who came from the Danish capital and settled in Cracow, and by Jakob Peterson, a locksmith and a relative.<sup>58</sup>

The earliest mention of the artist's activity dates from 10 August 1649 and concerns the purchase of a large number of 'black marble' blocks in Dębnik

<sup>56</sup> Cracow, Jagiellonian Library, sign. 5477, fol. 207v; Wardzyński 2012, 162.

<sup>57</sup> Wardzyński 2011, 389, note 93; Wardzyński 2012, 167–168, fig. 32.

<sup>58</sup> Cracow, National Archives, sign. AmKr 259, Acta testimoniorum, 14.10.1647 – 20.10.1683, 187–189.



for the considerable sum of 330 florins.<sup>59</sup> It was here that, until 1664, Peterson bought sculptural material for the total sum of 2,789.72 florins<sup>60</sup> from the leaseholders of the quarries, Bartholomeo Stoppano and Adam and Wojciech Gabrysik/Gabrysiowicz, aka Negowicz.<sup>61</sup> These commissions make him, along with the famous Cracow-based sculptor and royal builder Sebastiano Sala from



8. Martin Christian Peterson (attributed).  
The entrance portal to Jakub Zadzik's  
funeral chapel. 1645–1647.  
'Black marble' of Dębnik, veined calcite from  
Paczółtowiec, near Cracow,  
and Podolian alabaster from  
Wasiuczyn (Васючин) or Czerniejów,  
Czerniów (Чернівці, both today  
in Ukraine), gilded bras.  
Cathedral. Cracow, Wawel Hill.  
Photo: Michał Wardzyński

Lugano,<sup>62</sup> the main recipient of the material in Cracow until as late as the 1670s. It appears then that at the beginning of his stay and activity in Cracow, Peterson was independent of the guild or co-operated as a free senior journeyman on larger commissions with the masters of the day: Sala or Bartholomeo Ronchi, the architect and sculptor of Ladislaus IV and John II Casimir Vasa in Cracow and Łobzów. The surge of the Dane's career is linked to the two artists. Following their sudden death in 1652 during the plague epidemic,<sup>63</sup>

59 Czerna, Disclaled Carmelites' Cracow Province of the Holy Spirit Archives, sign. AKC 322, fol. 13r.

60 Czerna, Disclaled Carmelites' Cracow Province of the Holy Spirit Archives, sign. AKC 322, fol. 14v, 19v, 23r, 25r, 26v, 36r, 39r, 39v, 40v, 46v, 47r, 47v, 48v, 49r, 50v, 51r.

61 Wardzyński 2014, 71–73, 94–98.

62 Kuczman, Kazimierz. "Sala Sebastian". In: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Lexikon], vol. XXXIV/3, no. 142. Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Ossolineum, 1993, 351–352.

63 Kuczman 1993, 352.

Peterson took over Sala's studio as well as the prestigious and at the same time lucrative international commissions previously entered into by both masters in Gyulafehérvár (today Alba Iulia in Romania), the capital city of Transylvania, for the Prince George II Rákóczi.<sup>64</sup> Before 1654, he began to live in a tenement owned by the widow Regina Sala at 16 Sławkowska Street, which resulted in inheritance proceedings being launched by the late sculptor's children from the



9. Martin Christian Peterson (attributed).  
Key stone with a mascaron. 1652–1653.  
'Black marble' of Dębnik.  
Pauline pilgrimage church,  
side funeral chapel for  
the Dönhoff family, Jasna Góra  
near Częstochowa.  
Photo: Michał Wardzyński

first marriage. The dispute was settled only in 1662 at the Royal Court of Justice.<sup>65</sup> Meanwhile, on 10 September 1653, Peterson was awarded the citizenship of the capital city of Cracow, and on 19 March 1654 he became a guild master as a stone sculptor and stonemason-builder.<sup>66</sup> In 1658–1664 he was regularly

<sup>64</sup> Détsky, Michaly. "Nagrobki Rakoczich w Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) zamówione w Krakowie w połowie XVII wieku" [Tombstone for the Rakoczis in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) ordered in Cracow around 1650]. In: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 50, no. 1–2, 1988, 105–106; Janowski, Piotr J. "Nieznane fakty z życia i działalności artystycznej rzeźbiarza Sebastiana Sali w kontekście inwentarza pośmiertnego z r. 1652" [Unknown facts on the life and artistic activity of sculptor Sebastiano Sala in the context of the post-mortem inventory of the year 1652]. In: *Klio*, vol. 56, no. 4, 2020, 21–25; Janowski, Piotr Józef. "Inwentarz marmurów z krakowskiego warsztatu Sebastiana Sali z 1653 r. Kilka uwag na temat biografii rzeźbiarza i jego ostatnich zamówień" [Marble inventory from the Cracovian workshop by Sebastiano Sala. Some remarks on sculptor's biography and his last commissions]. In: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 84, no. 2, 2022, 328.

<sup>65</sup> Cracow, National Archives, sign. APK 2625, *Exactio schoss*, 1654, 66. Cf. Janowski 2020, 18, 19, 27, 28. Before March 1656, Peterson moved to the house owned by Rev. Mikołaj Oborski, Cracow suffragan, then before 1662 – to the house of Cracow vicars college near the Royal Castle on the Wawel Hill. Cf. Cracow, National Archives, sign. APK 2627, *Quartulae castrense*. *Regestra exactionis "schoss" 1656*, 33; sign. APK 2642, *Regestra exactionis "schoss" 1662 ex quartale castrense*, 40.

<sup>66</sup> Cracow, ANKr, sign. AmKr 1427, *Catalogus civium Cracoviens. Secundi ordinis ab Anno 1634 ad annum 1668*, 136; sign. AD 480, *Regest seu Liber Actorum Contuberni Murariorum et Stameciorum clarissi Urbis Cracoviensis AD MDLXXII*, 285.



selected a member of the confraternity's elders and, starting from 1654, he admitted as many as twelve apprentices for training (most of them were Poles), six of whom became journeymen. It must be noted that among them were sons of two chief stonemasons-leaseholders of the Dębnik quarries, Bartholomeo Stoppano and Wojciech Gabryś, aka Negowicz, as well as others from the environs of Dębnik.<sup>67</sup> After Martin's death in late 1664, the son of the sculptor Jędrzej (Andrew) was admitted for training on 27 May 1668 by the sculptor's main competitor, Marcin Bielawski. He was initially a woodcarver who arrived from Podolia before 1654 and, from 1666, traded as a master stonemason.<sup>68</sup> He was promoted to the status of journeyman as early as 9 March 1670, but Jędrzej appears in the guild's records only until 1673; his subsequent fortunes are unknown.<sup>69</sup> Peterson and his wife Jadwiga had two more sons: Marcin, a Cracow burgher, and Jan, who became a Bernardine monk and in the 1660s stayed in a monastery in the suburbs known as Stradom. Following the artist's death, his private tenement in the castle quarter was noted in Cracow's fiscal records; he and his wife were tenants in a house run by castle curates at the junction of Grodzka and Senacka streets.<sup>70</sup>

The main work Peterson has been associated with so far was the unpreserved monumental marble reliquary altar of Blessed Szymon of Lipnica in the Bernardine church in Stradom. In 1662 the sculptor signed an extensive contract by which he agreed to place a high freestanding mensa with a sarcophagus with an early seventeenth-century red-marble lying figure of a pious monk between four obelisks.<sup>71</sup> The altarpiece, which remained unfinished most probably due to his death, was thoroughly altered in 1685 by Stefan Bystrzycki and Jacek Zielaski from Cracow and Dębnik.<sup>72</sup> In addition, one can distinguish a new group of works in marble-alabaster sculpture in Cracow, Lesser Poland and Upper Hungary, which cannot be attributed to any of the artists, who today are recognised as having operated in the region: Sala, Ronchi, van Oyen, Czernic or Bielawski. They are marked, most notably, by exceptional proficiency, even virtuosity, in processing the difficult material,

67 Cracow, ANKr, sign. AD 480, 286, 287, 289, 290, 292, 293; sign. AD 496, Regestrum pro inscribendis discipulis artificii Auratorum et Stametiorum studio & diligentia Sni. Joannis Wieloch protunc senioris contubernii illorum nec non collegiarum eius vc. Est Dnor. Augustini Lithwinek, Joannis Itali, Adami Zapis comparatum, Anno Dni. 1596, 175–177, 182, 186, 188, 189, 191, 192, 194, 196, 197, 435, 436, 438, 440.

68 Wardzyński 2014, 107–110; Wardzyński 2017, 116–118.

69 Cracow, ANKr, sign. AD 480, 452, 460; sign. AD 496, 208.

70 Before 1664 Martin Christian Peterson bought a house in the same castle district. After his death, the tenant there was in 1667 famous local painter Marcin Kłosowski, and the widow lived in the nearby Cracow vicars house. Cf. Cracow, National Archives, sign. APK 2643, Regestra exactionis Schoss 1665, 16; sign. APK, 2644, Regestra exactionis Schoss 1666, 15, 30.

71 Cracow, Archiwum Prowincji Polskiej Bernardynów [The Minor Friars' Polish Province Archives], sign. I-e-7, Akta klasztoru oo. Bernardynów w Krakowie. Blog. Szymon z Lipnicy i jego kult [Cracow Minor Friars' Cloister dossier concerning Bl. Simon of Lipnica and his cult], 1486–1949, fol. unnumbered (copy of a lost original document).

72 *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce* [Catalogue of the Art Monuments in Poland], vol. IV: *Miasto Kraków* [City of Cracow], part IV: *Kazimierz i Stradom. Kościoły i klasztory* [Kazimierz and Stradom Districts. Churches and cloisters]. Ed. by Izabela Rejdach-Samkowska and Jan Samek. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, 1987, 16, figs. 170, 738, 740.

i.e. the 'black marble' from Dębnik prone to chipping or the vein calcite 'Różanka' mined in the neighbouring villages of Paczółtowice and Czerna<sup>73</sup> and featuring very complex elements, even containing openwork motifs. The author's erudition is seen in a wide range of inspirations, from etchings of Cornelis Floris de Vriendt,<sup>74</sup> through Hendrick de Keyser,<sup>75</sup> to German authors of *Zierathenbücher*,<sup>76</sup> which contained the newest late-Mannerist



10. Cornelis Floris de Vriendt of Antwerp. Mascaroon. 1555. Etching. Public domain

auricular-style motifs, especially zoomorphic masks, mascarons and lush frame casings. Such an ornament appeared in Cracow as early as c. 1627–1630 in excellent woodcarvings by Jakub Piszczarek, Balthasar Kuntz from the Cracow district of Kleparz, and Fabian Möller from Danzig, promoted to the status of journeyman in 1617, apprentice of the famous Simon Herle/Hörel and Abraham van den Blocke.<sup>77</sup> Due to the previous domination of Ticino and

73 Wardzyński 2014, 76–83, figs. 1–7.

74 Cf. 'Masker' series of ornamental prints, dated 1555. Cf. Huysmans et al. 1996, 40, 56–57, 150, figs. 152, 153, 156, 159. Cf. the set of four impressive mascarons in the key-stones of interior arcades in the Dönhoffs' funeral chapel in the Pauline pilgrimage church on Jasna Góra near Częstochowa, around 1650–1652.

75 Ottenheym, Rosenberg, Smit 2008, Tab. XXVII, XXVIII, XXXV.

76 Cf. Gottfried Müller's *Compartment Buch* ... series, published 1621 in Braunschweig, e.i. figs. 2, 11, 13; the abovementioned Lukas Kilian's *Emblemata Sacri Passionis* ..., Augsburg, 1620, figs. 4, 5, 7, 11. Cf. cartouches and frame decorations in the Bishop Jakub Zadzik's chapel in the cathedral in Cracow (1645–1647), as well as the foundation plaque in the parish church in Raków near Kielce, executed in 1645 from a post-mortem donation of the same notable.

77 Wardzyński, Michał. "Z dziejów snycerstwa krakowskiego około roku 1630" [From the history of woodcarving in Cracow around the year 1630]. In: *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku* [Studies in Renaissance and Baroque art], vol. 5. Ed. by Jerzy Lileyko. Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2004, 61–103; Wardzyński 2017, 110, note 44.

Comacine masters in Cracow's stone sculpture, it was Peterson who was the promoter of such decorations. His inventions in the field were taken up by the stonemasons who collaborated with him and leased the Dębnik quarries, most importantly brothers Adam and Wojciech Gabrysik/Gabrysiowicz, aka Negowicz. Auricular features were widely present in frame casings and cartouches of tens of epitaphs, gravestones and altars as early as the 1650s. The



11. Martin Christian Peterson, Stefan Bystrzycki and Jacek Zielaski of Cracow and Dębnik (remodelled). Blessed Szymon of Lipnica's reliquary altar. 1663–1664, 1685. 'Black marble' of Dębnik, veined calcite from Paczółtowice near Cracow and 'red marble' of Tardos (Kingdom of Hungary). Minor friars' church, side chapel. Cracow, Stradom district. Photo: Michał Wardzyński

scale of the process in the very conservative Dębnik centre is seen by the fact that such stylistic forms were preserved until as late as the 1730s (!).<sup>78</sup>

In the discussed group of works – attributed by me solely on the basis of comparative analysis with Martin Christian Peterson – a high-quality figural sculpture executed in light Podolia alabaster from Wasiuczyn and Zhuravno ranks lower in terms of finesse than the contemporary works by Sala and van

<sup>78</sup> Wardzyński, Michał. "Organizacja pracy i praktyka warsztatowa w kamieniołomach dębnickich od 2 ćw. XVII do pocz. XVIII w. a "długie trwanie" form późnomanierystycznych i wczesnobarokowych" [Work organisation and workshop practice in the Dębnik quarries from 2nd quarter of the 17th to the beginning of the 18th century and a long-lasting tradition of late-Mannerist and early-Baroque stylistic forms]. In: *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku* [Studies in Renaissance and Baroque art], vol. XI: *Tradycja i innowacja w sztuce nowożytnej* [Tradition and innovation in early modern art]. Ed. by Irena Rolska-Boruch. Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2012, 361–362, 364, 366.



Oyen. Statues and reliefs executed by a single author in the chapel of Bishop Jakub Zadzik in the Cracow Cathedral (1645–1647),<sup>79</sup> in Wschowa (western Greater Poland),<sup>80</sup> Lublin (eastern Lesser Poland)<sup>81</sup> and Trenčín on the Váh (Upper Hungary, now Slovakia)<sup>82</sup> demonstrate northern, late-Mannerist traits



12. Bartholomeo Ronchi of Cracow (design?), Martin Christian Peterson (execution, attributed). Gáspár Illésházy's tombstone. 1649.

'Black marble' of Dębnik, veined calcite from Paczółtowice and Zelejowa Mountain, 'red-brown marble' of Bolechowice, 'reddish nodular marble' of Zygmuntówka/Jerzmaniec and Podolian alabaster from Wasieczyn (Васючин) or Czerniejów, Czerniów (Чернівці, both today in Ukraine). Parish church.

Trenčín, Upper Hungary (today in Slovakia).

Photo: Michał Wardzyński

79 Targosz, Karolina. "Kaplica biskupa Jakuba Zadzika w katedrze na Wawelu i jej architekt Sebastian Sala" [Bishop Jakub Zadzik's chapel in Wawel Cathedral and its architect Sebastiano Sala]. In: *Studia do dziejów Wawelu* [Studies in history of the Wawel Hill], vol. 5, 1991, 237–308. In later time Mariusz Karpowicz attributed this interior furnishing to Augustin van Oyen. Cf. Karpowicz 2004, 47–48.

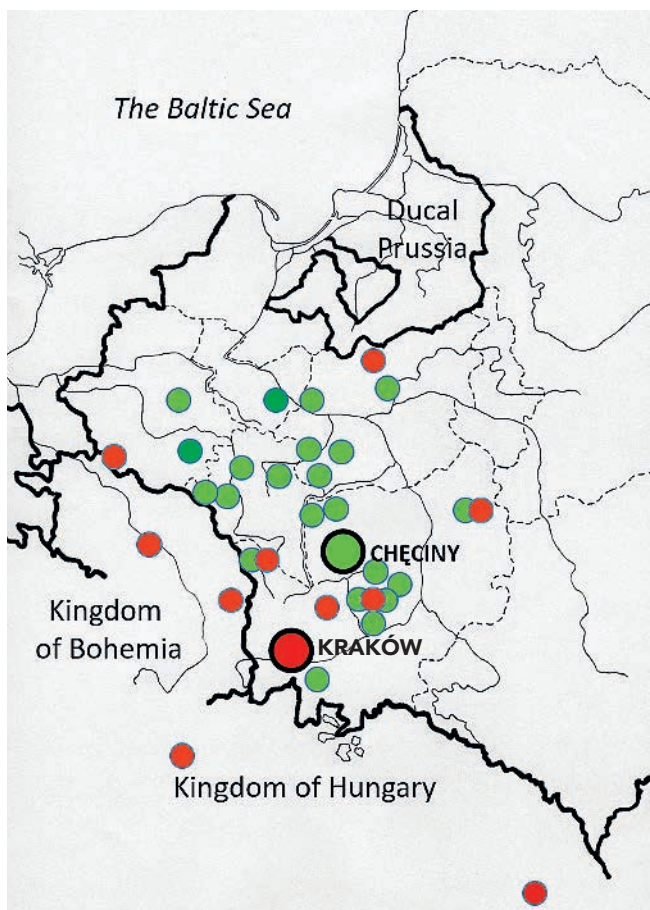
80 Cf. tombstone for Mikołaj Tarnowiecki (d. 1640) in the Minor Friars' church. Cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Poloniae*, vol. X: *Inskrypcje województwa lubuskiego* [Inscriptions of the Lubusz voievodship], issue 2: *Powiat wschowski* [Wschowa district]. Ed. by Adam Górski, Paweł Karp. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2006, 115–116, cat. no. 86.

81 Cf. epitaph for rev. Walenty Turobojski (d. 1650) in the parish church in Czwartek district. Cf. Badach, Artur. "Rozwój form i treści plastyki sepulkralnej w Lublinie w XVII wieku" [Formal and semantic development of the sepulchral plastic in Lublin in the 17th century]. In: *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku* [Studies in Renaissance and Baroque art], vol. 5. Ed. by Jerzy Lilejko and Irena Rolska-Boruch. Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2004, 153–154, figs. 5–6.

82 Cf. monumental tombstone for the Hungarian magnate Gáspár Illésházy, executed in 1649. Cf. Ross, Juliusz. "Związki Słowaczyny i Małopolski w dziedzinie rzeźby nagrobnej z okresu renesansu i manieryzmu" [Connections between sepulchral sculpture in Slovakian lands and Lesser Poland in the period of Renaissance and Mannerism]. In: *Folia Historiae Artium*, 5, 1968, 145–146; Rusina, Ivan. "Epitaś Gáspára Illésházyho" [Tombstone for Gáspár Illésházy]. In: *Renesancia. Umenie medzi neskorou gotikou a barokom. Dejiny slovenského výtvarného umenia* [Renaissance. The art between late Gothic and Baroque. History of art in Slovakia]. Ed. by Ivan Rusina et al. Bratislava: Slovenská národná galéria: Slovart, 2009, 796, cat. 157; recently Wardzyński 2015, 285–286, fig. 832.

with a tendency to ornament hairstyle and facial hair. For this reason, they must be comparatively juxtaposed rather with contemporary works from Danzig and Elbing made in the studios of Richter, Gockheller and Mertens. A serious blow to the production of alabaster sculpture in the Commonwealth

13. Map of the former Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth marking the sculpture and small-scale architecture works by Augustin van Oyen of Utrecht (?) and Chęciny (green circles), and by Martin Christian Peterson of Copenhagen and Cracow (red circles).  
Design:  
Michał Wardzyński, 2017



was caused by the destruction, in 1648, of the mining infrastructure in Podolia by Cossack insurgents of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the Tartars.<sup>83</sup> From then onwards, in Lviv, Cracow and Chęciny, only previously gathered supplies of the precious raw material were used, which, from the 1660s, were gradually replaced by other local materials or even precious varieties of gypsum, imported at a great cost from England and the German lands via Danzig.<sup>84</sup>

Peterson's arrival and achievement of the status of the most important urban sculptor in 1654 signify, therefore, not only the end of the Italian supremacy in the field of sculpture in marble, alabaster and stone in Cracow and Lesser Poland, but also a general stylistic reorientation of the works produced there.

<sup>83</sup> Wardzyński 2015, 290.

<sup>84</sup> Wardzyński 2015, 245–246, figs. 668–671.



Peterson played a crucial role in the dissemination of the Dutch *Kwabornament* as well as German *Knorpelwerk* decorative forms there. Marcin Bielawski, as well as successive managers and stonemasons of the mining and production centre in Dębnik, withdrew from the earlier Lombardian-Roman stylistic repertoire of Sala and Ronchi as early as the 1660s. Another change of the kind occurred in Cracow only in the early 1680s and had to do with the local perception of mature-Baroque graphic inventions of the Frenchmen Jean Le Pautre the Younger, Nicolas Blasset and Jean Marot the Elder.<sup>85</sup>

The three sculptors discussed in this article remain the only Netherlands of this profession identified in source materials as being active in Cracow and Lesser Poland in the entire first half of the 17th century. In contrast to their numerous compatriots active in the Baltic Sea region, they were forced to operate on a solo basis in an unfavourable community of professionals, which had been dominated by Ticino and Comacine artists since the 1650s. As regards stylistic provenance, their competitors included more numerous German-speaking artists, who, due to the Thirty Years' War, had left the German lands in search for safety and career opportunities in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. At the same time, the Netherlandish artists themselves were returning to their homeland, where in 1611 the Twelve Years' Truce was signed in the Eighty Years' War. Accordingly, the presence at the time of masters from Holland and the Spanish Netherlands in the southern territories of the Polish Crown ought to be regarded as an oddity. Suffice to say that the next generation of artists to have originated or trained as sculptors in the Netherlands (Andreas Silber and Caspar Günther, then Hans Michael Gockheller, Stephan (?) Schwaner, Hans Caspar Äschmann, followed by Andreas Schlüter the Younger and Johannes Söffrens, aka Zephrens) would appear in the Commonwealth, mainly in Gdańsk, Elbląg and Warsaw, as late as the 1660s–1680s.<sup>86</sup>

In purely artistic terms, the Netherlander Augustin van Oyen and the Dane Martin Christian Peterson represented very similar formal-stylistic formulae of figural sculpture and ornamentation of the same northern late-Mannerist provenance. For the older of them, van Oyen, the strongest impulses came from the work of the Mechelen studios, the Amsterdam design of Hendrick de Keyser and the reception of the Gdańsk sculpture of Abraham van den Blocke. Peterson, two decades his junior and most likely trained in his native Copenhagen, early on had been acquainted with the work of the renowned masters Adriaen de Vries and Gert van Egen, who were employed at the court of King Christian IV and who were part of what was one of the main centres of international craft and art links between members of this influential diaspora. In contrast to van Oyen, the Dane, being a sculptor and an architect designer of small-scale monuments, made generous use of the generally

<sup>85</sup> Wardzyński 2015, 295, note 1080.

<sup>86</sup> Wardzyński 2017, 164–171, figs. 6, 8, 10, 12.

available Netherlandish and German series of ornamental prints, compiling them and adapting individual elements which were then incorporated in original compositions of his own invention. Typical of their period, both were gifted compilers, yet preserved their talents to create figural sculptures and ornamental elements. On top of that, there was their alleged co-operation with the Italian-Swiss designers Sala, Poncino or Ronchi. Of special interest was their choice, made due to financial reasons, of honey-coloured and whitish alabaster from Wasiuczyn and Zhuravno in Podolia. The same challenge had earlier been faced by the Netherlanders active in Silesia, Bohemia and Upper Hungary, where they couldn't access that elitist material from England, Burgundy, Spain or Volterra in Italy. Both of the discussed sculptors were the last representatives of late Mannerism in the sculpture of Cracow and Lesser Poland. In the subsequent period of mature Baroque, the Dutch and Flemish influence in the Baltic region can be seen exclusively in Gdańsk and Elbląg,<sup>87</sup> and exceptionally at the elitist court of King John III Sobieski in Wilanów, Warsaw, and Żółkiew (Жовква) near Lviv.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Wardzyński 2012, 238–524, figs. 5, 8, 10, 12; Wardzyński 2017, 164–172, figs. 6–13.

<sup>88</sup> Wardzyński, Michał. “Holenderskie i niderlandzkie importy rzeźbiarskie dla króla Jana III w Wilanowie (1679–1696). Mechanizmy zamówień – Artyści i dzieła – Wzory” [Dutch and Flemish imported sculptures for King John III Sobieski in Wilanów (1679–1696). Mechanisms of orders – Artists and works – Patterns]. In: *Jan III Sobieski – polski bohater narodowy i zwycięzca spod Wiednia. Historia. Pamięć. Dziedzictwo* [John III Sobieski – Polish national hero and victor of Vienna. History. Remembrance. Heritage]. Ed. by Bogusław Dybaś and Anna Ziemlewska. Warszawa–Wilanów: Wydawnictwo Muzeum w Wilanowie, 2022, passim.

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# A QUELLINUS IN SCANDINAVIA: THOMAS QUELLINUS (1661–1709) AND HIS ARTISTIC PRODUCTION IN DENMARK\*

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## SUMMARY

The Quellinus were one of the most prolific seventeenth-century families of sculptors in the Low Countries. Rooted in Antwerp, where they had a thriving workshop, the Quellinus received many commissions both from within and outside the Low Countries, and in this way rapidly gained fame throughout Europe. Besides the Antwerp workshop, members of the Quellinus dynasty set up flourishing workshops in the Netherlands, Denmark and England. The artistic richness and diversity of the family is clear from the fact that they counted among their ranks no less than ten artists, sculptors as well as painters and engravers.

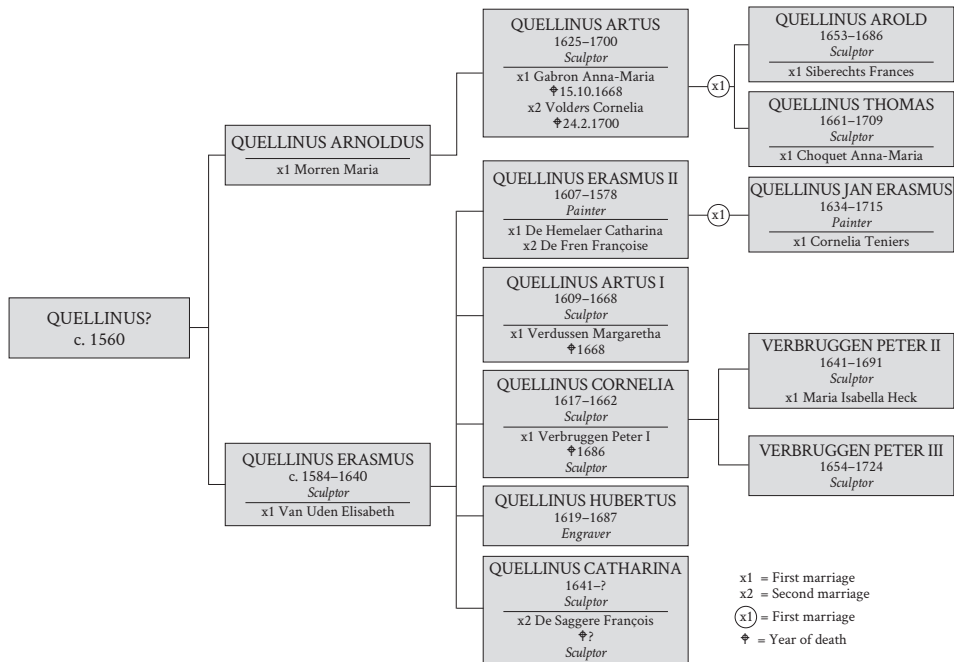
In 1687, Artus Quellinus the Younger accepted a commission from a Danish noblewoman to carve a funerary monument in the Trinity Church in Copenhagen. As he was unable to travel to Denmark himself for the shipping and assembling of the monument, Artus sent his son Thomas, who arrived in Copenhagen in 1689. The fame of Thomas Quellinus grew rapidly in the city, and as a result he decided to settle in the city in order to build his own workshop. During his Danish period, Thomas received many important commissions, mainly from noblemen around the country. He managed a booming workshop with several assistants and oversaw the acquisition of marble from the Low Countries, which means that he travelled often between Copenhagen and Antwerp, where he discovered new Flemish trends, which he consequently introduced into his own works back in Denmark.

This paper analyses, first, the origin of the contacts between the Quellinus and the Danish artistic scene and, second, the artistic production of Thomas Quellinus in Denmark, in order to determine how the sculptor combined Flemish traditions with Danish and European ones and how his works were received and regarded in Denmark.

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## INTRODUCTION

The Quellinus family is one of the foremost artistic dynasties from the southern Low Countries in the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> Originally they came from the Principality of Liège (Principauté de Liège), until Erasmus Quellinus the Elder (c. 1584–1640) moved to Antwerp (Antwerpen) some time before 1606. Erasmus had no less than eleven children, several of whom became painters, engravers and sculptors.<sup>2</sup> The genealogical tree of the Quellinus family is quite complex and, for that reason, only the most relevant



1. Simplified genealogical tree of the Quellinus family. Charted by Wendy Frère

members are presented here (fig. 1). Erasmus the Elder had three sons: (1) Erasmus the Younger (1607–1678), the eldest one, who was a painter, (2) Artus the Elder, who became one of the most important Flemish Baroque sculptors, and (3) Hubertus (1619–1687), the youngest one, who practised the art of drawing and engraving and often collaborated with Artus.<sup>3</sup> Two of Erasmus the Elder's daughters, Cornelia Quellinus (1617–1662) and Catharina

1 Cf. Frère, Wendy. *Les Quellinus: une dynastie de sculpteurs dans l'Europe du XVIIe siècle* (= PhD, dir. Prof. Didier Martens, Dr Géraldine Patigny, Université libre de Bruxelles), 2022.

2 Rombouts, Philip Felix & Theodoor van Lerijs. *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde* [*The Liggeren and other historical archives of the Guild of Saint Luke of Antwerp*], vol. 1. Antwerp–Den Haag: Jules de Koninck, 1864–1876, 435–436; Levin, Theodor. "Handschriftliche Bemerkungen von Erasmus Quellinus". In: *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 23, 1888, 137.

3 Cf. Frère, Wendy. "Artus Quellinus l'Ancien et Erasmus le Jeune: un échange artistique". In: *Annales d'Histoire de l'art et Archéologie*, 40, 2018, 111–136.



Quellinus (1631–?), married, respectively, Peter Verbruggen the Elder (1615–1686) and François de Sager (c. 1622 – c. 1663/1668), two sculptors who were valuable collaborators in the Quellinus workshop.

The Quellinus' artistic richness is not limited to Erasmus the Elder's direct offspring. In fact, parallel to the genealogical line of Erasmus the Elder, there is another branch in the Quellinus family, which comprises Artus Quellinus the Younger (1625–1700), who made a career as a sculptor in Antwerp. Two of his sons, Arnold Quellinus (1653–1686) and Thomas Quellinus (1660–1709), likewise became famous sculptors in, resp., England and Denmark.

The Quellinus did not restrict their activities to Antwerp but rapidly established themselves in other cities as well, to the effect that the name Quellinus quickly gained fame throughout the Low Countries. Three Quellinus family members had contacts with Denmark: Artus the Elder and Artus the Younger sent several of their works to Denmark, while Thomas Quellinus lived in Copenhagen (København) between 1689 and 1707.

This article analyses, on the one hand, the contacts between the Quellinus sculptors and Scandinavia in general and, on the other hand, Thomas Quellinus' stay in Copenhagen, his circle of Danish clients and his production and workshop in the Danish capital, with the aim of assessing more precisely Thomas' diverse sources of inspiration and the innovations he introduced into Danish Baroque sculpture.

## FIRST CONTACT: ARTUS QUELLINUS THE ELDER AND THE DUKES OF HOLSTEIN-GOTTORP

The case of Artus the Elder is interesting, as it allows us to assess the relations and collaboration between the different Quellinus as well as the organisation of their workshops. In 1660 Artus received a commission from Duke Christian Albert of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp (1641–1695), in the north of Germany, to realise a funeral chapel and a portal dedicated to his deceased parents, Duke Frederik III of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp (1597–1659) and Duchess Marie Elisabeth of Saxony (1610–1684) (fig. 2).<sup>4</sup> The surviving accounts provide us with important information regarding the enterprise, showing that Artus sent his youngest brother Hubertus to Gottorp to negotiate the contract and inspect the church itself.<sup>5</sup> The marble sculptures themselves must have been executed in Amsterdam, where Artus had his workshop at that moment. Two years later, in 1663, Artus dispatched two stonemasons to Schleswig, including his brother-in-law François de Sager, to assemble the structure.<sup>6</sup>

4 Gabriels, Juliane. *Artus Quellien, de Oude, "Kunstryck belthouwer"* [Artus Quellien, the Elder, "Kunstryck belthouwer"]. Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1930, 226–229.

5 Schmidt, Harry. "Das Portal der Herzoglichen Gruft im Dom zu Schleswig, ein Werk des Artus Quellinus". In: *Oud Holland*, 32, 4, 1914, 226, 227–228.

6 Schmidt 1914, 227–228; Köster, Constanze. *Jürgen Ovens (1623–1678): Maler in Schleswig-Holstein und Amsterdam*. Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2017, 169.

The reason why Artus received this commission is obvious: he was one of the most celebrated sculptors in the Netherlands at that time and, moreover, may have been easily introduced to Schleswig-Holstein via the intermediary of Jürgen Ovens (1623–1678).<sup>7</sup> The latter was a painter originally from Schleswig-Holstein, where he worked for the Duke Frederik III between 1651 and 1657.<sup>8</sup> Ovens thus knew Artus' work well and may have advised the duke to engage him. The duke highly valued Quellinus' works, as he acquired – via



2. Artus Quellinus the Elder.  
Portal of the funeral chapel of Frederick III  
of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp.  
1660–1663. Marble. Schleswig, Domkirche.  
Photo: Wendy Frère

Jürgen Ovens' intermediary – several of Artus' terracotta sculptures for his private collection, currently on display in SMK (Statens Museum for Kunst) in Copenhagen.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Köster 2017, 169–170.

<sup>8</sup> Köster 2017, 53–107.

<sup>9</sup> Olsen, Harald. *Ældre udenlandsk skulptur* [Ancient foreign sculpture], vol. 1. Copenhagen: Statens Museum for Kunst, 1980, 98–99, figs. 157–159; Spielmann, Heinz & Jan Drees. *Gottorf im Glanz des Barock. Kunst und Kultur am Schleswiger Hof 1544–1713*. Band 1: *Die Herzöge und ihre Sammlungen*. Schleswig: Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum, 1997, 527 (79); Spielmann, Drees 1997, 2, 230.

## SECOND CONTACT: ARTUS QUELLINUS THE YOUNGER AND THE MONUMENT FOR HANS SCHACK IN COPENHAGEN

The second contact between the Quellinus and Scandinavia occurs twenty years later, in 1686, when the Danish Countess Sophie Dorothea of Marschalck (1656–1707) commissioned from Artus the Younger a funeral monument for her deceased father-in-law, Count Hans Schack (1608–1676), for the Trinity



3. Artus Quellinus the Younger, Thomas Quellinus. Monument of Hans Schack. 1686–1689. Marble. Copenhagen, Trinitatis Kirke. Photo: Wendy Frère

Church (Trinitatis Kirke) in Copenhagen (fig. 3). The monument is still *in situ* but underwent various restorations following a devastating fire in 1728 and an artillery fire in 1807.<sup>10</sup>

In January 1664, Count Hans Schack received permission from the University of Copenhagen to place his epitaph in the Trinity Church, which belonged to the university, in exchange for an annual endowment of 500 rixdollars to the deans.<sup>11</sup> After the count's death in February 1676, the epitaph had not yet been realised and the charge thus fell to his legal heirs. These, however, did not

10 Hermansen, Viktor & Aage Roussel, Jan Steenberg. *Danmarks Kirker: København By* [Danish Churches: City of Copenhagen], vol. 1. Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 1945–1958, 332.

11 Thorlacius-Ussing, Viggo. *Billedhuggeren Thomas Quellinus* [The sculptor Thomas Quellinus]. Copenhagen: Henrik Koppel, 1926, 19–20.

make haste with the realisation of the monument: in 1682, the count's son, Otto Diderik Schack (1652–1683), wished to start the commission but died before the plan was realised. The charge thus fell to his wife, Countess Sophie Dorothea of Marschalck, who initiated the project only in 1686, when she contacted Artus the Younger.<sup>12</sup> The contract, signed on 4 February 1687 in Brussels (Bruxelles), stipulated that the countess would be responsible for the transport and customs fees of the monument.<sup>13</sup> In exchange, one of the Quellinus – Artus the Younger or his son Thomas – had to accompany the transportation of the monument to Copenhagen and oversee its assembling, assisted by a local stonemason. Consequently, on 10 June 1689, Thomas arrived in Copenhagen.<sup>14</sup>

How did Countess Schack end up commissioning Artus the Younger to produce the epitaph? According to Viggo Thorlacius-Ussing, before his death, Count Hans Schack had contacted Bartholomeus Eggers (1637–1692), a Dutch sculptor known at the Danish Court, to make the monument.<sup>15</sup> However, in 1686–1687, this sculptor was busy with a commission of eleven marble sculptures for the Princes of Brandenburg and could not execute the Schack monument.<sup>16</sup> Still, this does not explain sufficiently why the countess turned to a Flemish sculptor, rather than another sculptor from the northern Low Countries, such as Rombout Verhulst (1624–1698), known for his funerary monuments.<sup>17</sup> In fact, it seems more probable that Hans Schack's initial choice had been a Flemish sculptor, specifically Artus the Elder, who had a strong reputation within and outside the Low Countries and accepted commissions for funerary monuments in the northern Low Countries, as is testified by the monument for Marshal Otto Christoffel of Sparr (1599–1668).<sup>18</sup> When Hans Schack decided, in 1664, to commission an epitaph, he may have wanted to give the commission to Artus Quellinus the Elder, but had to change his mind when the latter died in 1668, which made him turn to Artus Quellinus the Younger.

The Schack monument required some adaptations of the funerary art that the Quellinus typically produced in a Flemish Catholic tradition. In Protestant funerary art, the main emphasis lies on the deceased's glorious deeds for his country rather than on the deceased himself, as in Catholic art.<sup>19</sup> This

12 Thorlacius-Ussing 1926, 20.

13 Contract for the memorial of Hans Schack. 1687. State Archives of Brussels (Archives de l'État à Bruxelles), reg. 122.

14 Thorlacius-Ussing 1926, 24.

15 Thorlacius-Ussing 1926, 19.

16 Halsema-Kubes, Willy. "Die von Artus Quellinus und Bartholomäus Eggers für Johann Moritz geschaffenen Skulpturen". In: *Soweit der Erdkreis reicht. Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen 1604–1679*. Ed. by Guido de Werd. Kleve: Städtisches Museum Haus Koekoek, 1979, 227.

17 Cf. Scholten, Frits. *Rombout Verhulst in Groningen. Zeventiende eeuwse praalgraven in Midwolde en Stedum [Rombout Verhulst in Groningen. Seventeenth-century mausoleums in Midwolde and Stedum]*. Utrecht: Stichting Matrijs, 1983.

18 Cf. Bartsch-Molden, Regina. *Artus Quellinus' Grabmal Sparr: der Einfluss der Niederlande auf das Grabmal in Norddeutschland zwischen 1650 und 1725* (= Europäische Hochschulschriften: Reihe 28, Kunstgeschichte 168). Frankfurt am Main–Berlin–New York–Paris–Vienna: Peter Lang, 1993.

19 Ketelsen-Volkhardt, Anne-Dore. *Schleswig-Holsteinische Epitaphien des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (= Studien zur schleswig-holsteinischen Kunstgeschichte 15). Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1989, 272; Scholten, Frits. *Sumptuous Memories: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Tomb Sculpture*. Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2003, 15, 17–19; Werner, Elke Anna. "Martin Luther and visual culture". In: *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2017, 19.



Protestant typology does not glorify an individual but instead commemorates the individual's deeds for his country. Denmark was heavily influenced by the artistic traditions of the northern Low Countries. Dutch funerary art, in turn, heavily relied on Flemish traditions but adapted them to their specific customers.<sup>20</sup>

## THOMAS QUELLINUS' MIGRATION: A DANISH CAREER

Thomas Quellinus was baptised on 17 March 1661 in the Cathedral of Our Lady (Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal) in Antwerp as the fifth child of Artus



4. Thomas Quellinus.  
Monument of Johannes Lassenius.  
1692. Marble. Copenhagen,  
Sankt Petri Kirke.  
Photo: Wendy Frère

Quellinus the Younger and Anna-Maria Gabron († 1668).<sup>21</sup> He was trained as a sculptor in his father's workshop.<sup>22</sup> He arrived in Copenhagen on 10 June 1689 to oversee the assembling of the Schack Monument. Though he was initially

<sup>20</sup> Certain iconographic motifs on funerary monuments are present in both religious cultures, because they belonged to funerary art in general. Anne-Dore Ketelsen-Volkhardt mentions a secularisation of the genre, which Frits Scholten had already noted when he explained that there is no longer any real distinction between the production of funerary monuments in the southern and northern Low Countries. Dickens, Arthur. *La Contre-Réforme*. Paris: Flammarion, 1969, 188; Scholten 1983, 18; Ketelsen-Volkhardt 1989, 275.

<sup>21</sup> Baptismal register. 1661. City Archives of Antwerp (FelixArchief), PR#17, p. 100.

<sup>22</sup> Masters' sons are not listed as apprentices in the registers of the Guild of St Luke, although they generally carried out a first apprenticeship in the family workshop. Thomas could have started around 1676, when he was 15 years old.



supposed to remain only for a few months, Thomas would eventually stay in Denmark for no less than eighteen years due to an uninterrupted sequence of commissions that he received over this period of time.

One month later, in September 1689, a royal decree granted Thomas the right to practise his profession without paying taxes.<sup>23</sup> These privileges were granted for a period of seven years and renewed one time.<sup>24</sup> After fourteen years, in December 1703, he officially became a citizen of Copenhagen.<sup>25</sup>

As early as 1692, Thomas seems to have developed his workshop and established himself in Danish cultural life. Indeed, in that year he hosted his first apprentice, Just Wiedewelt (1677–1757), son of the master mason Hans



5. Thomas Quellinus.  
Portal of the funeral chapel  
of Johan Hugo von Lente,  
1705 – c. 1710. Wood, marble, stone.  
Lübeck, Domkirche.  
Photo: Wendy Frère

Wiedewelt (1646–1730).<sup>26</sup> In the same year, he and Hans III van Steenwinkel (1639–1700) were summoned by the king to examine the so-called ‘marble chamber’ of Rosenborg Castle (Rosenborg Slot).<sup>27</sup> A few years later, on 8 October 1701, Thomas joined five other artists active in Copenhagen to request the support of King Frederik IV (1671–1730) to found an Academy and

<sup>23</sup> Thorlacius-Ussing 1926, 28.

<sup>24</sup> Bergé, Willem. “Sculptors on the Move: Thomas Quellin in Denmark”. In: *Church Monuments*, 12, 1997, 40.

<sup>25</sup> Thorlacius-Ussing 1926, 34, 158 (footnote 24).

<sup>26</sup> Lund, Hakon. “Just Wiedewelt”. In: *Kunstindeks Danmark & Weilbachs Kunstnerleksikon*, 1994.

<sup>27</sup> Liisberg, Bering. *Rosenborg og Lysthusene i Kongens Have* [Rosenborg and Lysthuset in the King’s Gardens]. Copenhagen: Lindhardt og Ringhof, 1914, 126.

signed a petition to this effect.<sup>28</sup> Finally, on 1 December 1705, the royal treasury paid him 650 rixdollars for the creation of nine sculptures for the gardens of Frederiksborg and various unspecified works for the castle.<sup>29</sup>

In Denmark, Thomas and his workshop worked hard, producing no less than one to two funerary monuments each year. Given such productivity, it is not surprising that Thomas and his collaborators often reused certain motifs and even certain compositions. Viggo Thorlacius-Ussing considered these repetitions a lack of creativity by the sculptor.<sup>30</sup> However, he points out that this does not pose a real problem, since the works that present a formal parallel are located far from each other, geographically speaking.<sup>31</sup> In fact, it was a common practice that allowed the sculptor and his workshop to reuse a composition that was judged successful.<sup>32</sup>

One of the most relevant examples is the case of the angel writing with a pencil, found on the monument for Johannes Lassenius (1636–1692) in St Peter's Church (Sankt Petri Kirke) in Copenhagen, which was made around 1692 and reused some ten years later, in 1705–1707, on the portal of the chapel of Johan Hugo von Lente (1640–1716) in Lübeck Cathedral (Domkirche) (figs. 4, 5). Was this an explicit request on the part of the customer? Johan Hugo von Lente could have discovered the iconography of the angel at the time of the erection of the epitaph for his brother, Christian von Lente (1649–1725), also made by Thomas Quellinus around 1700 for the same church as Johannes Lassenius.<sup>33</sup>

Thomas' fame was partly established in Denmark thanks to the excellent contacts of older Quellinus family members in Denmark, such as Artus the Elder and Artus the Younger. For instance, he obtained in 1699 the commission for the funeral monument of Prince-Bishop August Frederik of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp (1646–1705) and his wife Christine of Saxe-Weissenfels (1656–1698) for the Cathedral of Lübeck.<sup>34</sup> The fact that his cousin Artus the Elder had made the funerary chapel of Frederik III of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp, may have helped Thomas Quellinus secure this prestigious commission.

Despite his thriving Danish workshop, Thomas Quellinus never lost touch with his native region. As early as August 1689, he required blocks of

28 Meldhal, Ferdinand & Peter Johansen. *Det Kongelige Akademi for de skønne kunster 1700–1904* [*The Royal Academy of Fine Arts 1700–1904*]. Copenhagen: H. Hagerups Forlag, 1904, 12–15. The six founders of the academy, as mentioned by the two authors, were mainly foreign artists who wanted to regulate the association, which later became the Copenhagen Academy. The academy was inaugurated in 1701 and initially received the help and patronage of the king.

29 Beckett, Francis. *Frederiksborg*, vol. 2: *Slottets Historie* [*Frederiksborg*, vol. 2: *History of the Castle*]. Copenhagen: H. Hagerups Forlag, 1914, 201, 269; Thorlacius-Ussing 1926, 34, 158 (footnote 27).

30 Thorlacius-Ussing 1926, 106.

31 Thorlacius-Ussing 1926, 80.

32 It is common that, when a composition is successful, it is reused in the form of replicas or studio copies. Balis, Arnout. "Rubens et son atelier: une problématique complexe". In: *Rubens: l'atelier du génie*. Brussels: Éditions Racine, 2007, 40.

33 Thorlacius-Ussing 1926, ill. 60.

34 Contract for the memorial of August Frederik of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp. 1699. Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Abteilung Oldenburg (Lower Saxony State Archives, Oldenburg Department). Best. 30-1-5 Nr. 11.

marble from his native country for his Danish commissions.<sup>35</sup> The following year, he requested two Antwerp assistants from his father, who made the necessary arrangements and sent Emmanuel Cuckelaere and Pieter Ceulemans to Copenhagen.<sup>36</sup> Between 1695 and 1697, the Lübeck merchant Thomas Fredenhagen (1627–1709) commissioned Thomas to realise the high altar in the Church of St Mary in Lübeck (Marienkirche). A testimony in 1697 by the organist and administrator of the latter church, Dieterich Buxtehude (1637–1707), as well as the formal resemblance with the high altar of St James in Antwerp (Sint-Jacobskerk) have led some scholars to believe that the architectural structure was executed in the southern Netherlands.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, an archive document from 1704 mentions his travelling to Namur to acquire marble.<sup>38</sup> Finally, from January 1701, two months after his father's death, the name of Thomas Quellinus appears more regularly in the Antwerp archives.<sup>39</sup>

## THOMAS QUELLINUS' ARTISTIC PRODUCTION

Thomas' clientele consisted mainly of noblemen, which is a logical consequence of socio-political changes in 1660, namely the introduction of royal absolutism and the accession of a new aristocracy, created by the king himself.<sup>40</sup> These new aristocrats, centred around the king, became the principal patrons of the arts and started buying *en masse* side-chapels in the Danish churches to construct their funerary monuments.<sup>41</sup> By consequence, most commissions Thomas Quellinus received were funerary monuments, which allowed him to establish himself as the foremost sculptor of funerary art in Denmark at the time. His funerary monuments, which were all made from black and white marble, can be divided into several types: wall memorials or modest epitaphs, freestanding monumental tombs, and those housed in a chapel with an own portal. Thomas' main innovations regarding these chapels were: (1) an elevated floor covered with black marble slabs from Belgium; (2) a staircase leading to the crypt; (3) one wall covered entirely with the epitaph; and (4) stucco-decorations on the ceiling. This is the case, for instance, in the funeral chapel of Constantin Marselis (1647–1699) in the Cathedral of Århus (Domkirke) (fig. 6).

<sup>35</sup> Thorlacius-Ussing 1926, 39.

<sup>36</sup> Contract for two assistants. 1690. City Archives of Antwerp (FelixArchief), N#2565.

<sup>37</sup> Thorlacius-Ussing 1926, 57–58; Hecht, Susanne. "Der Fredenhagen-Altar in der Lübecker Marienkirche". In: *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 88, 2008, 157–158.

<sup>38</sup> Passport for Thomas Quellinus, 1704. Danish State Archives (Rigsarkivet København), *Dansk Kancelli: Sjællandske registre 1699–1771* (1703–1705), 211'–212'.

<sup>39</sup> In January 1701, Thomas wrote his second will in Antwerp. In the same year, he resolved several family conflicts with his brother Cornelis (1658–1709) about the succession of their father. Will of Thomas Quellinus and his wife, 1701, City Archives of Antwerp (FelixArchief), N#4288, 1'–2'; conflicts between the two brothers, 1701–1702, City Archives of Antwerp (FelixArchief), N#2566, 5'–v, 74'–v.

<sup>40</sup> Schnakenbourg, Éric & Jean-Marie Maillefer. *La Scandinavie à l'époque moderne (fin xv<sup>e</sup>–début xix<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. Paris: Belin, 2010, 119–120.

<sup>41</sup> Lagersted-Olsen, Rikke Garfield. "Death, power, and theatre: The epitaphs of Thomas Quellinus for Danish noblemen". In: *Transfiguration. Nordic Journal of Religion and the Arts 2012–2013*. Ed. by Svein Aage Christoffersen. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2014, 230.

Once these typologies are established, we can distinguish between different categories within these typologies on the basis of iconography. The iconographic programme of Thomas' funerary monuments is quite repetitive. The figurative elements consist of portraits of the deceased and their relatives, allegories and *putti*. In addition to this, decorative elements from funerary art and Baroque theatrical art are used, such as cornucopia, festoons, drapery, a funerary urn, a skull, an hourglass, a pyramid, etc. It is a set placed in parallel to the figurative themes, which contributes fully to the Baroque staging.<sup>42</sup>



6. Thomas Quellinus. Funeral chapel of Constantin Marselis. 1704. Wood, marble, and stone. Århus, Domkirke. Photo: Wendy Frère



7. Thomas Quellinus. Monument of Frederik von Gersdorff. 1690–1691. Marble. Tølløse, Tølløse Kirke. Photo: Wendy Frère

The deceased are represented in different ways. Thomas chose either a full figure, or a bust portrait, or a portrait in a medallion. His portraits aim to depict the rank as well as the social status, gender and age of the deceased as a visual identity card. In some cases, he omits the deceased's portrait and relies on allegorical figures, usually depicting *Time* or *Death*. These allegories structure the scene and play a key role in commemorating the dead.

<sup>42</sup> Damien, Muriel & Caroline Heering. "Vocabulaire, typologie et fonctions de l'ornement baroque dans les anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux". In: *Alla Luce di Roma: i disegni scenografici di scultori fiamminghi e il Barocco romano*. Ed. by Charles Bossu, Wouter Bracke, Alain Jacobs, Sara Lambeau. Rome: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2016, 137.



A typical example in Thomas Quellinus' production is the epitaph of Frederik von Gersdorff (1650–1691) in Tølløse Church (Tølløse Kirke) (fig. 7). The monument is presented as a large black frame with an imposing black epigraphic table in the centre, flanked by allegories of *Time* and *Death*.<sup>43</sup> Together, in a joint effort, they set up the epigraphic table. This monument is more a reflection on death in general.

## THE EUROPEAN SOURCES OF INSPIRATION OF THOMAS QUELLINUS

Thomas Quellinus spent the first twenty years of his life in the southern Low Countries. In Antwerp, late seventeenth-century Baroque art is characterised by an assertion of volume, an opulence of graceful forms,



8. Hendrik Frans Verbruggen.  
Epitaph of Ambrosius Capello.  
1678. Marble.  
Antwerp,  
Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal.  
Photo: Wendy Frère

increased vitality and dynamism, an emphatic expression of feelings as well as a rhetoric of seduction and pathetic sentiments. Above all, the sculptors wished to create a unitary work in which the peripheral elements are integrated into the overall design.<sup>44</sup> During this period, funerary art also underwent some

43 Bach-Nielsen, Carsten. "Der Bildhauer Thomas Quellin und das Hochbarock im Norden. Der Zusammenfall bestimmter Motive innerhalb der nordischen und italienischen Grabskulptur". In: *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, 14, 1985, 174.

44 Bussers, Helena. "La sculpture". In: *L'art flamand des origines à nos jours*. Ed. by Herman Liebaers, Valentin Vermeersch, Leon Voet. Antwerp: Fonds Mercator, 1991, 390; Philippot, Paul & Pierre Loze, Dominique Vautier et al. *L'architecture religieuse et la sculpture baroques dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux et la Principauté de Liège 1600–1770*. Sprimont: Mardaga, 2003, 285.



changes as it acquired a more monumental and theatrical appearance with a particular emphasis on the fame and reputation of the deceased.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, the scenographic character of the monument developed, the spectator being invited to participate in the scene.

Among the large sculpture workshops in Antwerp, besides that of the Quellinus, are those of Verbruggen, Kerricx, Scheemaeckers, and von



9. Pieter Scheemaeckers the Elder.  
Epitaph of  
Johannes Keurlinckx-van Delft,  
1688. Marble.  
Antwerp, Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekathedraal.  
Photo: Wendy Frère

Baurscheit, with whom Thomas had close links during his formation and later, on his visits to his native town when he lived in Denmark. Two notable examples can be mentioned to illustrate the direction in which funerary art evolved: the epitaph of Bishop Ambrosius Capello (1597–1676), sculpted by Hendrik Frans Verbruggen (1654–1724) in 1678 (fig. 8), and the epitaph of Johannes Keurlinckx-van Delft (1640–1694),<sup>46</sup> produced by Pieter Scheemaeckers the Elder (1640–1714) in 1688 (fig. 9). These two epitaphs in the Cathedral of Antwerp testify to an acute sense of narrativity, dramatisation and theatricality. They are an undeniable source of inspiration for Thomas, who saw them before he left for Denmark.

<sup>45</sup> Vlieghe, Hans. *Flemish Art and Architecture 1585–1700*. New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1998, 250.

<sup>46</sup> This monument was originally located in the Church of St George (Sint-Joriskerk) in Antwerp. Génard, Pierre. *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales de la Province d'Anvers – églises paroissiales*, vol. 2. Antwerp: J.-E. Buschmann, 1863, 409–410.

Since the southern Low Countries appear to be a hub of European artistic influences, it is difficult to determine whether an artist underwent these influences directly or indirectly. It turns out that Thomas Quellinus' sources of inspiration are multiple. Before migrating to Copenhagen, Thomas travelled to England along with his older brother Arnold, as is testified by two archival documents.<sup>47</sup> In England, Thomas got introduced to English art: he certainly discovered the freestanding monumental tombs or the full-length representation of the deceased in armour, a typology that became popular in England from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, he frequented his brother's workshop but also visited close collaborators of the latter, such as John Nost the Elder († 1710) and Grinling Gibbons (1648–1721). The British Isles were of prime importance for the production of funerary monuments since the split in 1538: religious commissions became scarcer and were supplanted by commissions for epitaphs by English noblemen, who wished to erect permanent memorials.<sup>49</sup>

A second source of inspiration for Thomas was Italian art and particularly that of Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), which has led some scholars to suggest that Thomas undertook a visit to Italy.<sup>50</sup> However, a transalpine journey was not necessary to become acquainted with Roman art and Italian Baroque art in general. Indeed, the influence of Italian art was very tangible in Antwerp and, more broadly, the southern Low Countries. Moreover, the Quellinus possessed an impressive number of Italian artworks in their workshop (sculptures, paintings and engravings), which they collected, for instance, during the trips to Italy undertaken by several of the family's members. It is not surprising that Thomas would have found his inspiration in this treasure trove of the family. In general, the Berninian characteristics present in Thomas' work are a dynamic style, dramatic accentuation and ambiguity of elements belonging to the real world and the world of the dead. These particularities do not necessarily require a visual contact with the works.

Finally, Thomas also uses elements typical for Baroque sculpture in the northern Low Countries, such as reliefs showing battles or trophies of arms. These have a precise goal, namely, to list the merits of the deceased in

47 Letter from Artus the Younger to Countess Schack, 1688. Danish State Archives Copenhagen (Rigsarkivet København), private archives of Hans Schack, 6262: 45, A5 (17). The document was transcribed by Thorlacius-Ussing 1926, 149 (appendix 3); payment to Thomas Quellinus, 1689, London National Archives, Treasurers' Ledgers, WO 48/28, (1689–1690). The document was transcribed by Noel Blakiston, see: "Notes on British Art from archives – iv". In: *The Burlington Magazine*, 99, 647, 1957, 57.

48 Whinney, Margaret. *Sculpture in Britain 1530 to 1830*. New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1988, 45–46, 74.

49 Whinney 1988, 27.

50 From Viggo Thorlacius-Ussing's statement concerning Thomas' stay in Rome, two tendencies emerge in scholarly literature. On the one hand, there are those who follow the hypothesis of the Danish author: Thorlacius-Ussing 1926, 142; Norn, Otto. "Senbarokken" [Late Baroque]. In: *Danmarks Billedhuggerkunst fra oldtid til nutid*. Ed. by Viggo Thorlacius-Ussing. Copenhagen: H. Hirschsprungs Forlag, 1950, 206; Lagersted-Olsen 2014, 241. On the other hand, some scholars (whom I follow) suggest an indirect influence of Bernini: Bach-Nielsen 1985, 165; Bøggild Johannsen, Birgitte & Hugo Johannsen. *Ny dansk kunsthistorie. Kongens kunst [New history of Danish art. The art of the king]*, vol. 2. Copenhagen: Fogtdal, 1993, 211–212.

a concealed manner. Trophies are material proof of a successful battle, and the reliefs generally represent land and/or naval battles in which the dead played an outstanding role.<sup>51</sup> They both form the basis for the representation of war heroes that developed in the northern Low Countries and later throughout Europe.<sup>52</sup> An illustrative example is Thomas' funerary monument of Cort



10. Laurids de Thurah.  
Monument of Cort Sivertsen Adeler  
after Thomas Quellinus.  
1746–1749. Drawing, c. 360 mm.  
Copenhagen, Vor Frue Kirke.  
Photo: Wendy Frère

Sivertsen Adeler (1622–1675), made in 1693 for the Cathedral of Copenhagen (Vor Frue Kirke), which was destroyed during the fires of 1728 and 1807 but is known from an illustration by Laurids de Thurah (1706–1759) (fig. 10).

## CONCLUSION

In Denmark, Thomas Quellinus and his workshop implemented a successful visual strategy, as is shown by the fact that his monuments were very popular among Danish art customers. His art testifies to multiple European influences

<sup>51</sup> Scholten 1983, 58–59.

<sup>52</sup> Scholten 2003, 163, 170–171.

resulting from the artist's own travels and from the demands of his clients who appreciated European trends. Thomas gave a new impetus to Danish art, which was still strongly attached to the traditions of the Renaissance and the style of Cornelis Floris de Vriendt (1514–1575). His production is Baroque and is characterised by a pronounced monumentality, scenography, theatricality and dynamism. He plays on the contrasts created by a variety of stone colours (black, white and red) and uses alternating sequences of black and white marble, which underlines the different elements of the composition. In addition, he gives an active role to the spectator. These were all new elements that Thomas introduced into Danish funerary baroque art. During the eighteenth century, Thomas' works provided an important source of inspiration for Danish artists and, as such, formed an important transmitter of Italian, Dutch, and Flemish artistic traditions to Scandinavia.

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# OLD CONNECTIONS DIE HARD: ARTISTIC MIGRATIONS BETWEEN NUREMBERG AND BRESLAU IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SILESIA (SELECTED ISSUES)

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## SUMMARY

In the history of Breslau (Wrocław) art, the sixteenth century is marked by an increased interest in currents flowing mainly from Italy, the Netherlands and Rudolfian Prague, as well as growth in the number of recorded migrations of artists. These should not, however, obscure the fact that the commercial, familial and ecclesiastical ties connecting Breslau and Nuremberg, established in the thirteenth and tightened in the fifteenth century, which after the Hussite Wars had become an important catalyst of artistic migrations and played a significant role in the shaping of the Late Gothic art in Silesia, did not break in the early modern period. On the contrary, those bonds and networks solidified, became part of daily life, and at the same time remained an important factor, albeit not the sole one, in the process of migration of artists, especially goldsmiths and painters, between Breslau and Nuremberg. Undoubtedly, this process rested on two basic pillars: extensive family networks of the migrant artists and the support of wealthy patrons. Economic and political relationships between both cities seem to be important in this process too, but they were nevertheless secondary. The role of guild regulations should also not be overlooked, as the lack of strict control helped some artists to spread their wings, whereas restrictions provided the more talented and self-confident painters with an incentive for migration. Nonetheless, Breslau guild regulations did not prevent foreign artists from arriving and staying in Silesia. Finally, the exchange of artists and some artistic inspirations between Nuremberg and Breslau in the sixteenth century was undoubtedly influenced by the same political, social and confessional processes which both cities, governed by influential, wealthy and Protestant middle class, had to face.



1. Unknown Breslau painter. Epitaph of the Scheurl family. 1537. Tempera and oil on wood, 212 x 126 cm. National Museum in Wrocław (Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu). Photo: Arkadiusz Podstawka



Around 1537, an epitaph commemorating the affluent Scheurl family of merchants was mounted in St Elisabeth's church in Breslau (Wrocław) (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> It had been commissioned by Christoph II Scheurl of Nuremberg (Nürnberg) – professor and rector of the University of Wittenberg, electoral councillor and diplomat in the service of Nuremberg, a friend of Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach the Elder, Martin Luther, and, finally, the last living male scion of the Breslau branch of the Scheurl family. His status is indicated by his newly-modified coat of arms around which the other family members' house marks gather. The sophisticated *genealogiarum opus* features the names and coats of arms of two brothers, Albrecht and Bartholomäus, the progenitors of the Scheurls' Breslau branch, who moved here in 1440 as representatives of a Nuremberg trade company, as well as the five generations of their descendants.<sup>2</sup> It might be assumed that the epitaph was created as a historical, genealogically documented testimony to the family's presence, assimilation and activity in the pre-Reformation Silesia. The artwork emphasises the Scheurls' Breslau citizenship and family ties by including the coats of arms of prominent local families and respected local dignitaries, both ducal and imperial. Finally, it signals their never-given-up connections with the Franconian and Nuremberg's most important gens. At the same time, even though most of the Scheurls from the Silesian branch had died before 1517 and three of them had been canons of the Breslau and Glogau (Głogów) chapter, the epitaph is Protestant to the core. Firstly, the central scene featuring *The Resurrection of Christ* and inscribed with verses from St John's Gospel was one of the most common subjects featured in early Protestant epitaphs in Silesia.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, the Scheurl memorial was placed in one of the most important churches in the whole region, which had been supervised by the Breslau City Council since at least the fourteenth century and, in 1525, had officially become the church of the second Protestant parish in the city.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Christoph II Scheurl was not the last of the Scheurls who cultivated the memory of his Breslau ancestors: according to the records still preserved in the family archive, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, members of the Scheurl family from Nuremberg spent a substantial amount of money on the restoration of the Breslau monuments, mostly epitaphs, commemorating their Silesian relatives. Finally, this epitaph provides a premise to presume that the family bonds linking the citizens of Nuremberg and Breslau in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries remained one of the most important factors of artists' migrations between these two cities.

1 Pierzchała, Marek. "Epitaph of the Scheurl (Scheurlein) family". In: *Migrations: Late Gothic Art in Silesia*. Ed. by Agnieszka Patała. Wrocław: National Museum in Wrocław, 2019, 206–207; Patała, Agnieszka. "Moda na Cranacha w czasach przemian?" In: *Moda na Cranacha*. Ed. by Ewa Houszka, Marek Pierzchała. Wrocław: Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu, 2017, 32–35.

2 Pusch, Oskar. *Die Breslauer Rats- und Stadtgeschlechter in der Zeit von 1241 bis 1741*, vol. 4. Dortmund: Forschungsstelle Ostmitteleuropa, 1990, 77–85.

3 Steinborn, Bożena. "Malowane epitafia mieszczańskie na Śląsku w latach 1520–1620". In: *Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej*, 4, 1967, 16.

4 Luchs, Hermann. *Die Denkmäler der St. Elisabeth-Kirche zu Breslau*. Breslau: Hirth, 1860.

The aforementioned epitaph can also be interpreted as a symbolic bridge linking two worlds, seemingly as different as day and night. Located on one side would be the pre-Reformation fifteenth-century Breslau – a city that was gradually gaining power but simultaneously remained entangled in several political conflicts and where memories of the Hussite Wars and the fiery harangues of John of Capistrano were still fresh. Its elite consisted of ambitious merchants, often with foreign roots, among them at least 83 recorded migrants from Nuremberg who married into local families, penetrated the Breslau elite and held city council seats.<sup>5</sup> At that time, the interiors of Breslau's numerous churches had been gradually filled with Late Gothic epitaphs and retables, mostly executed in local workshops by artists drawing inspiration from the Netherlandish and South German artistic centres.<sup>6</sup> Only a few imports reached the city in the fifteenth century. Finally, even before the Reformation, Breslau functioned as a place of either temporal stay or permanent activity for several groups of artists educated in Nuremberg, who often took advantage of a dense network of trade, family, church and monastery ties connecting Franconia and Silesia.<sup>7</sup>

On the other side of this symbolic bridge lies the scenery for the phenomena discussed in this paper, namely Breslau after the introduction of Reformation but before the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, functioning as a part of the Habsburg domain and second most important city in the Bohemian Crown after Prague (Praha), inhabited and ruled by Protestant patricians – a diverse group of merchants and well-educated humanists with passion for collecting and science, who sought to marginalise the position of the local Catholic church.<sup>8</sup> In the history of Breslau art, this period is marked by increased interest in currents flowing mainly from Italy and the Netherlands,<sup>9</sup> as well as growth in the number of recorded migrations of artists.<sup>10</sup> These should not, however, obscure the fact that the commercial, familial and ecclesiastical ties connecting

5 Kaczmarek, Romuald. "Breslau im Netz. Einige Bemerkungen zum Problem der künstlerischen Verbindungen der Stadt unter der Herrschaft der Luxemburger und Jagiellonen". In: *Stadtkultur des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit in Ostmitteleuropa und ihre Renaissance im 19. Jahrhundert. In memoriam Andrzej Tomaszewski (1934–2010)*. Ed. by Marco Bogade. Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki, 2012, 81–96; Mysliwski, Grzegorz. *Wrocław w przestrzeni gospodarczej Europy (XIII–XV wiek): centrum czy peryferie?* Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2009; Seyboth, Reinhard. "Fränkisch-schlesische Beziehungen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert". In: *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau*, vol. 28, 1987, 83–97; Stromer, Wolfgang. "Nürnberg-Breslauer Wirtschaftsbeziehungen im Spätmittelalter". In: *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung*, vols. 34/35. Neustadt: Degener & Co., Inh. Gerh. Gessner, 1975, 1079–1100; Weczerka, Hugo. "Breslaus Zentralität im ostmitteleuropäischen Raum um 1500". In: *Metropolen im Wandel: Zentralität in Ostmitteleuropa an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*. Ed. by Evamaria Engel, Karen Lambrecht, Hanna Nogosseck. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995, 245–262.

6 Kapustka, Mateusz. "Gotyk". In: *Op niderlandse manier: Inspiracje niderlandzkie w sztuce śląskiej XV–XVIII w. Katalog wystawy*. Ed. by Mateusz Kapustka, Andrzej Koziel, Piotr Oszczanowski. Legnica: Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy, 2001, 7–27; Patała, Agnieszka. *Pod znakiem świętego Sebalda. Rola Norymbergi w kształtowaniu późnogotyckiego malarstwa tablicowego na Śląsku*. Wrocław: Via Nova, 2018.

7 Patała 2018.

8 Oszczanowski, Piotr. "W blasku rudolfskiej Pragi". In: *Śląsk. Perła w Koronie Czeskiej. Trzy okresy świetności w relacjach artystycznych Śląska i Czech*. Ed. by Andrzej Niedzielenko, Vít Vlnas. Praha: Národní galerie v Praze, 2006, 155–295.

9 Oszczanowski, Piotr. "Renesans". In: *Op niderlandse manier. Inspiracje niderlandzkie w sztuce śląskiej XV–XVIII w. Katalog wystawy*. Ed. by Mateusz Kapustka, Andrzej Koziel, Piotr Oszczanowski. Legnica: Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy, 2001, 29–91.

10 Steinborn, Bożena. "Schlesische Malerei 1529–1620. 1. Teil". In: *Studia muzealne*, 16, 1992, 13.



Breslau and Nuremberg, established in the thirteenth and tightened in the fifteenth century, did not break in the early modern period.<sup>11</sup> On the contrary, those bonds and networks solidified, became part of daily life, and at the same time remained an important factor, albeit not the sole one, in the migration of artists, especially goldsmiths and painters, between Breslau and Nuremberg.

## NUREMBERG MESSENGER ARTISTS

The short stay of architect Hans von Riedlingen on the banks of the Odra River in the years 1529–1530 seems to be one of the first important symptoms of the phenomenon mentioned above. Hans von Riedlingen, a specialist in military architecture and fortifications employed by the Nuremberg City Council, received a year-long leave to supervise the expansion and modernisation of Breslau's fortifications.<sup>12</sup> According to Kurt Bimler, von Riedlingen was responsible for erecting a bastion, which, according to iconographic sources, was a two-storey half-cylindrical brick construction with loopholes in stone frames, located between the Sack Gate and Olawska Gate.<sup>13</sup> The researcher based his supposition, unsupported by archival records, on the formal analogies between the Breslau bastion and Albrecht Dürer's drawings. Regardless of the value of this interpretation, the stay of Hans von Riedlingen in Breslau was a fact, which is also evidenced by a letter, dated 29 December 1529, that von Riedlingen sent to Nuremberg councillors.<sup>14</sup> In his brief correspondence, the architect not only covered the progress of fortification works in preparation against the Turkish threat but also gave an account of the demolition of the Norbertine Abbey in Elbing (Ołbin), right outside of Breslau. Officially, the Breslau City Council's decision to destroy the oldest monastery in the region, repository of many high-quality Romanesque artworks, was justified by security reasons and the necessity to destroy a possible bridgehead of the enemy, who could attack the city from this place.<sup>15</sup> However, it seems symptomatic that, in his letter, von Riedlingen pictures Abbey's demolition in the context of confessional transformations taking place in the city and the weakening of the position of the Catholic Church. The very fact that, almost simultaneously, this same process took place in Nuremberg seems not without significance.

11 This problem was already briefly mentioned in: Patała, Agnieszka. "Between 'Silesiae metropolim' and 'Quasi centrum Europae': The mobility of Breslau and Nuremberg artists in the 15th and the 16th century". In: *Kunsttexte.de.ostblick* 3, 2016 (*Mobility of Artists in Central and Eastern Europe between 1500 and 1900*. Ed. by Aleksandra Lipińska & Stephanie Baumewerd). This essay provides extended considerations of problems already mentioned in 2016.

12 Mruczek, Roland & Michał Stefanowicz. "Południowy pas obwarowań i fortyfikacji Wrocławia w rejonie obecnego pl. Wolności na tle przemian przestrzennych i prawnych miasta średniowiecznego i nowożytnego". In: *Non Solum Villæ. Księga Jubileuszowa Ofiarowana Profesorowi Stanisławowi Medekszy*. Ed. by Jacek Kościuk & Stanisław Medeksza. Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 2010, 413.

13 Bimler, Kurt. *Die Schlesischen Massiven Wehrbauten*, Bd. 1: *Fürstentum Breslau. Kreise Breslau. Neumarkt Namslau*. Breslau: Kommission Heydebrand-Verlag, 1940, 24–25.

14 Geheimes Archiv Berlin: XVII. HA, Rep. 17, Nr. 503.

15 Buško, Cezary & Mateusz Goliński, Michał Kaczmarek, Leszek Ziátkowski. *Historia Wrocławia*, vol. 1: *Od pradziejów do końca czasów habsburskich*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 2001, 225.

His stay in Breslau, therefore, can be interpreted, firstly, as a proof of close relations linking Nuremberg and Breslau, manifested here by the 'lending' of an architect to a friendly city. A similar situation had been recorded over 60 years earlier when, in 1462, Nuremberg painter Hans Pleydenwurff came to Breslau to personally supervise the installation of a commissioned altarpiece for the main altar in St Elisabeth's Parish Church.<sup>16</sup> Shortly after the completion of the works, the Nuremberg City Council sent a letter to the Breslau councillors, extending thanks for hiring a Nuremberg artist. Consequently, the city, at least at a symbolical level, was involved in short-term migrations of its artists and the promotion of their activity beyond the borders of the Franconian capital. Secondly, von Riedlingen's surviving letter proves that Nuremberg artists sent outside its walls could also act as informants, reporting to the city council on matters happening in more distant parts of Europe. Such a 'mission' could also have been entrusted to Georg Stern (d. 1604), a painter and, from 1579, a citizen of Nuremberg, who represented the city's affairs, among other places, in Vienna and in September 1590 was recorded as the 'Breslauer Bote'.<sup>17</sup> Of course, one cannot forget about purely practical considerations when, in the face of the threat of a foreign invasion, cities supported each other. Nevertheless, the presence and activity of Hans von Riedlingen seems to be one among many manifestations of the still existing bonds linking Nuremberg and Breslau.

## MIGRATING GOLDSMITHS AND THEIR NETWORKS

Goldsmithing remained not only the paramount branch of the early modern artistic production in both Nuremberg and Breslau but also a field in which the interdependence of commercial, family and ecclesiastical networks linking these two cities as well as the migrations of artists is most apparent. From the fifteenth century onwards, the Breslau City Council had sent to Nuremberg numerous inquiries concerning the organisation of goldsmiths craft production and its technical aspects, as the capital of Franconia provided here a point of reference in examining every unresolved problem.<sup>18</sup> Apart from supplying Breslau commissioners with luxurious goods, Nuremberg also seemed a perfect destination in the eyes of every ambitious journeyman and talented master. The first documented travels of Breslau goldsmiths' apprentices and masters to Nuremberg took place as early as the sixteenth century. While the journeyman years (*Wanderjahre*) became obligatory in the Breslau goldsmiths' guild only in 1580,<sup>19</sup> the career paths of Erasmus Schleupner and Fabian Nitsch clearly illustrate that the mobility of apprentices was conditioned not only by artists' ambitions or guild regulations but pre-eminently by their family

16 Suckale, Robert. *Die Erneuerung der Malkunst vor Dürer*, vol. 2. Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2009, 25–26.

17 *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon. Bildende Künstler, Kunsthandwerker, Gelehrte, Sammler, Kulturschaffende und Mäzene vom 12. bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Ed. by Manfred H. Grieb. München: K. G. Saur, 2007, 1488.

18 Hintze, Erwin. *Die Breslauer Goldschmiede. Eine archivalische Studie*. Breslau: Kommissionsverlag von Karl W. Hiersemann, 1906, 3; Regulska, Grażyna. *Gotyckie złotnictwo na Śląsku*. Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2001, 11.

19 Hintze 1906, 6–8.

background as well as influential patrons. Schleupner and Nitsch belonged to a group of four Breslau goldsmiths who honed their skills in Nuremberg in the period in question. The third one, Paulus Scherer from Breslau, found a position in the Nuremberg workshop of Caspar Widmann in 1569,<sup>20</sup> but the circumstances of his travel to the banks of the Pegnitz River remain unknown. The fourth one, according to Piotr Oszczanowski, was Caspar Pfister, active in Breslau,<sup>21</sup> though no records attest to it.

Erasmus Schleupner's stay in Nuremberg in 1517 would not have been possible without the successful career path of his father and other relatives, as well as the support of Erasmus' patron, Breslau's Bishop Johannes Thurzon.<sup>22</sup> The Silesian goldsmith Nicolaus Schleupner, Erasmus' father, had a strong position at the Breslau Bishopric court, as he had executed several commissions for Breslau's Bishop Johannes Roth.<sup>23</sup> This fact, in all probability, facilitated the future careers of Nicolaus' two sons. The elder one, Dominik Schleupner, worked as a notary of Johannes Thurzon after taking holy orders in 1512. However, after meeting Martin Luther during his studies in Leipzig and Wittenberg, he followed the currents of Reformation and, in 1522, was appointed preacher at St Sebald's church in Nuremberg.<sup>24</sup> Nicolaus' younger son, the goldsmith in question Erasmus Schleupner, also curried favour with Breslau's Bishop Johannes Thurzon. Being a member of a powerful family of merchants and clergymen, he helped Thurzon develop his own broad intellectual network as well as his collection of books and art, which included works of Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach and Nuremberg goldsmiths.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, Erasmus Schleupner's stay in Nuremberg in 1517 had two purposes: next to expanding his knowledge and gaining new skills, he was obliged to represent his patron and keep a firm hand on his artistic commissions.<sup>26</sup> In 1524, after his return to Breslau and completing several commissions for the cathedral clergy, he entered the Breslau goldsmith's guild, thus becoming officially available for the new category of lay Protestant clients.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the 'Schleupner connection' linking Breslau and Nuremberg probably did not vanish. David Schleupner, the son of the previously mentioned preacher Dominik Schleupner, walked in his grandfather's and uncle's footsteps working as a goldsmith in Nuremberg from 1559.<sup>28</sup> Ten years later, he collaborated with another Nuremberg goldsmith, Caspar Widmann, whose apprentice

20 *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon* 2007, 1320.

21 Oszczanowski, Piotr. "Wrocławscy złotnicy – elita nowożytnego miasta". In: *Wrocławski skarb z Bremy*. Ed. by Maciej Łagiewski et al. Wrocław: Muzeum Historyczne we Wrocławiu, 2007, 36.

22 Chrzanowski, Tadeusz. "Kilka uwag o złotnictwie śląskim". In: *Złotnictwo śląskie*. VII sesja z cyklu "Sztuka użytkowa na Śląsku", 7 Oct 1993. Ed. by Józef Pater. Wrocław: Muzeum Archidiecezjalne 1995, 14; Szewczyk, Aleksandra. *Mecenat artystyczny biskupa wrocławskiego Jana V Thurzona (1506–1520)*. Wrocław: Atut, 2009, 78.

23 Regulska 2011, 24, 67–69.

24 *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon* 2007, 1336.

25 Szewczyk 2009.

26 Szewczyk 2009, 137.

27 Hintze 1906, 152.

28 Hampe, Theodor. *Nürnberger Ratsverlässe über Kunst und Künstler im Zeitalter der Spätgotik und Renaissance (1449) 1474–1618 (1633)*. Wien–Leipzig: K. Graeser & Kie, 1904, Rv. I 3790.

at that time was the aforementioned Paulus Scherer from Breslau. It could be, of course, a pure coincidence; however, one cannot exclude that David Schleupner still functioned within the network created and maintained by his ancestors and other Breslau goldsmiths.

The circumstances and the course of journeyman years of another Breslau goldsmith, Fabian Nitsch, who arrived in Nuremberg in 1596 together with two other anonymous Breslau apprentices,<sup>29</sup> were based on a strikingly similar scheme. He was the son of Paul Nitsch, a renowned Breslau goldsmith, who owed his high position not only to his talent but also to the favour of Breslau's Bishop Andreas Jerin.<sup>30</sup> As pontiff's personal artistic advisor, Paul managed to provide his son Fabian with a letter of recommendation written by Jerin, which could facilitate his finding a suitable workshop for his apprenticeship. Details of Fabian's stay on the banks of the Pegnitz River remain unknown, but, in all probability, it was time well spent that turned out to be beneficial for his career and the expansion of his own professional network. Otherwise, four journeymen from Nuremberg and Augsburg would probably not have reached Fabian Nitsch's Breslau workshop in 1618.<sup>31</sup> His professional *vita* seems, therefore, to be another example of a successful career path, which, in all probability, would not have been possible without taking advantage of the long family traditions and ancestors' professional network.

There was, however, at least one exception to this rule, as the life and career of Georg Bock attest. He was a goldsmith born in Breslau, who finished his training in Nuremberg without any official letter of recommendation or a prominent patron. As early as 1555, he passed all exams and became a master in the Nuremberg goldsmiths' guild, then got married, obtained citizenship and purchased a house.<sup>32</sup> In Nuremberg, he executed only one known artwork – a silver goblet inscribed with his initials. Before leaving the city in 1573, he accepted at least two apprentices from Breslau. It proves that his bonds with the Silesian artistic milieu remained tight during his stay in Franconia and that his activity could contribute to the deepening of the personal and artistic relationships between the two cities.

Beyond any doubt, in the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the migration of goldsmiths between Breslau and Nuremberg was a two-way process, and Fabian Nitsch's workshop was not the only one accepting Nuremberg apprentices. In 1551, the name of Veit Stoss, the grandson of the great Veit Stoss and the son of Nuremberg sculptor and goldsmith Willibald, was recorded in the Breslau's *libri excessum* as 'Goldtschmidgeselle'.<sup>33</sup> The second

29 Moritz-Eichborns, Kurt. "Fabian Nitsch. Ein Breslauer Goldschmied der Spätrenaissance". In: *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, vol. 1. Breslau: Grass, Barth & Co, 1900, 107–121.

30 Starzewska, Maria. "Paweł Nitsch (1548–1609), złotnik wrocławski". In: *Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej*, vol. 11. Wrocław: Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu, 1977, 67–77.

31 Oszczanowski 2007, 53.

32 Hampe 1904, 513, 596.

33 Bimler, Kurt. "Veit Stoß der Jüngere in Frankenstein". In: Bimler, Kurt. *Quellen zur schlesischen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 3. Breslau: Kommissionsverlag Maruschke & Berendt, 1938, 75.



and, at the same time, last sign of his presence in Silesia is his epitaph mounted at the outer wall of St Anne's Church in Ząbkowice Śląskie (Frankenstein), where he 'Im 1569 Jor Am Tage Maria Himmelfart' had died. Some scholars presume that choosing Silesia as a destination of his journeyman years could have been determined by the unfinished financial enterprises of his grandfather rather than the reputation of local goldsmiths. Nevertheless, the archival resources remain silent about the circumstances of his stay and death. Among other apprentices descending from Nuremberg, Wolf Rötenbeck (who visited Breslau between 1596 and 1602, when he became master in Nuremberg)<sup>34</sup> and Gottfried Kretzer (d. 1606)<sup>35</sup> should be mentioned. What is more, the Breslau workshops of Hans Volgnandt (d. 1634) and Tobias Vogt (d. 1654) also accepted goldsmith's journeymen from Nuremberg and Augsburg.<sup>36</sup>

## (IN)VISIBLE PAINTERS

From the perspective of early modern Breslau, painting emerges as the second branch of the local artistic production influenced, among other things, by the networks linking Breslau and Nuremberg, although migrations of painters between these two centres, similarly to the pre-Reformation times, can be proven on the basis of formal and stylistic analysis of artworks executed in Silesia rather than due to archival research.<sup>37</sup> In terms of artistic value and sources of inspirations, the sixteenth-century Silesian painting is considered all but a consistent group of artworks, executed by artists subjected to diverse inspirations coming from outside the region and evincing an inclination to eclecticism.<sup>38</sup> Consequently, the painterly works preserved from that time, including epitaphs and portraits,<sup>39</sup> constitute a very diverse mosaic in terms of style and artistic level, the image of which was further determined by the presence of migrant artists from many European towns in Silesia and the requirements of their clients.

Until the end of the sixteenth century, local epitaph painting, on the one hand, strove to adhere to long-outdated artistic trends, including the tradition of the school of Lucas Cranach and the impact of Nuremberg workshops, and, on the other hand, was inspired by Italian and Netherlandish art.<sup>40</sup> To explain the first group of tendencies, some scholars have pointed to the conservatism of the commissioners – namely Silesian, especially Breslau,

<sup>34</sup> *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon* 2007, 1256.

<sup>35</sup> Hintze 1906, 105.

<sup>36</sup> Hintze 1906,

<sup>37</sup> Steinborn 1992, 24–29; Patała 2018.

<sup>38</sup> Steinborn Bożena. *Malarstwo śląskie 1520–1620*. Wrocław: Muzeum Śląskie we Wrocławiu, 1966, 8.

<sup>39</sup> Steinborn, Bożena. "Malowane epitafia mieszczańskie na Śląsku w latach 1520–1620". In: *Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej*, vol. 4. Wrocław: Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu, 1967, 7–138; Houszka, Ewa. *Portret na Śląsku XVI–XVIII wieku*. Wrocław: Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu, 1984; Pierzchała, Marek & Ewa Houszka, Beata Lejman, Piotr Łukaszewicz. *Malarstwo śląskie 1520–1800: katalog zbiorów*. Wrocław: Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu, 2009.

<sup>40</sup> Oszczanowski 2001; Oszczanowski 2006; Pierzchała, Marek. "Nie tylko słowo". In: *Moda na Cranacha*. Ed. by Ewa Houszka & Marek Pierzchała. Wrocław: Muzeum Narodowe we Wrocławiu, 2017, 47–67.

burghers.<sup>41</sup> By choosing models typical for the art of the first decennia of the Reformation and remaining indifferent to the currents flowing from Catholic artistic centres, such as Rudolfian Prague, Breslau commissioners emphasised their confessional identity and the desire to avoid Habsburg interventionism. Silesian early modern portrait painting, in turn, was formed in the first half of the sixteenth century under the impact of South German and Netherlandish art and basically did not undergo major transformations, consolidating the conservative image of the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Silesian painting.<sup>42</sup> What is more, Nuremberg inspirations employed at that time in Silesia were commonly regarded as old-fashioned outside this region, whereas the popularity of Netherlandish currents, especially in the second half of the sixteenth century, has been interpreted as a reference to the highly developed and, what is most important, burgher Protestant culture.

Undoubtedly, both in the fifteenth century and in early modern times, painters familiar with Nuremberg art and active in Silesia proved to be far more noticeable than the Breslau artists in Nuremberg, who, if they actually travelled to the Franconian capital, usually left no trace of their activity. This fact could have been determined by objective circumstances, such as the lower socioeconomic status of Silesian painters inhibiting their long-distance mobility, the late introduction of the first regulation concerning the journeyman years for Breslau painters (1593),<sup>43</sup> and the fact that, until 1590, painting in Nuremberg belonged to the so-called 'free arts', which meant less control over painters and the possibility of remaining 'invisible' to the local authorities and in the city records.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, despite actions taken by the Breslau painters' guild to protect its monopoly by means of fighting off artists who strove for greater autonomy, and maintain strict control over other guild members, migrant artists kept arriving in Breslau from different parts of Europe.

When listing the most important sixteenth-century migrant painters in Breslau, the figure of Tobias Fendt (1520/30–1576) must be mentioned. He was a painter and engraver educated in Lambert Lombard's workshop in Liège, who in 1569 became a citizen of Breslau and enriched the local art with the achievements of the Netherlandish workshops, serving not only the local market but also travelling to Frankfurt am Main and Hungary.<sup>45</sup> Another important migrant artist in Breslau was Johann Twenger (also: Thwenger) from Styria, who in 1569 began a year-and-a-half apprenticeship with Master

41 Steinbron 1967, 12–15.

42 Houszka 1984; Steinborn, Bożena. "Gdzie stał Albrecht Dürer?". In: *Quart. Kwartalnik Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2008, 22–44.

43 Schultz, Alwin. "Die Breslauer Maler des 16. Jahrhunderts". In: *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens*, vol. 8. Breslau: Josef Max & Komp., 1867, 352.

44 Endres, Rudolf. "Das Handwerk in Nürnberg im ausgehenden Mittelalter". In: *Nürnberg und Bern. Zwei Reichsstädte und ihre Landgebiete. Neun Beiträge*. Ed. by Rudolf Endres. Erlangen: Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1990, 49–79.

45 Schultz 1867, 374; Pierzchała et al. 2009, 102.

Florian in Prague.<sup>46</sup> Recorded as a master in Breslau in 1572, he was regarded as being strongly influenced by Rudolphine Mannerism. During his stay in Silesia, Twenger executed the project of a triumphal arch in honour of Emperor Rudolf Habsburg II. It was based on the work of Jost Amman (or, according to other scholars, of Peter Flötner), namely the Triumphal Arch for Emperor Maximilian II, executed a few years earlier in Nuremberg.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, in all probability, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, artistic formulas and inspirations of Nuremberg origin were still in demand in Silesia, and this tendency could also be observed in the following century. When analysing the *en grisaille* emblems executed by an anonymous Breslau- or Neisse (Nysa)-based painter in Theodor Rindfleisch's *Theatrum Vitae et Mortis* (c. 1625), scholars discerned striking similarities to the works of Nuremberg painter Gabriel Weyer (1576–1632).<sup>48</sup> Not to be forgotten is also Peter Schmidt von Lichtenberg in Upper Franconia, a painter and draughtsman who, after visiting Prague, Dresden and Danzig (Gdańsk), settled down in Breslau, where he married the daughter of Bartholomäus Strobel the Elder in 1613 and became a master in the local painters' guild. He is considered one of the best Breslau artists of the 1620s.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately, no details concerning the activity of George Kühn and Nicolaus Lindtner, two Nuremberg painters who died in Breslau in 1608 and 1639 respectively, have been preserved.<sup>50</sup>

In the sixteenth-century Silesia, however, the migration of painters was a two-way process, and the artists who decided to leave Breslau for good were mainly those who did not go with the guild regulations limiting their actions and whose talent could ensure creative freedom, better earnings and more prestigious commissions and clients. The rules of painterly production and artistic activity in Breslau became quite restrictive, especially in the last quarter of the sixteenth century: the painters being already masters, were allowed to hire only two apprentices and two pupils; in 1573, the term of mandatory painters' education was prolonged from three to five years; receiving the master title had to be preceded by two years of practice in the workshop of a local painter; from 1593, the proof of journeyman years lasting at least three years was required.<sup>51</sup> Therefore, the decision to leave Breslau taken in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by several local painters, including the most talented ones, such as Martin Kober,<sup>52</sup> Jacob Walter<sup>53</sup> and Bartholomäus Strobel the Younger,<sup>54</sup> is nothing but surprising.

46 Schultz 1867, 375–376.

47 Oszczanowski 2006, 259–260; Pierzchała et al. 2009, 140.

48 Oszczanowski, Piotr & Jan Gromadzki. *Theatrum vitae et mortis. Grafika, rysunek i malarstwo książkowe na Śląsku w latach ok. 1550 – ok. 1650*. Wrocław: Muzeum Historyczne Wrocław, 1995, 115.

49 Oszczanowski, Gromadzki 1995, 117–118.

50 Schultz, Alwin. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Schlesischen Maler (1500–1800)*. Breslau: Verlag von Wilh. Gottl. Korn, 1882, 97, 101.

51 Schultz 1882, 8–9.

52 Schultz 1867, 379.

53 Schultz 1867, 385–386

54 Schultz 1867, 380–382

The outflow mentioned above, however, was preceded by a rather symptomatic incident that took place on 2 January 1560, when the Breslau City Council issued an ultimatum to three painters active in the city: Andreas Riehl, Hans von Strassen and Lazarus Frosch.<sup>55</sup> They were allowed to continue their artistic activity in Breslau on the condition that they enter the painters' guild. In case of ignoring this commandment, they had to either give up their artistic activity or leave the city. All of them had chosen the second alternative, except for Andreas Riehl the Younger, who notoriously accepted commissions out of the guild's control; he went to Nuremberg, and his decision does not seem coincidental. He was the son of the renowned Breslau painter and *contrafactor* Andreas Riehl the Elder, who fulfilled many orders not only in Silesia but also at the Polish court in Cracow.<sup>56</sup> Therefore, he could not only teach his son the art of painting but, in all probability, also helped him establish relations in other European artistic centres, taking advantage of his network broadened by the activity outside Silesia, where he had an opportunity to meet, among many others, Nuremberg artists, or draw upon his acquaintance with Johann Hess, a very influential Breslau preacher connected to Nuremberg. Nevertheless, Andreas Riehl the Younger left Breslau in 1560 or 1563. In 1575 he was granted Nuremberg city rights and even had one apprentice.<sup>57</sup> On the banks of the Pegnitz River, Riehl could literally and figuratively become a free artist. Despite his financial problems resulting in imprisonment, he managed to win a very influential client – from 1596, he worked for John George, Prince-Elector of the Margraviate of Brandenburg. In 1598, after the death of his protector, Riehl left Nuremberg for good and moved to Ansbach, where he worked as a court painter of George Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach. Riehl executed numerous portraits of ducal families' members and signed his works, like his father, with a monogram similar to that used by Albrecht Dürer.<sup>58</sup> His decision to move from Breslau to Nuremberg could be determined not only by the favourable craft policy of the local city council but probably also by the long tradition of artistic contacts between these two towns. In any case, Nuremberg turned out to be a springboard for his further career.

## CONCLUSION

The selected cases and problems concerning artists' mobility addressed in this paper, determined by family, commercial, political and religious ties connecting Nuremberg and Breslau already since the Middle Ages, did not significantly change the panorama of the early modern art in both cities. For

55 Schultz 1882, 8.

56 Bartelmus, Bartłomiej. "Andreas Riehl der Ältere – Leben und Werk eines schlesischen Bildnismalers der Hochrenaissance". In: *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau*, vol. 49, 2008, 195–219.

57 "Der Mahler Ordnung und Gebräuch in Nürnberg". *Die Nürnberger Maler(zunft)bücher ergänzt durch weitere Quellen, Genealogien und Viten des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*. Ed. by Andreas Tacke. München–Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001, 551.

58 Oszczanowski, Gromadzki 1995, 117.



the goldsmiths and painters, however, the medieval tradition of artistic and know-how exchange between these two cities turned out to be one of the factors facilitating the artistic migration in the sixteenth century, sometimes in both directions. For the epitaph and portrait painting, in turn, references to Nuremberg traditions can be interpreted as vehicles of resistance and defence of the old traditions. Undoubtedly, there were two basic pillars of artists' migrations, especially from Breslau to Nuremberg, without which many of them would not have happened: extensive family networks and wealthy patrons. Economic and political relationships between the two cities seem to be important in this process too, but they were nevertheless secondary. Moreover, the role of guild regulations should not be overlooked, as the lack of strict control helped some artists to spread their wings, whereas restrictions provided the more talented and self-confident painters with an incentive for migration. Nonetheless, Breslau guild regulations did not prevent foreign artists from arriving and staying in Silesia. Finally, the exchange of artists and some artistic inspirations between Nuremberg and Breslau in the sixteenth century were undoubtedly influenced by the same political, social and confessional processes which both cities, governed by influential, wealthy and Protestant middle class, had to face. It must be stressed, however, that from the perspective of Silesia, the currents and craftsmen of Nuremberg origin, which played such an essential role in the local art of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century, turned out to be far less significant in the early modern era, giving way to inspirations, artworks and artists arriving from Italy, the Netherlands, Bohemia and other parts of the German lands.

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TRANSFER OF NEW MODELS  
IN RIGA ARCHITECTURE AND  
SCULPTURAL DÉCOR IN THE 1750–60s:  
JOHANN FRIEDRICH OETTINGER, A TRAVELLING  
ARCHITECT IN MILITARY SERVICE, AND  
IMMIGRANT SCULPTOR JACOB ERNST MEYER

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SUMMARY

After the Great Northern War, the construction activity in Riga was on the rise and the demand for skilled builders and sculptors increased. The influx of immigrant artists fostered the introduction of new stylistic influences into Riga's architecture. The most significant building project in Riga was the construction of a new town hall in 1750–1765, designed by the military engineer Johann Friedrich Oettinger. His activity spanned a large geographical area and was linked to both courtly engagements and military service. Trained as an architect under the supervision of Italian architects Donato Giuseppe Frisoni and Paolo Retti, Oettinger began an independent career at the Danish court. His designs from that period point to the late Baroque tradition of the Rhineland, represented by Maximilian von Welsh and Balthasar Neumann. Since his career plans in Denmark did not materialise, Oettinger moved to the Russian Empire, where he was appointed commander of the Riga Corps of Engineers in 1747. Oettinger's Town Hall project was innovative for Riga at the time, combining a French-inspired classicist style with late Baroque and Rococo elements. The decorative finish of the town hall interior was executed by Jacob Ernst Meyer, the leading sculptor and stucco master in Riga and an immigrant from Danzig. Meyer's work is the most significant example of the transfer of Rococo ornamentation to the decorative finish of Riga's residential and public buildings in the 1760s. The elegance of Meyer's roccaille ornament testifies to his connection with the predominant ornamentation style in Prussia. A notable example, hypothetically related to both Oettinger and Meyer, is the residence of Otto Hermann von Vietinghoff in Riga.

Oettinger's and Meyer's creative achievements illustrate two distinct trends of artist migration in the Rococo era, driven by social, political and subjective factors. Oettinger spent most of his life wandering around in search of career opportunities, while the example of Meyer demonstrates a successful assimilation of an immigrant sculptor in the local milieu. In both cases, Riga provided a welcoming environment for the newcomers and became a crossroads of modern artistic ideas, promoting the transfer of new models of late Baroque and Rococo art.

After a period of artistic and architectural flourishing in the second half of the seventeenth century, Riga experienced earth-shaking changes during and after the Great Northern War (1700–1721). In 1710, Riga and Vidzeme (Livonia) were annexed to the Russian Empire. The nine-months-long siege followed by a plague was among the harshest periods in the city's history marked by a declining number of residents and diminished trade.<sup>1</sup> These events affected the cultural processes too. Recovering was slow.

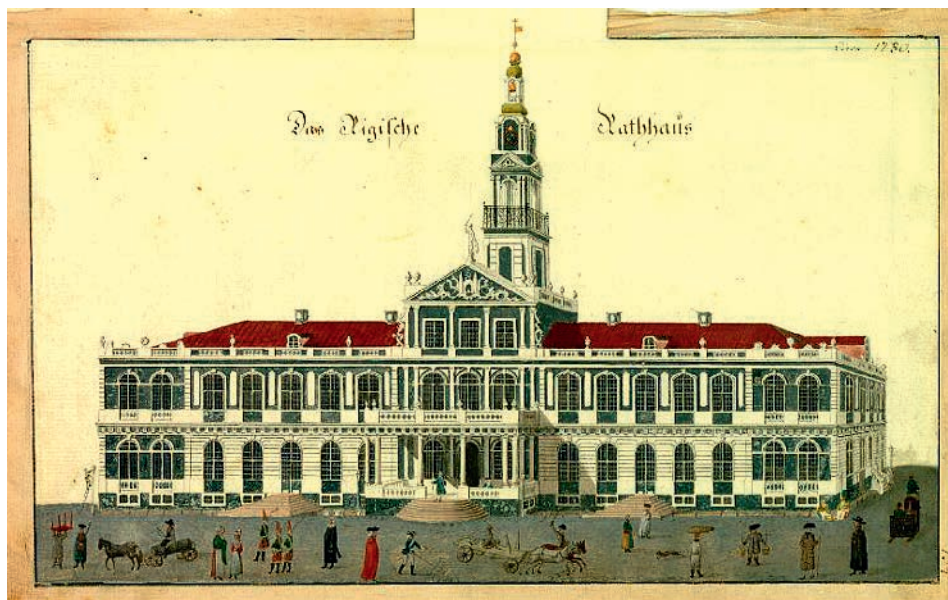
In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, Riga underwent a new construction boom in private and public buildings, which triggered a growing demand for qualified builders and decorative finish masters coming from various European regions. The migration trends in this period display both similarities and differences as compared with the previous period. In the period from the last decades of the sixteenth to the second quarter of the seventeenth century, most builders came from the Netherlands, whereas between 1720 and 1770 most of Riga's leading masters came from German and Prussian lands. Newcomers from northern Germany – Hamburg, Holstein, West Prussia – as well as from Sweden arrived in Riga, and the number of immigrants from Saxony, mainly masons and carpenters, was also on the rise. Archival materials show that from 1720 to 1770, the leading masters working in Riga were originally from German and Prussian lands and cities: Saxony, Württemberg, Danzig and others. A new phenomenon was the involvement of Russian as well as French and Italian specialists, employed by the Russian Empire in various projects.

Already in the seventeenth century, the most important buildings in Riga had been designed and constructed by immigrants, and the practice of inviting foreigners for major projects continued in the eighteenth century. The influx of immigrant artists introduced new stylistic elements into Riga's artistic scene. This article aims to outline the destinies of two such artists, highlighting their innovative legacy in Riga's architectural history: Johann Friedrich Oettinger and Jacob Ernst Meyer. They came to Riga via different routes, and their biographies and careers also developed in divergent ways.

<sup>1</sup> Ēzens, Johans Andreass [Oesen, Johann Andreas]. *Rīga 18. gadsimtā: zīmējumi* [Riga in the Eighteenth Century: Drawings]. Ed. by Pārsla Pētersone. Rīga: Latvijas arhīvu ģenerāldirekcija, Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvs [General Directorate of State Archives, Latvian State History Archive], 2003.



The new town hall (fig. 1) was the most ambitious building project in Riga after the Northern War. The old town hall was in a bad condition and could not serve its functions anymore; consequently, the town council and merchants agreed in 1747 to erect a new town hall building that would also house the bourse.<sup>2</sup> The town council invited Johann Friedrich Oettinger (1713–1767), Lieutenant Colonel of the Russian Empire's army, a military engineer,



1. Johann Christoph Brotze. View of Riga Town Hall. 1780. Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts of the Academic Library of the University of Latvia

architect and cartographer, to design the combined town hall and bourse building. Oettinger was a vigorous and inventive person, whose contribution to the development of Riga's eighteenth-century architecture has not yet been fully assessed. One has to agree with Imants Lancmanis that 'Oettinger and his town hall design were not just an isolated episode in the architecture of Riga',<sup>3</sup> as is commonly claimed in the art history literature.

The progress of Oettinger's career and the geography of his output were determined in different periods by court commissions and obligations of his military service. His activities spanned a wide geographical area during his entire career, but it was in Riga that he created his most important works. To specify Oettinger's role in the introduction of new examples to Riga, it is important to trace the architect's travel routes on the map of Europe before his arrival in Riga, simultaneously taking note of the phases of his stylistic development that significantly affected his later projects in Riga as well.

2 Bākule, Irēna. *Rātsnami Latvijas pilsētās [Town Halls of Latvian Towns]*. Riga: Zinātne, 2001, 59.

3 Lancmanis, Imants. "Architecture. 1780–1840". In: *Art History of Latvia*, vol. 3, book 1. Ed. by Eduards Kļaviņš. Riga: Institute of Art History of the Latvian Academy of Art; Art History Research Support Foundation, 2019, 161.

Johann Friedrich Oettinger was born in Waldbach (Baden-Württemberg, in southern Germany) in 1713. At the age of seventeen, he embarked on a military career by joining the Imperial Infantry Regiment in 1730.<sup>4</sup> Oettinger probably had an early ability and interest in architecture, as he started to learn the architect's 'trade' already at the beginning of the 1730s. He received his architect's training and practical experience with the Italian architect and



2. Donato Giuseppe Frisoni, Paolo Retti. Ludwigsburg Palace, the South Wing (New Main Building). 1730s. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

stucco master Donato Giuseppe Frisoni (1683–1785), the Building Director of Eberhard Ludwig (1676–1733), the Duke of Württemberg. Together with Frisoni's nephew and assistant Paolo Retti (1691–1748) and Leopoldo Mattia Retti (1704–1751), Oettinger worked on the main block (*Corps de Logis*) of Ludwigsburg Castle (*Residenzschloss Ludwigsburg*) designed by Frisoni (fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> Oettinger later described himself as a disciple of these two architects. 'A Pronounced element of French Rococo' has been attributed to Frisoni's and Retti's style; Leopoldo Retti has been singled out as the foremost example of a foreign architect based in Germany, whose style demonstrates such a convincing trend of French Rococo.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, both architects were also clearly influenced by the Austrian Baroque masters Johann Lukas von Hildebrand (1668–1745) and Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656–1723).<sup>7</sup>

4 Elling, Christian. *Paraden: kunst i enevældens Danmark*, vol. 1. København: Gyldendal, 1958, 102.

5 "Frisoni, Giuseppe". In: *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*. Started by Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker. Vol. 12. Ed. by Ulrich Thieme. Leipzig: E. A. Seemann Verlag, 1916, 576.

6 Döry, Baron Ludwig. "Donato Giuseppe Frisoni und Leopoldo Mattia Retti: I – Donato Giuseppe Frisoni". In: *Arte Lombarda*, vol. 12, no. 2 (Secondo Semestre 1967). Vita e Pensiero – Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, 136.

7 Baron Ludwig Döry. "Donato Giuseppe Frisoni und Leopoldo Mattia Retti: II – Leopoldo Mattia Retti". In: *Arte Lombarda*, vol. 14, no. 1 (Primo Semestre 1969). Vita e Pensiero – Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, 75.

In 1733, all construction works in Ludwigsburg Castle came to a halt, as architect Frisoni fell into disfavour and was charged with murder; also, the building's commissioner Duke Eberhard Ludwig died suddenly.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, the War of the Polish Succession broke out, and in 1734 Oettinger returned to his regiment to participate in Prince Charles Alexander's Rhine operation.<sup>9</sup> During this prolonged campaign, he acquired knowledge about both military and civil architecture: in western Franconia, he likely had the chance to see Balthasar Neumann's and Maximilian von Welsch's Baroque palaces,<sup>10</sup> including Bruchsal Palace. Oettinger's only known works from this period are military plans for various cities. Later, in a letter to Prince Charles Eugene, he wrote with regret about never having had a chance to demonstrate his civil architect's skills in his native land.<sup>11</sup> These circumstances possibly prompted the young and ambitious architect to leave his homeland and try to build a career elsewhere.

The beginnings of Oettinger's independent professional activity are related to Denmark. He may have established contacts with Danish officers already during the Rhine campaign. This looks a plausible precondition, as the architect, then aged twenty-five, was employed by King Christian VI of Denmark and Norway in 1738, relying on a personal recommendation by the Minister of Military Affairs Poul Vendelbo Løvenørn.<sup>12</sup> In Copenhagen, Oettinger likely studied geometry, trigonometry and general civil architecture with an experienced building supervisor. Further career in Copenhagen looked promising: in 1738, Oettinger got involved in the designing of the newly-built Christiansborg Palace. He made 'his own design proposal for a room' and, after its approval, worked on its implementation, being appointed the main representative of the building commission for the coming years.<sup>13</sup> According to descriptions, the finish of the royal apartments designed by Oettinger had to be done with marble plastering, abundant gilding and painting.<sup>14</sup> One of his sketches of an intricate parquet ornament for some room in the palace has survived.<sup>15</sup>

That same year Oettinger received his first independent task – to supervise the modernisation of the Frederiksborg Castle. His interior finish designs are said to have been even more expressive of southern German Baroque and Rococo than in the Christianborg Palace, and this was not well received in the conservative milieu. Works on the Christiansborg interiors were completed in 1741, but frustrating consequences followed.<sup>16</sup> The experienced building supervisor at the royal court Elias David Häusser (1687–1745), already

8 Elling 1958, 103.

9 Elling 1958, 104.

10 Elling 1958, 104.

11 Elling 1958, 104.

12 Elling 1958, 105.

13 Hædersdal, Ebbe. "Johann Friedrich Oettinger. Kunstindeks Danmark & Weilbachs Kunstnerleksikon". URL: <https://www.kulturarv.dk/kid/VisWeilbach.do?kunstnerId=9779&wsektion=alle> (21.10.2021).

14 Elling 1958, 111.

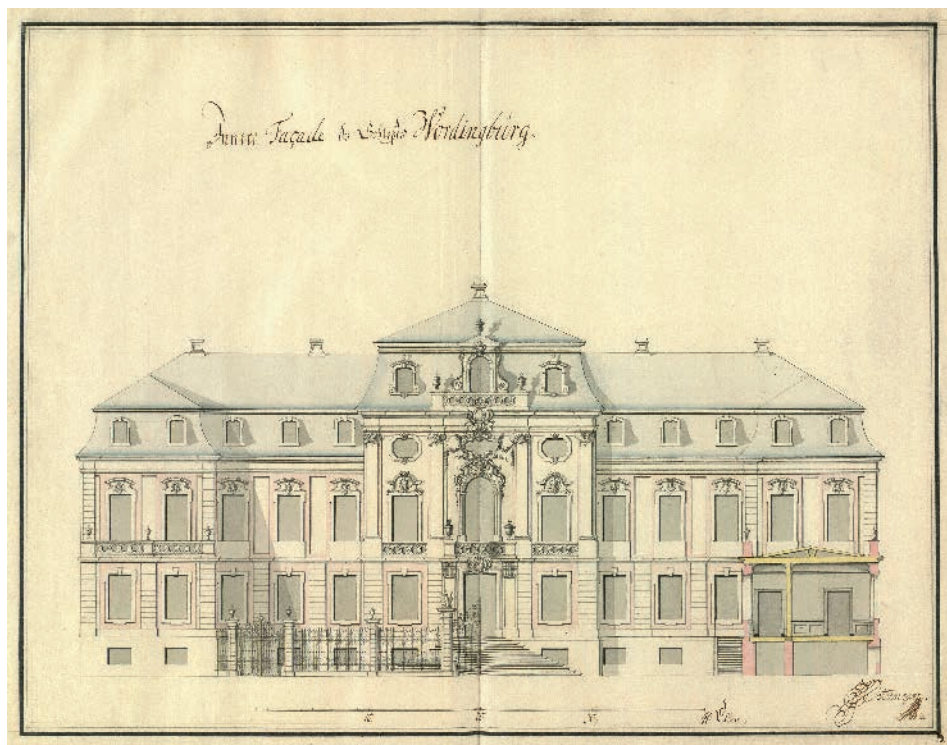
15 National Museum of Denmark. Digital collections. Frederiksborg slotssogn, Lynge-Frederiksborg hrd., Frederiksborg amt. Pen / watercolour, 1739. URL: <https://samlinger.natmus.dk/assetbrowse?keyword=Oettinger> (21.10.2021).

16 Elling 1958, 112.



ill-disposed towards Oettinger, was particularly disparaging. He reported to the King 'serious reproofs about the character of the work led by Oettinger as well as the types and amounts of materials he used' and was also complaining about Oettinger's 'shocking remarks' (*choquante Ausdrückungen*).<sup>17</sup>

The plan of the castle chancellery extension is the only surviving design by Oettinger from this period.<sup>18</sup> The conflict with Häusser and rivalry with strong competitors and leading proponents of late Baroque and Rococo architecture



3. Johann Friedrich von Oettinger. Design of Vordingborg Palace (Prins Jørgens Slot), 1740s. Frederik den Femtes Atlas, Bd. 37, Tvl. 40. The Royal Library of Denmark

in Denmark – Laurids de Thurah (1706–1759) and especially Nicolai Eigtved (1701–1754) – weakened Oettinger's positions and further career prospects at the Danish court. In later years, Oettinger supervised the construction of the Christiansborg Palace, while during the years 1742–1743, he created the reconstruction design of Vordingborg Castle (fig. 3) that can be considered as one of the architect's supreme achievements. Here Oettinger fully used his experience and knowledge acquired during the construction of Ludwigsburg Castle and Christiansborg Palace. As aptly pointed out by Christian Elling, the Vordingborg designs manifestly reveal the Württemberg master's artistic

<sup>17</sup> Elling 1958, 113.

<sup>18</sup> The Danish National Archives [Rigsarkivet], prov. no. 1109, Historisk tegningsarkiv (1600–1960), Forsvarets Bygningstjeneste [Archive of Historical Drawings (1600–1960), The Defense Buildings Service], no. IX-7, 01-04 Frederiksborg.

culture and temperament, different from his Danish colleagues.<sup>19</sup> The rich façade finish contained traces of the late Baroque tradition of western Franconia, represented by Maximilian von Welsch (1671–1745) and Balthasar Neumann (1687–1753), adding the elegant architectural traits of French Baroque and Rococo to the southern German tradition.

In 1745, Oettinger became the building supervisor (*Bau-Director*) in the district of Schleswig-Holstein that was ruled by the king of Denmark. In April



4. Riga Town Square with Town Hall. The third floor added by Johann Daniel Felsko in 1848–1850. Photo: turn of the 20th century. Hebensperger & Co portfolio album *Landschafts-Album Hebensperger & Co.* Riga History and Navigation Museum, inv. no. VRVM 36620/220

1746, Oettinger as a former disciple of Frisoni and Retti was invited to work out a plan for Duke Carl Eugen's New Palace (*Neues Schloss*) in Stuttgart, the project being supervised by Leopoldo Retti.<sup>20</sup> While staying in Kiel, Oettinger asked to send the necessary measurements for the work on the plan.<sup>21</sup> It is known that Retti's design was approved a few days later.<sup>22</sup> In spring 1740, Oettinger proposed to King Christian VI to form an independent corps of builders that would work on royal building projects; however, the idea did not gain support. The King commented on the proposal as follows: "There is little

<sup>19</sup> Elling 1958, 118.

<sup>20</sup> Hædersdal, Ebbe. "Johann Friedrich Oettinger". In: *Kunstindeks Danmark & Weilbachs Kunstnerleksikon*. URL: <https://www.kulturarv.dk/kid/VisWeilbach.do?kunstnerId=9779&wsektion=alle> (21.10.2021).

<sup>21</sup> *Herzog Karl Eugen von Württemberg und seine Zeit*. Ed. by Württembergischer Geschichts- und Altertums-Verein. Esslingen a.N.: P. Neff Verlag (M. Schreiber), 1907, 625. URL: <https://archive.org/details/herzogkarleugenv01wr/page/624/mode/2up> (21.10.2021).

<sup>22</sup> *Herzog Karl Eugen von Württemberg und seine Zeit* 1907, 625.



hope that this unit could bring together skilled people, as diligent craftsmen are even rarer among soldiers than artists.<sup>23</sup> Paradoxically, Oettinger himself was such an example of a talented artist and soldier seasoned in military campaigns.

The architect's ambitions did not materialise in Denmark, and Oettinger set off for new routes again. His further activities are related to new destinations and duties as well as changes in status. In May 1740, during the reign of Russian Tsarina Elizabeth Petrovna, he joined the Russian military service as Lieutenant Colonel and was called up in the Engineering Corps. In 1746, hoping for a wider field of activity, he left Kiel for Copenhagen and then moved on to St Petersburg, where Charles Peter Ulrich of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorp (later Emperor Peter III of Russia) was Heir Presumptive. Oettinger was kindly received but did not succeed in getting a work in the capital; instead, he was sent to the Baltic provinces as a military engineer where his main assignment was the maintenance of defensive structures.

Upon his arrival in Riga in 1747, he was appointed Commander of Engineering Corps in the Citadel.<sup>24</sup> It is likely that Oettinger already knew his superior, the former Field Marshal of Livonia and Riga's Governor General, Peter Graf von Lacy (Pyotr Petrovich Lassi, 1678–1751), as both had taken part in the Rhine campaign in 1735 and the Russo-Turkish War in 1736. In April 1756, one year before the Seven Years' War broke out, Oettinger was appointed Commander of Livonia's Engineering Corps. Although his main task was maintaining defensive structures in order, Riga was the place where he finally got a chance to demonstrate his civil architect's qualification in major urban projects and build a lasting monument, the Riga town hall (fig. 4).<sup>25</sup>

The foundation stone of Riga's new town hall was laid in 1750, and the construction works were completed in 1756. The town hall was envisaged as a two-storey building with a high, rusticated ground floor, seventeen bays and the main three-storey avant-corps topped with a lavish pediment and a 36-metres high four-level tower in Baroque forms. The façade was 60 metres wide. The two side bays were accentuated with flat avant-corps but the main part – with a classical portico. The building was covered with a flat hipped roof with a balustrade. At the time, the town hall design was an innovative and ambitious undertaking for Riga that brought completely new stylistic tendencies to its architecture.

It is worth noting that Oettinger's idea matured in a period of stylistic change, and the development of his signature style is also clearly reflected in the town hall's architecture. Recalling Oettinger's experience in the reconstruction of the Christianborg Palace, a clear evolution of the architect's style from the

23 "Dass man wenig Hoffnung haben könne, geschickte Leute unter diese Compagnie zu bekommen, indem tüchtige Handwerker eben so wenig als Künstler sich auf Soldaten-Fuss tractiren lassen." In: Elling 1958, 114.

24 Elling 1958, 120.

25 Elling 1958, 122.

expressive southern German Baroque to classical elegance and pure volumes is evident, retaining pronounced Baroque forms only in the tower silhouette. The Riga town hall design was possibly influenced also by Oettinger's fiercest critic, Elias David Häusser's design for Christiansborg Palace as well as by the leading Danish architect, Oettinger's contemporary and rival, Nicolai Eigtved's composed Classicism. Imants Lancmanis has noted that 'consistent



5. Pediment of the Riga Town Hall, built into the courtyard wall at 13 Smilšu Street, Riga.  
Photo: Anna Ancāne, 2021

Classicism shows in the low roof with a balustrade, the rusticated ground-floor plastering, and the ground-floor cornice running into a protruding balcony and demonstrating a flawless Doric order system with triglyphs, taenia, regula and guttae ... At the same time, the tower cupola and ornamented pediment with Riga's coat of arms still conform to the late Baroque and Rococo art.<sup>26</sup> His departure from the earlier southern German decorativeness and the usage of French elements demonstrate that the architect actively followed the latest stylistic tendencies. For example, he introduced modern, very high façade windows borrowed from Robert de Cotte's Parisian residences, disregarding the harsh climate of Riga. Interior solution was also influenced by French Classicism and Rococo.

Decorative reliefs of the town hall pediment (fig. 5) are the earliest known examples of Rococo ornament in the architecture of Riga; they were made to Oettinger's design by Johann Georg Habercorn (1692–?) from Saxony in 1755.<sup>27</sup> In the central part of the tympanum there was the coat of arms of Riga with the symbols of the Russian Empire, while the rest of the tympanum plane was decorated with ornamental reliefs. The asymmetrical composition typical

<sup>26</sup> Lancmanis 2019, 161.

<sup>27</sup> Campe, Paul. *Lexikon liv- und kurländischer Baumeister, Bauhandwerker und Baugestalter von 1400–1850*, vol. 2: *Nachtrag und Ergänzung zum ersten Band*. Stockholm: Humanistiska fonden, 1957.

of Rococo consisted of a complex pattern: heavy rocaille shells, C-shaped volutes transforming into seaweed-type curves or joining together as cartouche frames filled with treillage. The soft, gristly forms remind of the auricular ornament topical in the first half of the previous century. The pediment ornamentation is at the same time fleshy, expressive and phantasmagorical, reflecting an interpretation of southern German rocaille according to the



6. a-b  
Johann Friedrich von Oettinger.  
Decorative cartouche of the map  
*Theatrum Belli Serenissimæ Domus  
Austriacæ, contra Gallos ... –  
Neuester Schauplatz des Krieges  
an dem Ober Rhein und in denen  
Niederlanden. Oder Lauff des Rheins ...*  
Augsburg: Matthæus Seutter, c. 1746.  
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin,  
Kart. GfE L 1. 431



Bavarian court architect François de Cuvilliés (1695–1768), combined with the influences of Jeremias Wachsmuth's (1712–1771) ornamental samples. If Oettinger's architectural idea of the town hall stemmed from his experience in the building of southern German late Baroque palaces supervised by Italian architects as well as the later work in Denmark, the use of ornament could



7. François de Cuvilliés. Samples from  
*Livre de Cartouches Irréguliers*. 1738.  
Cooper Hewitt,  
Smithsonian Design Museum.  
Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

have been derived from interiors of other palaces of the Bavarian court. One example is Augustusburg Palace (*Schloss Augustusburg*) in Brühl, whose stucco finish was created by François de Cuvilliés. Oettinger's version of rocaille is evident in the cartouches of a map that he created in 1746 (fig. 6): the ornament consists of serrated rocaille shells and stylised plant elements in various combinations, sometimes quoting directly from de Cuvilliés (fig. 7). The ornamental character of both cartouches is close to the drawn pediment reliefs of Riga town hall, in which thick perforated shell fragments alternate with floral stems and quasi-Mannerist auricular ornaments.

Works on the town hall's interior finish went on until 1764, but since 1761, the town hall records of expenses contain the name of the sculptor,

stonemason and stucco master Jacob Ernst Meyer.<sup>28</sup> Although the town hall pediment was built in 1755 and Meyer worked on the stucco finish of the interiors from 1762 to 1764, Oettinger's tympanum reliefs and Meyer's orders for Rigans' private houses (implemented a little later) demonstrate different approaches to Rococo ornamentation.

Rococo had already reached Riga in the 1750s, but its brightest manifestations in the architecture of Riga date to the first half of the 1760s and are related to this master. Biographical data are still lacking and his



8. Riga Town Hall, main staircase. Photo: Richard Hamann-MacLean / Otto Kletzl, 1940. Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, inv. no. fm150157

origins remain obscure, but it is known that he came to Riga from Danzig in 1761, acquired citizenship soon after and settled here for good.<sup>29</sup> Probably Danzig was just a stopover on his route to Riga, as there is no documentary evidence of his activities there; however, an in-depth research in the archives is still required.

Meyer's output is the most outstanding example of the transfer of Rococo ornament samples in the decorative finish of Riga's residential and public buildings in the 1760s. Representative buildings designed by Oettinger became the most appropriate field for the talented decorative sculptor's creative

<sup>28</sup> Latvian State History Archive [Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvs, LVVA], coll. 1390, reg. 4, file 1333, 68–83.

<sup>29</sup> Campe, Paul. *Lexikon liv- und kurländischer Baumeister, Bauhandwerker und Baugestalter von 1400–1850*, vol. 1. Stockholm: Humanistiska fonden, 1951, 299.



expression in his new homeland. As seen from Meyer's further career, he was widely recognised in Riga and never left the town. Following the interior examples of southern German Baroque, the turning points of the town hall's parade staircase were adorned with decorative stone vases, eighteen in total, made of Gotland limestone and executed from 1762 to 1764 (fig. 8). All vases had a common decorative concept: the body of the vase in the form of a flower bud was entwined by tendrils coming into leaf and floral ornaments, while the crowning part was a massive rocaille shell with strings of pearls. Closest



9. Jacob Ernst Meyer. Riga Town Hall, interior. Photo by Richard Hamann-Mac Lean / Otto Kletzl, 1940. Bildarchiv Foto Marburg, inv. No. fm150158

prototypes for the vases can be found in Franz Xaver Habermann's (1721–1796) collections of Rococo ornaments. Meyer also created the fireplace décor as well as door, wall and ceiling finish for the town hall interiors (fig. 9). Meyer's top achievement was the stucco décor of the meeting hall, rich in Rococo-style ornamental and figurative elements. Its description was published in an advertisement in the Riga newspaper *Rigische Anzeigen* in December 1762, aiming to promote the sculptor's work:

Local sculptor, Jacob Ernst Meyer, informs that he does all the necessary interior works – fireplaces, plafonds, overdoors, high and low reliefs – as well as exterior works, such as pediments, portals, window surrounds and many other decorations. Every admirer who would like to see an example of his work can

look at the plafond in the Great Hall of our new Town Hall, created by him the last summer. This work is decorated with symbols, trophies, flowers and many other adornments that required much effort from the artist and are enjoyed very much by admirers.<sup>30</sup>

Paul Campe tried to identify the Riga master with the sculptor Jakob Mayer, who in 1740–1741 together with his brother Paul Mayer created six



10. Jacob Ernst Meyer.  
Portal at 13 Vāgnera Street, Riga. 1760s.  
Photo: Anna Ancâne, 2020

figures of apostles for Katholische Hofkirche in Dresden to the Italian sculptor Lorenzo Mattielli's (1678/1688?–1748) design.<sup>31</sup> This hypothesis is plausible, as these sculptures are stylistically similar to Meyer's known works, both in the interpretation of figures and draperies. Meyer's sculptural works are in line with classicised late Baroque, but his decorative finishes assert him as a skilful master of ornament and an avant-garde artist in the context of Riga. Meyer's

30 "Der hiesige Bildhauer, Jacob Ernst Meyer macht bekannt dass er in der Stucatur= oder Gipsarbeit alle erforderliche Inventionen, sie mögen bestehen inwendig in Zimmern, an Kaminen, Platfons, Superporten, haut- und bas- reliefs, imgleichen auswendig in der freyen Lust an Frontispicen, Portails, Schildern, Fenster-Façen, und andern Zierrathen mehr verfertigt. Diejeniger Liebhaber, welche eine Probe seiner Arbeit zu sehen belieben, können das Platfond in dem Grossen Saal des hiesigen neuen Rahthauses, welches er diesen abgewichenen Sommer selbst verfertigt, in Augenschein nehmen. Es ist dieses Werk mit Sinnbildern, Trophäen, Blumen und andern Zierathen mehr, versehen und hat der Künstler weder Fleiss noch Mühe gespart um dadurch dem Beyfall der Kenner zu erhalten." In: *Rigische Anzeigen*, 9.12.1762, 1–2.

31 Campe 1951, 299. Compare: "Register: Architekten, Baumeister, Bildhauer, Gießermeister, Orgelbauer, Gartengestalter ...". *Dresden & Sachsen: Landeskunde & Reiseführer*. URL: [http://www.dresden-und-sachsen.de/register/register\\_architekten.htm](http://www.dresden-und-sachsen.de/register/register_architekten.htm) (21.10.2021).

fine, elegant rocaille combined with floral motifs indicate that he was familiar with the ornament version predominant at the time in Prussia and abundantly represented in the portals of Danzig, typified by graceful decorativeness without clutter and a tendency towards fine details and complexity.<sup>32</sup> Meyer worked on the interior finish of the town hall and church furnishings alongside façade décor for many buildings in Riga. Only a small part of this heritage has survived until today, among them the building at 13 Vāgnera Street (fig. 10), whose

11. Johann Friedrich  
von Oettinger (?).  
Otto Hermann  
von Vietinghoff's residence  
at 2 Vāgnera Street, Riga.  
1761–1763.  
Rebuilt in 1884  
by Carl Johann Felsko.  
Photo: Anna Ancāne, 2020



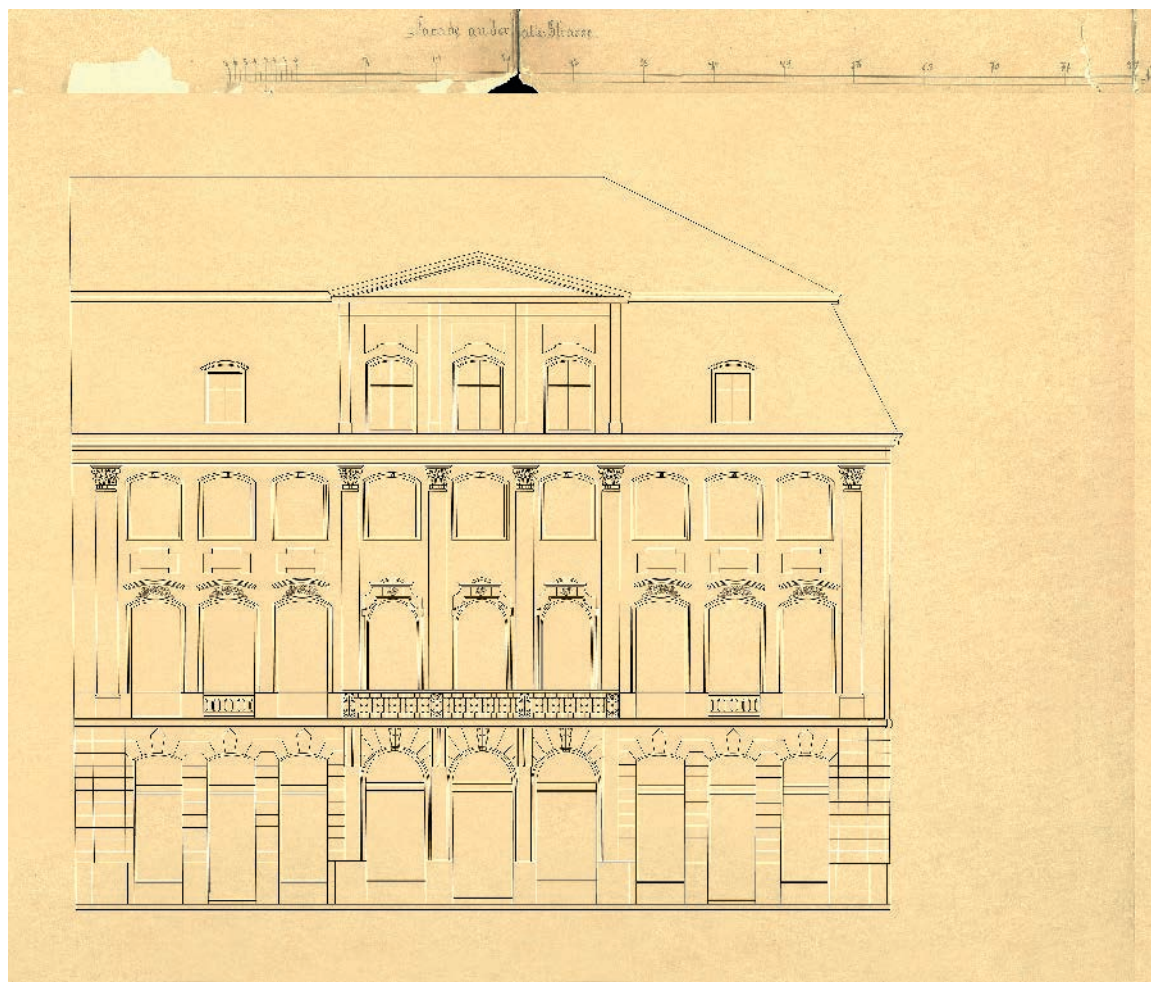
façade is accentuated with a rich Rococo portal in the middle. The building at 10 Smilšu Street (corner of Smilšu and Aldaru Street) and Friedrich Gerngros's house at 17 Smilšu Street have not survived. Meyer held on to examples found in Franz Xaver Habermann's collections, but he was also influenced by the Augsburg engraver Martin Engelbrecht's (1684–1756) samples published in 1750, which combine late Baroque ornament and elements of Rococo.

The new town hall is the finest example of the synthesis of imported architecture and decorative finish in Riga's public buildings in the mid-eighteenth century, while the most outstanding new-type residential house was built at 2 Vāgnera Street in 1761–1763 (fig. 11) for Otto Hermann von Vietinghoff (Otto von Vietinghoff genannt Scheel, 1722–1792), a powerful

<sup>32</sup> Lancmanis, Imants. "Rokajs Latvijas dekoratīvajā mākslā" [Rocaille in Latvian decorative arts]. In: *Ornaments Latvijā. Materiāli Latvijas mākslas vēsturei* [Ornament in Latvia. Materials for Latvian art history]. Ed. by Elita Grosmane. Riga: Zinātne, 1994, 71.



politician, Privy Councillor of the Russian Empire and a renowned patron of art and theatre. This building is among the few examples of late Baroque and Rococo urban residences in Latvia hypothetically linked to the names of both Oettinger and Meyer. The new building with its lavish façade became one of the most representative houses of the time in Riga. It was a three-storey house with a mansard roof, nine bays on the main façade facing Kaļķu



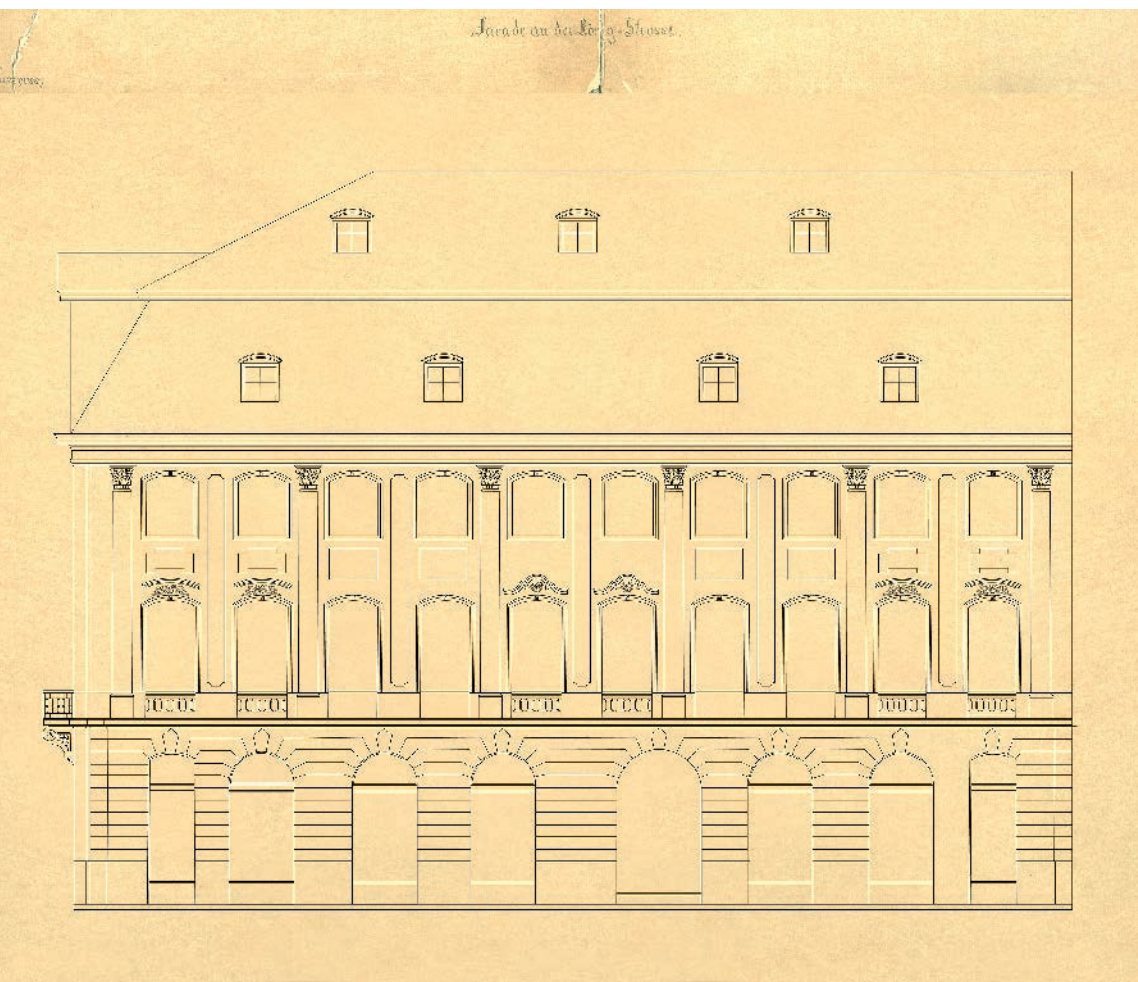
12. Reconstruction of the original appearance of Vietinghoff's residence, based on the drawing of the 19th-century reconstruction project. Concept: Anna Ancâne; computer graphics: Madara Lesite-Volmane

Street and ten bays towards the former Lielā Kēniņu (today Vāgnera) Street. The middle axis of the façade was emphasised with a flat avant-corps and a three-bay mansard with a pediment (fig. 12).<sup>33</sup> The lower ground floor was covered with banded rustication, while the main entrance was surrounded by a portico with a first-floor balcony. Four pilasters accentuated the main

<sup>33</sup> Latvian State History Archive [Latvijas Valsts vēstures arhīvs, LVVA], coll. 2761, reg. 3, file 149, 1.



avant-corps and two pilasters framed the wall plane, while on the façade facing Lielā Ķēniņu Street, pilasters alternated with vertical spandrel panels between windows. The first-floor window finish that has escaped reconstructions is the main decorative accent: on both façades windows are topped by four types of decorative pediments with rich rocaille cartouches and complex ornamental compositions below them (fig. 13). The high artistic level of execution and the



character of ornament point towards Jacob Ernst Meyer, who arrived in Riga in 1761, the same year that the construction of the house was launched.

Vietinghoff's house was an innovative, large private building in Riga back then, standing out against the overall background. Comparing the façade reconstruction drawing of this residence with the façade of the then still unfinished town hall, there is a similar approach to both façade composition and

proportions of the building's parts and architectural elements, especially in the solution of the main avant-corps. Although documentary evidence about the house designer is lacking, stylistic traits allow assuming that Johann Friedrich Oettinger could have very likely authored Vietinghoff's residence. Considering Vietinghoff's high position in the Empire and personal connections, he might have known Oettinger already when he was designing the town hall, while



13. Windows of Vietinghoff's residence, 2 Kaļķu Street, Riga, c. 1763. Photo: Anna Ancāne, 2020

the employment of Meyer in the execution of Vietinghoff house's décor could have paved the way for his work on the town hall interior finish afterwards.

Oettinger's creative approach was formed under Frisoni's and Retti's influences, accumulating impulses from southern German Baroque as well as French Rococo and Classicism introduced into southern Germany by the Bavarian court artist François de Cuvilliés. The main entrance portico of both Riga town hall and Vietinghoff's residence is analogous to the image of the Ludwigsburg Castle portal and balcony published in the 1727 collection of Frisoni's engravings *Unterschiedliche Prospect u. Grundriß deß Herzoglich Württembergischen Residenz-Schlusses Ludwigsburg*.<sup>34</sup> In addition, the configuration of the Vietinghoff residence's windows with small pediments and surrounds on the main façade along with the classical ground-storey rustication, are very close

<sup>34</sup> URL: <http://www.kulturpool.at/plugins/kulturpool/showitem.action?itemId=146029581913&kupoContext=default> (21.10.2021).

to Frisoni's examples, indirectly pointing towards his disciple Oettinger being involved with the project. Significantly, Oettinger's design for the representative late Baroque Vordingborg Castle in Denmark reveal common features in the solution of proportions of parts of the building and the concept of décor.

Oettinger was unable to constantly supervise the implementation of his designs in Riga, as he was simultaneously involved in active warfare during the Seven Years' War. In 1758, he was sent to Prussia where he took part in the bloody Battle of Zorndorf (Margraviate of Brandenburg, now in Poland), while in April 1759 he participated in the military campaign in Brandenburg together with General William Fermor's troops, after which he returned to St Petersburg. In 1760 Oettinger was promoted to the rank of Major General and sent to supervise the construction of fortifications of the newly established fortress of Orenburg in the Southern Urals. Soon he was made responsible for the entire Siberian defence line. Oettinger died in Orenburg in 1767.<sup>35</sup>

The study of Oettinger's activities from the geographical point of view allows specifying the interconnections in the genesis of new phenomena in the architecture of Riga. In the special literature, Oettinger is traditionally called 'an architect from Holstein', while his home town was in Baden-Württemberg, in southern Germany. Consequently, his professional growth was to a great extent influenced by Italian architects, southern German Baroque trends and French Rococo. These traits prevailed in his output while he was serving the King of Denmark. Conversely, the Riga period about a decade later demonstrates a restrained Classicist tendency with elements of late Baroque and Rococo.

Oettinger's and Meyer's professional careers exemplify two different cases of artists' migration determined by various social, political and also subjective factors. Oettinger spent most of his itinerant life in wanderings, looking for opportunities to realise his creative potential. Therefore, the geographical area of his activity is closely related to military service, royal commissions and Riga's socio-political life. Meyer's case, on the contrary, shows a purposeful and successful assimilation of an immigrant sculptor into Riga's middle-class milieu, being a typical situation on the art market of the time.

In both cases, Riga became a favoured destination where newcomers could stay for shorter or longer periods, and a meeting point for up-to-date artistic ideas, fostering the transfer of top-quality Baroque and Rococo examples and ushering in a new period in the architectural development of Riga.

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35 URL: <http://oren-wiki.com/arxiv-person.html/2016/01/30/ettinger,-ivan-fridrixovich/>

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# LITHUANIAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDIES OF ARTISTS' MIGRATION IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

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## SUMMARY

This paper examines the Lithuanian contribution to the study of the history of migrating painters, sculptors and engravers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The art of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and its artists, who came here from various European countries, was first explored in the First Republic of Lithuania (1918–1940), during the formation of the national historiography of art. At that time, the role of foreign artists in the development of Lithuanian art was already recognised as important. The works of Italian artists, who worked in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, were considered to be among the most beautiful of the country's Baroque heritage. The issue of foreigners' connection with the local culture was also addressed: the influence of art customers on the changes in the work of foreigners was assessed, and the impact of the 'spirit of the nation' on the creation of foreigners was noted. Many of the first ideas of the Lithuanian professional art historians (e.g. the importance of immigrant artists in the development of style, the adaptation of their creativity to the needs of local society) were continued to be developed later. In recent decades, Lithuanian art historians have studied the foreigners' heritage more widely and comprehensively. Articles about specific groups of immigrants, such as artists of Lombardy's Lakes Region or the foreign citizens of Vilnius, have been published. General parameters of the artists' migration and peculiarities of the foreigners' social life began to be discussed. These studies are largely based on the broad biographical data published in the book *Lietuvos dailininkų žodynas*, t. 1: XVI–XVIII a. (*Dictionary of Lithuanian Artists*, vol. 1: 16th to 18th century). The data contained in this publication testify to intense interactions between immigrant artists and native-born residents and help to assess the role played by the Grand Duchy's society in the European migratory processes of artists.

## INTRODUCTION

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was involved in the European migration processes as a stopover or a place of long-term residence for artists from various countries. During this period, the Duchy formed a commonwealth with the Kingdom of Poland, known as the Commonwealth of the Two Nations. It is only natural that the movement of professionals in various fields, including artists, between Poland and Lithuania was particularly intense.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, changes in the development of local art were influenced mainly by immigrants from more distant lands with more pronounced cultural differences.

In the early modern period, the migration processes in the Duchy were largely driven by the political and economic realities of the country.<sup>2</sup> In times of political cataclysms and epidemics, especially during the Commonwealth's wars with Russia and Sweden in the mid-seventeenth century (1654–1667), as well as during the Great Northern War (1700–1721) and the so-called Great Northern War Plague (1710–1711), the Duchy suffered great population and economic losses.<sup>3</sup> The demand for construction and building decoration declined, as did the immigration of artists. As the economic situation recovered, the country's attractiveness to foreigners and the demand for skilled foreign masters increased. Immigration of various kinds of professionals, including artists, intensified.

Foreign artists who worked in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were noticed in historiography as early as the nineteenth century, but more consistent research into their history began only in the 1920s, when art historians of the newly established Republic of Lithuania (1918–1940), along with scholars from other countries, began to study the art of the Duchy. This paper aims to consider the contribution of Lithuanian historiography to the research of the history of migrating artists. The beginnings of this research in the first Republic of Lithuania are reviewed, and the later directions of its development are examined. Based on the studies of artists' biographies carried out in Lithuania, the possibilities for the research of artists' migration tendencies are considered.

## THE QUESTION OF FOREIGNERS IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE LITHUANIAN BAROQUE

In 1918, with the formation of the Republic of Lithuania, its art historiography began to take shape. The research was carried out by art historians who had studied at Western universities, as well as humanities scholars with knowledge

1 Historian Gintautas Sliesoriūnas has stated that migration from Poland was one of the most important factors that determined the Duchy's demographic composition and social development. See: Sliesoriūnas, Gintautas. *Lietuvos istorija*, t. 6: *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės istorija XVI a. pabaigoje – XVIII a. pradžioje (1588–1733 metais)* [History of Lithuania, vol. 6: Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the end of the 16th to the beginning of the 18th century (1588–1733)]. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2015, 135.

2 On the conditions that affected migration, see: Urbanavičius, Agnius. *Vilniaus naujieji miestiečiai 1661–1795* [The new citizens of Vilnius, 1661–1795]. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2005, 192–198.

3 Sliesoriūnas 2015, 214–248.

in the field. Lithuanian historiography began to form a national narrative of art history that was developed in professional and general literature.<sup>4</sup> As in many other countries, the publications of Lithuanian scholars in the first half of the twentieth century were dominated by issues of art styles and a search for local and national features. At the same time, the attention turned to the role of foreigners in the development of the Lithuanian Baroque.



1. Church of the Visitation  
in the Monastery of Pažaislis.  
Photo: Vytautas Balčytis

Not all cultural heritage of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was available to Lithuanian scholars at that time. The monuments that have survived in the territory of present-day Lithuania have been studied the most.<sup>5</sup> One of them is the ensemble of Pažaislis Camaldolese Monastery near Kaunas, which was designed and decorated mainly by Italian masters (figs. 1, 2, 3). The object was explored by Halina Kairiūkštytė-Jacinienė (1896–1984), a student of Heinrich Wölfflin. In 1926 she defended her doctoral thesis on the ensemble in Zurich, which was published in German in 1928.<sup>6</sup> In the introduction to the publication, the author emphasised the role of foreigners, first of

4 More about the history of Lithuanian art in the interwar period, see: Laučkaitė, Laima. "Nacionalinės dailės istorijos rašymas: XX a. I pusės strategijos" [Writing of the history of national art: strategies of the first half of the 20th century]. In: *Meno istorija ir kritika*, vol. 7: *Meno istorijos riboženkliai* [Landmarks of art history]. Ed. by Nijolė Lukšionytė and Aušrinė Kulvietytė-Slavinskienė, 2011, 88–95.

5 Vilnius and its region were part of Poland at that time. The monuments in the eastern part of the Duchy belonged to the Soviet Union.

6 Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė, Halina. *Pažaislis, ein Barockkloster in Litauen. Abhandlung zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der philosophischen Fakultät I der Universität Zürich* (= Tauta ir žodis 6). Kaunas, 1928. A shortened overview of the ensemble's research has been published in Lithuanian (Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė, Halina. *Pažaislio vienuolynas ir jo meninės vertenybės* [The Pažaislis monastery and its artistic value]. Kaunas, 1930. The dissertation was published in Lithuanian in 2001: Kairiūkštytė-Jacynienė, Halina. *Pažaislis, baroko vienuolynas Lietuvoje* [Pažaislis, a Baroque monastery in Lithuania]. Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2001.



2. Interior of the Church of the Visitation.  
Photo: Vytautas Balčytis



3. Michelangelo  
Palloni,  
Giovanni Maria  
Merli.  
Christ's Coronation  
with Thorns.  
1674–1684.  
Fresco, stucco.  
A fragment of the  
vault of the chapter  
house, Church of  
the Visitation.  
Photo:  
Vytautas Balčytis

all, Italian and Dutch masters, in the formation of local art; later, in the eighteenth century, the influence of German and French artists increased. The author explored written sources and analysed the works of art that decorated the architecture of the Pažaislis ensemble. She associated the style of the object with the Italian Baroque tradition while also noting its peculiar features. According to Kairiūkštytė-Jacinienė, the architect of the ensemble



had found a 'boldly independent' solution and applied compositional devices less common in the Italian Baroque.<sup>7</sup> In considering the reasons for these changes, the author pointed to the influence of the founder of Pažaislis Camaldolese Monastery, the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac.<sup>8</sup>

Kairiūkštytė-Jacinienė also emphasised the uniqueness of the monument in Lithuania. She considered it one of the most beautiful examples of the Lithuanian Baroque, whose quality does not fall behind similar monuments in



4. Giovanni Pietro Pertti, Giovanni Maria Galli. A fragment of the interior of St Peter and St Paul's Church in Vilnius. 1676–1684. Photo: Vytautas Balčytis

other lands and whose value 'clearly exceeds the level of provincial art'.<sup>9</sup> The author linked the high quality of the ensemble to the origin of its creators. She wrote that only Italians 'with their natural artistic instinct and sense of form, inspired by memories of the majestic works of art of their homeland, could create such a building full of harmony and beauty'.<sup>10</sup> Kairiūkštytė-Jacinienė was the first Lithuanian scholar to appreciate in such detail the ensemble designed and decorated by foreign masters.

More extensive studies of the art monuments of the Duchy's capital Vilnius and its region began after Lithuania regained this territory in 1939. Even before the Soviet occupation, several books about the art monuments of Vilnius were published for the general public. One of them was authored

7 Kairiūkštytė-Jacinienė 2001, 177.

8 Kairiūkštytė-Jacinienė 2001, 179.

9 Kairiūkštytė-Jacinienė 2001, 7.

10 Kairiūkštytė-Jacinienė 2001, 170.

by Mikalojus Vorobjovas (1903–1954), who defended his doctoral thesis at the University of Munich. In his book titled *Vilniaus menas* (*The Art of Vilnius*, 1940), he examined the monuments of the Baroque and other styles that have survived in the city, giving credit to the immigrant artists' authorship where the credit was due. The author emphasised the influence of foreign Jesuits on the development of Vilnius Baroque<sup>11</sup> and extensively analysed buildings designed and decorated by immigrant masters, such as the Church of St Peter and St Paul, decorated by stucco plasterers from Lombardy's lake district (fig. 4). Vorobjovas considered the works of foreigners to be the most striking examples of Vilnius Baroque, basing his assessment on the principles of formal analysis and applying a picturesque, literary narrative style.<sup>12</sup> His consistent and compelling analysis of monuments played a role in establishing an understanding of the value of works by foreign artists.

Another work dedicated to Vilnius monuments was authored by the philosopher, writer and art critic Jonas Grinius (1902–1980). In his book *Vilniaus meno paminklai* (*Vilnius Art Monuments*, 1940), he alluded to the external factors of the late Baroque development in Lithuania – influences from southern Italy, Saxony and France, which were partly related to the migration of artists (he mentioned artists from Italy).<sup>13</sup> Grinius also highly appreciated the works of foreigners and called the Italian-designed and decorated St Casimir's Chapel in Vilnius Cathedral (fig. 5) the 'star of Baroque'.<sup>14</sup> Describing the mouldings of Vilnius St Peter and St Paul's Church, he mentioned motifs related to the church's founder, Lithuanian Grand Hetman Michał Kazimierz Pac.<sup>15</sup> Some motifs, according to Grinius, revealed the religiosity of the client, others (military and knighthood motifs) were indirect references to the position of the founder himself – that of the leader of the army. Also, the author saw in the mouldings 'silhouettes of the people of our poor country' and details of local nature: 'all the flowers of our gardens' that are woven in the wreaths, the meadow chamomile in the decór of the altar of the five wounds of the Saviour, and in the vaults of naves – 'garden sunflower' and 'the spear thistle growing in the fence row'.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, in the interwar period, the story of the connection of foreign works with local culture began to develop. The fitting of foreign artists' work into the local context has been described in various ways: some authors emphasised local motifs of iconography, others pointed to the peculiar compositional solutions. Some authors explained the reasons for the adaptation of creativity

11 Worobiow, Nikolaj. *Vilniaus menas* [*The art of Vilnius*]. Kaunas: Spaudos fondas, 1940, 32.

12 Jankevičiūtė, Giedrė. "Vilnius pagal Mikalojų Vorobjovą" [Vilnius according to Mikalojus Vorobjovas]. In: *Dailės istorikas ir kritikas Mikalojus Vorobjovas (1903–1954)*, t. II: *Įžodinto vaizdo meistras* [Art historian and critic Mikalojus Vorobjovas (1903–1954), vol. 2: Master of the picture expressed in words]. Ed. by Giedrė Jankevičiūtė. Vilnius: R. Paknio leidykla, 2017, 305–343.

13 Grinius, Jonas. *Vilniaus meno paminklai* [Art monuments of Vilnius]. Kaunas: Šv. Kazimiero draugija, 1940, 95.

14 Grinius 1940, 72.

15 Grinius 1940, 75–89.

16 Grinius 1940, 82, 84.

by applying, as was customary in the early twentieth century, the concept of the nation. They saw a powerful forming spirit of the nation to which foreigners became subordinate. For example, the priest and art critic Kazimieras Jasėnas (1867–1950) stated that ‘although the architects were foreigners, they understood our taste and knew how to adapt their works to the nation’s wishes ... On the basis of the Roman Baroque and using elements of art from various nations, they created a truly national, Lithuanian architecture, which



5. Interior of St Casimir's Chapel in Vilnius Cathedral. Photo: Vytautas Balčytis

puts us in the forefront of the building art of that period in the whole world'.<sup>17</sup> Mikalojus Vorobjovas wrote about '*genius loci*, that is, the powerful influence of the spirit of the landscape and the soul of the nation', which formed the 'bright *Aukštaitian* character of Vilnius Baroque'.<sup>18</sup>

The research of Baroque art carried out in the First Republic of Lithuania was relatively modest in scope. Still, it revealed the value of foreigners' works and fostered the understanding that they are integral part of Lithuania's artistic heritage. It was observed that the work of foreigners influenced the stratification of Lithuanian Baroque and the emergence of new variations of style. For example, Halina Kairiūkštytė-Jaciniienė noted that the work of

<sup>17</sup> Jasėnas, Kazimieras. *Visuotinė meno istorija. Architektūra*, t. 5: *Barokas. Lietuvos architektūra XVII ir XVIII šimtmečiuje* [Universal art history. Architecture, vol. 5: Baroque. Lithuanian architecture in the 17th and 18th centuries]. Mintauja, 1926, 258.

<sup>18</sup> Worobiov 1940, 32.



foreigners 'together with certain vernacular peculiarities in the perception of style has developed a new mixed style'.<sup>19</sup>

Paulius Galaunė (1890–1988), pioneer of Lithuanian professional museology, summarised the various assessments of the Lithuanian Baroque made during the First Republic in the *Lietuviškoji enciklopedija* (*Lithuanian Encyclopaedia*).<sup>20</sup> The author noted that the Baroque was brought to the Grand Duchy by Italian artists, who built the first Baroque church in Nesvizh (today in Belarus). Galaunė, like other Lithuanian art historians, considered the works of foreigners – for instance, the décor of St Peter and Paul's Church – to be representative of the highest quality Baroque paintings and sculptures. According to the author, in this shrine, the Italian artists had created a unity of sculptural composition with no equal in either Western or Southern Europe. Galaunė said that St Peter and Paul's Church strongly influenced the decoration of many Lithuanian sacral buildings, and these eventually influenced the folk sculpture.<sup>21</sup> Thus, in the summary of Paulius Galaunė, although the baroque forms were imported from Italy, they were brought in line with the local context to the extent that 'we can call this baroque real Lithuanian Baroque'.<sup>22</sup>

The research started in the 1920s and 30s was continued in later times, although not always with the same intensity. The Nazi occupation authorities, operating in Lithuania in 1941–1944, encouraged the study of German influences and immigrants from German lands, which were to reveal the Germanic roots of the Lithuanian Baroque monuments.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, the Soviet regime, which dominated Lithuania for almost five decades, tolerated only Marxist interpretations of the historical art heritage and encouraged the search for its local, 'folk' roots.<sup>24</sup> Such an approach was unfavourable for any serious study of the creative heritage of immigrant artists. A few researchers did collect historical data on foreigners, who had worked in the Grand Duchy, and analysed their works, but they were usually unable to publish their research. In fact, during the Soviet era, especially in its late period, texts about individual monuments and various types of syntheses were published, which also examined the works of foreigners. However, no major shifts in the study of immigrant art took place during this period.

A new stage of research began in independent Lithuania after 1990. Some research conducted during the Soviet era, such as monographs by Vladas

19 Kairiūkštytė-Jaciniene 2001, 6.

20 Galaunė, Paulius. "Barokas". In: *Lietuviškoji enciklopedija*, vol. 2. Ed. by Vaclovas Biržiška. Kaunas: Spaudos fondas, 1933–1934, 1310–1318.

21 Galaunė 1933–1934, 1315.

22 Galaunė 1933–1934, 1318.

23 Jankevičiūtė, Giedrė. "Lithuanian art history under Nazi occupation: Mikalojus Vorobjovas (1903–1954) and his views on the Vilnius Baroque School". In: *Kunstgeschichte in den besetzten Gebieten 1939–1945* (= Brüche und Kontinuitäten 2). Ed. by Magdalena Bushart, Agnieszka Gasior, Alena Janatková. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2016, 239–253.

24 Drėmaitė, Marija. "'Vilnius. A Baroque City': Changing Perceptions of Baroque Heritage during the Twentieth Century". In: *RIHA Journal* 0212, 30 June 2019, 1–18. URL: <https://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2019/0211-0217-special-issue-historiography-in-col-war-era/0212-dremaite/> (15.02.2021).



Drėma (1910–1995) and Marija Matuškaitė (1924–2016), were published. They opened a wider panorama of the Lithuanian Baroque art and foreigners' activities. For example, Drėma's book about St John's Church helped raise understanding of the foreign artists' contribution to the Vilnius Baroque.<sup>25</sup> In 1995, Irena Vaišvilaitė's book *Baroko pradžia Lietuvoje* (*The Beginning of the Baroque in Lithuania*) was published on the basis of her dissertation defended during the Soviet era.<sup>26</sup> In the book, the author developed the concept of Baroque multilayering and examined the interactions between imported and local Baroque.

In the 1990s, a new generation of art historians began their professional careers. Since then, research in Baroque art has intensified greatly. Ensembles designed and decorated by foreigners have been studied from various aspects (iconographic, historical, etc.) – Pažaislis Monastery in particular, but also St Peter and Paul's Church, the Chapel of St Casimir in Vilnius Cathedral and others. The activities of artists from Lombardy's lake district (*magistri commacini*) have been relatively well researched.<sup>27</sup> In recent decades, the ideas of the first professional Lithuanian art historians have been developed, revealing the dependence of foreign works on local culture. Foreigners are often considered in similar terms as they were at the beginning of the Lithuanian Baroque research. Rūstis Kamuntavičius, Aušra Vasiliauskienė and Stefano Lanza, summarising the work of the masters of Lake Lugano in Lithuania, emphasised that the 'modifications of foreign works were due to their exposure to nature, local culture, traditions and customers – the most important noble families of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, such as the Radziwiłł family, the Sapieha family, the Pac family, the Plater family and others'.<sup>28</sup>

However, although in recent decades Lithuanian art historians have relied on the ideas of their predecessors, they have assessed the creative heritage of foreigners more broadly and in more complex ways. Besides, by raising issues typical of migration studies and delving deeper into the social life of individual groups of foreigners, they have opened new perspectives for the study of the history of foreign artists in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.<sup>29</sup>

25 Drėma, Vladas. *Vilniaus Šv. Jono bažnyčia* [St John's Church in Vilnius]. Vilnius: R. Paknio leidykla, 1997.

26 Vaišvilaitė, Irena. *Baroko pradžia Lietuvoje* [The beginning of Baroque in Lithuania] (= Acta Academiae Artium Vilmensis 6). Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 1995.

27 For some recent and broader articles dedicated to masters from Lombardy's lake district with historiographical reviews, see: Kamuntavičius, Rūstis, Aušra Vasiliauskienė, Stefano M. Lanza. "Lugano ežero pakrančių menininkai – Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės baroko kūrėjai (XVI–XVIII a.)" [Artists of the Lake Lugano district – Baroque creators of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (16th to 18th century)]. In: *Darbai ir dienos*, vol. 61, 2014, 233–261; Vasiliauskienė, Aušra. "Komaskų mokyklos atspindžiai XVII a. antros pusės Lietuvos stiuoko lipdyboje: nauji tyrinėjimų aspektai" [The influence of Prealpine Lake artists school on Lithuanian stucco art (second half of the 17th century)]. In: *Meno istorija ir kritika*, vol. 10 (2): *Kultūros paveldas: medžiagiškumo ir simbolinių prasmų sąveika* [Cultural heritage: the interplay of substantiation and symbolic meanings], 2014, 133–165.

28 Kamuntavičius et al. 2014, 260.

29 Kaladžinskaitė, Aukšė. "Svetimšaliai dailininkai XVIII a. Vilniuje" [Foreign artists in 18th-century Vilnius]. In: *Menotyra*, no. 2 (35), 2004, 7–13; Paliušytė, Aistė. "Dailininkų mobilumas XVIII a. Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje: Jeronimo Florijono Radvilos dvaro pavyzdys" [Mobility of artists in 18th-century Grand Duchy of Lithuania: a case study of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł's court]. In: *Menotyra*, vol. 22, no. 4, 2015, 273–289.

## BIOGRAPHISTICS AS A BASIS FOR ARTISTS' MIGRATION RESEARCH

Extensive biographical studies carried out in Lithuania since the last decade of the twentieth century provide a new solid basis for artists' migration research. These efforts have resulted in the publication of *Lietuvos dailininkų žodynas* (*Dictionary of Lithuanian Artists*). Its first volume, published in 2005, was dedicated to the artists of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.<sup>30</sup> The publication summarises the historiography of various countries and incorporates data from biographical dictionaries. Information from heretofore unexplored sources is also extensively used: legal, financial documents, correspondence and others. The *Dictionary* contains data on about 900 painters, sculptors and engravers, including foreigners, who worked in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Newcomers are identified and migration data are determined according to the artists' place of birth and death, their jobs or their origins as indicated in the sources. The *Dictionary* used heterogeneous sources, whose fragmented nature restricts an accurate quantitative assessment of migration processes; however, recurrent phenomena made it possible to identify the characteristic migration trends of artists.<sup>31</sup> The data presented in the *Dictionary* allow us to assume that foreigners made up a relatively small part of all masters who worked in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Only about one-tenth of the biographies mention a non-indigenous origin of the artists, their transfer to or from the Duchy. The ratio of newcomers to locals varied in different groups of artists. For example, a fairly large proportion of foreigners were among the Jesuit artists.<sup>32</sup> Engravers were the least common among newcomers. There were mostly painters and sculptors of various specialisations. The latter included those working with non-native materials, such as marble and ivory, as well as stucco masters. In general, there was a significant rise in migration cases in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries compared to previous centuries.

Different periods of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were characterised by different migration dynamics. Most data on immigrant artists refer to a few specific periods: more than half of all known cases are from the times of August II Wettin and August III Wettin (reigned 1697–1704, 1709–1763), and almost twice as less – from the House of Vasa period (reigned 1587–1668). About one-fifth of all known immigration cases took place during the reigns of Jan Sobieski (1674–1696) and Stanisław

30 *Lietuvos dailininkų žodynas*, vol. 1: XVI–XVIII a. Ed. by Aistė Paliušytė. Vilnius: Kultūros, filosofijos ir meno institutas, 2005.

31 Few large-scale serial sources have survived. One of such rare examples is the 18th-century Vilnius Magistrate documents that specify the city's new residents who had arrived from other countries.

32 Jesuit craftsmen accounted for about 21 per cent, and around the middle of the 18th century – up to 40 per cent of all foreign artists in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (Poplatek, Jan & Jerzy Paszenda. *Słownik jezuitów artystów* [*Dictionary of Jesuit artists*]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy, 1972, 53). In the 17th–18th centuries, the immigrant Jesuit painters and sculptors accounted for about 25 per cent of all artists working in the Duchy's Jesuit monasteries.

August Poniatowski (1764–1795) (less than one-tenth in each period). In all other periods, only isolated cases of immigrant artists are known. Thus, the intensity of the migration of artists and other professionals is most distinguished during the reign of the Wettins in the first half of the eighteenth century. Increased immigration during this period is typical of various groups of artists, such as the Jesuits.<sup>33</sup>

The prevailing migration trends changed over time. Slightly more than half of all known foreign artists were from Germany, East Prussia and the Habsburg estates; about one-fifth came from Italy, less than a tenth from Switzerland and the Low Countries; other countries of origin were represented in only one or a few cases. In the seventeenth century, there were a relatively large number of craftsmen of Italian descent, while in the eighteenth century newcomers from German-speaking lands were particularly prevalent. They were present in various groups of artists, for example, among the Jesuits, as well as in different parts of the country, such as Vilnius or the Radziwiłł court. The prevailing migration from the countries of Central Europe in the eighteenth century influenced the changes in the country's art and the formation of its late Baroque identity.

Most of the migration cases mentioned in the *Dictionary* refer to incoming artists. The emigration of artists from Lithuania is mentioned relatively rarely, mostly during wartime. For example, some artists left Vilnius in the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Muscovite army occupied and ravaged the city: the Flemish medalist Hans Trilner moved to Königsberg,<sup>34</sup> and the engraver Christoph Albrecht Vogel, who had previously collaborated with the Vilnius Jesuit and Basilian printing houses, also left.<sup>35</sup> These were not the only cases of professional emigration in this period. During the war with Russia, when the enemy occupied large areas of the Duchy, a great part of the country's population were evicted.<sup>36</sup> Artisans, such as woodcarvers, also found themselves in Russia. They decorated the churches and monasteries of this country, making a significant influence on local art.<sup>37</sup>

Although some cases of artists moving to the East are known, the emigration of artists from the Duchy is rarely mentioned. This dominance of artists' immigration compared to emigration coincided with the trend in the migration movements of other professionals in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Immigration to the Duchy, in general, was more frequent than emigration from it.<sup>38</sup>

33 Poplatek & Paszenda 1972, 53.

34 *Lietuvos dailininkų žodynas* 2005, 259–260 (written by Rūta Birutė Vitkauskienė).

35 *Lietuvos dailininkų žodynas* 2005, 265 (written by Jolita Liškevičienė).

36 When Russia occupied the eastern lands of the Duchy, about 100,000 people were irreversibly evicted from those territories. See: Sliesoriūnas 2015, 132.

37 Высоцкая, Надежда. *Скульптура и резьба Беларуси XII–XVIII вв. Каталог* [Vysotskaya, Nadezhda. *Sculpture and woodcarving of Belarus, 12th to 18th century. Catalogue*]. Minsk: Беларуская Энцыклапедыя, 1998, 13–14, 211–214.

38 Sliesoriūnas 2015, 131. According to the author, this statement is accurate only with regard to voluntary migration (that is, without taking into account forced evictions in particular periods).

In many cases, the migration patterns of artists and their individual experiences are impossible to reconstruct. The sources shed very little light on the pre-migration period, which is crucial for studying both the motives for migration and its course.<sup>39</sup> At times, given the first known order, one can only make assumptions about the initiatives of representatives of the Duchy's society to invite foreign artists. Only the country's elites were in the position of hiring highly qualified foreigners. In the first half of the seventeenth century, as in the previous century, a number of foreign professionals from various fields, including artists, were invited to the Duchy by the Grand Dukes of Lithuania. After the ruler's court moved out of Vilnius in the second half of the seventeenth century, the local nobility, such as the Radziwiłł and the Pac families, became the most significant customers of foreign professionals. The nobles also often employed immigrants already established in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, primarily in Warsaw and Vilnius. Much more is known about the hiring of foreigners already established in the Commonwealth than about the nobility's initiatives to look for artists abroad.

Artists were often motivated to move to the Duchy by adverse political or economic conditions in their homeland. Migration could be of a forced or semi-forced nature. Artists left their home country for material reasons or when persecuted for their views. Voluntary emigration, encouraged by the opening of professional opportunities, is also likely to have taken place.<sup>40</sup> However, the individual motives for the migration of artists to the Duchy are usually not mentioned in the sources; they can only be inferred. Negotiations between Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac and Italian artists on future earnings show the importance of economic considerations in deciding to go to the Duchy.<sup>41</sup> The documents of the Radziwiłł court allow us to assume similar immigration motives. From a letter written by Adam Gottlieb von Rohr, an agent of Anna Radziwiłłowa, sometime between 1738 and 1740, we learn that the sculptor Carl Friedrich Lücke, hired in Dresden, had financial problems and did not receive a salary from the treasury of King August II.<sup>42</sup> In 1756, the Viennese painter Lorenz Titian de Vecelli, hired by Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł, mentioned in one of his letters that the nobleman had promised him 'mountains of gold', when he had invited him to his court.<sup>43</sup> It can be assumed that in this

39 On the importance of pre-migration research, see: Wagner, Kathrin. "The Migrant Artist in Early Modern Times". In: *Artists and Migration 1400–1850: Britain, Europe and beyond*. Ed. by Kathrin Wagner, Jessica David, Matej Klemenčič. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017, 2.

40 Scholten, Fritz & Joanna Woodall. "Netherlandish artists on the move". In: *Art and Migration: Netherlandish Artists on the Move, 1400–1750* (= *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 63). Ed. by Frits Scholten, Joanna Woodall, Dulcia Meijers. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014, 12; Wagner 2017, 2–20.

41 Paknys, Mindaugas. *Pažaislio vienuolyno statybos ir dekoravimo istorija* [History of the construction and decoration of Pažaislis monastery]. Vilnius: Lietuvos kultūros tyrimų institutas, 2013, 104–108.

42 Central Archives of the Historical Records in Warsaw, Radziwiłłs' Warsaw Archives (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Archiwum Warszawskie Radziwiłłów), dz. 5, nr. 13196-I, 52–53.

43 Palušytė, Aistė. "Dailininkų mokymas Radvilų dvare XVIII amžiuje" [Training of artists in the Radziwiłł court in the 18th century]. In: *Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė: Luomas. Pašaukimas. Užsiėmimas* [Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Estate of the Realm. Vocation. Occupation] (= XVIII amžiaus studijos 5). Ed. by Ramunė Šmigelskytė-Stukienė. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos instituto leidykla, 2019, 100.



case, too, the hope for a more prosperous life helped the artist decide to go to the Duchy.

Although the search for new job opportunities is mentioned quite often in the sources, relatively little is known about other reasons for artists' migration, such as prospects for obtaining education to improve professional skills. Only a few such cases are known. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Carthusian painter Wincentius Charliński studied in Italy. Paweł Karol Sanguszko's painter improved his professional skills in Rome in the 1720s.<sup>44</sup> The reverse movement is witnessed even less frequently. So far, the only artist known to have come to study in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is the goldsmith and engraver Laurent Willatz from Lübeck. As a journeyman, he came to Vilnius to continue his studies, became a master and stayed in the city for life.<sup>45</sup>

Biographical research also makes it possible to identify the types of migration that were common in the country. There were a number of cases of circular migration into the Duchy where foreigners returned to their homeland after fulfilling commissions. Some moved to other lands. Some immigrants settled in the Duchy for life. For example, among the masters who worked for Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac in Pažaislis, some returned to their homeland after completing the order, but there were also some who died in the Duchy.<sup>46</sup> In the case of circular migration, the artists' stay in the Duchy varied in length: short-term, with one or more orders, or long-term, lasting for more than five years. The Radziwiłł court housed foreigners who had settled permanently or worked for the nobles for several years. Most often, three-year employment contracts were concluded with the artists in the court of these nobles. However, there were also artists in the Radziwiłł court who had to work longer, for example, for eight years.<sup>47</sup> In the eighteenth century, more cases of one-way movement are known than before. The migration pattern of Jesuit artists was unique in that the Jesuits who came to the Duchy usually remained there until the end of their lives.<sup>48</sup>

The secular newcomers who settled in the Duchy had a different status. Some of them settled in manors; others acted as freelance masters. The latter were mostly located in the larger cities, primarily in Vilnius. Private cities and residential centres of the nobility were also important places of attraction. During the Baroque period, foreigners were concentrated in such residential cities as Biała Podlaska (today in Poland) and Sluck (today in Belarus). In general, foreigners tended to settle in the Duchy's more urbanised western districts.

The cities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were heterogeneous social spaces. Here, in the urban area, there were holdings of a different legal status,

44 Paliušytė 2015, 277. The history of Paweł Karol Sanguszko's artists was explored by the Polish art historian Józef Skrabski.

45 *Lietuvos dailininkų žodynas* 2005, 271 (written by Jolita Liškevičienė).

46 Paknys 2013, 92, 94.

47 Paliušytė 2019, 100.

48 Poplatek & Paszenda 1972.

called jurisdictions. Some of them belonged to the nobility, while others belonged to the Church. Therefore, the artists' presence in the cities did not mean that the urban commissions dominated; on the contrary, the orders of the nobility and the monasteries were the most important. As with other businesses, the existence of jurisdictions and the protection offered by the nobility in private cities was a factor that encouraged immigration.<sup>49</sup>

The spread of the work of foreigners was determined by their local movements inside the Duchy. The artists were a relatively mobile social group who did a lot of travelling within the country. Alongside artisans, merchants and people of liberal professions, artists were characterised by a city-to-city movement. Professional migration between cities and important regional centres, such as Vilnius, Kaunas, Grodno and others, was particularly intensive<sup>50</sup>. While living in Vilnius, foreign painters and sculptors fulfilled orders in various places of the Duchy, often far from the capital.<sup>51</sup> The artists serving the nobility travelled between the most important residential towns or smaller estates, their movements being controlled by the owners.<sup>52</sup> The monks travelled between the residences of their monastery.

The Duchy underwent a gradual process of the integration of foreigners. Professional institutions were of relatively little importance to them. For most of the Duchy's existence, there were no specialised professional institutions such as art schools and academies. It was only at the very end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, partly after the last division of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, that the Department of Arts was established at Vilnius University. The training of artists took place mainly in private workshops of manors, monasteries or city artists. The artists' relationships with other professional institutions, such as guilds, were relatively rare and fragmented: there were no professional organisations uniting painters or sculptors in the country, only some Vilnius woodcarvers, including foreigners, entered the guild of joiners and other craftsmen.<sup>53</sup>

Although professional institutions were less important in the integration of foreigners than they were in other countries, interpersonal contacts were as important here as elsewhere. Some foreigners came to the Duchy with their families and other professionals. Artists of the Lake Lugano region, for example, travelled in groups of a few persons or more. About ten relatives of the stucco plasterer Giovanni Pietro Perti arrived.<sup>54</sup> Professionals hired by the Radziwiłł family also travelled to Lithuania in groups. Kinship ties were an important factor in maintaining solidarity among the newcomers.

49 Sliesoriūnas 2015, 127–128.

50 Sliesoriūnas 2015, 127–128.

51 Kaladžinskaitė 2004, 10.

52 Palušytė 2015, 274–275.

53 Balaišytė, Lina. "Drožėjai XVIII a. Vilniaus bendruomenėje" [Woodcarvers in the 18th-century Vilnius community]. In: *Menotyra*, no. 4 (17), 1999, 14–18.

54 Kamuntavičius et al. 2014, 247.

Upon their arrival in the Duchy, foreigners made new social connections. These were encouraged by the participation of artists in the life of religious communities. For example, the metric books of St Anne's Catholic Parish in Biała Podlaska reveal how strangers, including Protestants, together with local Catholics participated in family celebrations, baptism and marriage ceremonies.<sup>55</sup> Some foreigners got married to locals, some to other immigrants.<sup>56</sup> Belonging to one manor, foreigners made ties based on that. During the execution of the orders, they encountered various officials of the manor and communicated with them more often than with the customers themselves. The foreigners also constantly communicated among themselves; they carried out orders together and solved issues of everyday life in solidarity. The role of religious communities housing foreigners, such as the Brotherhood of St Martin in Vilnius, was also important in sustaining solidarity.<sup>57</sup>

Foreign artists who settled for a long time, like visitors from other fields, assimilated at different rates. For example, German Lutheran communities, which also included artists, were relatively closed and less prone to assimilate than others.<sup>58</sup> First-generation immigrants used their mother tongue and retained other distinctive features of their cultural identity. In the correspondence and financial documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, foreign artists were often called not by names but by their country of origin, e.g. German, French, Italian.

Nevertheless, some immigrants integrated well into the local society, while maintaining their original identity, and were succeeded by their descendants. Ksawery Dominik Heski, who came to Lithuania in the first half of the eighteenth century, settled in Nesvizh, where he became one of the most influential masters of Prince Radziwiłł's court. Ksawery Dominik's son Józef Ksawery, a painter himself, lived and worked in the town at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, and held the position of the Radziwiłł's commissioner in charge of trade.

Such cases are also found among the foreigners who worked as freelancers in the cities. Among the newcomers to Vilnius, there were some who adapted themselves to the city community and reached a relatively high social status. Italian architect and sculptor Joannes Pensa became owner of several Vilnius houses, a member of the city magistrates' council and the chairman of St Martin's Brotherhood.<sup>59</sup> Sculptors Johann Karol Frezer, Johann Ungefugt (both from Königsberg), Antonius and Ioannes Pertz (from Prague),

55 Paliiųytė, Aistė. "Środowisko artystyczne w Białej Podlaskiej pod rządami Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła: malarze i rzeźbiarze" [The community of artists in Biała Podlaska under Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł: painters and sculptors]. In: *Rocznik Lituanistyczny*, vol. 3, 2017, 147. The abovementioned metric books are available online. URL: [https://bbc.mbp.org.pl/dlibra/metadatasearch?action=AdvancedSearchAction&type=-3&val1=S%22Parafia%2C5%9Bw.+Anny%2C5\(Bia%2C5%82a+Podlaska%2C5\)+%2C+18+w.%22](https://bbc.mbp.org.pl/dlibra/metadatasearch?action=AdvancedSearchAction&type=-3&val1=S%22Parafia%2C5%9Bw.+Anny%2C5(Bia%2C5%82a+Podlaska%2C5)+%2C+18+w.%22) (15.01.2021).

56 Paknys 2013, 99. Such cases are also recorded in the marriage register book of St Anne's Parish in Biała Podlaska. See: *Lietuvos dailininkų žodynas* 2005.

57 Kaladžinskaitė 2004, 8.

58 Sliesoriūnas 2015, 367.

59 Kaladžinskaitė 2004, 9; *Lietuvos dailininkų žodynas* 2005, 207 (written by Auksė Kaladžinskaitė).

their namesake Johannes Heinrich (from Königsberg), Joseph Hedel (from Innsbruck) acquired property in Vilnius and became citizens of the city.<sup>60</sup>

Thus, some foreigners acquired a relatively high social status in the urban community. Some settled in the economically most flourishing courts of influential nobles. Here they also found themselves at the top of the hierarchy of artists' communities and workshops, teaching and leading local masters.<sup>61</sup> Foreigners were often regarded as better, more qualified professionals. Having a relatively high status, they influenced the development of local art.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Academic research in the history of migrating artists in Lithuania started in the first half of the twentieth century. At the beginning there were only a few studies dedicated to the Lithuanian Baroque, but they formulated ideas that influenced subsequent studies. Over time, the questions raised in the 1920s and 30s about the role of foreigners in the development of the Lithuanian Baroque and their connection with the local culture were further developed. Much attention was paid to those works of immigrant artists, which were still considered canonical examples of the Lithuanian Baroque during the interwar period. The research in the history of foreign artists operating in Lithuania intensified after the restoration of Lithuania's independence in 1990. In recent decades, the heritage of foreign-born artists has been evaluated more widely and comprehensively. At the same time, large-scale biographical data on artists working in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania have been collected. These data provide new opportunities for the re-examination of the history of foreign artists who worked in the Duchy. They disclose the most general trends of migration of artists, its dynamics and nature. The research carried out by Lithuanian scholars reveals how travelling artists interacted with the local society and why they exerted such a great influence on the development of local art, even though they made up a relatively small part of the artistic community of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

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<sup>60</sup> Urbanavičius, Agnius. *Vilniaus naujieji miestiečiai 1661–1795 metais. Sąrašas*. [The new citizens of Vilnius 1661–1795: The list]. Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2009, 161, 187, 191, 217, 221, 334.

<sup>61</sup> Paliušytė 2017, 148–152.



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# MAPPING ARTISTS AND ARTIST MIGRATIONS WITH IMPERFECT DATA

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## SUMMARY

This paper discusses two representative examples of combining quantitative and qualitative inquiry with imperfect data. Earlier attempts to quantify art and cultural production fundamentally differ from recent team efforts that use computational methods to streamline data collection, reducing costs in time and effort exponentially through cross-disciplinary teamwork. This contribution is divided into three distinct sections, proceeding from the general to the specific: (1) earlier attempts to quantify art and cultural production; (2) what can large-scale art markets research teach us about artist migration? and (3) small-scale geographic clustering and artist migration. Section 1 is a brief historiography to contextualize the larger scale, pan-European approach in section 2 (Mapping Markets) and the analytically focused, small-scale approach of one particular city (Mechelen) in section 3.

The illustrative examples show, one on a macro and one on a micro level, that an essential part of our scattered data consists of all kinds of unstudied archival documents. This predicament is very similar to retrieving data about market development and artist migration that is dispersed in archives throughout Central and Northern Europe. One of the solutions is to exchange methodologies and new ways of data thinking with scientists, social scientists and humanists. Even practiced at a very elementary level and relying on limited resources, our two examples aim to illustrate that using methods of data science, including observational statistics, can fundamentally change how we study and conceptualize art production, market development and artist migration. The rise of art market studies and digital humanities at the interface of the social sciences and the sciences allow us to do just that.

## INTRODUCTION

One of the major challenges when focusing on the migration of artists and architects in Central and Northern Europe from 1560 to 1900 is how to develop

a coherent research strategy for working with all kinds of imperfect data and fragmented historical information. Part of this predicament is to design a hybrid methodology able to capture effectively the cultural complexity surrounding art, migration and cultural production. Formative immigration processes have shaped many urban cultures in Europe throughout the centuries. Artistic migration can be studied in the aggregate with tools such as network and complexity theory to study mobility patterns of 150,000 individuals over two millennia.<sup>1</sup> As we shall see, a combined qualitative-quantitative inquiry can also start in a relatively small, very specific and analytically focused manner where, as in the hermeneutic circle, the infinitely small and the whole mutually condition each other.

To develop some of these observations in an organized manner, this chapter is divided into three sections proceeding from the general to the specific: (1) earlier attempts to quantify art and cultural production; (2) what can large-scale art markets research teach us about artist migration? and (3) small-scale geographic clustering and artist migration. Section 1 is a brief historiography to contextualize the larger scale, pan-European approach in section 2 and the analytically focused, small-scale approach of one particular city (Mechelen) in section 3.

One caveat is in order here, for it is not my aim to view cultural products that resulted from migration as open or implicit responses to one geographical circumstance or the other, though we should be aware of all kinds of local constraints or exogenous shocks in specific environments to understand why artists and architects emigrate in the first place. The Latvia 2019 conference also made it clear that we need to harmonize our methods to deal with more data on such cultural interactions and complex immigration patterns on a historical time scale.<sup>2</sup> To accomplish this, we will need collaboration across disciplines and integrate art history with computation and more advanced information design. As Lev Manovich pointed out in 2015, many humanists still rely on everyday human perception and comparison, whereas science and social sciences use mathematics, statistics, data visualization, computation, etc. to study their phenomena and objects.<sup>3</sup>

Our interest in art and artists on the move stems from our qualitative and quantitative studies of emerging historical art markets and related migration patterns of Netherlandish artists in the early modern period. Thus far, we have focused on international trade circuits and producer-consumer networks through which a new visual culture was created throughout Europe and the Americas. We observed that imagery crossed national and cultural boundaries

1 Schich, Maximilian & Chaoming Song, Yong-Yeol Ahn, Alexander Mirsky, Mauro Martino, Albert-László Barabási, Dirk Helbing. "A network framework of cultural history". In: *Science*, vol. 345, 2014, 558–562.

2 International Conference "The Migration of Artists and Architects in Central and Northern Europe, 1560–1900". Art Academy of Latvia and Rundāle Palace Museum, 26–28 September 2019. European Union Regional Development Fund Project No. 1.1.1.5/18/1/014.

3 Manovich, Lev. "Data Science and Digital Art History". In: *International Journal for Digital Art History*, no. 1 (June), 2015, 14–34. URL: <https://doi.org/10.11588/dah.2015.1.21631>



and that artists, artist-dealers and international art traders frequently crossed all kinds of boundaries to make import and export of large amounts of paintings possible. This ongoing research, though, is not focused on prices or sales, but on market development changes in various European cities, artistic production, and emigration patterns.

Our version of data-driven art market research is cross-disciplinary at the interface of the humanities, social sciences and sciences, with special attention to the many unstudied anonymous artists and their movements through space and time. A recurring constraint with this type of data-driven research is its fragmented nature, not to mention attendant issues of selection and survivorship bias. More about these bias issues in a moment. The overarching principle in this contribution is to avoid period concepts associated with geographical notions, '*Kunstgeographies*' or constructed national cultural narratives.<sup>4</sup> Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Konrad Ottenheim have repeatedly criticized that brand of historiography that generates all kinds of nationalistic geographical histories according to places where art and architecture have been produced.<sup>5</sup> It is also with this cautionary warning in mind that the present contribution is conceived.

## 1. ATTEMPTS TO QUANTIFY ART AND CULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE AGGREGATE

One of the often-ignored pioneers in connecting cultural production with data-driven historical research on a pan-European scale was Wilfrid Brulez, an economic and social historian based at the University of Ghent. He did a comparative study of European urban centers and their cultural production between 1400 and 1800.<sup>6</sup> Brulez tried to bring more clarity to the complex relationships between economics, society, politics and culture, using quantitative rather than qualitative data. His attempt to analyze cultural production in the aggregate, including migration patterns of artists throughout Europe between 1400 and 1800, was quite novel for the period but also widely criticized.

Among his most vocal critics was Marten Jan Bok, who reviewed the book for a largely art historical audience in the *Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, where he presented major concerns about the preconditions of statistical randomness, Brulez's sampling methods and the general validity of his results.

4 Aitchison, Matthew. "Pevsner's Kunstgeographie: from Leipzig's Baroque to the Englishness of Modern English Architecture". In: *The Baroque in Architectural Culture, 1880–1980*. Ed. by Andrew Leach & John Macarthur. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2015, 109–118.

5 Ottenheim, Konrad. "Introduction". In: *Unity and Discontinuity in the Architecture of the Low Countries 1530–1700*. Ed. by Konrad Ottenheim & Krista De Jonge. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2007, 1–14; Kaufmann, Thomas DaCosta. *Toward a Geography of Art*. Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press, 2004; *Circulations in the Global History of Art*. Ed. by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, Catherine Dossin, Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2015.

6 Brulez, Wilfrid. *Cultuur en Getal: aspecten van de relatie economie-maatschappij-cultuur in Europa tussen 1400 en 1800* (Cahiers Sociale Geschiedenis 6). Amsterdam: Nederlandse Vereniging tot beoefening van de Sociale Geschiedenis, 1986.

The objection he raised was that this type of historical research should become statistical and should be based on a large and, above all, random sampling of the vast mass of available data. ‘Otherwise,’ he argued, ‘it is impossible to present a truly accurate and differentiated picture of the development of artists as a professional group and of the arts as an economic activity.’<sup>7</sup> Initially, Brulez’s attempt to quantify European cultural production and identify urban centers with significant creative industries did not inspire many art historians to implement a more statistical and data-driven methodology in the humanities. But the seed was planted, and Bok and his team forged ahead to collect all kinds of biographical data on cultural producers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as part of the Ecartico project in the Amsterdam Centre for the Study of the Golden Age, based at the University of Amsterdam.<sup>8</sup> From the very beginning, the aim of this project was to study art and artists from the Low Countries in the aggregate, though their focus was (and still is) nationally biased towards the cultural industry of Amsterdam and Dutch artists of the present-day the Netherlands, whereas artists of southern Low Countries (by and large present-day Belgium, parts of northern France and Luxembourg) remain underrepresented (2021).

Another foundational contribution to data-driven research that resonated among humanists was that of John Michael Montias, a Yale-based economist, which was one of the first efforts of advanced social sciences-humanities research to connect methodologically economics to art history.<sup>9</sup> He laid the foundation for using econometric and statistical sampling methods to research both art and artists in the aggregate, and introduced notions of price-elasticity of demand, correlation of price and productivity, process and product innovation and their attendant metrics, among others. All these approaches were quite common in Cultural Economics, Economic History or Sociology, but not in Art History, where often a monographic approach and an excessive focus on the quality of art and renown of an individual artist prevailed. Over the years, all of this has undergone serious revision, especially in that branch of historical art market research between art history and cultural economics that deploys a firmer quantitative methodology on large aggregates of artists and their output, quite often anonymous or lost.<sup>10</sup>

7 Bok, Marten Jan. “Review: Cultuur en getal: aspecten van de relatie economie-maatschappij-cultuur in Europa tussen 1400 en 1800 door W. Brulez”. In: *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 18, 1988, 63–68.

8 The Ecartico team headed by Eric Jan Sluiter and Marten Jan Bok initially focused on prosopographical research database dealing with painters in 17th-century Amsterdam. Later, H data compiled by Pieter Groenendijk for his 2006 lexicon of 16th and 17th century visual artists from the northern and the southern Netherlands were added. A 2009–2013 project on the Cultural Industries in Amsterdam by Eric Jan Sluiter and Harm Nijboer also included a more diverse range of cultural industries, such as printing, publishing, sculpture, goldsmithery and theater (currently N=54 234). URL: <http://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/ecartico/>

9 Montias, John Michael. *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth-Century*. Princeton University Press, 1982; “Quantitative Methods in the Analysis of 17th Century Dutch Inventories”. In: *Economics of the Arts*. Ed. by Victor Ginsburgh and Pierre-Michel Menger. Amsterdam–London–Tokyo: Elsevier Science, 1996, 1–26; Montias, John Michael. “Works of Art in a Random Sample of Amsterdam Inventories”. In: *Economic History and the Arts*. Ed. by Michael North. Cologne: Böhlau, 1996, 67–88.

10 Oosterlinck, Kim & Anne-Sophie Radermecker. “The Master of ...: creating names for art history and the art market”. In: *Journal of Cultural Economics*, vol. 43, no. 1, 2019, 57–95; Radermecker, Anne-Sophie. “Artworks without names: an insight into the market for anonymous paintings”. In: *Journal of Cultural Economics*, vol. 43, no. 3, 2019, 443–483.

The bottom line is that the choice of studying art markets and all the players involved in the nascent cultural industries, especially those of the Low Countries, proved to be a productive strategy for those researchers who were seeking to combine quantitative and qualitative inquiry.<sup>11</sup> Formally trained art historians began to explore the connections between art and commerce, quite often dealing with larger than usual aggregates of paintings and painters. It is no coincidence that they began to introduce economic thinking into their scholarship.<sup>12</sup> These interconnected and integrated modes of thinking where art and commerce were seen as inextricably linked, require a combined qualitative-quantitative methodology. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Netherlands, with respectively Amsterdam and Antwerp-Mechelen as major production complexes, were the largest producers and consumers of paintings. So here quantification becomes important to understand the local art production in the aggregate.<sup>13</sup> It is not so much a matter of prices, as sometimes erroneously is assumed when talking about art market studies, as it is a matter of quantifying the production and consumption of art.

It is important to note that data-driven research strategies, some more sophisticated than others, appeared throughout the 1990s, well before the so-called 'digital turn' in art history.<sup>14</sup> In other words, quantitative methods were in place prior to the rise of powerful digital tools to process large size metadata for feature extraction. To social scientists, such as cultural economists, sociologists, economic historians, among others, the combination of quantitative and qualitative inquiry has always been part of their standard methodological approach.<sup>15</sup> The rise of art market studies and digital humanities has made humanities scholars also more receptive to the use of quantitative methods. Yet, humanities researchers often do not have the prerequisite statistical and computational training to compile and analyze quantitative evidence.<sup>16</sup> An obvious solution to this predicament is to work with extended

11 Representative examples are: Bok, Marten Jan. *Vraag en aanbod op de Nederlandse kunstmarkt, 1580–1700* (Supply and demand in the Dutch art market, 1580–1700). Utrecht: University of Utrecht, 1994; North, Michael & Catherine Hill. *Art and Commerce in the Dutch Golden Age*. New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1997; Vermeulen, Filip. *Painting for the Market: Commercialization of Art in Antwerp's Golden Age*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2003.

12 Honig, Elisabeth. *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998; a fascinating art market account using economic concepts by an art historian extraordinaire with lifetime subscription to *The Economist*.

13 Montias, John Michael. "Socio-Economic Aspects of Netherlandish Art from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century: A Survey". In: *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 72, no. 3, 1990, 358–373.

14 Ormrod, David. "Art and its Markets". In: *Economic History Review*, vol. 52, no. 3, 1999, 544–551.

15 Representative examples are: Etro, Federico & Laura Pagani. "The Market for Paintings in Italy during the Seventeenth Century". In: *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 72, no. 2, 2012, 423–447; Etro, Federico & Elena Stepanova. "The Market for Paintings in the Netherlands during the Seventeenth Century". University Ca' Foscari of Venice, Dept. of Economics Research Paper Series No. 16/WP/2013. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2320490>. Also see: Greenwald, Diana Seave. *Painting by Numbers: Data-Driven Histories of Nineteenth-Century Art*. Princeton University Press, 2021.

16 This point was made by Borowiecki, Karol Jan & Diane Seave Greenwald: "Arts and Culture". In: *Handbook of Cliometrics*. Ed. by Claude Diebolt, Michael Hauptert. Berlin–Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 2018, 1–24, especially 13; and convincingly addressed by Brosens, Koenraad & Jan Aerts, Klara Alen, Rudy Jos Beerens, Bruno Cardoso, Inez De Prekel, Anna Ivanova, Houda Lamqaddam, Geert Molenberghs, Astrid Slegten, Fred Truyen, Katrijne Van der Stighelen, Katrien Verbert: "Slow Digital Art History in Action: Project Cornelia's Computational Approach to Seventeenth-Century Flemish Creative Communities". In: *Visual Resources*, vol. 35, no. 1–2, 2019, 105–124. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01973762.2019.1553444>

cross-disciplinary research teams, as discussed in section 2. Ideally, these can be composed of scientists, social scientists and humanists to exchange methodologies and new ways of data thinking that transcend classical statistics and data visualization. Given the methodological challenges of understanding the dynamics of art and artist migration in Central and Northern Europe, both qualitatively and quantitatively, it is time now to develop a more systematic science of art and culture.<sup>17</sup>

## 2. WHAT CAN LARGE-SCALE ART MARKETS RESEARCH TEACH US ABOUT ARTIST MIGRATION?

In urban environments where massive amounts of paintings were produced, one can expect to observe not only a lot of competition but also a lot of back-and-forth economic migration. What market studies have taught us thus far is that movability and flexibility is a key characteristic of the painter's profession, compared to other craft professions, such as copper casters, woodworkers or printers. Painters, especially those who scaled up their production for secondary markets, as is the case in the Mechelen example discussed in section 3, were not confronted with high upfront investment costs for infrastructure, such as expensive presses, foundries, massive amounts of specialized tools, etc. Neither did they have to wait for a commission in the primary market as is often the case for sculptors or architects. In fact, painters' main cost, apart from materials like paint and support, is labor. And it is precisely that characteristic of their profession that makes them so movable or, at least, creates the circumstances for them to migrate.

Out of a sample of 26,592 European artists active between 1450 and 1800, 4,726 (17.8%) have migrated at least once throughout their career.<sup>18</sup> Of the total aggregate of emigrating artists, the southern Netherlands has the highest percentage rate (29.1%), followed by artists from Switzerland (28.5%) and Germany (26.3%). In contrast, artists from Spain (11.4%) were found to be the least mobile. Of all professional categories that feature in Brulez's 'Culture and Number' research, painters and draughts people were among the most movable in the early modern period. Comparable professionals in the wood, glass and metal industry were far less mobile. These observations need to be tentative, for we are still lacking a comprehensive data-driven study on artists' movements and migration patterns in the Baltics and Central Europe, among others. More recent macroscopic research in the aggregate of the mobility of 150,000 notable individuals over a period of two thousand

17 Here I am paraphrasing Maximilian Schich, who argues for developing a systematic science of art and culture, both qualitatively and quantitatively, and considers this more crucial now than it ever was. See Schich, Maximilian. "Figuring out Art History". In: *International Journal for Digital Art History*, no. 2 (October), 2016, 4–21. URL: <https://doi.org/10.11588/dah.2016.2.24761>. His upcoming book titled *Cultural Interaction* outlines a systematic science of art and culture.

18 Brulez 1986, 40–45, especially tables 7–10.



years reveals that the distance of migration in absolute numbers may be the same over the years.<sup>19</sup>

This type of big data-driven research was not yet within our reach when we started in 2006 with our relatively untried and collective way of addressing large-scale painting production in Europe from 1450 to 1750.<sup>20</sup> As a cross-disciplinary and international research team, we represented training in art history, sociology, cultural economics, statistics, and social, urban and economic history. We did proceed on a common, cross-disciplinary research strategy based on a blend of art historical and economic ways of thinking, its categories, methods and concepts. In terms of substance, this volume offered the first multi-dimensional treatment in the aggregate of various emerging markets in Europe and their respective regulatory environments within which paintings were produced and marketed. This large-scale approach also taught us that the order of magnitude of art and artists on the move is routinely underestimated.

In our integrated economics-art history research, we found that several types of market developed asynchronously in many cities throughout Europe, sometimes several market segments within the same city.<sup>21</sup> The consequence is that an unnuanced, lateral comparison of painting production between selected cities in Europe, even when considered at the same point in time, is of limited analytic value. As we have shown elsewhere, the asynchronous emergence of primary, secondary, tertiary market segments in Europe allowed for all kinds of arbitrage and migration opportunities for painters between these cities, depending on the local supply-demand imbalances, elasticity of wealth, local demand and so on.<sup>22</sup>

In a net-exporter city such as Mechelen, as we will see in a moment, most of the production was geared towards foreign markets, and local artists did not rely exclusively on local consumption. It was, in fact, minimal compared to their export estimates. The consequence was that net-exporter cities used intermediaries to provide them with reliable information about foreign markets they were exporting to. They used well-developed trade and travel networks, which were also used for immigration purposes. The consequence here is that studying networks, market development of multiple cities and inter-connectedness between net exporters and net importers is also critical to understanding migration movements. Remember that painters were among the most mobile categories in early modern Europe, so understanding opportunities and knowing favorable economic conditions of targeted cities facilitated artist migration.

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19 Schich et al. 2014, 558–562.

20 *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Early Modern Europe 1450–1750*. Ed. by Neil De Marchi & Hans J. Van Miegroet. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2006.

21 De Marchi, Neil & Hans J. Van Miegroet. “History of Art Markets”. In: *Handbook on the Economics of Art and Culture*. Ed. by Victor Ginsburgh and David Throsby. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science, 2006, 69–122.

22 De Marchi, Neil & Sandra Van Ginhoven, Hans J. Van Miegroet. “Supply-Demand Imbalance in the Antwerp Paintings Market, 1630–1680”. In: *Moving Pictures: Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th–18th Centuries*. Ed. by Neil de Marchi & Sophie Raux. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2014, 37–76.

As to net-importer cities, they also relied on intermediaries (international traders, vertically integrated dealers and so on), but in this instance to provide locals with cultural goods such as paintings. In this reverse process, local artists received information about foreign production centers, and here, too, obtaining inside information about emerging markets informed migration. It follows logically that knowing local market conditions and their evolution over time is essential to developing new metrics about local production and producers, consumption patterns, import and export of art, as well as artist mobility and migration.

It is no coincidence that we know less about emerging art markets and artist migration in Central and Northern Europe compared to our knowledge of the same in Western Europe. The knowledge of market development and artist migration are causally linked. As we will see in the next section, European artists do not always cluster in large urban centers, such as Seville or Naples, nor are they always notable artists that are included in national biographies or art dictionaries.<sup>23</sup>

### 3. SMALL-SCALE GEOGRAPHIC CLUSTERING AND ARTIST MIGRATION

The city of Mechelen proved to be the ideal test case on a micro level to get more precise quantitative information on a number of artist enterprises and the local production in the aggregate. When we started our research, we realized that we had no reliable summary statistics on the number of painters between 1540 and 1680, their production, let alone their migration patterns. Yet, dealer-dealer correspondence indicated that the collaborative art production in this small city seemed to be on an unprecedented scale (>5,000 paintings per year), which necessitated elaborate strategic planning, both on the production and distribution end.<sup>24</sup> This type of data-turned-into-information usually comes out of the guild records, but as far as Mechelen is concerned, a significant amount of that archival documentation is lost.

A lot of the retrieving of new data was basically manual extraction from a wide variety of primary and secondary sources, such as dealer-dealer correspondence, shipment records, court cases and so on. We cleaned up all the retrieved data, including new archival material from a variety of sources, standardized artists' names and mapped the physical location of the workshops, established periods of activity, commercial networks, master-apprenticeship relations and so on. This allowed us to conduct a data-driven, in-depth analysis

23 On Seville, see: Álvarez de Toledo López-Herrera, Felipe. "Beyond Murillo: New Data-Driven Research on the Market for Paintings in Early Modern Seville". In: *Journal for Art Market Studies*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2019, 1–14; on Naples market conditions, see: Marshall, Christopher R. *Baroque Naples and the Industry of Painting: The World in the Workbench*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016.

24 De Marchi, Neil & Hans J. Van Miegroet. "The Antwerp-Mechelen Production and Export Complex". In: *Album Amicorum J. Michael Montias*. Ed. by Mia Misozuki. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2007, 133–147.

of multiple and multi-stage immigration patterns of all Mechelen artists active between 1540 and 1680.<sup>25</sup>

The demographic context was also puzzling, to put it mildly. The Mechelen population in 1530 is estimated at about 24,000–28,000; in 1544, it is estimated at 25,000–30,000; in 1585–1594, it fell back to an estimated 11,000. After this serious demographic contraction, the Mechelen population stabilized at about 15,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the seventeenth century, remounting by the mid-seventeenth century to about 20,000 and between 1675 and 1684, to around 24,000.<sup>26</sup> Though we were continuously working with imperfect data, we presented a first reliable count of the aggregate of Mechelen artists (N=1473), their active periods, commercial networks, significant migration patterns and destinations from 1540 to 1680 – an achievement that goes beyond anything attempted before.<sup>27</sup>

Given the limited number of local buyers and the chronic overproduction in paintings, we realized that the local art consumption was hundreds of miles away from where their artistic output took place. Throughout this period, artists in Mechelen were experimenting with new production techniques, outlets and sales platforms (painting exhibitions, auctions, lotteries), while vertically integrated dealers were engaged in exporting their art, since the local demand was nearly non-existent. Even in periods of economic and demographic contraction, Mechelen painters seemed to have maintained their production capabilities and consciously favored quantity over quality. Paintings were relatively cheap, often not durable by choice (thin linen paintings with ‘built-in’ expiration date), and the labor time involved was relatively short. Also, important to know is that (1) most of their works were not attributed (other than occasionally in dealer’s ledgers, invoices, or shipment documents), and (2) most have been lost.

This kind of survivorship bias is common in art historical research. In the case of Mechelen (and there are undoubtedly similar examples throughout the Baltics and Central Europe), anonymous artists and knowledge about their presence and production were either no longer available or simply ignored. Its close neighbor, Antwerp, with its famous and overstudied agglomeration of painters like Rubens, Van Dyck or Jordaens (the latter, incidentally, a Mechelen émigré), has been lauded for centuries, as were their painterly exploits and those of their acolytes. This can distort statistics, lead to sample bias, and make their prominence seem more probable than it truly was. The opposite is true for the mostly anonymous (and lost) Mechelen paintings and painters. They are routinely excluded from art surveys and art dictionaries, which biases any economic cluster analysis based on these sources. In addition, many object-oriented art historians

25 Van Miegroet, Hans J. “New data visualizations on the Mechelen export industry and artist migration patterns”. In: *De Zeventiende Eeuw*, 31, 2015, 179–190. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2760626> or <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/314842691>

26 Meel, E. & Myriam Carlier. “Mechelen in de lange 17de eeuw: 1585–1715, een eenzaam bestaan zonder uitschieters”. In: *De geschiedenis van Mechelen. Van heerlijkheid tot stadsgewest*. Ed by: Raymond Van Uytven. Lannoo: Tielt, 1991, 119, 149–151.

27 These datasets are available for free. URL: <https://www.dukedalmi.org/data-sets/>

prefer to study existing, museum-quality paintings rather than large aggregates of lost and anonymous paintings, which are presumed to be of low quality. The result is that many artists and their paintings are erased from scholarly memory through undersampling and bias. Just like social sciences and other quantitative fields, a discussion about bias may become a factor of strength in quantification.<sup>28</sup>

To restore some of the imbalances caused by sample and survivorship bias, we know more about the southward-bound export of massive amounts of paintings to Spain and to the Americas (Colonial Mexico, then known as Nueva España), whereas exports to Central and Northern Europe consisted of sculptures, also produced by the same guild (*corporatie*) in Mechelen. In fact, the painters' guild also included masons, goldbeaters, glaziers, jewelers and the so-called *kleynstekers*, who were sculptors of small-scale sculptural works. A lot of their output found its way to Central and Northern Europe and has been studied in detail by Aleksandra Lipińska, including a fascinating analysis of processes of cultural transfer and the serial production and export of Mechelen alabaster sculptures.<sup>29</sup>

Given the fact that we found evidence of Mechelen artists moving to Danzig (Gdańsk), Denmark, Frankenthal, Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, Königsberg, Leipzig, Würzburg and Vienna, among other cities, we need more collaborative research to fully understand this phenomenon. In fact, our earlier published quantitative analysis of first-stop and last-stop artist migration destinations revealed that most artists were migrating in a radius no larger than 200 km.

Here is another example. Between 1540 and 1570, about 31 masters left (15%). This migration took place before the religious troubles hit Mechelen, which seems to suggest that the migration between 1540 and 1560 was not solely religiously, but also economically motivated.<sup>30</sup> The most significant migration flow occurred between 1571 and 1608, at least 85 of the 252 active masters left the economically contracting city, which represents roughly 34% of the total aggregate of masters in that period. The migration stream tapers off from 1609 onwards (9%), only to pick up slightly again from 1649 onwards (11%), followed by a more modest immigration flow to Cologne and Rome.

### Numerical and percentile breakdown of leavers and stayers in Mechelen from 1540 to 1680<sup>31</sup>

Values	1540–1570	1571–1608	1609–1621	1622–1648	1649–1680
0 (Stay)	182	167	133	127	118
1 (Go)	31	85	13	12	15
GRAND TOTAL	213	252	146	139	133
% migration	15%	34%	9%	9%	11%

<sup>28</sup> Schich 2016, 13.

<sup>29</sup> Lipińska, Aleksandra. *Moving Sculptures. Southern Netherlandish Alabasters from the 16th and 17th Centuries in Central and Northern Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.

<sup>30</sup> Mechelen's building industry had de facto collapsed in 1540, causing massive unemployment in that sector, leaving many workers two solutions: emigrate or change profession. See Van Miegroet 2015.

<sup>31</sup> Van Miegroet 2015, 181.



As far as significant migration destinations are concerned between 1540 and 1608, Antwerp is always the first stop, followed consecutively by Amsterdam, Delft and Brussels. It is important to note that the distance from Mechelen to Amsterdam is about 152 km (84 miles), to Delft 111 km (68 miles) and about 22 km (14 miles) to both Antwerp and Brussels. This illustrates the limited distance range of four of the most significant migration destinations from Mechelen. Quite likely, similar ‘micro movements’ of art and artists can be observed throughout Europe and still needs to be studied in the aggregate and as networks. We may want to seize this opportunity as a team for creating more robust, basic measurements of the interconnectedness of market developments and artist migrations, as well as for making more qualitative analyses of what drove such artistic migrations.

This is not the place to nuance the often-repeated cultural narrative that the migration from the southern to the northern Netherlands was driven by a sustained religious crisis and related exogenous shocks.<sup>32</sup> As to Mechelen, we now know for a fact that noted families, such as the Bol or Vingboons clans, were Protestants fleeing from Spanish Catholic oppression.<sup>33</sup> But most of the artists migrating from Mechelen to Antwerp, Brussels or Delft were seeking new local market opportunities, especially in the tapestry industry. Brussels and Antwerp were under Spanish control and Catholic, so religious motivations for this move can safely be excluded. But what Antwerp and Brussels have in common with Delft is the tapestry industry.<sup>34</sup>

At least nineteen master painters migrated to Delft between 1566 and 1613, not counting their journeymen, apprentices, family and professional entourage, and they could easily find employment in the tapestry industry as cartoon painters and designers.<sup>35</sup> The specific characteristics of the painter profession in Mechelen needs some explanation here. Many were so-called ‘water painters’, who used pigment dissolved in an aqueous medium on rabbit glue-sized paintings. This peculiar practice allowed for a very speedy execution and a relatively short drying time, which explains their high output of paintings, quite likely one of the largest in the early modern period. In the tapestry industry, they used cartoons with a particular design that were placed

32 Mauser, Adrian. “Naked Survival? Migration Mechelner Künstler als Überlebensstrategie zwischen 1566 und 1608”. In: *Kunst X Krise, Kunst und Bedingungen der Kunstproduktion in historischen Krisensituationen*, 2021. URL: <https://kxk.hypotheses.org/259>

33 A representative example is that of the Bol clan, which migrated from Mechelen to Amsterdam. Hans Bol moved to Antwerp in 1572, then to Bergen-op-Zoom in 1584, followed by his migration to Dordrecht in 1586 and to Amsterdam the same year. Jacques I, Jacques II and Pieter Bol followed the tested Dordrecht route in 1579 to arrive in Amsterdam in 1589. Another example is Philips Vingboons, son of the emigrated Mechelen painter David Vingboons, who contributed significantly to the architecture in the Dutch Republic and in Northern Europe. See Ottenheim, Konrad. *Philips Vingboons, 1607–1678, architect*. Zutphen: De Walburg, 1989; and Ottenheim, Konrad. “Dutch contributions to the classicist tradition in Northern Europe”. In: *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol. 28, no. 3–4, 2003, 227–242.

34 Brosens, Koenraad & Klara Alen, Astrid Slegten. “Claiming Commerce, Quality and Credit: *Raisons d’être* of the Antwerp and Brussels tapisseriespanden (Sixteenth–Eighteenth Centuries)”. In: *Textile History*, vol. 49, no. 1, 2018, 5–21, DOI: 10.1080/00404969.2018.1440709

35 Leunissen, Fiene. “The Artistic Migration Between Mechelen and Delft (1550–1625)”. Working Paper no. 15231, 2015. URL: <https://www.dukedalmi.org/wp-content/uploads/15231-Working-Paper.pdf>

under the weaving threads. These cartoons were usually painted with water-based paint, and to many migrating painters from Mechelen, the transition from water painting to cartoon designing came naturally, for the creation technique is very similar. The knowledge of the specific market conditions in Delft proved to be rewarding for these Mechelen émigrés, for there was a chronic shortage in cartoon painters.<sup>36</sup> This example illustrates that understanding market development and knowing the characteristics of a local market may be critical to understanding artist migration in its complexity.

## SOME CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Quantitative and qualitative inquiry can be combined in a variety of manners. Even when dealing with imperfect data, it becomes clear that earlier attempts to quantify art and cultural production fundamentally differ from recent team efforts to use computational methods to streamline data collection, reducing costs in time and effort exponentially through cross-disciplinary teamwork. Given the methodological challenges of understanding the dynamics of art and artist migration in Central and Northern Europe, both qualitatively and quantitatively, the time is now to develop a more systematic science of art and culture.

As the two illustrative examples have shown, an essential part of our scattered data consists of all kinds of unstudied archival documents, very similar to the scattered documentation about artist migration dispersed throughout Central and Northern European archives. One of the solutions is to exchange methodologies and new ways of data thinking with scientists, social scientists and humanists. Even practiced at a very elementary level with limited resources, our two examples illustrate that basic statistical observations can fundamentally change how we study and conceptualize art production, market development and artist migration. Or, to quote Lev Manovich, ‘numerical measurements of cultural artefacts, experiences or processes, give us a new language to describe and discuss culture’.<sup>37</sup>

The rise of art market studies and digital humanities at the interface of the social sciences and the sciences allow us to do just that. They also create the circumstances that allow to leverage the computer’s unique power (for instance, OCR, machine learning) to perform complex and repetitive operations to reveal new trends and patterns extracted from large amounts of imperfect data. In sum, any research endeavor that involves a combination of quantitative and qualitative inquiry can no longer escape statistical and computational training or, at least, a profound familiarity with approaches that include the fundamentals of data science, even when practiced at a very basic level.

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<sup>36</sup> Montias 1982, 290.

<sup>37</sup> Manovich, Lev. *Cultural Analytics*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2021, 154.

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# 'ON THE MOVE' IN CENTRAL AND NORTHERN EUROPE: TRENDS AND METHODS IN THE RESEARCH ON ARTIST MIGRATION

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## SUMMARY

The paper discusses past and current approaches to artists' migration providing an overview of tendencies, methods and terminologies. Firstly, it takes a retrospective look at the research of the nineteenth and twentieth century, when migrant artists were often an object of instrumentalisation in the service of the vision of separated national cultures. Secondly, it discusses various theories and discourses (*Kulturtransfer*, *Histoire croisée*, colonial studies, mobility turn) and their specific terminological framework (acculturation, translation, hybridity) that developed since the 1990s as an attempt to broach the issue of cultural exchange in a transnational perspective. Finally, current digital tools supporting a quantitative approach as well as visualisations of artists' networks and mobility are critically discussed, pointing at their advantages and possible threats. With respect to the artists' migration studies concerning Central and Northern Europe, the paper advocates for transnational research and the intensification of the digitalisation of sources and secondary literature in order to counteract the (renewed) marginalisation of the region.

Artist migration is currently a fashionable topic, though by no means a new one in art history. The fathers of our discipline, Giorgio Vasari and Karel van Mander, devoted considerable attention to artist mobility,<sup>1</sup> both the variety that ended in the artist settling abroad permanently, and other forms (such as the obligatory journeyman years, or formative tour) for centuries accepted as essentially a structural element of the artistic profession.<sup>2</sup>

Art history in the countries of Central and Northern Europe has also tended to pay significant attention to foreign artists active in these regions,

1 Cf. Kim, David Y. *The Traveling Artist in the Italian Renaissance: Geography, Mobility, and Style*. New Haven et al.: Yale University Press, 2014; Gludovatz, Karin. "Unterwegs: Überlegungen zu Reiseschilderungen in Karel van Manders Schilder-Boeck". In: *Lose Leute. Figuren, Schauplätze und Künste des Vaganten in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Ed. by Julia Amslinger, Franz Fromholzer, Jörg Wesche. Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2019, 107–118.

2 On artists' travels, see more recently e.g. *Künstlerreisen. Fallbeispiele vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*. Ed. by Andreas Tacke, Birgit Ulrike Münch, Markwart Herzog, Sylvia Heudecker, Thomas Schauerte. Petersberg: Imhof Verlag, 2020.

probably because the presence of incomers was one of the main flywheels driving the development of art there over the centuries. However, the reasons for what can be considered the particular willingness to employ foreign artists in these parts of Europe have not yet been thoroughly and comprehensively investigated in relation to the early modern period.

What is nonetheless incontrovertible is that research into migrant artists has always been an area particularly prone to political and ideological bias. It is also clear that the current rise in numbers of studies on this subject (which is itself partly due to the increase in funding for such research) has a contemporary (political) context: globalisation, increased migration, and the consequences of both these phenomena in the form of the anti-migrant sentiments we have been observing in recent years.<sup>3</sup> Such intensification in research activity necessitates consideration of the motivations for and methods used to conduct that research. Though the range of current methodological positions and the diversity of the conceptual apparatus employed in studies of migration make reproduction of this varied landscape a challenge, I shall attempt to sketch out a rough panorama.<sup>4</sup>

## RETROSPECTIVE

First, a brief retrospective is needed, since the history of studies on artist migration provides an important context for contemporary research. Two stances on this subject were typical for the art history of the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries, both characterised by nationalisms and international conflicts. On the one hand, migration was often used as a case in point to attempt to prove the influential power of 'centres' on 'backward' peripheries. One prime example of this was the so-called *Ostforschung* in the German scholarship of the 1920s to 1940s, which promoted the concept of the dominance of German culture over the cultures of the country's eastern neighbours.<sup>5</sup> Within this paradigm, artists originally from German-speaking lands who left an indisputably permanent mark on the cultural landscape of regions such as the Baltic states or Transylvania were particularly well suited for the role of 'bearers of culture' (*Kulturträger*) formulated by representatives of the *Ostforschung*.<sup>6</sup>

Another form of demonstrating the superiority of one culture over another was to treat the countries of immigrants' destination as cultural colonies. In the 1920s and 1930s, Baltic German art historians adopted the

3 Cf. Oltmer, Jochen. *Globale Migration. Geschichte und Gegenwart*. München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2016, 7–8.

4 On the subject of the multiplicity of methodological approaches, see e.g. Burke, Peter. *Kultureller Austausch*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2005, 14–24; Fleckner, Uwe & Maike Steinkamp, Henrik Ziegler. "In die Welt geschickt. Künstlerische Mobilität vom Mittelalter bis in die Gegenwart". In: *Der Künstler in der Fremde. Migration – Reise – Exil*. Ed. by Uwe Fleckner et al. Berlin et al.: De Gruyter, 2015, 14–20; Wagner, Kathrin. "The Migrant Artist in Early Modern Times". In: *Artists and Migration 1400–1850: Britain, Europe and beyond*. Ed. by Kathrin Wagner, Jessica David and Matej Klemenčič. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholarly Publishing, 2017, 2–20.

5 Störckuhl, Beate. "Historia sztuki w służbie 'niemieckich badań wschodnich (Ostforschung)'" [Art history in the service of the 'Ostforschung']. In: *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, vol. 26, 2001, 31–43.

6 On the model of the artist as creator and 'bearer' of national art, see Labuda, Adam S. "Der Künstler im Osten um 1500. Ansichten und Forschungsmodelle". In: *Die Jagiellonen. Kunst und Kultur einer europäischen Dynastie an der Wende zur Neuzeit*. Ed. by Dietmar Popp, Robert Suckale. Nürnberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 2002, 19–25.

concept of Estonia and Latvia as 'koloniales Neudeutschland', where art created by German immigrants supposedly reflected the German character of the region.<sup>7</sup> Polish studies of artists active in the former Polish eastern 'borderlands' (now parts of Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania), in turn, have usually been conducted from the perspective of an influential centre and have borne all the hallmarks of an expansionist, even colonialist approach.<sup>8</sup> This is expressed both on the linguistic level, through the very use of the term 'borderlands' (or *Kresy*, as this region is conventionally known in Polish), and also on the executive level, insofar as research into these regions is still rarely conducted by multi-national teams, and its thematic scope and financing is still the domain of the former 'centre'.<sup>9</sup>

Often, the reaction of the other party (the so-called 'periphery') to such one-sided, hierarchic notions was to attempt to demonstrate the sovereignty of their own culture by rejecting non-native elements originating from the alleged 'centre'. This was the course taken by Estonian art historians, who countered the concept of the 'koloniales Neudeutschland' with the idea of Baltic-Nordic *artedominium*, stressing the belonging of Estonian culture to the Baltic cultural space in order to negate its German connections.<sup>10</sup> In cases where it was difficult to deny the reception of certain elements of foreign origin, a typical strategy was to underline its independent development and power of secondary expansion. The idea of the 'Polish Renaissance attic', promoted in Polish art history from the 1930s to c. the 1950s, downplaying the Italian origins of this form and underlining the expansion of its Polish variant in neighbouring countries, may serve as an example.<sup>11</sup>

Another strategy of migration research subordinated to a national paradigm was the 'naturalisation' of incomers, for instance, by changing the form of their names or through attempts to prove that they had local roots. This was what happened in the well-known and much discussed case of the Late Gothic sculptor Veit Stoss, who was indeed active for many years in Cracow but has been proven beyond doubt to have been an incomer to Poland. In spite of the insistence of academic art historians, who on the basis of stylistic analysis traced his work to southern Germany even before source evidence to that effect was found, attempts to Polish him persisted for a long time, whether

7 Kodres, Krista. "Two art histories: the (Baltic) German and Estonian version of the history of Estonian art". In: *History of Art History in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe*. Ed. by Jerzy Malinowski. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Tako, 2012, 67–79.

8 E.g. Kwaśniewski, Krzysztof. "Społeczne rozumienie relacji kresów i terytorium narodowego" [Social understanding of the relationship between the borderlands and national territory]. In: *Kresy – pojęcie i rzeczywistość. Zbiór studiów*. Ed. by Kwiryna Handke. Warszawa: Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 1997, 63–83, 286–290.

9 E.g. Aftanazy, Roman. *Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej* [History of residences in the borderlands of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth]. Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1991–1997; Ostrowski, Jan K. "Inwentaryzacja zabytków sztuki sakralnej na Kresach Wschodnich – uwagi kombatanta" [Inventory of the monuments of sacral art in the Eastern Borderlands – a veteran's remarks]. In: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 68, no. 2, 2006, 269–272.

10 Kodres 2012, 69–70.

11 Husarski, Wacław. *Attyka polska i jej wpływ na kraje sąsiednie* [The Polish attic and its influence in the neighbouring countries]. Warszawa: Towarzystwo wydawnicze w Warszawie, 1936.



by the construction of a Polish version of his name – Wit Stwosz – or in the form of claims as to the Polish character of his art.<sup>12</sup> On the other (German) side of the barricades, Stoss was, especially during the Nazi era, stylised as a German *Kulturträger* in the culturally underdeveloped Poland (fig. 1).<sup>13</sup>

Another object of such ideological instrumentalisation was the late Gothic painter Jan Polack, who – from the angle of his *fortuna critica* – can be viewed



1. Poster of the 1941 Veit Stoss exhibition in Cracow.

Print on paper.

Photo after: *Bayern und Polen in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts.*

*Schlaglichter auf eine wechselvolle Beziehung.*  
Ausstellung der Bayerischen Archivschule,  
München, 2020, 101

as a sort of counterpart to Veit Stoss. Notwithstanding acknowledgement for his leading role on the Munich painting scene around 1500, his alleged Polish origins, suggested by his name and stylistic analogies to Cracow painting (observed both by German and Polish scholars),<sup>14</sup> became a subject of dispute.

Today the consensus prevails that Polack probably did not originate from Poland at all.<sup>15</sup> Still, in the early twentieth century, in view of the marked asymmetry of cultural transfer between Germany and Poland and ongoing

12 Störckuhl, Beate. "Veit Stoss. Die polnische Karriere eines Nürnberger". In: *Deutsch-Polnische Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 1. Ed. by Hans Henning Hahn, Robert Traba. Paderborn: Schöningh, 2019, 599–614. An analogous case of attempts to Polish a German artist was that of Hans Stül von Kulmbach, see: Sitek, Masza. "Hans von Kulmbach in Poland. On the Writing of the Story". In: *Mobility of Artists in Central and Eastern Europe between 1500 and 1900* (kunsttexte.de/ostblick 3/2016). Ed. by Aleksandra Lipińska, Stéphanie Baumewerd. URL: <http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/kunsttexte/2016-3/sitek-masza-4/PDF/sitek.pdf> (21.04.2021).

13 Labuda 2002, 28; Arendt, Sabine. "Die (kultur-)politische Instrumentalisierung von Veit Stoss". In: *Wokół Wita Stwosza. Materiały międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej w Muzeum Narodowym w Krakowie 19–22 maja 2005*. Ed. by Dobrosława Horzela, Adam Organisty. Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2006, 396–405.

14 Glaser, Curt. *Zwei Jahrhunderte deutscher Malerei*. München: Bruckmann, 1916, 158; Schmitz, Herman. *Die deutsche Malerei vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Ende der Renaissance*, vol. 3. Berlin–Neubabelsberg: Akad. Verl.-Ges. Athenaion 2019, 568.

15 Weniger, Matthias. "Polack, Jan". In: *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker* (AKL), vol. 96. Ed. by Andreas Beyer, Bénédicte Savoy und Wolf Tegethoff. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017, 229–230.

political tensions, the rare case of an alleged Pole who had dominated Bavarian late Gothic painting naturally produced great excitement on the Polish side. This prompted the Polish art historian Jerzy Mycielski to present a long list of stylistic and motivic arguments mooted the Cracow roots of Polack's art.<sup>16</sup> In response, the German scholar Alois Elsen, echoing Wilhelm Pinder's 'völkische' interpretation of art as an embodiment of the German 'Geist',<sup>17</sup> underlined the 'native Bavarian' character of Polack's painting. In the rhetoric of his text, all the nationalistic and even racist clichés characteristic of the time (1937) were employed and projected onto Jan Polack. Firstly, Elsen refuted as an obvious impossibility that a Pole could have played any role of importance on the Munich art scene; secondly, he foregrounded the influence of the 'native Bavarian folk' on the ('völkisch') character of Polack's work; and thirdly, he declared a folk determination of art, denying the possibility that an immigrant artist could adapt to his new environment. This is obviously contradicted by the fact that it was precisely the ability of such migrant artists to adapt to or interact with their new milieu that was crucial to their success.<sup>18</sup>

Aside from the problematic issue of an artist's 'genetic' membership of a particular nation or ethnic group, which apparently directly determined that his works automatically formed part of the cultural heritage of that nation, Elsen's text on Polack also touches on the topos of national characteristics of artistic form. As Adam S. Labuda has noted, the role of artists as unique individuals with a multidimensional identity rooted in a unique social and cultural context has often been marginalised by reducing them to the role of almost neutral vehicles of forms and models, executors of the 'will of art' (*Kunstwollen*).<sup>19</sup> In that current of art history which is preoccupied with analysis of forms and their provenance, the artist has often been seen as a virtually transparent instrument which simply enabled personalised

16 Mycielski, Jerzy. "Jan Polak malarz polski w Bawarii (1475–1519) oraz utwory jego młodości w Krakowie (1465–1575)" [Jan Polak, Polish painter in Bavaria (1475–1519) and works of his youth in Cracow (1465–1575)]. In: *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki*, vol. 4, 1930, 26–66.

17 Stöppel, Daniela. "Die Politisierung der Kunstgeschichte unter dem Ordinariat von Wilhelm Pinder (1927–1935)". In: *Die Universität München im Dritten Reich. Aufsätze*, vol. 2. Ed. by Elisabeth Kraus. München: utzverlag, 2008, 133–168.

18 "Man hat darüber gestritten, ob er, den man den "Polonus" nannte, in Krakau nur seine künstlerische Ausbildung erhalten oder Polen zugleich zur Heimat hatte. Als ob das Temperament, das bei Jan Polack gelegentlich aufblitzt, nicht ebenso gut einem bayerischen Künstler zustände. J. Mycielski hat die angeblich polnische Abstammung des Meisters zu sehr mit der Frage seiner künstlerischen Ausbildung in Krakau verquickt, um noch einen freien Blick für das letztlich Maßgebende sich zu bewahren: das Werk selber! Dieses ziemlich umfangreiche Werk aber geht so merkwürdig sicher auf die Lokaleigentümlichkeiten der Münchner Zone ein, hält sich in seinen figürlichen Typen so selbstverständlich an die einheimische-altbayerische Bevölkerung ..., dass die völkische Anpassungsfähigkeit dieses angeblichen "Polen" mit seiner unverkennbaren künstlerischen Eigenwilligkeit ... wahrlich um die Palme gerungen haben müsste! Ein Fremder, zumal ein Künstler, kann sich nicht in dem Grade "umstellen". Davon abgesehen: wäre nur entfernt denkbar, dass jenes durchaus autokratische München des 15. Jahrhunderts bereits 1485 ... Jan Polack zum 'Vierer (Pfleger) del Malerzunft' bestellt hätte, wenn er ein Ausländer gewesen wäre?" Elsen, Alois. "Jan Polack, der Münchner Stadtmaler". In: *Pantheon*, 19, 1937, 33–43, here 34.

19 Labuda 2002, 27. Constructs of this nature may be observed, for instance, in the reference to the Comacine masters (*maestri comacini*), see, e.g.: "Es sind meist einfache, ausführende Bauhandwerker, die noch kaum Träger eines bestimmten, auch unbewussten Stillwillens waren, wie in ungleich stärkerem Masse die lombardisch geprägten Tessiner Comasken" (emphasis mine – A. L.); Pfister, Max. *Baumeister aus Graubünden – Wegbereiter des Barocks. Die auswärtige Tätigkeit der Bündner Baumeister und Stukkateure in Süddeutschland, Österreich und Polen vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*. München: Verlag Bündner Monatsblatt, 1993, 16.

forms to migrate and inhabit.<sup>20</sup> In many cases, however, focusing on the work rather than on its creator has been no guarantee of liberation from the national(istic) rhetoric, since such interpretations have often been concluded with the assertion that even the form of an artwork speaks Polish, Italian, or German.<sup>21</sup>

This is what happened in the case of the Parr family, builders from Ticino, who in view of the extensive territorial reach of their activity, which spanned Silesia, Mecklenburg, and Sweden, supply particularly interesting material through which to explore how different national art histories dealt with this complexity. I have discussed this example at length elsewhere.<sup>22</sup> Here I shall mention only briefly one aspect of the matter which has proved problematic to many scholars: the stylistic pluralism of the Parrs' works. Many have bemoaned the lack of 'noble simplicity of pure Italian art' in their style.<sup>23</sup> Here it is important to stress that the expectation that migrants should transfer 'pure forms' of the centres from which they originated was extremely widespread. The Parrs' 'pollution' of forms was interpreted as an expression of the contact of Italic idioms with Germanic ones, a concession to the 'northern spirit', betrayal of a predilection for decorative, irregular, painterly detail rooted in the permanence of the medieval tradition. These artists' divergences from the Italian ideal and their 'unsubtle overuse' of sculptural detail were also interpreted as partly due to their employment of local craftsmen and their use of Netherlandish motifs.<sup>24</sup>

Such critical attitudes as those described here instrumentalised or marginalised not only these artists' transnational mobility and their complex individual identities, particularly in the period before the emergence of nation-states, but also the unique dynamics of artistic production, which is shaped by many factors, of which the artist's provenance is only one. Moreover, it must be stressed that for itinerant artists seeking employment, their place of origin (whether true or invented) was often nonetheless an important 'label', something which can be found again and again in my research into migrant artists. For instance, Gerhard Hendrik (1559–1615), a successful sculptor of Netherlandish origin who spent most of his

20 E.g. Kaczmarek, Klara. "Wędrówka form renesansowych do pobrzeży Bałtyku. Architektura i rzeźba architektoniczna Parrów na Śląsku i w Meklemburgii" [The migration of Renaissance forms to the Baltic coast. The architecture and sculpture of the Parrs in Silesia and Mecklenburg]. In: *Po obu stronach Bałtyku. Wzajemne relacje między Skandynawią a Europą Środkową / On the Opposite Sides of the Sea. Relations between Scandinavian and Central European Countries*, vol. 1. Ed. by Jan Harasimowicz, Marcin Wislocki, Piotr Oszczanowski. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2006, 163–175.

21 E.g. the discussion on the subject of Polish physiognomies and costumes in the paintings of Hans von Kulmbach, Sitek 2016, 6.

22 Lipińska, Aleksandra. "The Parr Family in Art History Literature. On the Methods and Perspectives of Research on the Migration of Artists". In: *Artyści znad jezior lombardyckich w nowożytnej Europie. Studia dedykowane pamięci Profesora Mariusza Karpowicza / Artisti dei laghi lombardi nell'Europa moderna. Studi dedicati alla memoria del Prof. Mariusz Karpowicz*. Ed. by Renata Sulewska, Mariusz Smoliński. Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie 2015, 143–152.

23 E.g. Hahr, August. *Die Architektenfamilie Pahr. Eine für die Renaissancekunst Schlesiens. Mecklenburgs und Schwedens bedeutende Familie*. Strassburg: Heitz, 1908 (Studien zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte 97), 5–6, 18.

24 Lipińska 2015, 18.

career in Wrocław (Breslau), still called himself, even in his latter years, 'Gerhardus Heinricus von Ambsterdam, Bürger und Bildhauer jeziger zeit in Breslaw'.<sup>25</sup>

At this point, however, it is important to distinguish between 'labels' adopted deliberately by artists themselves as an element of their 'marketing strategy' and labels attached to them by the scholarship in order to classify their work in accordance with certain politically determined theses. In Polish art history, for instance, separate narratives have developed for foreign artists depending on their country of origin. Once again, it is worth citing Adam S. Labuda, who argued that it was easier (for the Poles) to consent to 'colonisation' by the Italians, with whom mutual relations were not burdened by neighbourly conflicts and who represented artistic ideals acknowledged across Europe, than by the Germans, and this was reflected in the disproportionately more extensive research into the art of Italian provenance in Poland.<sup>26</sup>

This disproportion in the study of the work of artists of differing origins in Polish art history is still huge. Which begs the question of whether it is right to concentrate on filling in the gaps to gain a more rounded picture, as has traditionally been customary among undeniably valuable publications devoted to a single specific current of inspiration in Polish art.<sup>27</sup> Or should the national or ethnic criterion be rejected altogether as inadequate? After all, the complexity of the individual style of an émigré artist – as it emerges when cultures meet – is transnational in character.

## AFTER THE FALL OF THE WALL

After the 1989/1990 watershed, research into artist migration as an area of study on cultural exchange entered a new phase. In the atmosphere of optimism that reigned after the walls dividing Europe were brought down, the importance of cross-border studies was stressed, as was the value of the supranational ties in European culture, including the role of artists as intermediaries in the dialogue of cultures.<sup>28</sup>

It was in this period that Franco-German cooperation produced the theory of cultural transfer, which focused on the analysis of the movement of things, people, concepts, and cultural systems of symbols in the space between

25 Hendrik, Gerhard. *Kurze Beschreibung des herrlichen Monumenti und Begräbnüß ... dem wohlgebornen Herrn, Herrn Melchior von Redern ...* Görlitz: Johann Rhambaw, 1610. On Hendrik, see: Oszczanowski, Piotr. "Hendrik, Gerhard". In: *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker (AKL)*, vol. 71. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011, 476.

26 Labuda 2002, 29.

27 E.g. *Niderlandyzm na Śląsku i w krajach sąsiednich* [The Netherlandish current in Silesia and the neighbouring countries]. Ed. by Mateusz Kapustka, Andrzej Koziel, Piotr Oszczanowski. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2003.

28 Cf. e.g. *Wanderungen. Künstler, Kunstwerk, Motiv, Stifter: Beiträge der 10. Tagung des Arbeitskreises deutscher und polnischer Kunsthistoriker in Warschau*. Ed. by Małgorzata Omilanowska, Anna Straszewska. Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2005.

different cultures and their interaction with their new environment.<sup>29</sup> Cultural transfer research has brought a radical change in perspective from that employed by traditional comparative studies: reorientation towards the recipient culture (earlier labelled as 'periphery') in place of the previous focus on the culture of origin (the previous centre). While in earlier research analysis of influences was used to demonstrate the force of the culture of origin (and the term 'influence' was crucial), the starting point now became the need for reception in the receiving culture. The process of assimilation of the Other is an individual and collective experience whereby ideas, texts and artefacts obtain new functions and are assimilated to become 'Own'.

Cultural transfer theory has also elicited a considerable response in the field of art history, including the discipline in Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>30</sup> Nonetheless, some of its fundamental tenets, above all the assumption that the transfer always takes place between two completely separate areas (in research practice this has usually meant particular nation-states), have been called into question. The desire to break out of these rigid constraints has given birth to the concept of *histoire croisée* (entangled history), which aims to offer a multi-perspective description spanning the criss-crossing cultural relations between various, even distant, regions on a range of levels.<sup>31</sup> *Histoire croisée* also draws attention to the entangled character of scholarly narratives written from different perspectives and postulates accommodation of this multiplicity.

Unlike the cultural transfer approach, *histoire croisée* has only rarely been applied to the study of early modern art in Central and Northern Europe.<sup>32</sup> And this in spite of the fact that – with its postulate of multi-perspective historiography – it seems very suitable for discussing the activity of migrants in the multicultural and multi-ethnic regions and centres of these regions. The reason for this, if I may risk a diagnosis, is that the walls that since the fall of communism have been largely dismantled at the outer boundaries of the region, e.g. in German–Polish dialogue, still exist within the region. Thus, it has not yet been possible to write a history of, say, Lviv/Lwów/Lemberg as

29 Espagne, Michel & Michael Werner. "Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C.N.R.S.". In: *Francia*, vol. 13, 1985, 502–510; Espagne, Michel. "Kulturtransfer und Fachgeschichte der Geisteswissenschaften". In: *Comparativ*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2000, 42–61; Middell, Matthias. "Von der Wechselseitigkeit der Kulturen im Austausch. Das Konzept des Kulturtransfers in verschiedenen Forschungskontexten". In: *Metropolen und Kulturtransfer in Ostmitteleuropa (15./16. Jh.)*. Prag–Krakau–Danzig–Wien. Ed. by Andrea Langer & Georg Michels. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001, 15–51.

30 E.g. *Metropolen und Kulturtransfer in Ostmitteleuropa (15./16. Jh.)*. Prag–Krakau–Danzig–Wien. Ed. by Andrea Langer, Georg Michels. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001.

31 Werner, Michael & Bénédicte Zimmermann. "Vergleich, Transfer, Verflechtung. Der Ansatz der *Histoire croisée* und die Herausforderung des Transnationalen". In: *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 28, 2002, 607–636. Cf. the 'entangled/connected history' approach: Subrahmanyam, Sanjay. "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia". In: *Modern Asian Studies*, 31, 1997, 735–762; *Entangled Histories and Negotiated Universals. Centers and Peripheries in a Changing World*. Ed. by Wolf Lepenies. Frankfurt a. Main–New York: Campus Verlag, 2003.

32 One of these rare instances is: Wetter, Evelin. *Objekt, Überlieferung und Narrativ: spätmittelalterliche Goldschmiedekunst im historischen Königreich Ungarn*. Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2011.



a destination for European migrant artists in a team comprising Polish and Ukrainian researchers and considering their various perspectives.

While the cultural transfer theory has attracted huge interest in German and French academia and is also received well in the regions discussed here, the Anglo-Saxon scholarship has developed parallel models and concepts for describing acculturation and adaptation processes, above all within the post-colonial discourse. The notion of hybridity or mimicry (Bhabha), which has evolved from this discourse, has proven particularly useful in describing the composite, multidimensional nature of a cultural product (e.g. an artwork or the idiosyncratic style of an émigré artist) created in a transcultural situation.<sup>33</sup> It facilitates the non-hierarchical, non-valuating description of the various component elements of the new quality born out of the encounter of the 'local' with the 'alien', an approach that seems to be the only one suitable with respect to the entangled art of migrants in Central and Northern Europe, and likewise elsewhere.

New angles on migration have also emerged in the social sciences. In the 1990s, scholars in this field became cognizant of the immense impact of the mobility of both individuals and groups on the ways societies function.<sup>34</sup> Though the impulse for this *mobility turn* was observation of the changes underway in Western societies as a result of mass migration and the emergence of multicultural societies, historical examples of human mobility and its effects are also an object of analyses.<sup>35</sup> Within this very broad issue of mobility, a highly specialised group of studies on migration has taken shape which boasts an apparatus that may prove extremely useful in bringing order to the terms used by art history.<sup>36</sup> Terminological precision is of particular importance in view of the fact that artists as a professional group have always been characterised by above-average mobility, which has nonetheless taken a variety of forms (not only that of migration). According to the definition formulated by sociology, migration may refer to the extended relocation of individuals or social groups where it involves permanent integration into the social fabric of the destination country. This facilitates the exclusion from the field of migration research categories of travel typical for the Middle Ages and early modern age, such as the journeyman years and formative tours, if these did not result in the artist resettling somewhere other than their place of origin.

Sociological studies on migration also refine this term in its territorial sense, stipulating as a criterion the crossing of a border which had considerable consequences for the individual, affecting the conditions in which they lived,

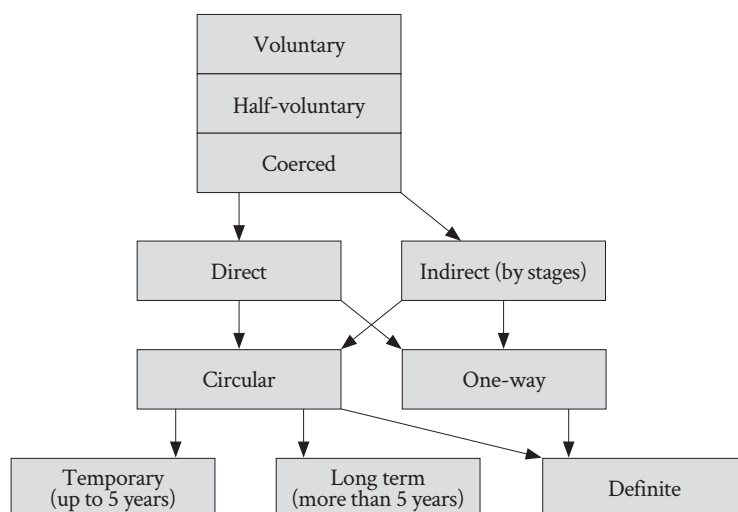
33 Bhabha, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge, 1994, 36–37.

34 E.g. Kaplan, Caren. *Questions of Travel: Postmodern Discourses of Displacement*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1996; Hannam, Kevin & Mimi Sheller, John Urry. "Mobilities, immobilities and moorings (Editorial)". In: *Mobilities*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2006, 1–22.

35 Cf. e.g. the research conducted at the Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies of the Osnabrück University and the series *Studien zur Historischen Migrationsforschung* published there. URL: [https://www.imis.uni-osnabrueck.de/publikationen/studien\\_zur\\_historischen\\_migrationsforschung\\_shm.html](https://www.imis.uni-osnabrueck.de/publikationen/studien_zur_historischen_migrationsforschung_shm.html).

36 E.g. Oltmer 2016. See also: Oltmer, Jochen. "Migration". In: *Online-Lexikon zur Kultur und Geschichte der Deutschen im östlichen Europa*, 2012. URL: [ome-lexikon.uni-oldenburg.de/53946.html](http://ome-lexikon.uni-oldenburg.de/53946.html) (8.01.2012).

necessitating their departure from, or at least reducing their contact with, the societal structures within which they had hitherto functioned.<sup>37</sup> This means that aside from international migration, movements between regions are also taken into consideration. In some cases, an artist's relocation from one city to another within a single state may also justifiably be considered a form of migration, as the variations in the legal structures in different centres were often such that the consequences were similar to those of cross-border migration.<sup>38</sup> The artist might well have had to re-establish their legal status, by obtaining citizenship or membership of a guild, gain entrance to a new professional circle, and seek new clients. The decision to migrate would presumably have



2. Kathrin Wagner. Artists-Migration-Model, after Wagner et al. 2017

been the outcome of actions taken in advance, involving reconnaissance of the new market and assessment of the prospects in the new place.

In many cases, however, our knowledge of the motives for such decisions, particularly in respect of the pre-modern age, for which we have far fewer sources than for later periods, remains no stronger than presumption. Thus research into the causes of migration, including the diverse factors in decisions to relocate to a new place of residence and work, would seem particularly interesting and apposite.

In this area, too, art historians can confront their findings with those of their sociologist peers, who identify the following main types of migration, differentiated by motivation: migration for the purpose of gaining or furthering education, voluntary migration (as an opportunity for a better life), migration motivated by a preference for a particular culture (which includes

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Oltmer 2016, 9.

<sup>38</sup> Oltmer 2016, 15.

the individual's decision to distance themselves from their own culture), and forced migration as a result of crisis of various types: political, economic, religious, but also personal.<sup>39</sup>

I am firmly convinced, however, that it is not only the case that art historians can benefit from the ordered terminological apparatus that sociology has to offer. The results of art historical research can also augment the catalogue of forms and causes of migration that sociologists and historians have compiled. The models proposed by Kathrin Wagner, based on the analysis of numerous individual cases, support this thesis (fig. 2).<sup>40</sup> At the same time, juxtaposed with case studies, they demonstrate the need for continuous critical questioning of existing models.

## MIGRATION STUDIES IN THE DIGITAL ERA

The application of digital methods in migration studies can generate a similar tension between the informative value of a single qualitative case study and that of generalising models based on larger data sets. Today, information technology tools such as databases and analytic tools which permit the storage, analysis, modelling and graphic visualisation of large quantities of data, are used to reconstruct networks of the social connections of (among others) migrant artists whose complexity was beyond the human capacity to grasp and describe in the pre-information era.<sup>41</sup> For instance, the projects Ecartico (*Linking cultural industries in the early modern Low Countries, c. 1475 – c. 1725*) and Gerson Digital at the RKD (Netherlands Institute for Art History) in The Hague, gather information on artists and other individuals with links to the early modern Netherlandish art market, including their social networks and places of origin and activity.<sup>42</sup>

There are also attempts underway to use *big data* to create visualisations of the temporal and spatial dimensions of artists' migrations on a global scale. One example was the study of Maximilian Schich, which uses collations of the places of birth and death of 160,000 artists to make a macro-scale reconstruction of those artists' mobility and the resultant expansion of the network of connections between various centres of art over a period of 2,000 years (fig. 3).<sup>43</sup> Such an approach undoubtedly offers an unprecedented insight into artist migration in the trans-epochal and global perspective. At the same

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<sup>39</sup> Oltmer 2016.

<sup>40</sup> Wagner 2017.

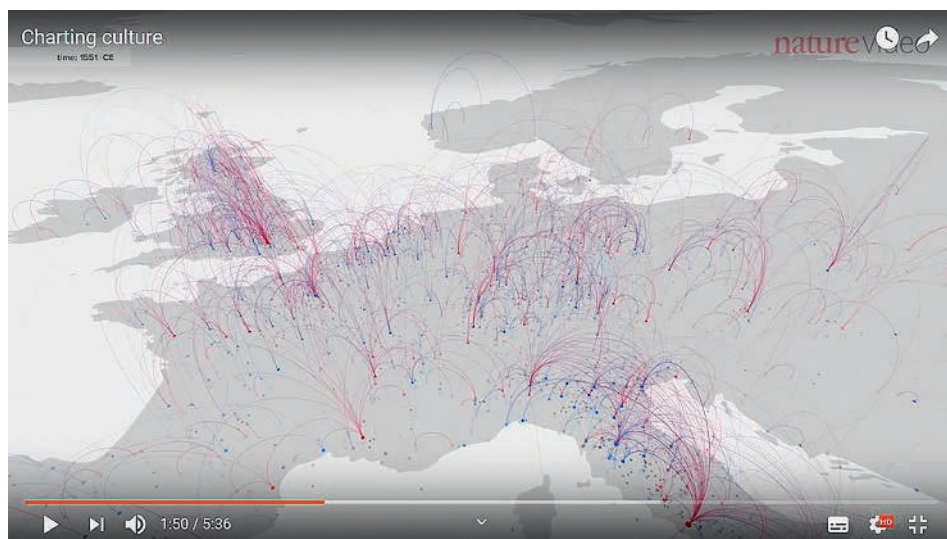
<sup>41</sup> On a far smaller scale, statistical methods had an impact on research into the cultural implications of migration as long ago as in the 1980s. See: Brulez, Wilfrid. *Cultuur en getal: aspecten van de relatie economie-maatschappij-cultuur in Europa tussen 1400 en 1800*. Amsterdam: Nederlandse Vereniging tot beoefening van de Sociale Geschiedenis, 1986.

<sup>42</sup> URL: <http://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/ecartico/>; <https://rkd.nl/nl/projecten-en-publicaties/projecten/621-gerson-digital> (14.12.2022).

<sup>43</sup> Schich, Maximilian & Chaoming Song, Yong Yeol Ahn, Alexander Mirsky, Mauro Martino, Albert László Barabási, Dirk Helbing. "A Network Framework of Cultural History". In: *Science*, vol. 345, no. 6196, 2014, 558–562; Schich, Maximilian. "Charting culture". *Nature video*, 2015. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4glhRkCcD4U> (22.04.2021).

time, it does prompt the constataction that it is hardly a ground-breaking discovery to declare that Rome, Paris, London or Berlin attracted more artists than Warsaw or Riga, which only came into the picture (of this particular visualisation) in the nineteenth century.

In this context it is justified to ask what such visualisations reflect. And there can hardly be any doubt that, in the first place, it is the accessibility of digital data, and that this, in turn, is a reflection of the old hierarchical



3. Snapshot of a video by Maximilian Schich et al. "Charting culture". *Nature video*, 2014.  
<https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-019-00389-2>

arrangement of centre versus periphery, which has traditionally affected the intensity of research into particular centres of art.<sup>44</sup> Such visualisations bring into sharp relief the existence of blank spots on the map of artist migrations. These sometimes really are caused by gaps in the historical source material or research into it, but it is far more often the case that the results of many studies by local scholars are simply not in international academic circulation – chiefly due to the language barrier. Hence the urgent need for the digitalisation of existing publications and their release into the international mainstream of contemporary research findings. Otherwise, digitalisation may become a double-edged sword: it may contribute to filling in the white spots on the map of global artist migration and arriving at a more complete and diversified picture, or it could cement or even deepen the marginalisation of the 'peripheries'.<sup>45</sup>

Digital methods also provide tools for the analysis of migrant networks. This approach is inspired in part by sociological studies that have recognised the major role played by contact networks within diasporas and relations

44 Data gathered at [freebase.com](http://freebase.com), *Allgemeins Künstlerlexikon* (AKL) and the Getty Union List of Artist Names (ULAN). Schich et al., 2014, 558.

45 Cf. e.g. Dogramaci, Burcu. "Migration, globale Kunstgeschichte und die Chancen des Digitalen". In: *Kritische Berichte*, vol. 48, no. 1, 2020, 83–91.

forged with receiving societies in the creation of migrant communities.<sup>46</sup> With these data it is possible to generate graphic models revealing the networks of connections between various actors on the art scene, in some cases also including the particular context of these networks. However, as much as these digital tools may offer new insights, they may also mislead, like any tool and method used unreflectively.<sup>47</sup>

To illustrate potential problems, I selected from the above-mentioned Ecartico and Gerson Digital databases an example of an artist with a connection

4. Kinship network of the painter Simon Fangaert of Delft (1625–1665), active in Riga c. 1653–1659. From: Ecartico. Linking cultural industries in the early modern Low Countries, c. 1475 – c. 1725 (Database). <http://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/ecartico/persons/2866>



to Riga (as a tribute to the conference location). As might have been expected, there were not many to choose from, but the ones there were speak volumes. The one I chose was the painter Simon Fangaert of Delft (1625–1665), who, during a six-year stay in Riga in the years 1653–1659 (thus not a length of time that would constitute emigration in the strict sense of the word), worked on projects including a painting for the cathedral here, and was also active as a portrait painter. The Ecartico database includes a modes diagram showing his family connections (fig. 4), while the Gerson digital project provides a highly simplified visualisation of his movements which suggests virtually a direct flight from Delft to Riga (fig. 5). Well, you only get out what you put in; such visualisations are a reflection of the state of knowledge of the person responsible for inputting the information. It is striking in this case that the provided list of literature includes only items in Dutch, German and English; publications by local scholars providing further information on Fangaert's activity in Riga are not included, which can only partly be explained by the language of those publications.<sup>48</sup>

In some cases, however, too little information is less of a problem than too much. Somewhat tendentiously, I have selected here, by way of comparison,

<sup>46</sup> E.g. *The Migrants Time: Rethinking Art History and Diaspora*. Ed. by Saloni Mathur, New Haven–London: Yale University Press 2011.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. e.g. Gelshorn, Julia & Tristan Weddingen. "Das Netzwerk: zu einem Denkbild in Kunst und Wissenschaft". In: *Grammatik der Kunstgeschichte. Sprachproblem und Regelwerk im 'Bild-Diskurs'*. Ed. by Hubert Locher and Peter J. Schneemann. Zürich et al.: Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, 2008, 54–77; Kuczera, Andreas. "Digitale Farbenspiele oder nützliches Werkzeug – Visualisierung von Netzwerken aus den Registern von Editions- und Regestenwerken". In: *Mittelalter. Interdisziplinäre Forschung und Rezeptionsgeschichte*, 8. Januar 2015. URL: <http://mittelalter.hypotheses.org/5089> (13.05.2021).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Portret XVII veka v Latvii: katalog vystavki v Rundal'skom dvorce* [Portrait of the 18th century in Latvia: catalogue of an exhibition in Rundāle Palace]. Ed. by Ieva Lancmane. Riga: Avots, 1986, 45–46. Not included are also German and English language publications with a more regional focus, such as: *Lexikon baltischer Künstler*. Ed. by Wilhelm Neumann. Riga: Verlag Jonck & Poliewsky, 1908, 42–43; Vipērs, Boriss [Vipper, Boris]. *Baroque Art in Latvia*. Riga: Valters un Rapa, 1939, 105. For suggestions concerning relevant publications on Fangaert I owe my thanks to Dr Anna Ancāne.



the diagram showing the network of Rembrandt van Rijn (fig. 6), which is so complex that the first reaction it elicits is doubt as to whether we even need such visualisations, and how they can possibly help us to make better sense of the interactions between the people and mechanisms that make up the art system. Well, in this case we need to consider whether we asked the search engine the right question and whether the instrument we are using to find an answer is the right one or, to be more precise, properly calibrated. This is not

Name variations	Biographical information
Fanger, Simon Faujaert, S. Faniart, Simon Faingaert, Simon	Active in <b>Delft</b> 1647 in 1647 inscribed as a master in the guild of St. Luke <b>Riga</b> 1653 In Riga he painted for the Dome church the signed (signature mostly read as S. Faujaert) and 1653 dated epitaph painting, representing the counsellor Johann Kocken von Grünblatt with his family and Christ at the Cross (Riga, Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation). See also Hofstede de Groot index card 157062. <b>Delft</b> 1659 - 1665 returned to Delft in or before 1659; lived early 1662 at the Korenmarkt. On 29 July 1665 his estate was auctioned off (Saur 2003)
Qualifications Nationality/school	<b>painter, miniaturist painter</b> <b>North Netherlandish, South Netherlandish of Flemish descent</b>
Born	<b>Delft</b> 1625-01/1625-01-19 baptized in Delft 19 January 1625
Deceased	<b>Delft</b> 1665-04/1665-04-29 buried 29 April 1665 in the Oude Kerk in Delft (Craft-Giepmans 2006)
Family relationships This person/entity in other	son of Jan Fangaert and Eva Plucke (married in 1616)
This person/entity in otherdatabases	● 2 hits in RKDimages as artist ● 5 hits in RKDexcerpts as artist
Suggested searches in RKDartists&	● Born 1625-01 ● Place of death Delft

5. Mobility of the painter Simon Fangaert of Delft. From: Gerson-Digital: Latvia, <https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/342576>

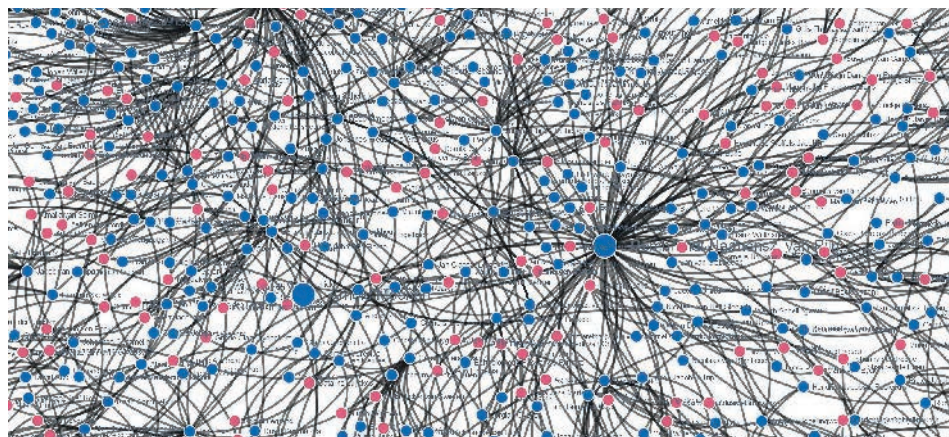
a new question; scholars and explorers have been asking it for centuries. The analyses of more limited, thus more describable networks demonstrate that this approach can bring satisfying results.<sup>49</sup>

I firmly believe that such databases and visualisations can help us to gain a better understanding of relationships between émigrés and their contacts in their countries of origin that would elude us if they were presented in plain text, for instance, as notes in a biographical lexicon. Nonetheless, these quantitative studies should be treated as useful tools, as a point of departure, and certainly not as a substitute for in-depth qualitative case studies, which will help us to plumb the complexity, dynamism and nature of the relationships between various individuals. I am an advocate of surface mapping of the oceans combined with an in-depth description of their islands.

Finally, I would like to draw attention to one more area in which I as a researcher of artist migration in periods of the distant past have found perhaps not methodological tools so much as inspiration to formulate questions. That is contemporary work by émigré artists, which often addresses the issue of ‘alien’ status and is usually furnished with artist

49 Zell, Michael. “Rembrandt’s Gifts: A Case Study of Actor-Network-Theory”. In: *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2011. URL: <https://jhna.org/articles/rembrandts-gifts-case-study-actor-network-theory/> (13.05.2021).

commentaries.<sup>50</sup> Contemporary art by migrants often tackles the reasons and causes for emigration and its actors (other artists, patrons of the arts, institutions, etc.). It also shows whether and how the émigré status and ethnic origins of artists are reflected in their works, and how artists function in diasporas. Further, it begs the question of whether there are any discernible similarities between the lives of émigré artists in different periods. As migration has been part of human experience throughout



6. Three-step network of documented relations of Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn. From: Ecartico. Linking cultural industries in the early modern Low Countries, c. 1475 – c. 1725 (Database). <http://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/ecartico/networks/index.php?ego=6292&types=all&level=3>

history, I suspect that the anthropological perspective bears comparison. A fundamental difference, however, is that of the accessibility and character of the sources, which in respect of early periods are far more meagre and rarely take the form of ego documents by the artists on the subject of their émigré status.<sup>51</sup> Thus, the potential for reconstructing the circumstances of migration in the past and its impact on individuals is far more limited.

In summary, both case studies of artist migration and observations on the macro scale are important contributions to our understanding of the complex dynamics of trans-cultural contacts. Artist migrations reveal the entanglements between cultures, help us to trace the emergence of networks, and offer insight into the political, economic, social and religious factors in migration – none of which are exclusive to the art world. Artists' decisions to settle in a particular place are an important indicator of its cultural significance and attractiveness as a centre, and as such, research into migration also

50 Mathur 2021; *Handbook of Art and Global Migration: Theories, Practices, and Challenges*. Ed. by Burcu Dogramaci and Birgit Mersmann. Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2019.

51 See one of the few documented examples of such self-reflection on the fate of the émigré artist: Reiz, Evelyn. "Die himmlische Heimat niederländischer Migranten: ein übersehener Topos religiöser Gemeinschaftsstiftung in Prag am Vorabend des Dreißigjährigen Krieges". In: *Gemeine Artefakte. Zur gemeinschaftsbildenden Funktion von Kunstwerken in den vormodernen Kulturräumen Ostmitteleuropas*. Ed. by Magdalena Bushart, Henrike Haug, Aleksandra Lipińska. *Kunsttexte.de/ostblick*, no. 2, 2014. URL: <http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/kunsttexte/2014-2/reitz-evelyn-10/PDF/reitz.pdf> (13.05.2021).

contributes to metropolitan studies. Their choices in this regard also tell us something about their aesthetic and ideological preferences and those of their audiences, and are a source of information on the workings of the art market in a given place and time. Furthermore, studies of migration can also help to explore the financial potential of artists' clienteles and market strategies. And I will add one more thought to this long list of benefits to be had from research into artist migration. If we subscribe to the hope against hope that knowledge of the past can help us to understand better the present, in the context of the current debates on migration, it is also a responsibility of historical migration studies to contribute to the understanding of the role of migrants in the creation of European and global culture.

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*CHI NON È CONOSCIUTO LI CONVIENE IN ETÀ  
MATURA FARE IL NOVIZIATO:*  
NEW DOCUMENTS  
FOR SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY  
ARTISTIC MIGRATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE

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SUMMARY

The article presents the cases of three seventeenth-century painters: the German Wolfgang Heimbach (1613/15–1678), the Fleming Jan Baptiste Seghers (1624–1670/1) and the Florentine Mario Balassi (1604–1667). They left their countries at different stages in their careers and with different expectations and responses to the opportunities offered by the new environment. Their activity for the Tuscan military nobleman Ottavio Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi (1599–1656), provides an interesting point of view to consider their experiences in a comparative perspective, to introduce early modern artistic migration in the light of the dynamics operating between artists' strategies and patrons' expectations.

The article argues that Wolfgang Heimbach's first activity for Piccolomini dates to 1639, when Heimbach was not yet a mature painter returning from his Italian journey, as so far believed, but a young one seeking the protection of a noble patron. In the absence of paintings produced for Piccolomini, new documents prove that this patronage relation lasted for over a decade, even after Heimbach had moved into the service of other patrons. Jan Baptiste Seghers entered Piccolomini's service after his father had worked for him for almost a decade. Piccolomini's unpublished correspondence sheds light on this little-known painter's early activity as a copyist of Italian masters and the dynamics of emulation between patrons. Mario Balassi is the only artist mentioned as working for Piccolomini in seventeenth-century artistic literature. Filippo Baldinucci reports his journey to Vienna in Piccolomini's suit in the 1630s, but the correspondence proves that Balassi's only stay in Vienna took place in his maturity, with very different motivations from the ones that would move an emerging artist in his prime. '*Chi non è conosciuto li conviene in età matura fare il noviziato,*' Balassi wrote: it is convenient to those who are not known to do the novitiate even at a mature age.

The recent focus on migration in early modern studies has shed light on artistic migration in Europe and the dynamics that brought artists to leave their country to move or settle in different cultural and social contexts. Studies have focused on the social structures involved, highlighting agency and identity on an individual and community level. This contribution presents three cases in a comparative perspective, considering artists of different provenance on the move with different aims and at different stages in their careers. It aims to introduce early modern artistic migration in the light of the dynamics operating between artists' strategies to adapt to a new reality, their need of positioning themselves in the local networks, and patrons' expectations.

The experiences of Jan Baptiste Seghers (1624–1670/1), Wolfgang Heimbach (1613/15–1678) and Mario Balassi (1604–1667) show how circumstances often beyond their control influenced the decision to relocate. As in the case of other artists, their initial intention to migrate or temporarily move to a foreign land was dependent on 'familial and professional ties' and the dynamics that brought them to consider whether to 'settle or return' were highly reliant on the negotiation of a place with fellow professionals and the local patronage network.<sup>1</sup> In the light of these artists' activity for the same patron, Ottavio Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi (1599–1656), Tuscan general in the imperial service, these three cases document permanent and semi-permanent migration and short- and long-term travel for professional reasons as defined by the circumstances encountered upon the arrival in a foreign country.<sup>2</sup>

## WOLFGANG HEIMBACH, 'TEDESCO MUTOLO PITTORE'

Many details in Wolfgang Heimbach's biography remain uncertain, but his travels mirror the European dimension of his activity. Born deaf-mute in Ovelgönne, Heimbach worked in Bremen and by 1640 moved to Italy, where he stayed for twelve years. Following an engagement in the service of Ottavio Piccolomini in 1651 and an appointment at the court of Count Anton Günther of Oldenburg, he served King Frederick III of Denmark for ten years and concluded his career in the service of the Prince Bishop of Münster, Christoph Bernhard von Galen.

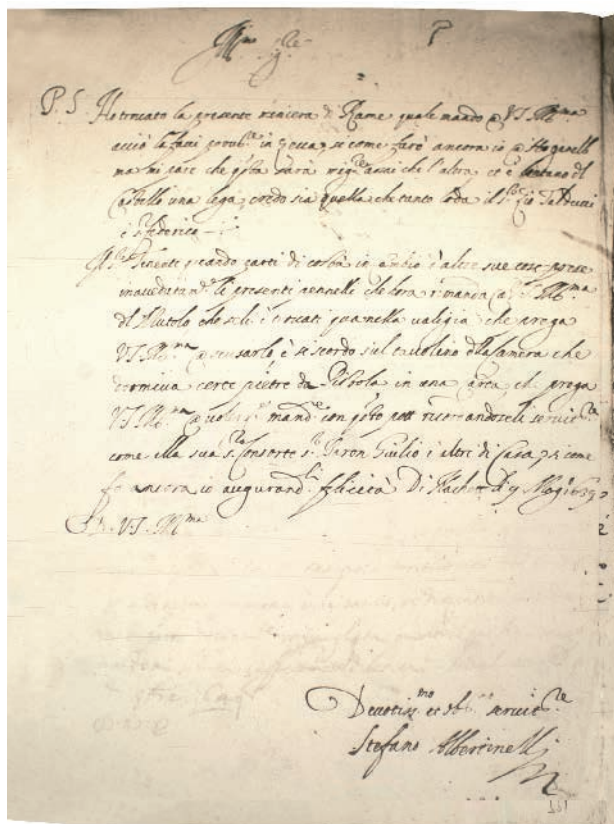
The date of Heimbach's return from his Italian journey rests on four missing letters, mentioned in 1935 by Gertrud Götsche. The letters, dated between 26 August 1651 and 18 July 1652, prove his presence in Ottavio Piccolomini's

1 Vermeylen, Filip. "Greener pastures? Capturing artists' migrations during the Dutch Revolt". In: *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 63, 2013, 45; Catterall, Douglas. "Settle or Return: Migrant Communities in Northern Europe, ca. 1600–1800". In: *Between the Middle Ages and Modernity: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World*. Ed. by Charles H. Parker, Jerry H. Bentley. Lanham–Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007, 110.

2 Becucci, Alessandra. *L'arte della politica e la politica dell'arte nello spazio europeo del Seicento*. PhD thesis, European University Institute, 2012.

household in Prague in August 1651 and his continued relationship with him after his return to Ovelgönne.<sup>3</sup>

An unpublished letter in Piccolomini's correspondence, dated 1639, makes it now possible to advance to thirteen years earlier the date of Heimbach's first encounter with Piccolomini (fig. 1).<sup>4</sup> In 1639, Piccolomini was actively engaged in the Thirty Years War's imperial military campaign between



1. Stefano Albertinelli.  
Letter to Polidoro Bracciolini,  
9 May 1639.  
Regional State Archives in Zámrsk  
(Státní Oblastní Archiv v Zámrsku),  
Family Archive Piccolomini  
(Rodinný archiv Piccolominiové),  
1064.  
Photo: Alessandra Becucci

Vienna, Prague, Brussels, Namur and his Bohemian estate of Náchod. Several trustworthy agents curated his interests in the different locations where he operated. On 9 May 1639, Stefano Albertinelli, his representative in Náchod, wrote to Baron Polidoro Bracciolini, Piccolomini's agent in Vienna. An absent-minded lieutenant travelling from Piccolomini's Viennese house to Náchod had unexpectedly found in his luggage 'i pennelli del Mutolo' – the

3 Götsche, Gertrud. *Wolfgang Heimbach: ein norddeutscher Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1935; Morsbach, Christiane. *Die Genrebilder von Wolfgang Heimbach (um 1613 – nach 1678)*. Oldenburg: Isensee, 1999; Morsbach, Christiane. "Wolfgang Heimbach – Oldenburgischer Hofmaler des Barocks". In: *Hansestadt – Residenz – Industriestandort. Beiträge der 7. Tagung des Arbeitskreises deutscher und polnischer Kunsthistoriker in Oldenburg, 27.–30. September 2000*. Ed. by Beate Störckuhl. München: Oldenburg, 2002, 213–224.

4 Stefano Albertinelli to Polidoro Bracciolini, 9 May 1639. Regional State Archives in Zámrsk (Státní Oblastní Archiv v Zámrsku) [hereafter SOAZ], Family Archive Piccolomini (Rodinný archiv Piccolominiové) [hereafter RAP], 1064.

paintbrushes of the Mute – and had realised that he had inadvertently taken them ‘in the place of other things’. Albertinelli wrote to apologise on the lieutenant’s behalf. The identification of the ‘*Mutolo*’ with the German deaf-mute painter Wolfgang Heimbach appears certain. The same attribute – ‘*Tedesco Mutolo pittore*’ – is referred to him in letters exchanged in October 1646 between the Grand Duke of Florence, Ferdinando II de’ Medici (1610–1670), and Francesco Caetani, Governor of the Holy House in Loreto,



2. Wolfgang Heimbach.  
*Equestrian portrait of a gentleman,  
 full-length, in armour,  
 a baton in his right hand, a landscape  
 with a cavalry skirmish beyond.*  
 1638. Oil on copper, 16.2 x 11.3 cm.  
 Christie's London, Important Old Master  
 Pictures, 10 July 2002, 6604, lot 1.  
 © Christie's Images / Bridgeman Images

whither the painter was heading for his devotion.<sup>5</sup> If in May 1639 the distracted lieutenant in Piccolomini’s house in Vienna could mistakenly pack Heimbach’s paintbrushes, it is very likely that the painter lodged and worked there. At this date Heimbach was a young artist on his way to the customary formative journey to Italy, and Ottavio Piccolomini was a career field marshal smoothly climbing the Spanish and the imperial military and social hierarchy. Just a month later, on 7 June 1639, Piccolomini triumphed against the French at Thionville, in Lorraine, one of the most celebrated imperial victories in the Thirty Years’ War. While not yet a prince, Piccolomini was

<sup>5</sup> Ferdinando de’ Medici to Francesco Caetani, 5 October 1646. State Archive in Florence (Archivio di Stato di Firenze) [hereafter ASF], Archive of the Medici’s Duchy (Archivio Mediceo del Principato) [henceforth AMP], 149, 10; Francesco Caetani to Ferdinando de’ Medici, 27 October 1646. ASF, AMP, 1008, 260.



already a prominent member of the imperial court society, portrayed by Heimbach in *Banquet by night* (1640), his first known work in Vienna.<sup>6</sup> In the late 1630s and 1640s, Piccolomini's patronage activity grew alongside his fame and the constant resettling of his household. His association with Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Austria (1610–1641) and Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1614–1662) in Brussels seconded his interest in artists active for both rulers, including Gerard Seghers, Jan Lievens, Frans Snyders and others.<sup>7</sup> It is likely in this context that Piccolomini got to know Heimbach's work, such as *Portrait of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria* (1642), his last before the departure for Italy.<sup>8</sup>

Both *Banquet* and *Portrait* are painted in oil on copper, the same as Heimbach's *Equestrian portrait of a gentleman with a cavalry skirmish beyond*, signed with his initials HMW and dated 1638 (fig. 2).<sup>9</sup> No information remains about any work painted during Heimbach's first stay in Piccolomini's household, but it seems possible to identify Ottavio Piccolomini as the sitter of the small copper by comparison with later portraits.<sup>10</sup> In July 1638, under the command of Ferdinand of Austria, Piccolomini triumphed defending the Spanish Netherlands against the French army at Saint-Omer. The *Equestrian portrait* could have celebrated the event and, given the small dimension, been intended as a gift. In these years, gift-giving to Piccolomini's betrothed, Dorothée Caroline de Ligne AreMBERG Barbançon (1622–1642), is well documented. If the identification is correct, the inscription on the horse's flank should be read as 'AFI', a contraction of 'Amalfi'. For years, Piccolomini had tried to regain the duchy of Amalfi, lost by his family in 1583, asking Emperor Ferdinand IV (1608–1657) to intercede with Philip IV, King of Spain, for the restitution. The title appears in Piccolomini's correspondence before the King obliged in 1639, reinstating the Piccolominis in recognition of Ottavio's victory at Thionville.<sup>11</sup>

For a passage to Italy, Heimbach's activity for Piccolomini may have provided an appropriate introduction to the papal court and the Medici court in the early 1640s. Piccolomini's network in Rome was well established since the 1620s through his brother Ascanio Piccolomini (1590–1671), secretary to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, the Pope's nephew. Furthermore, between 1645 and 1646, while Heimbach stayed in Rome, Florence, Loreto and Naples, Ascanio managed the duchy of Amalfi on his brother's behalf, operating between Amalfi and Naples. Ottavio Piccolomini's connection with Florence was even tighter. His father Silvio, intimate to the Medici court, had educated

6 Wolfgang Heimbach. *Banquet by night*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 1619.

7 Becucci, Alessandra. "Ottavio Piccolomini (1599–1656): A Case of Patronage from a Transnational Perspective". In: *The International History Review*, vol. 33, no. 4, 2011, 585–605.

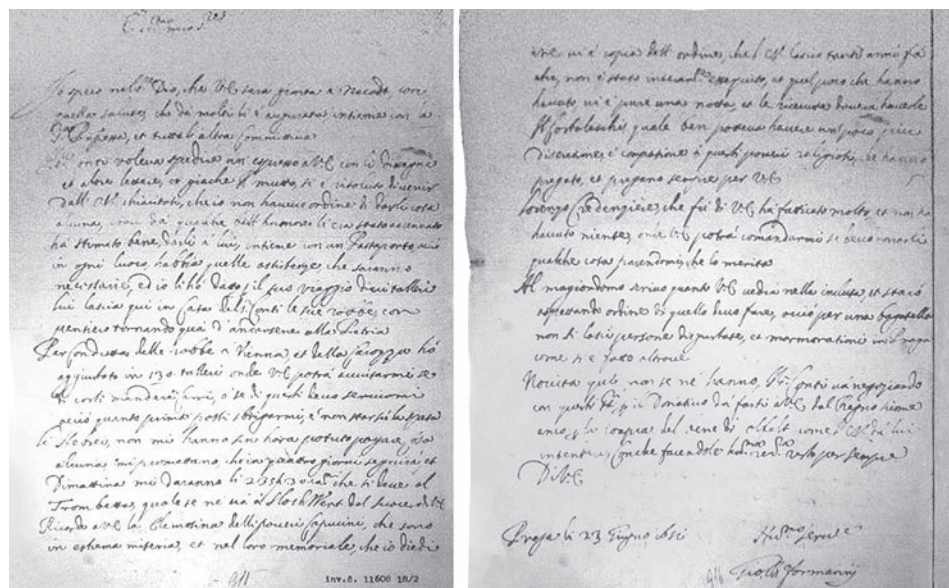
8 Morsbach 2002, 220. *Portrait of Leopold Wilhelm of Austria*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 9820–1642.

9 Christie's London, Important Old Master Pictures, 10 July 2002, 6604, lot 1.

10 See, for instance, Justus Sustermans's (attr.) *Field Marshall Ottavio Piccolomini*. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, NM765.

11 Barker, Thomas M. *Army, Aristocracy, Monarchy: Essays on War, Society, and Government in Austria, 1618–1780*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982, 199–200.

the prince heir. Ottavio had been a page at the court and, for his arrival in the Imperial service in 1618, several members of the court had written recommendation letters for him. Piccolomini's family in Florence continuously strengthened the ties with the Medici. In June 1639, Grand Duke Ferdinando II de' Medici (1610–1670) appointed his nephew Francesco Piccolomini (1611–1658) as captain of the German guard corps for the protection of the grand-ducal family and stood as godfather to his first daughter.



3. Giovanni Battista Formarini. Letter to Ottavio Piccolomini, 23 June 1651. Regional State Archives in Zámorsk (Státní Oblastní Archiv v Zámorsku), Family Archive Piccolomini (Rodinný archiv Piccolominiové), 11608. Photo: Alessandra Becucci

If Heimbach's first contact with Piccolomini potentially served him in Italy, his second arrival in the Duke's household certainly reinforced his connections with the Habsburg court and seconded his entrance into the service of other lords. Heimbach's documented presence in Piccolomini's household in August 1651 is considered his first appointment upon his return from Italy. He wrote to Piccolomini of his safe arrival in Prague, where he was waiting to move to Brussels to bring a letter of introduction by Piccolomini to an unnamed person. By Piccolomini's recommendation, the artist was staying with a certain Conti, whom he thanked by drawing his *Portrait* in sanguine.<sup>12</sup>

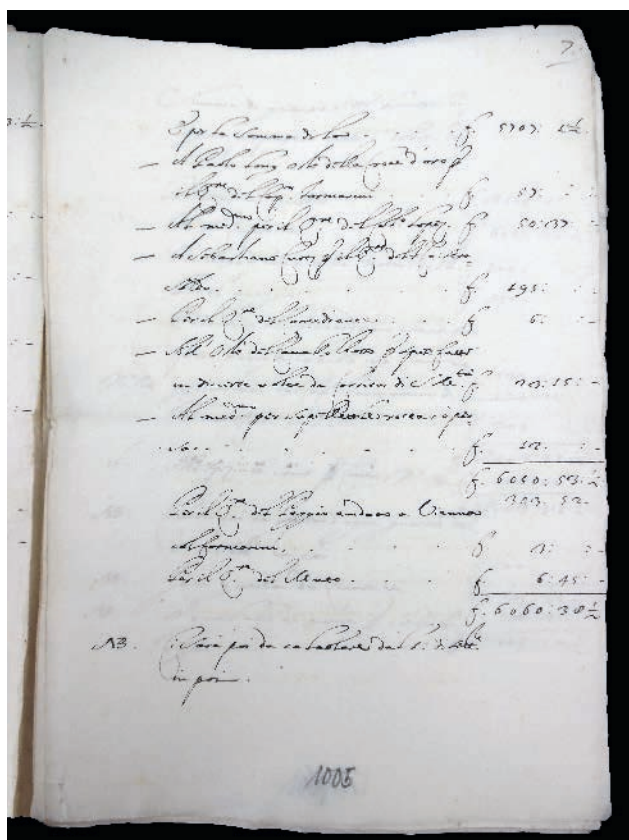
In 1651, Piccolomini was made an imperial prince in recognition of his role in the ratification of the Westphalian treaties and was widely acknowledged as the imperial peacemaker. In June 1651, having left his active military service, he married Maria Benigna Franziska von Sachsen Lauenburg (1635–1701) in Prague. The couple went to Náchod to spend some time there before moving to Vienna, where Piccolomini was expected at court. In Náchod, Piccolomini

12 Götsche 1935, 16–17.

intended to redecorate his palace and, to this end, had activated his network of agents and had contacted several artists already working for the imperial court nobility.

An unpublished letter by Captain Giovanni Battista Formarini speaks of Heimbach's presence in Prague at least since June 1651 and clarifies the terms of his second stay in Piccolomini's household and the identity of his host Conti (fig. 3).<sup>13</sup> Formarini, one of Piccolomini's agents, wrote that Conti intended to

4. Receipt for expenses of Heimbach's quarters, 1650–1651. Regional State Archives in Zámorsk (Státní Oblastní Archiv v Zámorsku), Family Archive Piccolomini (Rodinný archiv Piccolominiové), 14537, detail. Photo: Alessandra Becucci



send the Duke some drawings and letters by post but, since the Mute was going to Náchod, he would bring them. The Mute had decided to go to Náchod after Formarini had made clear to him that he had no order to pay him. Formarini gave him a passport and ten thalers for the journey, and the Mute left his things 'in the house of Conti, thinking, upon his return, to go back to his homeland'. The next day, Formarini confirmed the departure of the deaf-mute painter – 'il Mutto pittore' – in another letter.<sup>14</sup> Heimbach's host in Prague can be identified as General Innocenzo Conti (1613–1661), one of Piccolomini's principal agents in Prague, and a member of the imperial court society. Piccolomini's

13 Giovanni Battista Formarini to Ottavio Piccolomini, 23 June 1651. SOAZ, RAP, 11608.

14 Formarini to Piccolomini, 24 June 1651. SOAZ, RAP, 11609.

familiarity with Conti is apparent in the latter's role as mediator in his marital negotiations and for exchanges between him and his fiancée.<sup>15</sup> On 25 June 1651 Piccolomini acknowledged the Mute's arrival with Conti's letters and drawings in Náchod, where, Piccolomini wrote, he would be satisfied.<sup>16</sup> If Heimbach expected to receive money from Formarini in Prague and moved to Náchod to get paid before heading home, arguably he had been back in Piccolomini's service long enough to produce something. A '*Quartiere del Muto*' – quarters of the deaf-mute – appears in a file of expenses for the lodgings of Piccolomini's household in Nuremberg during the conference for the Westphalian treaties throughout 1650. The expense account begins with 2000 florins for the rental of the merchant Tobias Peller's house, Piccolomini's accommodation, and ends with the 6.45 florins for the quarters of the deaf-mute. Underneath the total sum, a note states that, from 1 September, expenses remain to be calculated, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the information in the document (fig. 4).<sup>17</sup> Possibly, then, Heimbach had returned from Italy earlier than so far believed and had re-entered Piccolomini's service during the Duke's long stay in Nuremberg, between 1649 and 1650, to continue serving him later in Vienna, Prague and Náchod before heading back home. In Prague, he certainly worked for other members of the imperial court. The background of the *Portrait of an unknown woman* in Olomouc, signed and dated 1651, features the *sala terrena* of the former Trauttmansdorff palace in Prague.<sup>18</sup> At the beginning of July, Innocenzo Conti had also gone to Náchod to assist Piccolomini with drawings for gardens and buildings for the castle's renovation and in mid-month Piccolomini had left for Vienna.<sup>19</sup> Given that Heimbach writes about his arrival in Conti's house in August, till then he had likely remained in Náchod working, possibly under the supervision of Conti, who regularly acted for Piccolomini in contacting artists and merchants for the redecoration. On 30 June 1651, Piccolomini sent an *Instruction* to his majordomo in Vienna to arrange for his imminent arrival there and specify the destination and the decoration of each room. The majordomo should see to have all the paintings made by the Mute 'framed like the others' and placed where they would fit in best.<sup>20</sup>

Heimbach had capitalised on the relationship with Piccolomini since 1639 and maintained contacts with him long after his second stay in his service. In his letter from Prague, Heimbach also asked Piccolomini to mediate with the King of Hungary, Ferdinand IV, to receive the necklace with a medallion that the King had promised him for his works, further proof that upon his return from Italy and before heading to Prague Heimbach had worked in Vienna.

15 See Cardinal Harrach's letters in: *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach*, vol. 3. Ed. by Katrin Keller & Alessandro Catalano. Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 2010.

16 Piccolomini to Formarini, 25 June 1651. SOAZ, RAP, 1359.

17 Receipts for payments and lists of expenses. SOAZ, RAP, 14537.

18 Machytka, Lubor. "Neznámá Pražá Sala Terrena na Heimbachově obraze" [The unknown Prague Sala Terrena in Heimbach's painting]. In: *Umění*, vol. 31, no. 5, 1983, 456–457.

19 Piccolomini, 7 July 1651. SOAZ, RAP, 10025.

20 Piccolomini, 30 June 1651. SOAZ, RAP, 14528.



In February 1652, having just arrived home in Ovelgönne, the painter asked Piccolomini to send a letter of recommendation for the Count of Oldenburg via the Oldenburger ambassador then in Vienna. He also asked for permission to copy the *Portrait* of Piccolomini that he had painted, now untraceable. He admitted to Piccolomini's secretary that his affairs in Oldenburg were mediocre and reiterated his request for a handwritten recommendation. At the beginning of May, Heimbach entered the service of Count Anton Günther of Oldenburg and wrote to Piccolomini about his successes at that court. He complained of not getting replies from Piccolomini and reminded him of a sword he had promised to him.<sup>21</sup> Several of Heimbach's lost works for Piccolomini were portraits. In October 1654, the 'Portrait of the King, Queen of Sweden, Wrangel and all the other ones made by the Mute for a total of 12' were listed to be handed to Piccolomini's majordomo to be sent to Náchod, where Piccolomini was again temporary retreating.<sup>22</sup> Whether or not Heimbach served him in Nuremberg in 1649, he painted for him the portraits of the protagonists of the event, whose international profile had since grown more prominent. In 1654 the Swedish signatory in Nuremberg, Carl Gustav Count Palatine of Zweibrücken, had succeeded his cousin Queen Christina of Sweden as Karl X Gustav, and the Swedish Field Marshal Carl Gustaf Wrangel had been appointed Governor of the Swedish Pomerania.

## JAN BAPTISTE SEGHERS (1624–1670/1671)

The biographies of Gerard Seghers (1591–1651), the renowned Caravaggist from Antwerp, contain limited information on his third-born Jan Baptiste. Under his guidance, Jan Baptiste had studied and become a Master in 1647. Since only one of Jan Baptiste's works survives, a view of Antwerp from the River Scheldt, it is difficult to speculate on his other artistic influences.<sup>23</sup> In *Accademia Todesca*, Joachim Sandrart mentions a journey of Jan Baptiste to Italy that, as his father's one, cannot be precisely dated. Jan Baptiste's presence in Piccolomini's household is documented by a recommendation written for his entrance into the imperial service in February 1652. In the letter, Piccolomini states that the painter had been in his house for three years, 'a respectable youth and much inclined to virtue'.<sup>24</sup> Unpublished documents shed light on Jan Baptiste's activity in those years and his continued relationship with Piccolomini after he had left his household.

Gerard Seghers had been in contact with Piccolomini since 1638 and was still active for him after 1644. Correspondence attests that in 1639 Gerard produced paintings for him and acted as an art dealer, introducing other artists to Piccolomini. Jan Baptiste Seghers entered Piccolomini's entourage –

21 Göttsche 1935, 17.

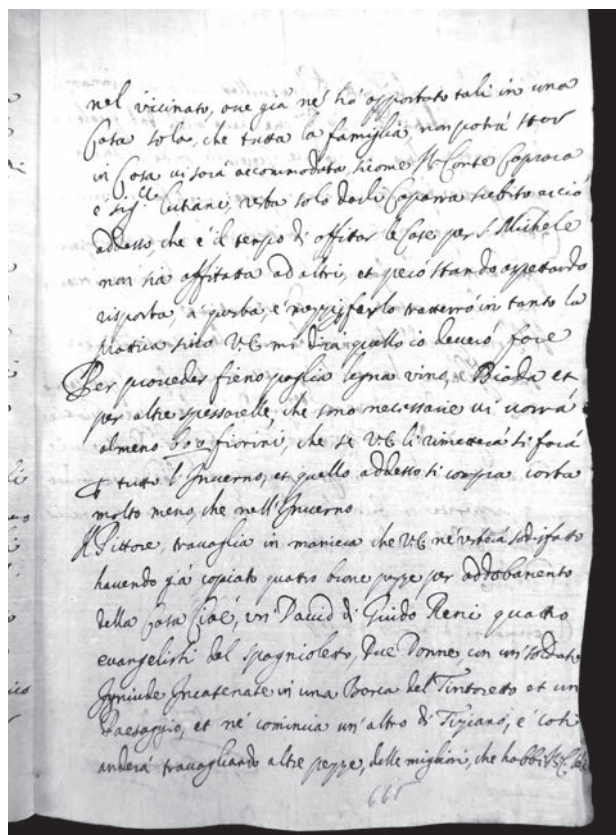
22 Niccolò Siri, 28 October 1654. SOAZ, RAP, 13122.

23 Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, inv. 11637.

24 Pinchart, Alexander. *Archives des Arts, Sciences et Lettres*, vol. 2. Gent: L. Hebbelynck, 1863, 328.



likely with the help of his father – in June 1649, at a critical time in the nobleman's life and career. For almost the entire period that Jan Baptiste spent in his service, Piccolomini was engaged in the abovementioned negotiations in Nuremberg. Piccolomini's network of agents supported the patronage relationship with Jan Baptiste, conveying instructions to the painter. In June 1649, while Heimbach was possibly serving Piccolomini in Nuremberg, Giovanni Battista Formarini



5. Giovanni Battista Formarini. Letter to Ottavio Piccolomini, 21 August 1649. Regional State Archives in Zámrsk (Státní Oblastní Archiv v Zámrsku), Family Archive Piccolomini (Rodinný archiv Piccolominiové), 11552, detail. Photo: Alessandra Becucci

welcomed in Vienna Jan Baptiste Seghers, due to leave for Venice shortly afterwards. In Vienna, Formarini would introduce him to experts 'of his same virtue' and would second his passage to the lagoon.<sup>25</sup> Seghers had begun painting something and his initial slowness was then attributed to his youth.<sup>26</sup> In mid-July Formarini sent to Piccolomini Seghers' first canvas, a copy from an original by Guido Reni, 'amazingly well copied'.<sup>27</sup> By August, Jan Baptiste had completed four other copies for the adornment of Piccolomini's Viennese house: *David* by Guido Reni, *Four Evangelists* by Spagnoletto, a *Landscape* and *Two naked women in chains with a soldier on a boat* by Tintoretto – which I think can be related to

25 Giovanni Battista Formarini to Ottavio Piccolomini, 20 June 1649. SOAZ, RAP, 11534.

26 Formarini to Piccolomini, 7 July 1649. SOAZ, RAP, 11539.

27 Formarini to Piccolomini, 15 July 1649. SOAZ, RAP, 11541.

*The Deliverance of Arsinoe* now in Dresden – and he was about to begin another copy of an unspecified subject (figs. 5, 6).<sup>28</sup> In producing these copies, Jan Baptiste was following in his father's footsteps: Gerard had found success in his early years by copying Italian masters for the Goetkints, merchants in Antwerp, during his Italian journey.<sup>29</sup> Through Piccolomini's patronage, Jan Baptiste had the chance to develop his skills. Several works painted in Vienna were copied



6. Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti, 1518–1594). *The Deliverance of Arsinoe*. C. 1556. Oil on canvas, 153 x 251 cm. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister – Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, coll. No. 269. Photo: Elke Estel / Hans-Peter Klut. © 2021. Foto Scala, Firenze/bpk, Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin

from paintings in the collection of Piccolomini's fellow brother-in-arms, the Scottish-born Count Walter Leslie (1607–1667), former ambassador to Naples.<sup>30</sup> Formarini writes that Seghers would keep 'working on more canvases, of the best ones owned by Count Leslie'. Eventually, Seghers' stay extended beyond the two months initially planned. In March 1650, Formarini had started ordering frames for the paintings that Seghers was producing. By the end of the month, he had painted fourteen canvases, 'beautiful copies from works by the worthiest Italian artists' and was planning to leave in three weeks.<sup>31</sup>

Formarini's letters give details on the character of Seghers' sojourn in his house and on his status as a foreigner in Vienna. Upon his arrival, young Seghers had established contacts with the Flemish artistic community in

28 Formarini to Piccolomini, 21 August 1649. SOAZ, RAP, 11552.

29 Bieneck, Dorothea. *Gerard Seghers: 1591–1651. Leben und Werk des Antwerpener Historienmalers*. Lingon: Lucas Verlag, 1992, 16.

30 Formarini to Piccolomini, 4 August 1649. SOAZ, RAP, 11549 and 21 August 1649, 11552.

31 Formarini to Piccolomini, 16 September 1649. SOAZ, RAP, 15603; 6 October 1649. 11565; 24 December 1649 and 12 March 1650. 11585; 26 March 1650. 11586.

f

Io Confesso d'haver ricevuto dal sig. Maggiordomo  
la somma di fiorini cento per dordone di f. e  
in Vienna li 22. di febbraio 1651  
Joannes Baptista seghers

f 100:

985

7. Jan Baptiste Seghers. Receipt for payment, 22 February 1651. Regional State Archives in Zámorsk (Státní Oblastní Archiv v Zámorsku), Family Archive Piccolomini (Rodinný archiv Piccolominiův), 14537. Photo: Alessandra Becucci

E. me. f. 9

qualche giorno se ne mandai a mess. de le  
ville alcuni disegni, di qualche quadro  
che si trovano qui a Vienna, hauendo  
inteso tal mercante che nelle tane  
a d. e. presentati, partichiam, il  
retrato del R. mo P. Capucino Gio:  
del d. d. e. che desiderava hauere  
altri disegni di Casse gl'eme mondo  
dante Long. cui, che parmi, se  
pittura si ritrovano qui a Vienna  
fatto in bianco, maestro, venderei  
che ante q. presentati a d. e. et se  
in mag. cosa si potessi seruire a d. e.  
mi si fin preghe sempre con tutta  
leguita  
quante se mi party a Vienna, il d.  
lettare mi disse che v. e. li haueva

145. e. 13747 22/2

dato d. e. di corni qualche ricognenza  
et mi prom. che si uenisse in questa  
paesi - lo haue fatto, ma benché non  
riceuto il denaro che ero in, uenir  
se sono restate in danco, et solo  
gia p. in una supbia, a v. e. ordinare  
che sia preso quaresa di non certo  
prima, di quella grazia che v. e. fu  
seruato farmi, merito soni deue  
con ogni humilita

D. V. E.

Amo. et Venet. 1653  
Gio. Battista Seghers Pittore

Amersa 4. Aprile 1653. 446

8. Jan Baptiste Seghers. Letter to Ottavio Piccolomini, 4 April 1653. Regional State Archives in Zámorsk (Státní Oblastní Archiv v Zámorsku), Family Archive Piccolomini (Rodinný archiv Piccolominiův), 13747. Photo: Alessandra Becucci

Vienna; a couple of weeks later, to save on the expenses for the material, he had resolved to go and stay in the house of a fellow Fleming. With Cornelis Suttermans (1600–1670), an imperial painter also active for Piccolomini,



Seghers remained just for a few days and, disliking the accommodation, quickly returned to live at Formarini's expense.<sup>32</sup>

In mid-April 1650, almost a year after he arrived in Vienna, Seghers was ready to leave for Venice, pledging to send Piccolomini copies of artworks from there.<sup>33</sup> In June, while asking for reimbursement for the expenses made for Seghers, Formarini announced that the painter had stopped working and was waiting for the payment of his work and letters of recommendation for Italy.<sup>34</sup> Eventually, in February 1651, Seghers signed a receipt for a hundred thalers (fig. 7).<sup>35</sup> No record of paintings sent from Venice by Jan Baptiste survives in Piccolomini's correspondence. If Seghers went to Italy, it probably was before January 1652, when he appealed to Emperor Ferdinand III to be recommended to the Spanish court. He intended to plead with King Philip IV for the privileges once given to his father to be transferred to him.<sup>36</sup> A month later, Ottavio Piccolomini wrote to recommend Jan Baptiste Seghers to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm.<sup>37</sup> The letter suggests that, while waiting for the imperial approval to leave for Spain, Seghers considered several options. After three years in his house – Piccolomini wrote – the young artist was returning home to take care of his interests. He remembered Gerard Seghers' activity for the Archduke, mentioning his role in the purchase of the Buckingham collection that the Archduke bought to enrich the emperor's one.

No trace of a journey taken by Jan Baptiste Seghers remains in Piccolomini's correspondence, not even to attend the funeral of his father who died on 18 March 1651 in Antwerp, an expense that the scrupulous Formarini would have recorded. The household's expense for Jan Baptiste is documented instead through June 1651. In the abovementioned *Instruction* for the decoration of the Viennese house, below the mention of Heimbach's works, Piccolomini wrote that if Seghers had made more paintings, they would have to be accommodated between the windows and on top of the doors where they would suit best.<sup>38</sup> Seghers obtained the court's approval to go to Spain in February 1652. No works are known from this possible sojourn there either, but one year later, in April 1653, Jean Baptiste was back in Antwerp. He was in touch with Piccolomini and his secretaries again, as a painter and as an art dealer, possibly replacing his father Gerard in the family business (fig. 8).<sup>39</sup>

32 Formarini to Piccolomini, 26 March 1650. SOAZ, RAP, 11586; 7 July 1649. 11539; 14 July 1649. 11544.

33 Formarini to Piccolomini, 13 April 1650. SOAZ, RAP, 11592.

34 Formarini to Piccolomini, 27 April 1650. SOAZ, RAP, 11595; 3 June 1650. 11598; 29 June 1650. 11600.

35 Formarini to Piccolomini, 22 February 1651. SOAZ, RAP, 14537.

36 Jan Baptiste Seghers to the Emperor Ferdinand III, 10 January 1652/24 February 1652. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wissenschaft, Kunst und Literatur, 10–25.

37 Pinchart 1863, 327.

38 Piccolomini to his majordomo, 30 June 1651. SOAZ, RAP, 14528.

39 Jan Baptiste Seghers to Piccolomini, 4 April 1653. SOAZ, RAP, 13747.

## MARIO BALASSI (1604–1667)

Seventeenth-century Florentine artists were particularly appreciated at the Habsburg court and were very well represented in imperial collections.<sup>40</sup> Dynastic relationships also justified the appreciation of Florentine art. In 1608 the emperor's sister, Maria Magdalena of Austria, became Duchess of Florence by marriage with Cosimo II de' Medici. The ties were reinforced in 1626, when Cosimo's sister, Claudia de' Medici, wed the Archduke of Austria, Leopold V, and in 1673 by the nuptials of Emperor Leopold I with Claudia Felicitas of Austria, daughter of Archduchess of Tyrol Anna de' Medici. The diffusion of Florentine painting north of the Alps was expressed both in the presence of Florentine works in the imperial collections and by the arrival of Florentine artists, such as Lorenzo Lippi in Innsbruck in 1643, the Medici portraitist Justus Suttermans in 1653, Cecco Bravo in 1659, Carlo Dolci in 1673. It was probably in the wake of this trend that Mario Balassi decided to move temporarily to Vienna.

Born in Florence in 1604, Balassi received training in town and travelled to Rome in the 1630s with his master Domenico Passignano, then engaged in the new St Peter's. The latter introduced Balassi to the Barberini circle, and he worked for Pope Urban VIII, his brother Carlo Barberini and his nephew Taddeo. According to the biography written by Filippo Baldinucci, it was in this context that Balassi met Ottavio Piccolomini, intimate to the papal court through his brother Ascanio, secretary to the Pope's nephew. The common Florentine provenance, Baldinucci writes, prompted Piccolomini to offer Balassi his help to obtain the cross of knighthood. The painter humbly declined, and Piccolomini brought Balassi with him to Vienna.<sup>41</sup> In his account, Baldinucci likely combined events occurring at different times and, while Balassi may have rejected the offer to become a knight in the 1630s, his letters to Piccolomini confirm that his only stay in Vienna occurred in 1652.<sup>42</sup>

Dated between 19 June and 28 December 1652, the letters clarify the terms of the journey and the difficulties of the painter in a foreign context. Upon his arrival in Vienna, Balassi was not a 'wise young man', as per Baldinucci's words, but a forty-eight years old experienced artist, appreciated in Florence and its surroundings, well known for both the quality of his painting and the mediocre social skills that had cut him out of the most relevant patronage circles in town. With his career at a deadlock, a passage to the North in the service of Piccolomini, an imperial prince since 1651, could be an effective way for Balassi to increase the chances for imperial commissions and sidestep the harsh competition in Florence. In the letters, the possibility to enter the network of imperial patronage through Piccolomini's influence emerges

40 Heinz, Günther. "Die Florentinische Barockmalerei in ihrer Beziehung zu den Kulturzentren nördlich der Alpen". In: *Sitzungsberichte der kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, 11, 1962–1963, 9–11.

41 Baldinucci, Filippo. *Notizie di Mario Balassi*. In: *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua, 1681–1728*. Ed. by Ferdinando Ranalli. Firenze: V. Batelli e Compagni, 1845–1847, vol. 4 (1846), 586–595.

42 The letters are fully transcribed in: Becucci, Alessandra. *Mario Balassi 1604–1667*. Degree thesis, University of Florence, 2005.



as the main motivation for his journey. Similarly, the failure in achieving that goal prompted the painter's abrupt return home after a few months. A letter by Count Testa Piccolomini, Ottavio's kin and agent in Vienna, dated 10 June 1652, proves that Mario Balassi had been in Vienna for some time and had already been introduced to the emperor. Testa Piccolomini wrote that, although Balassi had received a hundred thalers, he had not yet begun working for the emperor, was refusing to go to Náchod, and was determined to go back to Florence.<sup>43</sup> A few days later, Balassi wrote to Piccolomini to kindly decline the invitation to Náchod, pleading his old age and claiming to be painting a *Mary Magdalene* that he did not want to leave unfinished. The letter testifies that Balassi had been awarded a gift by the emperor for a drawing that he had made for a commission still pending approval. He conveyed to Piccolomini his concern for his reputation since everyone knew about the project, but he hadn't received a confirmation: 'It will look as if I hadn't been able.' Balassi manifested his discomfort with the Viennese milieu, informing Piccolomini that he had decided to paint the imperial commission in Florence because it would take money and time to complete it and, since his arrival in Vienna, he had been without assistants. His uneasiness is evident in his words: 'Should people ask why I didn't paint it in Germany, I will answer with a legitimate reason that the air was not suitable to me and I did not like the country too much.'<sup>44</sup> In July, Niccolò Siri, Piccolomini's agent in Vienna and a correspondent of the Medici at the imperial court, confirmed that Balassi was still living in the room offered to him by Piccolomini, but was determined to return to Italy.<sup>45</sup> A request for a commission must have arrived shortly afterwards, since in mid-month Siri wrote that Balassi would stay to paint the work ordered by Piccolomini and was waiting for the measurements.<sup>46</sup> Siri gave the painter the details of the commission. Enthusiastic for the theme – *Assumption of the Virgin* – Balassi explained to Piccolomini his project for the painting, asking for some money for the paints.<sup>47</sup> The *Assumption* was maybe destined to the chapel of Náchod castle, and in mid-August Piccolomini wrote to Balassi to motivate him, offering his assistance.<sup>48</sup> The painter responded promptly, arguing that for similar works painted in Rome and Florence, with 'copious figures' requiring time and expense, he had been paid more than 350 ecus and not less than 300. Eventually, Balassi asked for 600 florins and 100 to begin the work, a price that was deemed excessive and that Siri managed to bring down to 400 by the beginning of September, before Balassi began painting.<sup>49</sup>

43 Count Testa Piccolomini to Piccolomini, 10 June 1652. SOAZ, RAP, 10040.

44 Mario Balassi to Piccolomini, 19 June 1652. SOAZ, RAP, 13722.

45 Niccolò Siri to Piccolomini, 10 July 1652. SOAZ, RAP, 12796.

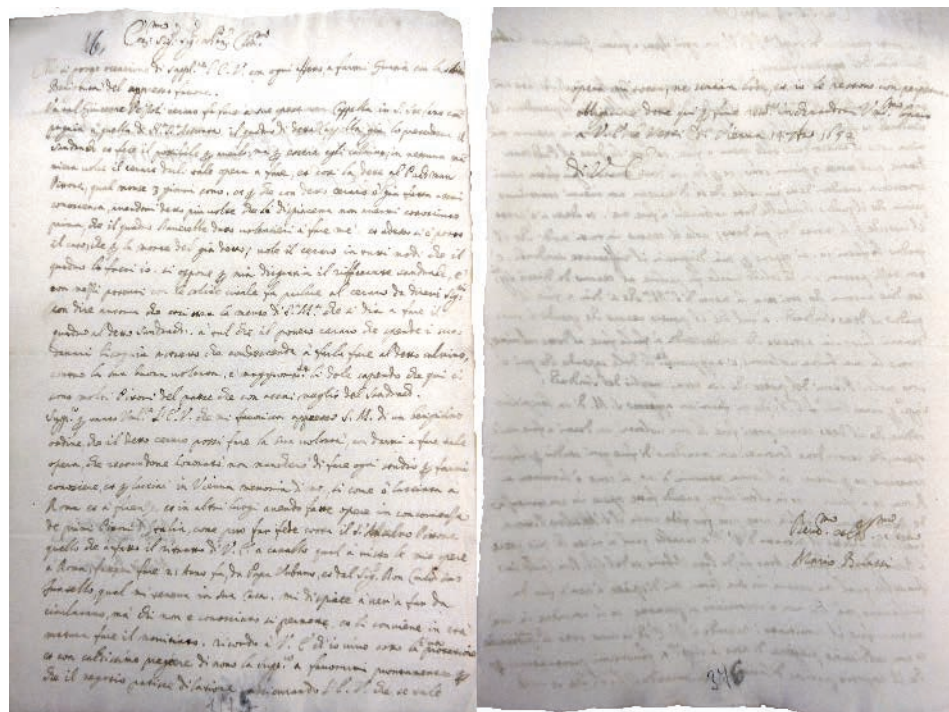
46 Siri to Piccolomini, 14 July 1652. SOAZ, RAP, 12798.

47 Siri to Piccolomini, 7 August 1652. SOAZ, RAP, 12804; Balassi to Piccolomini, 7 August 1652. 13723.

48 Piccolomini to Balassi, 14 August 1652. SOAZ, RAP, 12868.

49 Siri to Piccolomini, 21 August 1652. SOAZ, RAP, 12809; Siri to Piccolomini, 4 September 1652. 12813.

The slowness in negotiating the price echoes other commissions in Balassi's career and may have contributed to the difficulty in finding work in Vienna, but another episode likely determined his departure. In mid-September, Balassi asked for Piccolomini's support to obtain a commission in St Stephen's Cathedral. In the scope of the imperial programme for the redecoration of the lateral naves, the Cathedral's supervisor to the wax, Giuseppe Pezzuoli,

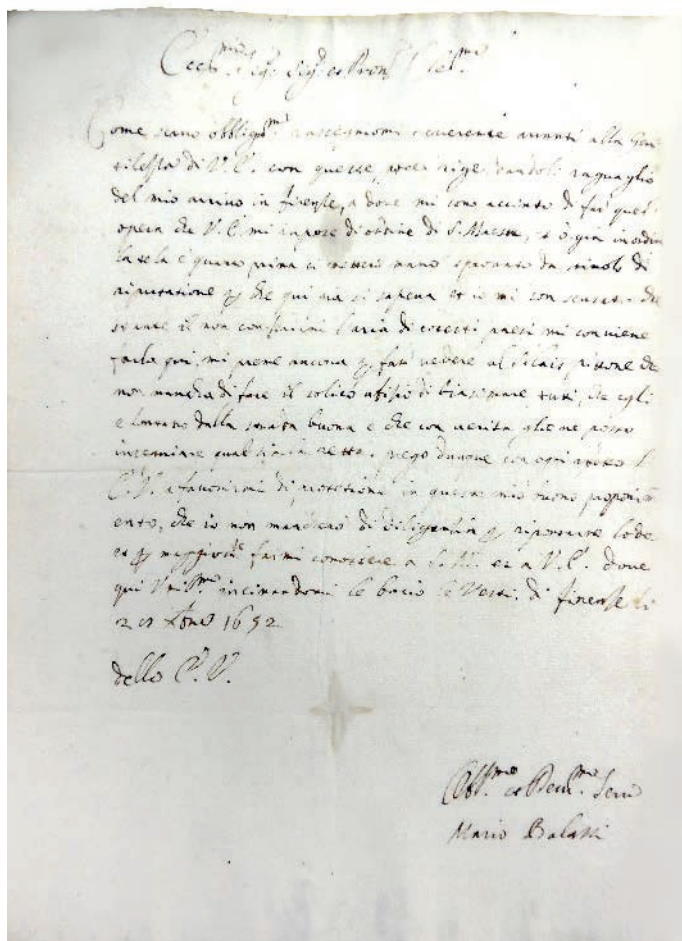


9. Mario Balassi. Letter to Ottavio Piccolomini, 14 September 1652. Regional State Archives in Zámrs (Státní Oblastní Archiv v Zámrsku), Family Archive Piccolomini (Rodinný archiv Piccolominiův), 14 September 1652, 13726. Photo: Alessandra Becucci

intended to commission a painting in his chapel to him, following the death of Georg Bachmann (1600–1652), initially appointed for it. Pezzuoli had told Balassi that if he had known him earlier, he would have appointed him in the first place. Joachim Sandrart (1606–1688) had tried to obtain the commission, but Pezzuoli had refused due to Sandrart's Calvinist confession. Sandrart was now applying again and, Balassi wrote, several gentlemen supported his claim trying to convince Pezzuoli that the emperor would so wish. Balassi hoped that a word from Piccolomini could favour him so that Pezzuoli would feel free to appoint him for the job.

To convince Piccolomini of his worth for the international imperial setting, Balassi referred to his early Roman activity and mentioned other painters working for Piccolomini as witnesses to the quality of his work. The Cathedral's painting, he thought, would allow him to leave a memory of his

art in Vienna, just like he had done in Rome and Florence competing with the best Italian painters. As a witness of his Roman success twenty-one years earlier, Balassi mentioned 'Anselm painter', author of Piccolomini's equestrian portrait and an admirer of Balassi's works for the Barberini, likely to be identified with the Fleming Anselm van Hulle (1601–1674/94). Van Hulle had portrayed the delegates at the Westphalian conference in which Piccolomini



10. Mario Balassi.  
Letter to  
Ottavio Piccolomini,  
28 December 1652.  
Regional State Archives  
in Zámorsk (Státní Oblastní  
Archiv v Zámorsku),  
Family Archive Piccolomini  
(Rodinný archiv  
Piccolominiové),  
22 February 1651, 13727.  
Photo: Alessandra Becucci

had also participated in 1649. In 1652 Van Hulle was in Vienna in the service of Emperor Ferdinand III and was admitted to nobility.<sup>50</sup> The reference to Balassi's Roman works and the testimony of other artists implicitly confirms that his mature transfer to Vienna was his first attempt to find opportunities at the imperial court, differently from Baldinucci's account. His appeal to Piccolomini reveals the painter's weak standpoint: 'It is convenient to those who are not known to do the novitiate even at a mature age.' Balassi's fervent

50 Both identifications with Georg Bachmann and Anselm van Hulle are mine.

appeal was not successful. Sandrart obtained the commission for a *Crucifixion* for the Cathedral's chapel.

Two weeks after his plea, Balassi announced that he would depart for Florence at the beginning of October and would paint the emperor's portrait – revealing the subject of the imperial commission – once back home.<sup>51</sup> He left in mid-month and arrived in Florence, possibly via Dalmatia and Venice, at the end of December (fig. 9).<sup>52</sup> From there he informed Piccolomini that he was about to begin the portrait that he had commissioned to him by order of the emperor. Rumours about the painting had reached Florence before Balassi's arrival, and he had had to justify his choice of painting it in Florence 'because the air of Vienna did not suit him'. The date of Balassi's departure for Vienna is unknown; possibly he travelled through Italy before heading north, since his presence in Florence is not documented after November 1650.<sup>53</sup> Certainly, by June 1652, he had already decided to return home. While Piccolomini's commission for the *Assumption of the Virgin* convinced him to stay, the competition of the more famous and better-networked Joachim Sandrart determined his return. Besides, Piccolomini's intervention may not have been definitely in Balassi's favour, as Sandrart had also successfully worked for him: in 1650 he had painted *Portrait of Ottavio Piccolomini with his adjutant*, now in Náchod. Filippo Baldinucci reports that Balassi was concerned with losing his reputation over the vicissitude for the Cathedral's painting. He believed that Sandrart's 'unfaithful brush' was not fit for such a sacred subject and that the painting would not hold any devotion because painted by someone lacking it. Balassi's bitter disappointment prompted his definite return to Italy. In Vienna, where not even the imperial protection could let him keep the commission – Baldinucci writes – Balassi thought he could not hope for advancement. Despite the protection of Piccolomini and the assistance of his agents, the Florentine painter could not integrate into the Viennese milieu. Besides making cutting remarks on 'gossipy' Sandrart ('rifficante', in Balassi's letter), once back home, Balassi engaged in sarcastic comments on another imperial artist. In his last letter to Piccolomini from Florence, he wrote that he would complete the imperial painting to maintain his reputation and show 'Mr Lais, a painter that does not miss a chance to criticise anyone' that he was far from the right path. 'Truly,' Balassi wrote, 'I can teach him what the right path is' (fig. 10). The jibe was addressed to Frans Luycx (1604–1668), author of several imperial portraits and active for Piccolomini.<sup>54</sup> Balassi's painting remains untraceable, and no further contacts with Piccolomini or the imperial court have emerged. His Viennese summer did not yield returns in networks and commissions. It was only in 1736 that his style arrived in

51 Baldinucci 1846, 588–589; Balassi to Piccolomini, 28 September 1652. SOAZ, RAP, 13725.

52 Siri to Piccolomini, 19 October 1652. SOAZ, RAP, 12825; Balassi to Piccolomini, 28 December 1652. 13727.

53 Becucci 2005, 143–144.

54 In Piccolomini's correspondence, the last name of Frans Luycx's brother, Gerard, merchant and member of the imperial court, is spelt 'Lais'.



Northern Europe, when the Polish painter Szymon Czechowicz selected Balassi's Barberini *Transfiguration* as his model for a painting in the missionary church in Lublin.<sup>55</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The three cases here presented reflect the multiplicity of factors concurring to determine the success or failure of both young (Seghers) and mature (Heimbach, Balassi) artists in the early modern time and the situation of uncertainty they faced when moving to foreign contexts seeking for career advancement.

Their patron, Ottavio Piccolomini, Duke of Amalfi, a high-ranking Tuscan general serving the empire, expressed his artistic interests in relation to the different places where he operated. His taste was shaped by his education at the Florentine court and, through his service for the empire, by the influence of other patrons. The loss of Heimbach's, Seghers' and Balassi's paintings for Piccolomini reflects the singular character of these military noblemen's artistic interests and the peculiarities of their patronage activity. Objects entered collections not only by commission but also through gift-giving practices, purchases or plunder. They would often be sold or pawned to raise money for the troops or relocated for a diplomatic appointment abroad and would not always be redeemed.

Further studies on the patronage of foreign military nobility in the Habsburgs' service may contribute to the understanding of how artists' relocations were influenced by their patrons' mobility and how this movement impacted their artistic and personal development.

An in-depth examination of artists' migrations alongside the movement of their patrons and the artworks they produced may ultimately highlight the influence of migration in the diffusion of artistic culture and taste in Europe in the seventeenth century.

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<sup>55</sup> Michalczyk, Zbigniew. "Uwagi na temat pierwowzorów dzieł Szymona Czechowicza i malarzy jego kręgu" [Prototypes of the works by Szymon Czechowicz and painters from his circle]. In: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 75, 4, 2013, 753–759.



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# ROME IN CROATIA, VIA TYROL

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## SUMMARY

In the late 1720s, quite suddenly and on a large scale, new motifs and solutions were appearing in northern Croatia that originated in Roman fresco paintings of the previous century: Pietro da Cortona's *stucco finto* and *quadro riportato* illusions, Andrea Pozzo's painted (illusionistic) architecture – vaults, domes and altars – and Gian Lorenzo Bernini's engaging baroque *gran gesto*, translated into huge fresco paintings that inhabited church walls, as well as quotations from his famous sculptural ensembles. All these stylistic novelties for the local experience were introduced by the Tyrolean painter Ioannes Baptista Rang[g]er (b. 1700 in Götzens – d. 1753 in Lepoglava), who arrived in northern Croatia and became a Pauline lay brother in the central monastery of the Order of St Paul the First Hermit in the Croatian-Slavonian Province in Lepoglava. His arrival in Croatia with the baggage of the visual language of the Tyrolean fresco painting that was saturated with the Roman canons, changed the notion of fresco decoration in Croatia. Ranger's migration to Croatia was preceded by another one with similar effect, that of the Tyrolean painter Egid Schor, who returned to Tyrol around 1666, after a decade spent mostly in the workshop of his older brother Johann Paul Schor in Rome. A document from the Tyrolean Land Archive in Innsbruck states that in 1720 Ranger was '*in Welschlandt begaben*', gone to Italy. Unlike Schor, Ranger did not return to his native Tyrol in the west of the Habsburg Monarchy, since by the first decades of the eighteenth century the baroquisation of the major churches there was completed and rural parish churches did not offer enough jobs to the growing number of Tyrolean artists. He became part of the Tyrolean artistic diaspora, settling down in the southern part of the Habsburg Monarchy and bringing the highly decorative Roman-Tyrolean Schor style to Croatia.

The title, partly borrowed from the exhibition *Rom in Bayern: Kunst und Spiritualität der ersten Jesuiten* (1997),<sup>1</sup> might mislead the readers into thinking that the subject matter of the present article on the dissemination of Roman baroque in Croatia will be the Jesuits. The Jesuits indeed did play an important role in the consolidation of Tridentine Catholicism in Croatia, but in this particular case the protagonist is a lay brother of the Paulines, or the Order of



1. Ioannes Baptista Ranger. Sanctuary of the chapel of St John the Baptist with painted altar. 1731. A fresco (and a secco). Gorica, Croatia. Photo: Darko Gorenak, © GODAR

St Paul the First Hermit (*Ordo Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitæ*), a Roman Catholic monastic order that flourished in Croatia from 1244 until 1786.<sup>2</sup> The Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia was part of the Habsburg Monarchy from 1527 until the dissolution of the Empire in 1918, so the Paulines were directly impacted by the reforms of Joseph II Habsburg that suppressed all monasteries which did not provide adequate educational or medical services. The hermitic spirituality of the Paulines summarised in their motto ‘*Solus cum Deo solo*’

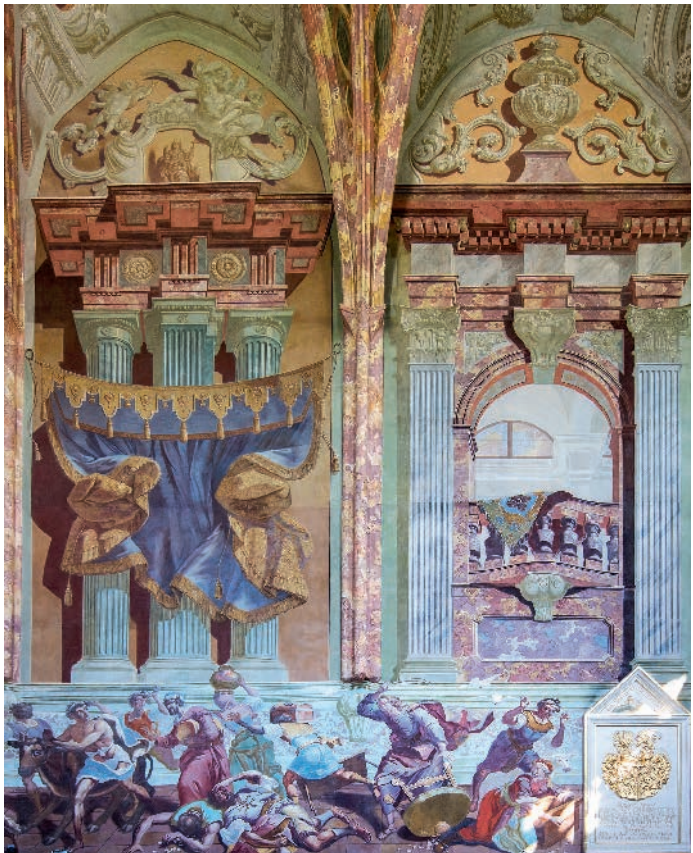
1 *Rom in Bayern: Kunst und Spiritualität der ersten Jesuiten*. Ed. by Reinhold Baumstark. München: Hirmer, 1997.

2 *Kultura pavlina u Hrvatskoj 1244–1786* [The Pauline culture in Croatia 1244–1786]. Ed. by Đurđica Cvitanović, Vladimir Maleković, Jadranka Pintarić. Zagreb: Globus, Museum of Arts and Crafts (Muzej za umjetnost i obrt), 1989.





2. Ioannes Baptista Ranger.  
Sanctuary of the church  
of the Assumption with  
painted cupola. 1739/1740.  
A fresco (and a secco).  
Olimje, Styria, Slovenia.  
Photo: Darko Gorenak,  
© GODAR



3. Ioannes Baptista Ranger.  
Sanctuary of the church of  
the Immaculate Conception  
of the Blessed Virgin Mary  
with the painting  
Jesus Drives the Merchants  
from the Temple. 1742.  
A fresco (and a secco).  
Lepoglava, Croatia.  
Photo: Darko Gorenak,  
© GODAR

(‘Alone with God alone’) offered neither of these two social functions, and by the end of the 1780s their existence was ‘archived’, at least in Croatia.<sup>3</sup>

In the late 1720s and in particular after 1730, quite suddenly and on a large scale, there were appearing in northern Croatia new motifs and solutions (figs. 1, 2, 3) that had originated in the Roman fresco paintings of the previous century: Pietro da Cortona’s *stucco finto* and *quadro riportato* illusions, Andrea Pozzo’s painted (illusionistic) architecture – vaults, domes and altars – and

NOMIN	COGN	Patria	Eras	Studiu	Anno	Dics	Mensis	Signu
F. Asch	Asch	Croata	19	Rhetor	1731	9	Novemb	+
F. Carolus	Carolus	Croata	27	Legatus	1732	9	Novemb	+
F. Anton	Anton	Croata	29	Legatus	1732	6	Novemb	+
F. Tobias	Tobias	Croata	21	Rhetor	1732	8	Novemb	+
F. Leon	Leon	Croata	23	Rhetor	1732	8	Novemb	+
F. Joach	Joach	Croata	21	Rhetor	1732	8	Novemb	+
F. Vitus	Vitus	Croata	22	Rhetor	1732	8	Novemb	+
F. David	David	Croata	19	Rhetor	1733	19	Novemb	+
F. Leon	Leon	Croata	29	Legatus	1733	8	Novemb	+
F. Mac	Mac	Croata	19	Rhetor	1733	8	Novemb	+
F. Rado	Rado	Croata	21	Rhetor	1733	8	Novemb	+
F. David	David	Croata	20	Rhetor	1733	8	Novemb	+
F. Eras	Eras	Croata	33	Rhetor	1733	28	Novemb	+
F. Simon	Simon	Croata	31	Rhetor	1733	30	Novemb	+
F. Anton	Anton	Croata	33	Rhetor	1734	10	Novemb	+
F. Matthe	Matthe	Croata	38	Rhetor	1734	1	Novemb	+
F. Adol	Adol	Croata	20	Rhetor	1734	27	Novemb	+
F. Leon	Leon	Croata	21	Rhetor	1734	11	Novemb	+
F. Leon	Leon	Croata	21	Rhetor	1734	8	Novemb	+

4. Ranger's name (forth entry from below) in a Pauline register with the date when he became a Pauline brother (10 January 1734). Liber vitae et mortis sive CATALOGVS Vivorum, et Mortuorum Fratrum, Ordinis Sancti Pauli primi Eremitae Provinciae Croato-Sclavonicae Professorum. 1736 [-1786/1790s]. Archives of the Archbishopric of Zagreb, Archives of the Chapter of Čazma. Photo: Sanja Cvetnić

Gian Lorenzo Bernini’s engaging baroque *gesto*, translated into huge fresco paintings that inhabited church walls. All these stylistic novelties were due to the fresco painter and migrant artist Ioannes Baptista Ranger (b. 19 June 1700 in Götzens – d. 27 January 1753 in Lepoglava) whose presence in Croatia has been documented by his work since at least 1729.<sup>4</sup>

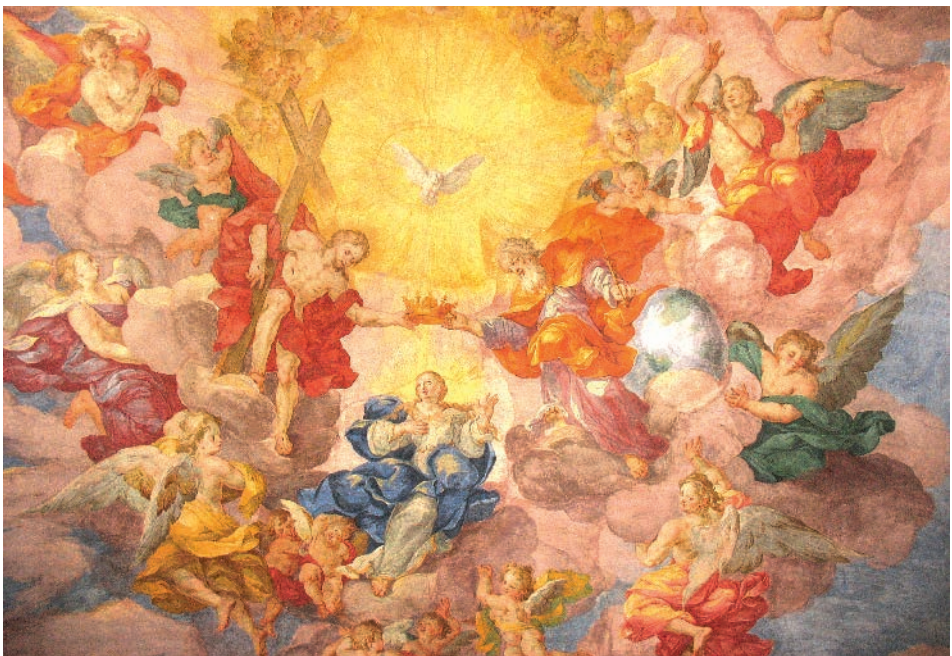
3 The Josephine reforms wiped out the order in Croatia, Austria and Hungary. By the turn of the 20th century, only two monasteries had remained, both in Poland (Jasna Góra, Cracow). The Paulines returned to Croatia after two centuries and now live in three of their historical sites: Kamensko (near Karlovac), Svetice (near Ozalj) and Sveti Petar u Šumi (in Istria, near Pazin).

4 “E.a. [eodem hoc anno; 1729] posituo est fornix ad Cubiculum Priorali, ex Cubiculum picturis decenter ornatum.” Liber memorabilium Parochiae Lapoglavensis ab Anno 1401 usque 1789. [Chronicle of the Parish Lepoglava from 1401 to 1789; hereafter LMPL]. Zagreb, Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti; hereafter AHAZU), coll. IVd77, fol. 42r.





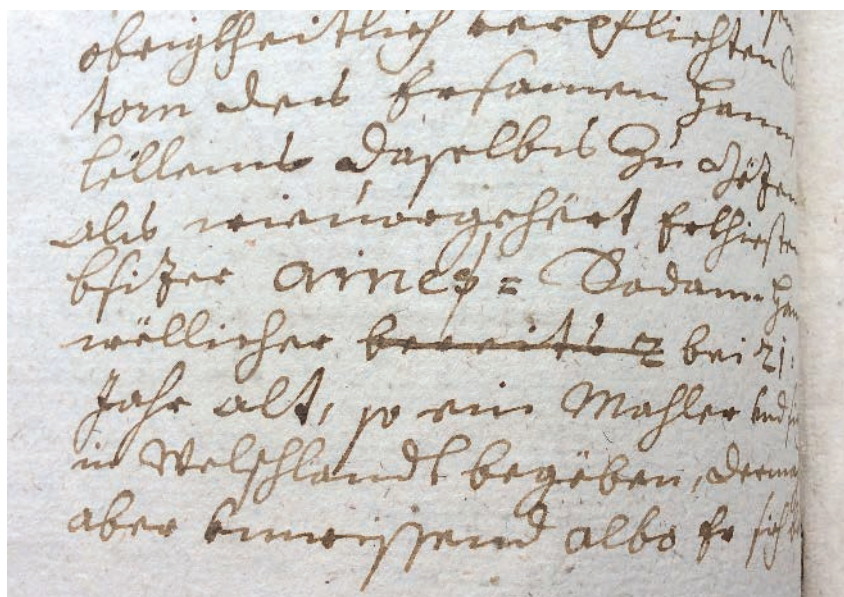
5. Caspar (Kaspar) Waldmann.  
*Visitation*. 1708.  
 A fresco (and a secco?).  
 Archbishop's chapel.  
 Brixen (Bressanone), Tyrol, Italy.  
 Photo: Sanja Cvetnić



6. Caspar (Kaspar) Waldmann. *Coronation of the Virgin*. 1708. A fresco (and a secco?).  
 Archbishop's chapel. Brixen (Bressanone), Tyrol, Italy. Photo: Sanja Cvetnić



7. Ioannes Baptista Ranger. *Coronation of the Virgin*. 1741. A fresco (and a secco). Pilgrimage church of Our Lady of the Snows. Belec, Croatia. Photo: Sanja Cvetnić



8. Document stating that in 1720 Ranger is in Italy ('sich in Welschland begäben'). Verfachbuch Sonnenburg 1720. Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, reg. XX, fasc. 342, fol. 659v. Photo: Sanja Cvetnić

Painter and graphic artist Ioannes Baptista Ranger was born in Tyrol, in the village of Götzens near Innsbruck, as the third son in the family of innkeeper Blasius Rangger and Dorothea Kronawetter. His family name appears rather early without the second 'g', and in this shorter form it entered the chronicles of the times, as well as the Croatian historiography: so was he inscribed, for example, on 10 January 1734 in a register of the Paulines who



took the permanent vows in the Order (fig. 4).<sup>5</sup> Painter Ranger had seven brothers and one sister, all of them baptised in the parish church in Axams, near their native Götzens.<sup>6</sup> Innkeeper Blasius Rangger wanted to ensure that his gifted son had a better life and career than what would normally await him in a family with many male children living in a harsh Alpine environment. Nothing is known about the education of young Ioannes Baptista except for a document preserved at the Regional Archive of Innsbruck, dated 1 March 1716, on the settled debt of Blasius Rangger, innkeeper from Götzens, who had paid 300 florins in the previous year, on 24 July 1715, to the imperial commander and painter Stephan Woräth (Baräth, Warath) from Taufers in South Tyrol.<sup>7</sup> Woräth is barely known as a painter, but he was in business relations with one of the leading Tyrolean painters, Caspar (Kaspar) Waldmann (b. 1657 in Innsbruck – d. 1720 in Innsbruck), with whose work Ranger's own paintings show many similarities. Comparison of Waldmann's fresco painting *Visitation* in Brixen (Bressanone; Archbishop's chapel), signed and dated 'Caspar Waltman fe / 1708' (fig. 5), or his *Coronation of the Virgin* (fig. 6) and Ranger's *Visitation* and *Coronation of the Virgin* (fig. 7) in Belec (pilgrimage church of Our Lady of the Snows), dated by chronogram 1741, shows that the latter was imbued with the former's colour gamut and reveal typological analogies and congenial understanding of the relationship between the murals and architecture or the observer.<sup>8</sup> But there was another formative influence on Ranger's artistic development. After his father's death, during the probate process in 1720, the son Hanns (Ioannes) is reported as 'gone to Italy' ('*sich in Welschlandt begäben*'),<sup>9</sup> but without any more precise indication as to the location (fig. 8). The German term 'Welschlandt' at the time referred to Italy, as explained in the most popular travel guide of the period, *Das Heutige ITALIA. Oder: Kurtze Beschreibung Welschlands*, which covered the Apennine Peninsula from the Republic of Venice down to the Kingdom of Sicily.<sup>10</sup>

Ranger's migration to *Welschlandt* and then to Croatia was preceded by another one with similar effect, that of the Tyrolese painter Egid Schor (Egyd;

5 LIBER VITÆ ET MORTIS sive CATHALOGVS Vivorum, et Mortuorum Fratrum, Ordinis Sancti Pauli primi Eremitæ Provinciæ Croato-Sclavonicæ Professorum. Ad futuram rei memoriam per R. P. Josephum Bedekovich Ordinis ejusdem, et Provinciæ Secretarium compilatus. ANNO DOMINI 1736. Zagreb, Archives of the Archbishopric of Zagreb, Archives of the Chapter of Čazma (Nadbiskupski arhiv Zagreb, Arhiv Čazmanskoga kaptola), coll. 21, reg. 206, p. 15.

6 Taufbuch II, 1674–1727, Pfarre Axams, Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv, p. 253 [Matthäus]; p. 265 [Christian]; p. 292 [Ioannes Baptista]; p. 316 [Franz]; p. 334 [Bartholomäus]; p. 365 [Magnus and Matthäus, twins (?); the primogenitus Matthäus was probably already deceased by then]; p. 401 [Maria]; p. 450 [Josef].

7 Verfachbuch (hereafter VFB), Sonnenburg 1716, Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesarchiv (hereafter TLA), reg. XX, fasc. 332, fol. 77v.

8 At the time of the Brixen's painting Ranger was too young (eight years old) to participate, but he could have acquired the experience of Waldmann's style through his later commissions (and closer to home) in Collegiate Church of St Lawrence and St Stephen in Wilten, near Innsbruck, and in the nearby Premonstratensian monastery (Norbertisaa, 1710–1712) or in Hall in Tyrol (Sommerhaus des Damenstiftes, 1715–1716).

9 VFB Sonnenburg 1720, Innsbruck, TLA, reg. XX, fasc. 342, fol. 659v.

10 *Das Heutige ITALIA. Oder: Kurtze Beschreibung Welschlands* / Darinnen nicht allein dieses Land nach seiner Grösse, Grenzen, Beschaffenheit, Inwohnern &c. überhaupt beschrieben, Sondern auch von dessen vornehmsten Städten, Vestungen, Insuln, Seen &c. ... Ulm: verlagts Joh. Conrad Wohler. Im Jahr 1705.

Ägydius; b. 1627 in Innsbruck – d. 1701 in Innsbruck).<sup>11</sup> He returned from Rome to Tyrol around 1666 after a decade spent there with his older brother Johann Paul Schor (known in Rome as Giovanni Paolo Tedesco, b. 1615 in Innsbruck – d. 1674 in Rome), the best-known German-speaking artist on the highly competitive art scene of the *Seicento* Rome. Johann Paul Schor was a praised and much-requested collaborator in Cortona's or Bernini's grand projects, but not a member of their workshops, since he had one of his own, functioning probably as a 'subcontractor'.<sup>12</sup> Christina Strunck has pointed out that Schor's workshop, praised for its decorative inventions, became both a shelter and a drop-in centre for migrant artists from his own family, region and others wishing to participate in the novel Roman tendencies, as well as a dissemination hub: 'The Schor style was spread out [north of Italy (in Austria, France, Sweden and Prague) as well as south (Naples, Madrid)] through the mobility of Egid, Philipp, Christoph and Johann Ferdinand Schor as well as his workshop collaborators, but also through the medium of print.'<sup>13</sup>

Ranger's visit to Italy was not a short one, since the same indication of the painter being in *Welschlandt* was repeated in 1721 (so he stayed there for at least two consecutive years); then, for the next seven years – until his subsequent arrival in northern Croatia – we know nothing about his whereabouts. Wherever he was (and that could be affirmed for the Schor's Roman period as well), he was not just passing his wandering years (*Wanderjahre*) perfecting his education as craftsman, but was absorbing the Roman baroque to such a degree that he became an efficient agent in spreading its fame, themes, style and persuasive splendour. Various decorative and ornamental schemes created the particular visual appeal of the Schor style. Unlike Schor, Ranger did not return to his native Tyrol in the western part of the Habsburg Monarchy, since by the first decades of the eighteenth century the baroquisation of the major churches there was completed and rural parish churches did not offer enough jobs to the growing number of Tyrolese artists. He became part of the Tyrolese artistic diaspora, settling down in the southern part of the Habsburg Monarchy (like painters Isaiah Gasser, Carl Henrici and Josef Anton Cusetti or sculptor Alexius Königer).<sup>14</sup> His youngest brother Josef, also a painter, albeit fifteen years his

11 Kupferschmied, Thomas Johannes. *Stucco finto oder der Maler als "Stukkator". Der fingierte Stuck von Egid Schor bis zu Januarius Zick: Der fingierte Stuck als Leitform der Barocken Deckenmalerei in Altbayern, Schwaben und Tirol.* Frankfurt am Main et al.: Peter Lang Verlag, 1995, 80–93.

12 "Wenngleich Johann Paul Schor in der kunsthistorischen Literatur traditionell meist als begrabter Mitarbeiter Berninis und Cortonas behandelt wird, wäre es falsch, ihn als Mitglied dieser beiden großen Werkstätten zu betrachten; vielmehr dürfte er als ein unabhängiger 'Subunternehmer' aufzulassen sein, der seine eigene Werkstatt unterhielt." Strunck, Christina. "Neue Überlegungen zur Künstlerfamilie Schor: eine Einführung mit Dokumenten aus den Archiven Colonna und Borghese". In: *Un regista del gran teatro del barocco – Johann Paul Schor und die internationale Sprache des Barock: Akten des internationalen Studentages der Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rom, 6.–7. Oktober 2003* (= Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana 21). Ed. by Christina Strunck. München: Hirmer Verlag, 2008, 8.

13 "Der 'Schor-Stil' verbreitet sich [nördlich von Italien (in Österreich, Frankreich, Schweden und Prag) als auch im Süden (Neapel, Madrid)] durch die Mobilität von Egid, Philipp, Christoph und Johann Ferdinand Schor sowie ihrer Werkstattmitarbeiter, aber auch durch das Medium der Graphik." Strunck, 2008, 8 (insert), 29.

14 Ties, Hans-Paul. "Bozner Barockgemälde in Kroatien: Neues zu Carl Henrici und Josef Anton Cusetti". In: *Der Schlern*, Monatszeitschrift für Südtiroler Landeskunde, vol. LXXXVI, no. 3, 2012, 54–75.



junior, came with him or followed him to Croatia, to Lepoglava, but died in 1737; the other brother Matheus settled in Maribor (some 50 kilometres from Lepoglava) and towards the end of Ioannes Baptista's life,<sup>15</sup> his nephew Thomas came to Lepoglava too, living there probably until the dissolution of the Pauline monasteries.<sup>16</sup>

Ranger's arrival in Croatia with the baggage of the visual language of the Tyrolese fresco painting that was saturated with the Roman canons, changed the notion of fresco decoration in Croatia. We know that he was in Italy, but whether he was in Rome (long after the Schors) is hard to argue. Considering the fact that Egid Schor returned to Tyrol equipped with Roman novelties, Ranger could have learnt at home about Cortona's system (solutions) of fresco decorations with *stucco finto* and *quadro riportato*, Bernini's illusionistic lodges with viewers (from St Therese of Avila chapel in Santa Maria della Vittoria in Rome), a motif that Schor 'translated' into fresco painting. Schor's Roman formulas enriched with decorative innovations (or *der Schor-Stil*) were absorbed and pursued by many Tyrolean painters of the younger baroque generations, such as Caspar Waldmann and Ioannes Baptista Ranger. Ranger's rootedness in the Tyrolese tradition of mural painting, in particular that of Caspar Waldmann and Egid Schor, is manifest in his artworks in the form of quotations and many other parallels, especially important when they reveal that his understanding of the relationship between a fresco painting and its support (a wall, a ceiling, a dome) is congenial to that of his Tyrolean predecessors.

The influence of Schor's artworks on several generations of Tyrolean mural painters in the last decades of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, particularly concerning their Roman orientation, is not linked, though, with another influence that enriched and strengthened Roman posture of Tyrolese (and other) fresco painting, that of *quadratura* as proposed by Andrea Pozzo (b. 1642 in Trent – d. 1709 in Vienna). Assessing the impact of 'Welschtiroler' Andrea Pozzo and his treatise *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* (2 vols., 1693 and 1700), suffice it to mention the direct quotations of illustrations from his handbooks in Ranger's entire opus: from St John in Gorica near Lepoglava (1731), where he introduced the painted altars into Croatian baroque imagery, to Olimje (1739/1740), where he used models from Pozzo's treatise for his illusionist dome and the painted altar in the sanctuary, to his final artworks in Purga Lepoglavaska (1750) and Kamenica Ivanečka (1751), where he still repeated Pozzo's solutions in capitals and column bases. Elements of Tyrolese mural painting can be seen in his paintings in the pilgrimage church of Our Lady of the Snows in Belec (1741), the central Pauline monastery and church (now a

15 VFB Sonnenburg 1738, Innsbruck, TLA, reg. XX, fasc. 738, fol. 455–458.

16 Thomas's death was not recorded in the register of the Pauline friars and brothers in Lepoglava. He took a religious name – Christopher – probably in memory of his father (the eldest living brother of the painter Ioannes Baptista, who inherited an inn in Götzens). Such absence of the date of death was the case for almost all the Paulines who were alive when the monastery was closed. LIBER VITÆ ET MORTIS sive CATALOGVS Vivorum, et Mortuorum Fratrum, 1736 [–1786/1790s]. Zagreb, Archives of the Archbishopric of Zagreb, Archives of the Chapter of Čazma (Nadbiskupski arhiv Zagreb, Arhiv Čazmanskoga kaptola), coll. 21, reg. 206, p. 20.

parish church) in Lepoglava (1733–1743), the sanctuary and the sacristy in the Franciscan church of St Catherine in Krapina (1738), the chapel of St Antony of Padua in the Franciscan church (1738), the monastic pharmacy (1750) in Varaždin, the antechamber and the sanctuary of the monastic church in Remete (1745–1748), the church and the sanctuary of the Pauline church (now a parish church) dedicated to St Anne in Križevci, the chapel of St Jerome in Štrigova,



9. Ioannes Baptista Ranger. *Stoning of Saint Stephen Protomartyr*. 1741. A fresco (and a secco). Chapel of St Stephen Protomartyr in the pilgrimage church of Our Lady of the Snows. Belec, Croatia. Photo: Sanja Cvetnić

and the parish church of St Martin in Donja Voća – in fact, his entire opus. He introduced into Croatia many aspects of late illusionism (*quadratura*, *stucco finto*) that were typical for baroque mural painting, and this is what makes this Pauline monk the most important baroque painter in north-western Croatia.

The first fresco painting in a liturgical building attributed to Ioannes Baptista Ranger with certainty is found on a Pauline estate: it is the frescoed sanctuary in the chapel of St John the Baptist in Gorica, above Lepoglava, which he completed in July 1731.<sup>17</sup> In the Pauline order he found encouraging and learned commissioners among former students of the German-Hungarian Collegium in Rome (*Pontificium Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum de Urbe*), such as Andrija Mužar, who commissioned him to

<sup>17</sup> "1731. Hoc anno in Iulio picturis ornatum est Sanctuarium et ara S. Ioannis Supra Lepoglavam." LMPL, Zagreb, AHAZU, coll. IVd77, fol. 43r. Before that he had frescoed a representative room in the monastery – Priorat – in 1729 (partly preserved). Jelenčić, Miroslav. "Fragment zidne slike s prikazom sveca u trijumfalnoj kočiji iz bivšeg pavlinskog samostana u Lepoglavi" [Fragment of a wall painting depicting a saint in a triumphal chariot from the former Pauline monastery in Lepoglava]. In: *Portal: Godišnjak Hrvatskoga restauratorskog zavoda* [*Portal: Yearbook of the Croatian Conservation Institute*], 6, 2015, 149–160.

paint the chapel attached to the church of Remete (damaged in the earthquake of 1880 and torn down afterwards), or Pauline intellectuals and professors, such as Stjepan Demšić, who together with Mužar commissioned Ranger in 1733 to paint the summer refectory at the monastery of Lepoglava.<sup>18</sup> Both Demšić and Mužar served – at different times – as the Priors General of the Pauline Order, as did some other previous and posterior Paulines from



10. Ioannes Baptista Ranger. Ceiling with the central stucco finto medallion Our Lady of the Snows with Donors and the lower-right stucco finto medallion with Visitation. 1741. A fresco (and a secco). Pilgrimage church of Our Lady of the Snows. Belec, Croatia. Photo: Sanja Cvetnić

Lepoglava educated in Rome.<sup>19</sup> Those erudite and prominent Paulines found in Ranger an excellent interpreter of iconographic motifs that promoted their eremitic identity and – another iconographical theme and religious practice close to their spirituality – their post-Tridentine role in popularising Marian pilgrimages and piety. Besides the Pauline commissioners, Ranger worked for the Franciscans (Krapina, Varaždin) and the nobility (Belec). His stylistic features are dominated by late baroque solutions, marked by a strong link

18 "1733. Item E. a. Refectorium æstivum restauratum est picturis novis in fornice et arcubus, item novo strato marmoreo, atque hæc partim impensis conventus, partim subsidio, dato a Rssmo P. Stephano Demisich emerito Generali, partim ab A.R. Patre Andrea Musar Provinciali." LMPL, Zagreb, AHAZU, coll. IVd77, fol. 43r.

19 Joannes Zaicz, Ordinis S. Pauli primi Eremitæ, Prior Generalis LL; Gaspar Mallechich, Ord. S. Pauli primi Eremitæ, Prior Generalis LXII., pietate, illustribus factis, librisque editis magnum sui Ordinis lumen.; Stephanus Demisich, Ordinis S. Pauli primi Eremitæ, Prior Generalis LXVI.; Andreas Musar, Ordinis S. Pauli primi Eremitæ, Prior Generalis LXVII.; Paulus ex Comitibus Eszterházy, Ord. S. Pauli primi Eremitæ, Prior Generalis LXXIII." Cordara, Giulio Cesare. *COLLEGII GERMANICI ET HUNGARICI HISTORIA LIBRIS IV. COMPREHENSÆ. AUCTORE JULIO CONRDARA SOCIETATIS JESU ACCEDIT CATALOGUS VIRORUM ILLUSTRUM QUI EX HOC COLLEGIO PRODIERUNT. ROMÆ MDCCCLXX [1770]. TYPIS JOANNIS GENEROSI SALOMONI, 211–213.*



between the painting and the observer. The painter's skill was crucial for the degree of illusion, which could – in its evolved variant – abolish the partition of the painted space and the actual architecture of the space in which the observer was standing. However, Ranger's artworks also included solutions that restructured the painted space in a novel way, more contemporary and less rooted in *Seicento* illusionism, which redefined the relationship between the paintings and the actual space. For example, above the cornice dividing the walls from the half-dome of the chapel of St Stephen Protomartyr in Belec, Ranger's *Stoning of Saint Stephen Protomartyr* (fig. 9) reiterates the belt of the ground where the martyrdom is taking place. Even though high up and, according to the iconography of vaulted and especially dome-shaped spaces, 'reserved' for the heaven and the projections of celestial celebrations of the saints, the level of the ground painted by Ranger as the beginning of the space above the cornice marks the separation of the observer's ground (the level on which he is standing) from the ground where the holy drama is taking place, thus abolishing the baroque procedure of integrating the observer into the painted scene. Depicting heaven as an allegorical stage defines Rococo ceilings, as Hermann Bauer pointed out in *Der Himmel im Rokoko* (1965), and that can be observed also in Belec, on the ceiling in the nave, where the ground in the central medallion *Our Lady of the Snows with Donors* (fig. 10) is visible (shortened) and the spatial description starts again at the height that is not reachable for the spectator, becoming thus 'a heavenly stage'.<sup>20</sup>

This shift is a basic feature of the Rococo, with a change in the significance of the domed space, which becomes a heavenly stage. The placement of the ground in the lower section of the mural, which introduces a spatial development that does not include the space of the observer (or his vantage point) produces the effect that the observer's feeling of his corporal inclusion into the illusion is missing. Submission of individual masses in Late Baroque illusionist painting included the observer into the dynamics and buoyancy of movement, yet the Rococo again pushed the observer, same as in Early Baroque, out of the painted space (outside the frame). Ranger's illusionism trained a new generation of commissioners and audiences, thus preparing them for the daring solutions of younger mural painters, notably Antun Jožef Lerchinger (Léhinger, Lörchinger; b. around 1720 in Rogatec? – d. after 1787).

Ranger's migration has twisted later perception of his origins and shaded the provenance of his style. Already at the moment of his death (1753) he was proclaimed 'a Croat' by the Pauline historian Martin Streska from the

20 Bauer made the following observation for the painting of Martin Knoller in the Benedictine abbey church of Neresheim (1773): "Der Allerheiligenhimmel ist jetzt zu einem *Schau-platz* geworden." Bauer, Hermann. *Der Himmel im Rokoko: Das Fresco im deutschen Kirchenraum des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1965, 11.



Hungarian province: *'Mors F. Ioannis Ranger Croatæ'*.<sup>21</sup> It could just indicate the Pauline province that Ranger belonged to, but the perception remained and Ranger entered into the lexicon of Southern Slavic artists (1868).<sup>22</sup> For the best part of the twentieth century Ranger's oeuvre lingered in another state and mentally 'behind the Curtain' and still today is not referred to in any art historical study of either Austrian or Tyrolean baroque or fresco painting.<sup>23</sup> In Croatia, the situation is reverse: contemporary chronicles had always indicated him as a painter from Tyrol – *'Nazione Tjrolensis'*<sup>24</sup> – and recent studies still do so, thus recognising the inspiring novelties that this migrant artist brought to these parts of Europe.

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24 "[1753.] Obiit hoc quoque anno die 27. Iannuarii Lepoglava Religiosus Fr. Ioannes Ranger professus Nazione Tjrolensis, Pictor insignis et Religiosus optimus ætatis anno 53." LMPL, Zagreb, AHazu, coll. IVd77, fol. 47r.

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*TRANSLATIO RELIQUIAE*  
*AND TRANSLATIO IMPERII*  
BETWEEN ITALY AND NORTH-EASTERN EUROPE  
IN THE AGE OF PARTITION (C. 1750–1800):  
THE CASE OF THE PLATER IN POLISH LIVONIA<sup>1</sup>

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SUMMARY

This essay takes the eighteenth-century artistic patronage of the noble Plater family in Krāslava (Pol. Krasław), a private magnate town in Polish Livonia (present-day Latgale, Latvia), an administrative division within the historical territory of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, as a case study to explore multiple modes of artistic migration facilitated by human agents and the agentive properties of objects against the historical backdrop of the Age of Partition (c. 1750–1810). I examine how the Plater, by means of migration by proxy and through performative engagement commissioning, collecting and displaying art and architecture, constructed a network of monuments and artworks evoking the notion of the Plater as heirs to the glory of Rome, to re-form their dominion as the crossroads of Europe's Roman Catholic frontier, where the long Counter-Reformation negotiated a complex web of intersecting yet potentially opposed religio-political prerogatives. I argue that these magnates undertook a multifaceted campaign of self-fashioning to realign their interests and re-legitimise their patrimonial hegemonic claims by undertaking the *translatio reliquiae* (transfer of relics), the ceremonial transfer of holy remains from the

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Roman catacombs according to venerable Roman Catholic tradition, and appealing to a broader cultural *translatio imperii* (transfer of rule or empire). Their campaign thematised the temporal passage between ancient and modern and the geographic distance between the Italian and Baltic spheres in a way that reanimated the grandeur of the past and deployed mediated forms of knowledge about its target (Rome) in honour of the illustrious patrons. It also took advantage of the fact that the beleaguered eighteenth-century Holy See sought to reaffirm the papal city as *caput mundi*, renovate its image as an international arbiter of taste and reaffirm the illusion of an integral Catholic empire.



1. Filippo Castaldi. *Self-Portrait*.

Second half of the 18th century. Red chalk (sanguine) on paper. Warsaw, National Museum (Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie), Department of Prints and Drawings: *Album Obywateli Inflant*, Rys.Pol.12141\_25.

Courtesy of the National Museum in Warsaw

On 22 January 1774, Italian painter Filippo Castaldi (1734–1814), a native of Arpino in the Roman province of Frosinone, penned a letter from the papal city (fig. 1).<sup>2</sup> The artist addressed his patrons Count Konstanty Ludwik Plater (or Broel-Plater, 1722–1778) and his son Count Kazimierz Konstanty Plater (c. 1749–1807) in Krāslava (Pol. Krasław), a town on the Daugava River, today in easternmost Latvia near the Belarusian border (fig. 2).<sup>3</sup> In the eighteenth

2 Letter from Filippo Castaldi to Kazimierz Konstanty Plater, 22 January 1774. Vilnius, Lithuanian State Historical Archives (hereafter LSHA), coll. 1276, reg. 2, 123, ff 64r–65v. For reasons of length, unpublished source documents cited in this chapter cannot be reproduced in full. However, an online documentary appendix containing full transcriptions of relevant documents in their original languages and an English translation can be freely accessed and downloaded at: <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.4740764>. This online Documentary Appendix will hereafter be cited with the DOI. Digital images of relevant archival materials can also be freely obtained from the author by email request ([ruthsnoyes@yahoo.com](mailto:ruthsnoyes@yahoo.com)).

3 On Castaldi see: Kaminska, Rūta. “Filipo Kastaldi un viņa mantojums” [Filippo Castaldi and his heritage]. In: *Maksas Vesture un Teorija*, 2, 2004, 20–28; Kaminska, Rūta. “Filippo Castaldi (1734–1814) and his heritage in Polish Livonia (Latgale)”. In: *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* [The state of research on the multicultural heritage of the former Republic of Poland], vol. V. Ed. by Wojciech Walczak and Karol Łopatecki. Białystok: Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2013, 225–248. On the Plater see: Link-Lenczowski, Andrzej. “Plater h. własnego Jan Ludwik”. In: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary] (hereafter *PSB*), URL: <http://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/jan-ludwik-plater-h-wlasnego-1> (13.02.2021); Zielińska, Zofia. “Plater (Broel-Plater) Kazimierz Konstanty”. In: *PSB*, <https://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/kazimierz-konstanty-plater> (13.02.2021). For citations from *PSB*, the online version is indicated when available. On the Plater’s role in period politics, see: Jeziorski, Paweł Artur. “Wydarzenia z lat 1768–1772 w województwie (księstwie) inflanckim w świetle korespondencji rodziny Broel-Platerów”



century Krāslava was a burgeoning mercantile centre and aspirant court in the historical territory of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (hereafter ‘Poland–Lithuania’ or ‘the Commonwealth’).<sup>4</sup> When Castaldi composed his letter, he had already immigrated to the Commonwealth, where he worked as a Plater protégé from as early as 1760 and thereafter travelled south to the papal city c. 1772.<sup>5</sup> The artist wrote with an account of his hitherto unsuccessful efforts to obtain for the



2. Filippo Castaldi. Portraits of Count Konstanty Ludwik Plater as a young, middle-aged and elderly man (L–R). C. 1760–1778. Red chalk (sanguine) on paper. Warsaw, National Museum (Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie), Department of Prints and Drawings: *Album Obywateli Inflant*, Rys.Pol.12141\_24, 36, 45. Courtesy of the National Museum in Warsaw

Plater prestigious relics of an ancient paleochristian martyr from the Roman catacombs.<sup>6</sup> He promised to pursue the quest for catacomb relics at the papal court on his patrons’ behalf and enclosed with his letter a gift of two small relics: one of St Louis, King of France, for Konstanty Plater, and another of the True Cross for Kazimierz Plater’s wife Izabela Ludwika Borch (1752–1813), daughter of Lithuanian Grand Chancellor Jan Jędrzej (Andrzej) Józef Borch (or von der Borch-Lubeschitz und Borchhoff, 1713–1780).<sup>7</sup>

[The events of 1768–1772 in the Livonian voivodeship (principality) in the light of the correspondence of the Broel-Plater family]. In: *Litwa i jej sąsiedzi w relacjach wzajemnych (XVII–XIX w.)* [*Lithuania and its neighbours in mutual relations (17th–19th centuries)*]. Ed. by Iwona Janicka and Anna Kołodziejczyk. Olsztyn–Gdańsk: Instytut Historii i Stosunków Międzynarodowych Uniwersytetu Warmińsko-Mazurskiego w Olsztynie, 2014, 25–40. Proper names of persons in this chapter in most cases adhere to the form used in the period under study (predominantly Polish and Italian), except in cases with a strong tradition of use in English, e.g. the names of pontiffs. In most cases state or international toponyms, rather than historical or traditional, are adopted here, by and large using contemporary titles for place names in their English version, e.g. ‘Rome’. In cases of small townships, e.g. ‘Frosinone’ and ‘Krāslava’, usage appears according to the present-day national language. In the case of Baltic place names, the first usage includes the historical title indicated in parentheses, usually in Polish, e.g. ‘Krāslava (Pol. Krasław)’.

4 For an introduction to eighteenth-century Poland–Lithuania, see: Lukowski, Jerzy. *Liberty's Folly: The Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Eighteenth Century*. London: Routledge, 1991.

5 On Castaldi and his relations with the Plater, see Kaminska 2004 & 2013.

6 This episode and the fate of the Plater relics constitute the subject of a recent study: Noyes, Ruth Sargent et al. ‘Baltic catacombs.’ Translating *corpsanti* catacomb relic-sculptures between Rome, Polish Livonia, and the Lithuanian Grand Duchy circa 1750–1800” [version 1; peer review: 3 approved]. In: *Open Research Europe* 1, 18, 2021. URL: <https://doi.org/10.12688/openreseurope.13259.1>

7 Konopczyński, Władysław. “Borch Jan Jędrzej Józef”. In: *PSB*, <http://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/jan-jedrzej-jozef-borch> (13.02.2021).



3. Antonio Paracca (attr.).  
Plater palace  
(new palace).  
Begun c. 1760.  
Krāslava, Latvia.  
Photo:  
Jānis Mickēvičs,  
courtesy of  
Krāslava History  
and Art Museum



4. Antonio Paracca (attr.).  
Plater library.  
Begun c. 1759.  
Krāslava, Latvia.  
Photo:  
Jānis Mickēvičs,  
courtesy of  
Krāslava History  
and Art Museum

Both the Plater and Borch maintained extensive properties concentrated in Polish Livonia or Inflanty (Pol. *Województwo inflanckie*), an administrative division within Poland–Lithuania that roughly aligns with the present-day Latvian region of Latgale, marking then as now the frontier with Russia and representing a separate and distinct unit within the Commonwealth.<sup>8</sup> That Kazimierz Plater would become the last Lithuanian Vice Chancellor underscores how the highest-ranking magnate clans amongst the *szlachta* (nobility) owned and in reality governed much of Poland–Lithuania, which was subdivided into a patchwork of patrimonial *latifundia*.<sup>9</sup> These large autonomous estates with private towns (like Krāslava), private armies, trading

8 On Polish Livonia see: Zajas, Krzysztof. *Absent Culture: The Case of Polish Livonia*. New York: Peter Lang, 2013.

9 In what follows, the terms '*szlachta*', 'nobility', 'aristocracy' and 'magnate(s)' will be used interchangeably, with the acknowledgement that magnates represented an elite class amongst the *szlachta*, and that all these terms represent imperfect translations. For an overview, see: Davies, Norman. *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, vol. 1: *The Origins to 1795*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

privileges and proprietary currencies were linked by matrimonial alliances.<sup>10</sup> Both families also ranked among the only clans in Polish Livonia to hold the titles of Counts of the Holy Roman Empire, having descended from venerable Westphalian houses who immigrated north centuries earlier in the medieval Baltic crusades, converted to Lutheranism in the early modern period and back to Catholicism by the early eighteenth century, cultivating their crusader origins and ties to the Roman Church.<sup>11</sup>

Louis of France, crusader king and a pious relic collector, was Konstanty Ludwik Plater's eponymous saint and the dedicatee of the Plater's new Catholic church in Krāslava, part of the territory purchased in 1729, where from mid-century the Counts Plater initiated prestigious building projects intended to transform the town to become the new seat of the Catholic Bishopric of Livonia (fig. 5).<sup>12</sup> Around the same time that Castaldi must have departed for Rome, however, the status of the Plater's church and Livonian estates radically changed in the first of three Partitions of Poland–Lithuania (1772, 1793, 1795), territorial divisions perpetrated by Russia, Prussia and Austria that progressively fractured the Commonwealth until the conglomerate state ceased to exist altogether, making Krāslava subordinate to the new Russian diocese of Mohilev.<sup>13</sup> At this moment of uncertainty, the Plater themselves undertook a pilgrimage to the *urbe* not in person but by proxy, dispatching their artist-protégé to the peninsula to negotiate on their behalf for the holy remains of one of the many ancient imperial soldiers supposedly martyred after converting to Christianity. Catholic scholars maintained that many such martyrs populated the subterranean cemeteries beneath the *urbe*.<sup>14</sup> Even as Castaldi wrote in hopes of bringing back this sacred souvenir, both his native and adopted homelands were being translated into relics of what had been one of Europe's most venerable dominions (the Papal States) and largest and most diverse states (the Commonwealth). During the Age of Partition (c. 1750–1810), the territories of both the Papal States and the Commonwealth were subject to dismemberment by imperial powers.<sup>15</sup>

10 For an introduction to the culture of Polish latifundia, see: McLean, Paul. "Patrimonialism, Elite Networks, and Reform in Late-Eighteenth-Century Poland". In: *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 636, 2011, 88–110.

11 Butterwick, Richard. "How Catholic Was the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Later Eighteenth Century?" In: *Central Europe*, 8, 2, 2010, 123–145.

12 Pope Pius VI reluctantly sanctioned this with the 1783 Bull 'Onerosa pastoralis officii', leaving a Russian Catholic archdiocese typical in structure but exceptional in that it reported not to the Holy See but to the tsarist government ministry. On these circumstances, see: Brumanis, André Arvuldīs. *Aux origines de la hiérarchie latine en Russie: Mgr Stanislas Sistrzeniewicz-Bohusz, premier archevêque-métropolitain de Mohilev (1731–1826)*. Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, 1968.

13 See Lukowski, Jerzy. *The Partitions of Poland 1772, 1793, 1795*. New York: Taylor and Francis, 2014.

14 On the origins of this phenomenon, see: Oryshkevich, Irina. "Roma Sotterranea and the Biogenesis of New Jerusalem". In: *Res*, 55/56, 2009, 174–181; Ghilardi, Massimiliano. *Saeculum Sanctorum: Catacombe, reliquie e devozione nella Roma del Seicento*. Città Di Castello: LuoghInteriori, 2020.

15 On the nobility in Polish Livonia in this period, see: *Szlachta polsko-inflancka wobec przełomu: materiały z dyneburskich akt grodzkich i ziemskich z lat 1764–1775* [Polish-Livonian nobility on the brink of the breakthrough: materials from Dyneburg town and land records from 1764–1775]. Ed. by Bogusław Dybaś, Paweł Artur Jeziorski, Tomasz Wiśniewski. Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe and Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Historii im. Tadeusza Manteuffla, 2018.



Against this backdrop and taking Plater patronage as a case study, this chapter explores multiple modes of artistic migration facilitated by human agents and the agentive properties of objects – including migration by proxy and through performative engagement by means of commissioning, making, collecting and displaying art and architecture – to engender a network of monuments and artworks that reformed Inflanty as the crossroads of Europe’s Roman Catholic frontier, where the long Counter-Reformation negotiated a complex web of intersecting yet potentially opposed religio-political prerogatives.<sup>16</sup> I argue that these magnates undertook a multifaceted campaign of self-fashioning to realign their interests and relegitimise their patrimonial hegemonic claims by



5. Antonio Paracca (attr.). Catholic Church of St Louis (Lazarist Missionary Church). C. 1755–1767. Krāslava, Latvia. Photo: Jānis Mickēvičs

undertaking the *translatio reliquiae* (transfer of relics), the ceremonial transfer of holy remains from the Roman catacombs according to venerable Roman Catholic tradition, and appealing to a broader cultural *translatio imperii* (transfer of rule or empire).<sup>17</sup> Facilitated by the Plater’s Italophilia, this campaign thematised the temporal passage between ancient and modern and the geographic distance between the Italian and Baltic spheres in a way that reanimated the grandeur of the past and deployed mediated forms of knowledge about its target (Rome)

16 See e.g. Kaminska, Rūta. “The Re-Catholicisation of Eastern Latvia and its Influence upon the Churches in Polish Livonia”. In: *Art and the Church. Religious Art and Architecture in the Baltic Region in the 13th–18th Centuries = Kunst und Kirche. Kirchliche Kunst und Architektur in der baltischen Region im 13.–18. Jahrhundert*. Conference dedicated to the centenary of Sten I. Karling in Tallinn, September 6–9, 2006 (Proceedings of the Estonian Academy of Arts 18). Ed. by Krista Kodres, Merike Kurisoo. Tallinn: Eesti Kunstiakadeemia, 2008, 280–300; Kaminska, Rūta & Anita Bistere. *Sakrālās arhitektūras un mākslas mantojums vēsturiskajā Krāslavas rajonā* [Heritage of sacred architecture and art in the historical district of Krāslava]. Rīga: Neputns, 2015.

17 On the history of relic translation, see: Heinzelmann, Martin. “Translation (von Reliquien)”. In: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 8. München: Artemis, 1997, 947–949. See also further bibliography in: Noyes et al. 2021. On *translatio imperii* see: Thomas, Heinz. “Translatio Imperii”. In: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 8. München: Artemis, 1997, 944–946.



in honour of the illustrious patrons. It also took advantage of the fact that, from the Roman perspective, facing a centuries-long dominion under unprecedented threat, the late eighteenth-century Holy See sought to reaffirm the papal city as *caput mundi*, renovate its image as an international arbiter of taste and reaffirm the illusion of an integral Catholic empire.<sup>18</sup>

Architecture and art in Inflanty from this period were defined by what art historian Rūta Kaminska calls the 'principle of ensemble': new projects integrated construction, stucco ornament, mural paintings and furnishings, with patrons' financial resources the primary limiting factor.<sup>19</sup> In this context, the Plater became proponents in the region of the apogee of the 'Vilnius Baroque', a regional architectural movement c. 1730–1790 staged as a particular renovation of *Romanitas* that inflected late baroque and rococo Italianate prototypes through central and north-eastern European iterative models and was largely propagated by architects from the Italian peninsula, particularly the northern Lugano lake region.<sup>20</sup> This included a town hall and marketplace, Jewish synagogue, Catholic seminary, so-called library (smaller and likely first residence), main or principal palace (sometimes called the new palace) with private chapel, park with orangerie and grotto, and St Louis Catholic Church (or Church of the Lazarist Mission), dedicated to the same saintly crusader king whose relics Castaldi procured (figs. 3–5).<sup>21</sup>

Amongst other monuments, the palaces and church have been associated with immigrant architect-builders Domenico Andrea Ludovico Carlo Paracca (1694 – post-1766) and his sons Domenico Francesco Paracca (c. 1729–?) and Antonio Ludovico Paracca (1722–1790) from the Lake Lugano region, who, like Castaldi, became Plater protégées.<sup>22</sup> Letters survive from the Paracca to Kazimierz Plater, his father Konstanty Plater and the latter's sister Konstancja Plater (1720–?), wife of Jan August Hylzen (or Hülsen von Eckeln, 1702–1767),

18 Collins, Jeffrey. *Papacy and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Rome: Pius VI and the Arts*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004; *Benedict XIV and the Enlightenment: Art, Science, and Spirituality*. Ed. by Rebecca Messbarger, Christopher M.S. Johns, Philip Gavitt. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.

19 Kaminska, Rūta. "The Late Baroque Church Interiors of Livonia within pre-Partition Poland". In: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 73, 3–4, 2011, 453–478, at 477. See also: Kaminska, Rūta. "Art Heritage of Eastern Latvia and its Creators in the 18th–19th century". In: *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej [The state of research on the multicultural heritage of the former Republic of Poland]* I. Ed. by Wojciech Walczak and Karol Łopatecki. Białystok: Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2010, 75–90.

20 For a recent review of historiography on these artists, see: Kamuntavičius, Rūstis & Ruth Sargent Noyes. "Lugano lake artists in the northernmost heart of eighteenth-century Catholic baroque art". In: *Review of Institute of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, 1, 2021, 25–44. On the Paracca's connections to the Plater and other Livonian nobility in this period, see the forthcoming essay by: Kamuntavičius, Rūstis & Ruth Sargent Noyes. "An innovation in this territory: the Paracca family of architects in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Polish Livonia during the Age of Partition". In: *Interpreting Italians Abroad*. Ed. by Sarah Lynch. Milan: Officina Libraria, forthcoming.

21 Kaminska, Rūta. "Krāslavas katoļu baznīcas un klostera būvvesture novada vēsturisko likteņu kopsakarības" [Construction history of Krāslava St Louis Church in the historical and artistic context of the region]. In: *Māksla un politiskie konteksti [Art and political contexts]*. Ed. by Daina Lāce. Rīga: Neputns, 2006, 9–23; Kaminska, Rūta. "Construction History of Krāslava St Louis Church in the Historical and Artistic Context of the Region". In: *Tridento visuotinio bažnyčios susirinkimo (1545–1563) įtaka Lietuvos kultūrai. Susirinkimo idėjų suvokimas ir sklaida Vidurio Europos rytuose [The Ecumenical Council of Trent (1545–1563) and the culture of Lithuania: reception and transmission of the Council's ideas in East-Central Europe: selected articles]*. Ed. by Aleksandra Aleksandravičiūtė. Vilnius: Kultūros, filosofijos ir meno institutas, 2009, 90–112.

22 Karpowicz, Mariusz. *Antonio Paracca. Architetto del Rococò estremo*. Valsolda: Comune di Valsolda, 2008.

from a family amongst the wealthiest *szlachta* in the Grand Duchy with extensive Inflanty estates.<sup>23</sup> These documents demonstrate that, like Castaldi, the Paracca also travelled on their patrons' behalf back to their own native region in Italy in 1770 to recruit skilled workers for the many projects for the Plater and their Livonian network of extended relations.<sup>24</sup> They also suggest a link between the Paracca's success and the perception that their work constituted 'an innovation in this territory [Polish Livonia]', a claim made by Domenico Paracca in 1766 and underscored by the need to recruit Italian artisans.<sup>25</sup>

Polish Livonia saw a temporary influx of Jesuit migrant refugees following the 1773 papal suppression of the Catholic Jesuit Order in Rome, and the Paracca may have been guided by the Jesuit Father Florian Markowski (fluent in Italian), who the Counts Plater retained as estate agent and administrator, in addition to supporting a Jesuit mission.<sup>26</sup> Markowski mentioned Antonio Paracca as architect in connection to the Krāslava palace in the 1760s, and they clearly cooperated on the Plater's many projects.<sup>27</sup> This Jesuit connection may explain the resemblance of St Louis Catholic Church to the Gesù, the Jesuit church in Rome, inflected through northern iterations (i.e. the late seventeenth-century Capuchin church in Warsaw).<sup>28</sup> Antonio Paracca settled in Polish Livonia, buying an estate in the Lucyński powiat (Pol. Lucyn; today Ludza, Latvia) and marrying into the noble Małachowski family.<sup>29</sup> Antonio's son (or grandson) Domenico Paracca oversaw the construction in 1850–1852 of the Catholic

23 Rostworowski, Emanuel. "Hylzen h. własnego Jan August". In: PSB, <http://www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl:8080/a/biografia/jan-august-hylzen-h-wlasnego> (21.02.2021); Wróbel, Łukasz. "Źródła do dziejów magnackiego rodu. O egodokumentach trzech pokoleń Hylzenów" [Sources for the history of the magnate family. On ego-documents of three generations of Hylzen]. In: *Klio*, 45, 2, 2018, 37–59. On the extent of the interrelations between Hylzen and Plater in the late 1700s, see: Idem. "Hylzenowie, Platerowie i Tyzenhauzowie. Szlachta inflancka i jej rola w życiu politycznym osiemnastowiecznej Rzeczypospolitej" [The Hylens, the Platers and the Tyzenhauzs. Livonian nobility and their role in the political life of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 18th century]. In: *Res Gestae. Czasopismo Historyczne*, 6, 2018, 175–185.

24 Letter from Francesco Paracca in Castello Valsolda (Italy) to Kazimierz Plater in Krāslava, 15 February 1770. Vilnius, LSHA, coll. 1276, reg. 2, file 119, f. 72r–73v. See Appendix 2 in the online Documentary Appendix (DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.4740764).

25 Letter from Domenico Paracca in Krāslava to Konstanty Plater in Warsaw, 11 November 1766. Vilnius, LSHA, coll. 1276, reg. 2, file 116, 90. See Appendix 3 in the online Documentary Appendix (DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.4740764).

26 Kaminska 2006 & 2009.

27 Kaminska 2006, 17 & 2009, 107. On the Plater's promotion of the Jesuits, see: Orzel, Joanna & Stanisław Roszak. "Letters of Piotr Hiacynt Śliwicki to the Papal Nuncio Alberico Archinto from the Years 1754–57 in the Collections of the Vatican Archive". In: *Zapiski Historyczne*, LXXXIII, 1, 2018, 175–192.

28 It is worth noting that the original design for the Krāslava church departed from its Roman prototype by including façade towers (which were, however, never realised), which were in keeping with sacral architecture in Livonia. For the Warsaw Capuchin church, see: "Warsaw. Capuchin Church – project. Front elevation". Print Room of the University Library in Warsaw, Inv. GR 875, URL: <http://egr.buw.uw.edu.pl/node/35884> (1.5.2021). On its architect (also from Lugano) Isidoro Affaitati (active 1655–1693), see: Kozakiewicz, Stefan. "AFFAITATI, Isidoro". In: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (1960), URL: [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/isidoro-affaitati\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/isidoro-affaitati_(Dizionario-Biografico)) (1.5.2021); Karpowicz, Mariusz. *Artisti Valsoldesi in Polonia nel '600 e '700*. Como: Attilio Sampietro, 2009.

29 On the leading members of the Małachowski in this period, see e.g.: Machalski, Edmund. *Stanisław Małachowski: marszałek Sejmu Czerotletniego* [Stanisław Małachowski: Marshal of the Four-Year Sejm]. Poznań: Czcionkami Drukarni Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego, 1936; and more recently: Szwaciński, Tomasz. "Refleksje' kanclerza koronnego Jana Małachowskiego (1755–1757)" ['Reflections' of the Crown Chancellor Jan Małachowski]. In: *Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, 54, 1, 2019, URL: <http://DOI/10.12775/sdr.2019.1.02> (24.02.2021).

6. Filippo Castaldi.  
Portraits of  
(top, L–R)  
Countess Augusta  
Ogińska Plater  
and Rozalia  
Honorata Plater,  
Rozalia  
Honorata Plater,  
(bottom, L–R)  
Józef Jerzy Hylzen,  
Jesuit Father Florian  
Markowski. 1760s.  
Red chalk (sanguine)  
on paper.  
Warsaw,  
National Museum  
(Muzeum Narodowe  
w Warszawie),  
Department of Prints  
and Drawings:  
*Album Obywateli Inflant*,  
Rys.Pol.12141\_3,  
9, 23, 66.  
Courtesy of the  
National Museum in  
Warsaw



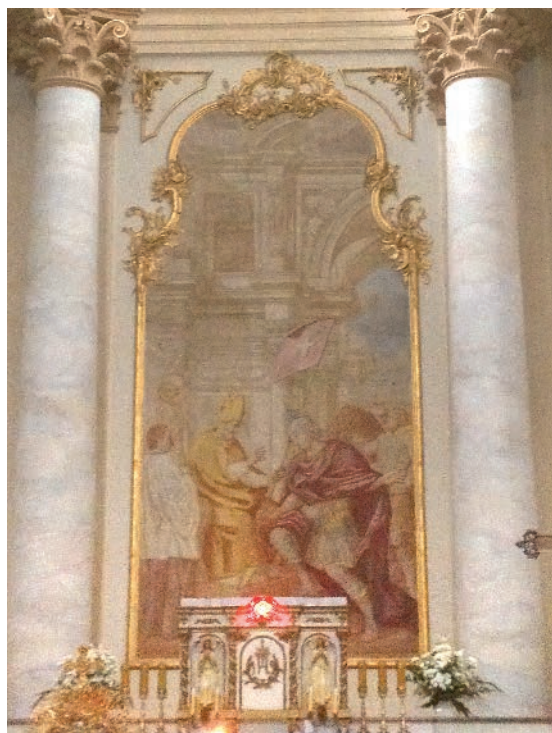
church in Pušmucova (today in Ludza Municipality, Latvia), close to his family's estate.<sup>30</sup> Another Paracca, possibly Antonio's son Domenico, was named as contributing to the architectural design of the Borch palace in Varakļāni (Pol. Warkland, also in Inflanty) in the early nineteenth century.<sup>31</sup>

In the early 1770s, perhaps due to Castaldi's absence, the Plater engaged painter Antonio Albertrandi (or Albertrandy, c. 1732–1795), a Polish-born son of an Italian émigré, for projects including the retouching of a portrait, design of furniture, medals, coats-of-arms and bookplates, as well as possibly

<sup>30</sup> Kaminska 2006, 17. See also Cakuls, Jānis. *Latvijas Romas katoļu draudzes: Kūrijas arhīva materiālu apkopojums* [Latvian Roman Catholic Congregations: A Collection of Curia Archive Materials]. Riga: Rīgas metropolijas kūrīja, 1997, 167; Губина, В. В. "Положение православных и католических храмов на Беларуси в XIX в. Сравнительный анализ". In: *Конференции / VI Международные Кирилло-Методиевские чтения. 2000 г.* [V. V. Gubina. "The position of Orthodox and Catholic churches in Belarus in the 19th century. Comparative analysis". In: *Conferences / VI International Cyril and Methodius Readings. 2000*], 2000, URL: <http://www.sobor.by> (24.02.2021).

<sup>31</sup> Karpowicz 2008, 9.

private art lessons for the youngest Plater children (Albertrandi also tutored Chancellor Borch's children), before Albertrandi left Livonia for the royal court in Warsaw around 1775.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the Plater also commissioned works by the immigré Roman painter Marcello Bacciarelli (1731–1818), after 1768 director of the newly founded Academy of Arts of Warsaw and director of Royal Buildings and Estates for the Polish crown, including *King Jan III*



7. Filippo Castaldi.  
*St Louis departs  
for the Crusades*. C. 1774.  
High altar mural painting  
(a fresco and a secco).  
St Louis Catholic Church,  
Krāslava, Latvia.  
Photo: Jānis Mickēvičs, courtesy of  
Father Eduards Vorončevs and  
St Louis Catholic Church

*Sobieski at the Gates of Vienna* and a portrait of St Stanislas Kostka, although these works have not survived.<sup>33</sup>

That Castaldi, like the Paracca, remained a long-term Plater client is evidenced by an album of the artist's sanguine (red chalk) drawings, today in Warsaw, which were collected, bound and annotated in the nineteenth century.<sup>34</sup> Sketched over two decades, this collection includes, amongst a gallery of *szlachta* sitters, multiple likenesses of Konstanty Plater as a young, middle-aged and elderly man (one of these misidentified as a distant

32 Batowski, Zygmunt. "Antoni Albertrandi". In: *PSB*. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1935, vol. 1, 44–45. For Albertrandi's exchange with the Plater, see his 1775 letters (all written from Warsaw) to Kazimierz Plater: Vilnius, LSHA, coll. 1276, reg. 2, file 124, no. 42, ff. 58r–59v (regarding coat of arms and retouched portrait); no. 283, ff. 90r–91v (regarding an engraving that was enclosed with the letter, now lost); no. 309, ff. 428r–29v (regarding a medal); no. 326, ff. 451r–52v (regarding total sums owed to Albertrandi for these various projects); no. 397, ff. 528r–529v (regarding furniture designs). Digital images of Albertrandi's correspondence (written in French and Italian) can be obtained from the author by email request.

33 Kaminska 2010, 80.

34 Warsaw, National Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings: *Album Obywateli Inflant*, Rys.Pol.12141.



Szadurski cousin); his wife Augusta Ogińska (1724–1791) with their youngest daughter Rozalia Honorata Plater (1750–?); Rozalia at a slightly older age; Konstancja Plater's son Józef Jerzy Hylzen (1736–1786); Jesuit Florian Markowski; and Castaldi himself – as well as numerous heretofore unidentified extended family members (figs. 1, 2, 6).<sup>35</sup> Castaldi also painted, amongst the extensive mural decoration of the Krāslava palace (on which



8. Filippo Castaldi. *Portraits of Count Konstanty Ludwik Plater and Countess Augusta Ogińska Plater*. C. 1775. Oil on canvas. Catholic Church of St Louis, Krāslava, Latvia.

Photos: Jānis Mickēvičs, courtesy of Father Eduards Vorončeks and St Louis Catholic Church

see further below), more family portraits that have sustained substantial damage.<sup>36</sup> His monumental mural for the St Louis Catholic Church high altar *St Louis departs for the Crusades* (c. 1774), which sets its protagonist against a fictive antique triumphal arch, could be considered an allegorical portrait of his noble Plater patron in the guise of a venerable royal crusader under the papal aegis (fig. 7).<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> For a discussion of these portrait sketches, see: Ryszkiewicz, Andrzej. "Filippo Castaldi – malarz nieznaný" [Filippo Castaldi – the unknown artist]. In: *Biuletyn historii sztuki*, 27, 3, 1965, 220–227.

<sup>36</sup> Kaminska 2004, 23–24 & Kaminska 2013, 241–242. See also Strupule, Vija. "Reflections of antique art in the interior paintings of residences and manor houses in Latvia. The second half of the 18th century – the first quarter of the 19th century". In: *Baltic Journal of Art History*, 3, 2011, 253–280, esp. 268–270.

<sup>37</sup> On the church décor, see: Kaminska, Rūta. "Painted interior decorations of the eighteenth – early nineteenth century in the churches of Latgale (the Polish Livonia)". In: *Acta Historiae Artium Balticae*, 2, 2007, 99–109; Kaminska, Rūta. "Conservation of Painted Church Interior Decorations of the Late Baroque Period in Latgale (2004–2018)". In: *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis*, 92/93, 2019, 180–206, esp. 194–199. See also Kaminska 2006, 21–22 & 2009, 234–237.

Finally, Castaldi painted full-length portraits on canvas of Konstanty Plater and Augusta Ogińska in elaborate matching rococo stucco frames, perhaps made by the Paracca workshop (fig. 8).<sup>38</sup> Konstanty Plater's portrait deploys a sophisticated elision of transregional style and iconography assimilating Eastern orientalisising Ottoman forms and Western European stylistic conventions, concretising a Polish Livonian visual language marked by modes of interculturalisation, and 'challenging the theories of local, regional, and national styles as either inherent or self-contained'.<sup>39</sup> Endemic to the art in the Commonwealth from the early modern period, these aspects assumed a heightened resonance for high-ranking *szlachta* in the age of Partition. The work assimilates a heroic and graceful contrapposto composition typical of baroque European ruler portraits harkening back to ancient Roman prototypes with iconographic details (dark *delia* coat, red *kontuż*, woven silk belt or *pas kontuszowy*, and *karabela* sabre) representative of 'Sarmatism', an ethno-cultural ideology that mythologised the Polish-Lithuanian nobility's origins from ancient Sarmatians, legendary invaders of Slavic lands, and since the late sixteenth century engendered the *szlachta*'s adoption of an Eastern style of costume and grooming derived from Persian and Turkish sources that were increasingly the preferred mode of presentation.<sup>40</sup>

In the absence of a highly codified Sarmatist mode of dressing and grooming for noble females, Countess Augusta Ogińska's status is articulated differently: in contrast to her husband's position within a sweeping landscape, she is shown within a stately furnished palatial rococo interior, flanked by delicate French toy (or miniature) spaniel breed known as Phalène (or Phalène Papillon), lapdogs popular with European noblewomen, and wearing a mantua, a stylish Western courtly dress of imported French silk and Flemish lace.<sup>41</sup> At the composition's centre, a fur muff, dyed a brilliant shade of crimson, echoes the red of her husband's *kontuż* and directs the viewer's gaze downwards over her robe and skirt, which are lined in luxurious ermine pelts, signalling the robust fur trade that for centuries fuelled relations between the Baltics and Western Europe.<sup>42</sup> With its distinctive royal connotations, her ermine-lined mantua instantiated her high standing, courtly ambitions, Baltic origins and (as a mother of 8 children) maternal success ensuring dynastic longevity, as ermine were symbolic of

38 Kaminska 2004, 23–25 & Kaminska 2013, 230–31, 239.

39 Grusiecki, Tomasz. "Uprooting Origins: Polish-Lithuanian Art and the Challenge of Pluralism". In: *Globalizing East European Art Histories: Past and Present*. Ed. by Beáta Hock and Anu Allas. New York: Routledge, 2018, 25–38, at 31. See also: Guile, Carolyn C. "Reflections on the Politics of Portraiture in Early Modern Poland". In: *Ibid.*, 83–97.

40 Orzel, Joanna. "Sarmatism as Europe's Founding Myth". In: *Polish Political Science Yearbook*, XXXIX, 2010, 149–157. Rūta Kaminska also noted the blending of stylistic and formal qualities and traditions in these portraits: see Kaminska 2013, 236.

41 See e.g. Cullen, Oriole. "Eighteenth-Century European Dress". In: *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000–. URL: [http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/eudr/hd\\_eudr.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/eudr/hd_eudr.htm) (1.5.2021). On the significance of lapdogs in period art, see: Milam, Jennifer. "Rococo Representations of Interspecies Sensuality and the Pursuit of *Volupté*". In: *The Art Bulletin*, 97, 2, 2015, 192–209.

42 Martin, Janet. *Treasure of the Land of Darkness: The Fur Trade and its Significance for Medieval Russia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

fertility and imperial continuity.<sup>43</sup> Augusta Ogińska came from one of the largest and most influential princely families in the Grand Duchy and was a powerful patroness in her own right: after her husband's death, she bequeathed funds for the construction of a large chapel annexed to St Louis Catholic Church to safeguard the Roman catacomb relics of the ancient soldier-martyr St Donatus.<sup>44</sup>

After 1775 Castaldi at last succeeded in obtaining Donatus's holy remains, in the form of skeletal fragments extracted under the papal remit from the catacombs of St Lorenzo; these bones were then baptised according to custom at the Plater's request with a name and identity, and at the Plater's expense integrated within a



9. Filippo Castaldi.  
Veduta of Piazza di Monte Cavallo, Rome,  
after etching by Giovanni Battista Piranesi.  
Mural painting (a fresco  
and a secco on plaster).  
Plater palace, Krāslava, Latvia.  
Photo: Jānis Mickēvičs,  
courtesy of Krāslava History  
and Art Museum

life-size anthropomorphic relic-sculpture (so-called *corposanto*), manufactured in Roman workshops and finally transferred by ship from Rome's commercial port in Trastevere to Riga, and from there to Krāslava, arriving in 1776.<sup>45</sup> However, given the region's shifting religio-imperial landscape, the Plater only oversaw the official *translatio* of St Donatus to St Louis Catholic Church in 1784, the year following Pope Pius VI's recognition of the Latin Catholic Diocese of Mohilev (Pol. Mohylew), which was unilaterally founded in 1772 by the Russian Empress

43 Clark, Leah R. *Collecting Art in the Italian Renaissance Court: Objects and Exchanges*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, 158–207.

44 On Augusta Ogińska's patronage, see her testament in Riga, Latvian State Historical Archive, coll. 712, reg. 1, file 125. The relevant excerpt from this document is transcribed and translated in Appendix 4 in the online Documentary Appendix (DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.4740764). See also Kaminska 2009. On female patronage in Polish Livonia, see also: Budzyński, Radosław. "Maria z Ryków Manteufflowa i jej nieznaną korespondencją do syna – Gustawa Manteuffla" [Maria of Ryków Manteufflowa and her unknown correspondence to her son Gustaw Manteuffel]. In: *Ruch Literacki*, 4, 349, 2018, 457–477, esp. 473–475.

45 Broel-Plater, Leon. *Kraslaw*. London: Gryf Printers, 1975, 13. On the manufacture of *corpisanți* Roman catacomb relic-sculptures in the period with a special focus on their export to the Baltic region, see Noyes et al. 2021.

Catherine II in defiance of the laws of the Catholic Church, splitting its territory from the Dioceses of Inflanty, Vilnius and Smolensk.<sup>46</sup>

From 1776 to 1784, Donatus's relics were safeguarded in the private chapel inside the Plater palace, within an environment filled not only with Castaldi's portraits of the family in the guise of Sarmatist *szlachta* and Western royalty, but also his mural paintings conjuring the pious grandeur and venerable history of the papal city, framed in architectural *quadrature* imitating ancient monumental architecture and sculpture, and Roman *vedute* illustrating grand views of the *urbe* and surrounding countryside.<sup>47</sup> Castaldi's trompe l'oeil murals were made after highly collectable prints by Italian master Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778), which were typically bound and likely featured in volumes in the Plater's own collections; one surviving scene reproduced in great detail Piranesi's etching of the papal palace on the Piazza di Monte Cavallo and the pair of gigantic Roman marble *Dioscuri* (Horse Tamers) found in the Baths of Constantine atop the Quirinal Hill (fig. 9).<sup>48</sup> The choice of urban and landscape scenes, as well as architectural and sculptural features in the Krāslava palace murals, conjured up suggestive pictorial analogies between the visual, material and architectural cultural landscape of the Plater's Enlightenment reformation and renovation of Polish Livonia and that of Lazio in central Italy: indeed, the rolling hills and fields of Latgale marked by the Daugava River may have recalled Castaldi's memories of his native region not far from Rome.

Inside the palace, within this highly suggestive context furnished by the constellation constituted by a gallery of family portraits, classicising objects in the antique and rococo style, and fabricated vestiges of the Plater's virtual, vicarious Italian migrations, as well as the larger built landscape of Krāslava and the surrounding area, the relic-sculpture of Donatus disinterred from Roman earth elicited the magnates' origins in Livonia among pious Medieval crusaders under the papal aegis, forging a connection with the first victorious Christian martyrs of the past and devout champions of Roman Catholicism amidst religio-political and cultural upheaval in their homeland.<sup>49</sup> In 1790, when Kazimierz Plater was made Castellan of Trakai (Pol. Troki), a plenary indulgence conceded by Pius VI established in the region the observance of a new liturgical holiday in the name of St Donatus, prompting the construction of the eponymous chapel to safeguard the relic-sculpture and accommodate pilgrims funded by Countess Augusta and accompanied by a family crypt (fig. 10).<sup>50</sup>

As a visual and material reconciliation of alterity on multiple levels, the Plater's wide-ranging architectural, artistic and cultural programme – and its

46 Brumanis 1968.

47 Kaminska 2004, 23–24 & Kaminska 2013, 241–242; Strupule 2011, 268–270.

48 Compare to e.g. the Piranesi print in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/RP-P-OB-39.313> (1.5.2021). On Piranesi's print series, see: Yerkes, Carolyn & Heather Hyde Minor. *Piranesi Unbound*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020.

49 After 1780, a similar installation of catacomb relics of St Victor was staged nearby at the Borch palace on their estate in Varakļāni, in direct emulation of the Plater: see Noyes et al. 2021.

50 Broel-Plater 1975, 13.



attending material, formal and aesthetic aspects (and indeed the status of the very artist who painted it) – underscored not only the Count's and Countess' sophisticated savvy and financial means that enabled them to connect with the wider European cultural sphere. More importantly, these features also concretised the special status of Polish Livonia as a privileged liminal or intersectional (rather than peripheral) area that drew cultural, diplomatic and



10. Chapel of St Donatus.  
C. 1816 (photograph the early  
20th century).  
Catholic Church of St Louis,  
Krāslava, Latvia.  
Courtesy of Krāslava History  
and Art Museum

economic potential from its geographic location at a crossroads conjoining storied and modern models and modes of perceiving and interacting with 'the other'. This derived largely from its geographic location along a major waterway and important trade thoroughfare linking Rus' and Muscovy with the Baltic Sea ports, positioning its resident magnates as powerful and wealthy patrons who took an active interest in cultivating their cultural and political horizons, building up their estates as market centres and satellite courts and fashioning themselves as lords, gatekeepers and mediators between different real and imagined spatial, temporal, cultural and religio-political spheres.

The Plater's efforts to import to their court in Krāslava and establish a regional cult for the relic-sculpture of St Donatus, who represented an ancient Roman soldier martyred for the faith, should be viewed against the self-fashioning of Countess Augusta, named for an imperial honorific title given to Roman empresses, and Count Konstanty (Constantine), whose namesake, the first Christian emperor, famously removed Rome to the East. They fashioned themselves as scions and mediators of the geopolitical, spiritual and cultural

crossroads at the interstices of Eastern and Western Europe, at a historical inflection point when emerging divisions of European conceptual geography gave rise to the notion of an 'Eastern Europe'.<sup>51</sup> Seizing on the bidirectional discursive potential of Rome's Enlightenment counter-reform campaigns, these Polish–Lithuanian nobles cultivated art, architecture, material and intellectual culture, framing themselves as northern heirs to and custodians of Italian glory, thereby perpetuating traditions of ethnogenesis, mythologising Lithuania as the successor to ancient Rome that dated back centuries in elite northern discourse.<sup>52</sup> Far from being mutually exclusive vis-à-vis the elite self-fashioning entailed by Sarmatism outlined above, Sarmatist and Romanist cultural and ideological currents could coexist and be discursively harnessed to different ends in different contexts.<sup>53</sup> By discursively harnessing the idea of Rome not as a fixed entity but a malleable concept that could be arbitrated, legitimated and transformed through the intermediating agency of 'authentic' migrant artists, architects and objects, as well as styles and forms, the Plater staked for themselves a strategic position as a north-easternmost Roman Catholic stronghold, even as they negotiated the process of transition from the Commonwealth's political system of nobles to Czarist Russian administrative frameworks, and fought to acquire or reconfirm their privileged position within the changing parameters of the new state's distinct linguistic, social, political, cultural and religious structures.<sup>54</sup>

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# THE ARCHITECT AND HIS EMPLOYER: CARL GOTTLOB HORN'S PASSIVE MOBILITY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR HEINRICH CARL VON SCHIMMELMANN'S SOCIAL ASCENDANCY

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## SUMMARY

Artist migration can be considered a phenomenon of often self-responsible individuals or groups who adapt to changing markets, workshop positions or biographical opportunities. However, artists of the second rank, whose works are rather coincidentally in the focus of interest of their contemporaries and today's research, have received little attention so far. This paper will deal with the factors of these artists' 'passive' migration to Central and Northern Europe in the second half of the 18th century, which took place away from the major trends.

The investigation therefore focuses on the overall conditions for the artistic success of the little-known Saxon master mason Carl Gottlob Horn (1734–1807). He followed Heinrich Carl Schimmelmann (1724–1782), a bourgeois parvenu and later the treasurer of the Danish king, who ascended to the nobility because of his legendary wealth, from Dresden to Holstein. There he entered the employment of the Schimmelmann family, whom he was never to leave during his lifetime. Horn took over a broad spectrum in the context of manor architecture and was responsible for buildings, interior design and garden architecture. It was by chance that he became an important master builder and architect of early classicism in Schleswig-Holstein with a close association to Denmark.

In this context, his client and employer Schimmelmann plays an important but less considered role, since his choice probably fell on a capable craftsman, who could prepare and realise his visions for his own social advancement also on an artistic level. Both were likely to lack the necessary cultural capital, which Horn, however, acquired through literature and Schimmelmann's network: Danish role models who worked for the court in Copenhagen and thus undoubtedly represented the taste of the targeted society. These included the Danish court architect Nicolas-Henri Jardin and his student and later Copenhagen city architect Georg Erdman Rosenberg, whom he obviously emulated.

## INTRODUCTION

Artist migration can be considered a phenomenon of individuals or groups trying to adapt to changing markets, workshop positions or career opportunities. However, second-rank artists and their works have received little attention in this conference's research so far. This paper deals with the 'passive' migration of these artists to Central and Northern Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century, which took place away from the major migratory trends, with reference to the overall conditions for the artistic success of the little-known Saxon master mason and later architect Carl Gottlob Horn (1734–1807). Carl Gottlob Horn travelled from Dresden to Holstein to accompany Heinrich Carl Schimmelmann (1724–1782), a bourgeois parvenu and later the Danish king's treasurer, who ascended to nobility because of his legendary wealth. There he entered the Schimmelmann family's employment, which he never left during his lifetime. Due to Carl Gottlob Horn's and Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's mutual dependence, their biographies can only be understood in parallel.

## BIOGRAPHIES OF CARL GOTTLÖB HORN AND HEINRICH CARL VON SCHIMMELMANN

Carl Gottlob Horn was born the son of a postmaster in Pirna in 1734 and trained as a mason around 1750.<sup>1</sup> Some six years later, he joined the Saxon carpenter Johann August Rothe in Schimmelmann's employment. Both had probably met their employer before in Dresden or Meissen (Meißen), and they both followed him to Holstein.<sup>2</sup> There, Carl Gottlob Horn was listed for the first time in 1760 in a letter and a church register entry.<sup>3</sup> Since Carl Gottlob Horn did not take on any church or state commissions, his name does not appear in any public documents of the time.<sup>4</sup>

The biography of Carl Gottlob Horn's employer, on the other hand, ran at a breathtaking pace and took many turns. Heinrich Carl Schimmelmann (fig. 1), a merchant's son, was born in Demmin, Prussia (Preußen), in 1724 and completed an apprenticeship in the silk trade in Szczecin (Stettin).<sup>5</sup> He then worked as a transport agent on the Elbe and Stecknitz canals and went bankrupt as a merchant in Hamburg and then in Dresden.

In 1747 Heinrich Carl Schimmelmann married Caroline Tugendreich Friedenborn in Dresden. First, he traded colonial products and pursued monetary transactions; he then became an excise agent in almost all

1 Hirschfeld, Peter. "Carl Gottlob Horn, 1734–1807. Ein vergessener schleswig-holsteinischer Baumeister". In: *Nordelbingen*, vol. 10, no. 3–4, 1934, 331.

2 Hirschfeld 1934, 331.

3 Hirschfeld 1934, 332.

4 Hirschfeld 1934, 328.

5 Degn, Christian. *Die Schimmelmanns im atlantischen Dreieckshandel. Gewinn und Gewissen*. Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1974, 2–4.

lands of the Electorate of Saxony (Kursachsen), thus gaining insight into competing merchants' business practices, which he would use for his own career aspirations.<sup>6</sup> From then on, Heinrich Carl Schimmelmann achieved an unprecedented social rise, which finally led him to the position of the Danish king's treasurer. Early on, Heinrich Carl Schimmelmann recognised the importance of a representative strategy in keeping with his standing and



1. Lorens Lönberg.  
*Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann.*  
1762. Copy after Stefano Torelli.  
Ahrensburg Castle.  
Courtesy: Schloss Ahrensburg

pursued it ambitiously and purposefully. At his death in 1782, he owned three noble estates, two city mansions, two factories, three merchant ships, four plantations in the Virgin Islands with about 1,000 slaves, a worldwide trading network, and he was a major shareholder in the joint-stock Danish overseas companies.<sup>7</sup>

In order to establish himself in noble circles, which was his targeted society, Heinrich Carl Schimmelmann first had to earn indispensable symbolic and social capital titles through his successful activities. He knew how to use titles as a career catalyst due to their merits. After the Prussian King Friedrich II gave him the position of Prussian Privy Councillor, from the excise agent he became Royal Danish General Commercial Agent in 1761 and, at the same time, Minister in the Lower Saxony Circle of the Holy Roman Empire.

<sup>6</sup> Degn 1974, 2–4.

<sup>7</sup> Behrens, Angela. *Das Adlige Gut Ahrensburg von 1715 bis 1867. Gutsherrschaft und Agrarreformen* (Stormarner Hefte 23). Neumünster: Wachholtz, 2006, 175.



From that year on, he was in charge of Danish financial affairs.<sup>8</sup> One year later, in 1762, Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann was elevated to the rank of Baron and Knight of the Dannebrog Order, in 1765, to Royal Danish Councillor and finally, in 1768, to Royal Danish Treasurer. The Schleswig-Holstein Knighthood accepted him in 1774; that same year he also received the Order of the Elephant, the highest-rank honour in Denmark. King



2. Johann Marcus David. Gottorpsches Palais in Hamburg.

Engraving, c. 1800. Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, Hamburg, reproduced in Behrens 2006, 171

Christian VII of Denmark awarded him a hereditary earldom in 1779, making him the Count of Lindenborg.<sup>9</sup>

Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann earned the basis for the fortune that was indispensable to his ascent through the Prussian army's Forage deliveries commissioned by the Prussian King Friedrich II in 1756 during the Seven Years' War, as well as through extensive porcelain trading after the subsidised purchase of the porcelain stocks confiscated by Friedrich II from the Dresden, Meissen and Leipzig factories in the same year. From these stocks he sold porcelain in Hamburg at a profit.<sup>10</sup> For political reasons

8 Rachel, Hugo & Paul Wallich. *Berliner Großkaufleute und Kapitalisten. Zweiter Band: Die Zeit des Merkantilismus 1648–1806*. Neu herausgegeben, ergänzt und bibliographisch erweitert von Johannes Schultze, Henry C. Wallich und Gerd Heinrich (Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg 33). Berlin, 1938 [Neudruck 1967], 436.

9 Behrens 2006, 174, Rachel und Wallich 1938 [Neudruck 1967], 436.

10 Rachel und Wallich 1938 [Neudruck 1967], 433–434; Degn 1974, 5.

also, he moved to Hamburg in the summer of 1757. There he continued porcelain trading, traded coins and precious metals and was also involved in the minting of coins in Rethwisch near Plön.<sup>11</sup> His arrival in Hamburg was sensational, as in 1758 and 1760 he held porcelain auctions lasting several days in his mansion *Gottorpsches Palais* and won buyers from England and France for his porcelain services, table and fireplace tops, terrines, tabatières and figures.<sup>12</sup>

However, with his fortune and courtly demeanour acquired in Saxony (Sachsen), he could not gain a firm foothold in the bourgeois Hanseatic circles. Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann regarded the acquisition of real estate as the first prerequisite for his representative strategy in Hamburg. After his arrival there, in 1758, he bought the *Gottorpsches Palais* (fig. 2), the former residence of the Gottorp dukes at Mühlenstraße 5/8, for 15,000 talers.<sup>13</sup> With its broad façade, untypical of Hamburg, this residence fulfilled Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's requirements.<sup>14</sup> In 1760, Johann Hinrich Nicolassen, who built the neighbouring St Michael's Church (*Michaeliskirche*) in Hamburg, took over the palais' conversion.<sup>15</sup> Four years later, Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann had the palais' exterior renovated to include sphinxes resting at the base of the building and candelabras and vases by the Swedish sculptor Johann Wilhelm Mannstadt.<sup>16</sup> The entrance portal was just as striking as the balcony above.<sup>17</sup> Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann also had his office and state apartments in the palais furnished.<sup>18</sup> It is conceivable that Carl Gottlob Horn and Johann August Jeremias Rothe, who accompanied him from Dresden to Hamburg, were responsible for renovating the interior between 1764 and 1766.<sup>19</sup> Particular efforts were made to furnish the dining hall. Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann estimated 3,244 talers for the windows, columns, ornaments, garlands and associated sculptures and stuccoes.<sup>20</sup>

This residence, which Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann intended as a cultural and symbolic capital with regard to Hamburg's bourgeoisie, was a particularly clear expression of the conflict between conspicuous

11 Rachel und Wallich 1938 [Neudruck 1967], 434; Degn 1974, 8–9.

12 Rachel und Wallich 1938 [Neudruck 1967], 434; Hirschfeld, Peter. "Die 'Schatzmeister-Rechnungen' des Ahrensbürger Schlossarchivs als kulturgeschichtliche Quelle". In: *Nordelbingen*, 15, 1939, 393–394.

13 Degn 1974, 7; Deuter, Jörg. *Die Genesis des Klassizismus in Nordwestdeutschland. Der dänische Einfluß auf die Entwicklung des Klassizismus in den deutschen Landesteilen Schleswig-Holstein und Oldenburg in den Jahren 1760 bis 1790* (Schriftenreihe der Carl-von-Ossietzky-Universität Oldenburg). Oldenburg: Isensee Verlag, 1997, 100.

14 Melhop, Wilhelm. *Alt-Hamburgische Bauweise: Kurze geschichtliche Entwicklung der Baustile in Hamburg*. Hamburg: Boysen & Maasch, 1908, 160.

15 Hirschfeld 1939, 388.

16 Hirschfeld 1939, 392.

17 Melhop 1908, 161.

18 Degn 1974, 7.

19 Deuter, Jörg. "Franco-römische Grandezza und 'Stille Storhed'. Internationale Verflechtungen des dänischen Frühklassizismus zwischen 1750 und 1780 und ihr Einwirken auf das Werk C. F. Hansens – Ein Überblick". In: *Christian Frederik Hansen und die Architektur um 1800*. Ed. by Ulrich Schwarz. München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2003, 43, note 4.

20 Hirschfeld 1939, 393–394.

extravagance and the prevailing bourgeois virtues of austerity and diligence, modesty, rejection of luxury and simple rather than ceremonial handling.<sup>21</sup> Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann could not expect any success here. Since he was denied access to the establishment in Hamburg he had planned at the beginning, he sought instead to be close to ambassadors and foreign ministers in the city, in whose social circle he habitually knew how to mix.<sup>22</sup>

## BASIC REQUIREMENTS FOR HEINRICH CARL VON SCHIMMELMANN'S SOCIAL RISE

Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann succeeded in using the Danish nobility's structures for his own ends. His ambitious commitments in this social field provided him with sufficient economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. In order to assimilate as a bourgeois newcomer into the aristocratic target society, Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann needed to cultivate relationships and influence, and he used increased ceremonialism and displays of splendour, often to a great extent, for example, illuminations and parties. In addition, there was excessive luxury consumption.

Remarkable in this context is his anticipation of his aspired status, which he staged early on through his lifestyle. His fortune enabled him to do this without any blame on his part, and he also took care to create an environment that was appropriate to his time and status, be it in terms of artistic commitment, social expectations or ceremony.<sup>23</sup>

In order to immediately exploit the benefits of what he considered to be 'representative' buildings, Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann initially chose existing structures, which were modernised according to his ideas if necessary. Only after he established himself politically and socially in Denmark did he dare to build a new building in Wandsbek, which would also be his retirement residence.<sup>24</sup> In this context, as Carl Gottlob Horn's client and employer, von

21 "Das allerwichtigste, insonderheit für den Bürgerstand ist *Vermeidung des Luxus*. Und hier ist der Ort, wo ich euch darüber etwas genauer belehren muß. *Luxus* heißt ein solcher Aufwand, der keinen der eigentlichen Zwecke des Aufwandes befördert, sondern blos für Eitelkeit und Veränderlichkeit des Geschmacks geschieht. Nehmlich, die eigentlichen *Zwecke*, warum ich etwas kaufe und anschaffe, sind doch entweder mein *wahrer Nutzen*, (Unterhalt, Bequemlichkeit, Lebenserleichterung) oder ein *reelles Vergnügen*, das ich dabei genieße." And further: "So ists mit *Wohnung und Kleidung*. Ihr Zweck ist, neben dem Vergnügen, Schutz vor den Unfällen der Witterung, des Regens, der Hitze und des Frostes etc. Und wisset ihr, was diesen Zweck erreicht? Nichts als guter *Geschmack, Reinlichkeit und Bequemlichkeit*. Menge und Pracht trägt auch nicht das geringste dazu bei. Selbst der Zweck des *Gefallens* gewinnt nichts. Denn eine Person, die an sich schön ist, wird blos und allein dadurch gefallen, wenn ihr Anzug reinlich, nett, und mit Geschmack gemacht ist. Die kostbaren Spitzen, das Gold, die Farben u. d. helfen gar nichts, als daß etwa eine neidische Frau Nachbarin stehen bleibt, und sich darüber ärgert." Also: "Und das ist endlich auch der Fall bei euren *Ergötlichkeiten*. Daß der Bürger da großen Aufwand macht, in einer Kutsche fährt, wo ihm bei seiner sitzenden Lebensart ein Spaziergang zu Fuß dienlicher war ..." Bahrdr, Carl Friedrich. *Handbuch der Moral für den Bürgerstand*. Halle: Hemmerde und Schwetschke, 1789, 202–204.

22 Bro-Jørgensen, Jens Olav. *Heinrich Carl Schimmelmann. En studie i Skatmesterens Fortid [A study of the early days of the treasurer]*. København: Fremad, 1970, 201.

23 Neumann, Antonia. "Schloss Ahrensborg. Heinrich Carl Schimmelmann als Bauherr auf Schloss Ahrensborg". In: *Jahrbuch für den Kreis Stormarn* 30, 2012, 38.

24 Lühning, Frauke & Hans Schadendorff. *Schloß Ahrensborg* (Führer zu den schleswig-holsteinischen Museen 1). Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1982, 11–12.

Schimmelmann plays an important but less considered role, since his choice probably fell on a capable craftsman, who could prepare and realise his employer's visions for his own social advancement also on an artistic level.

Another social disruption can be seen in the lack of incorporated cultural capital. Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's personal background and success were carefully observed and documented by contemporaries. Thus, the imperial envoy in Copenhagen (København) wrote in astonishment in 1777: 'His spirit has never been formed in the least, he has never studied or read anything; he does not even know how to lead the pen.'<sup>25</sup> In his correspondence, Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann showed clear weaknesses with regard to spelling, grammar and punctuation as well as the wordy and sometimes missing syntax.<sup>26</sup> He spoke neither Danish nor English.<sup>27</sup>

## CARL GOTTLÖB HORN'S OEUVRE

With regard to the construction and artistic furnishing tasks to be mastered, Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann delegated the acquisition of knowledge to his private master mason and architect Carl Gottlob Horn, whom he controlled and for whom he defined the areas of activity and role models to follow. During Carl Gottlob Horn's long period of creative activity, it is almost impossible to trace any artistic evolution in his work. He worked reliably and in a derivative manner. Once found, functional forms such as plans or decoration types were retained.

Carl Gottlob Horn's major works include Wandsbek manor house and garden (fig. 3) and – after Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's death – the conversion of Emkendorf's main building and gardens for Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's son-in-law, Friedrich (Fritz) Karl Graf von Reventlow.<sup>28</sup> Carl Gottlob Horn was also responsible for Wandsbek's burial chapel, interiors and garden houses in Ahrensburg, cavalier houses in Knoop and the Falkenberg Manor near Schleswig for the brother of Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's son-in-law, Heinrich Graf Reventlow.<sup>29</sup> In 1778, Carl Gottlob Horn's sister commented on his fortunate fate in a letter to him: 'It is true, of course, that my estate is not the same as yours; the God who gave my brother property and a considerable loaf of bread could also do it to me.'<sup>30</sup>

25 "Sein Geist ist niemals im mindesten gebildet worden, er hat nichts studiert, noch gelesen; er weiss nicht einmal recht die Feder zu führen". Bro-Jørgensen 1970, note 9, quoted from: Hauptbericht des Grf. Cobenzl 17.5.1777, Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv Wien, Berichte aus Dänemark, fasc. 58.

26 Bro-Jørgensen 1970, 12.

27 Bro-Jørgensen 1970, 12; Hirschfeld 1939, 380.

28 Hirschfeld 1934, 334; Deuter 1997, 66.

29 Deuter 1997, 66; Hirschfeld, Peter. "Carl Gottlob Horn (1734–1807). Den Schimmelmann-Reventlowske familiekreds' arkitekt" [The architect of the Schimmelmann-Reventlow family circle]. In: *Tilskueren: maanedsskrift for Literatur, Samfundsspørgsmaal og almenfattelige videnskabelige Skildringer*, 1935, 344.

30 "Es ist freilich wahr, daß mein Standt dem Eurigen nicht gleichet; der Gott, der meinem Bruder Guht und ein ansehnlich Brot gab, konnte es an mir auch thun." Hirschfeld 1934, 361.



Carl Gottlob Horn was probably involved in the interior design of the Holstein estate of Ahrensburg, which Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann took over from Christian Rantzau in 1759 in order to become a member of the Danish state and simultaneously remain close to the Hamburg economy.<sup>31</sup> Ahrensburg was the most representative residence of the Holstein landed nobility and therefore an attractive purchase for Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann also because of the noble associations. His symbolic capital thus increased considerably.<sup>32</sup> The design of the wall panels in the Garden



3. Carl Gottlob Horn. Wandsbek Castle, garden façade. 1772–1778. Lithograph by Johann Christian Carsten Meyn, c. 1830. State Archives Hamburg, 720-1 Plankammer, No. 152-01=07\_745

Hall is reminiscent of the *Spisesalen* in Moltke's Palace in Copenhagen, built for the Senior Court Marshal Adam Gottlob Moltke and designed by Nicolas-Henri Jardin.<sup>33</sup> Nicolas-Henri Jardin (1720–1799), the Danish court architect since 1760, who was responsible for the most important new buildings in Copenhagen for over a decade, was an important model for Carl Gottlob Horn's work.<sup>34</sup> He is considered to be the first classicist architect in the Danish state to be trained in Paris and Rome.<sup>35</sup> The *Spisesalen* (fig. 4) in Moltke's Palace set standards for interior design, with rectangular field division in the

31 Deuter 1997, 100; Behrens 2006, 165–166; Neumann 2012, 37.

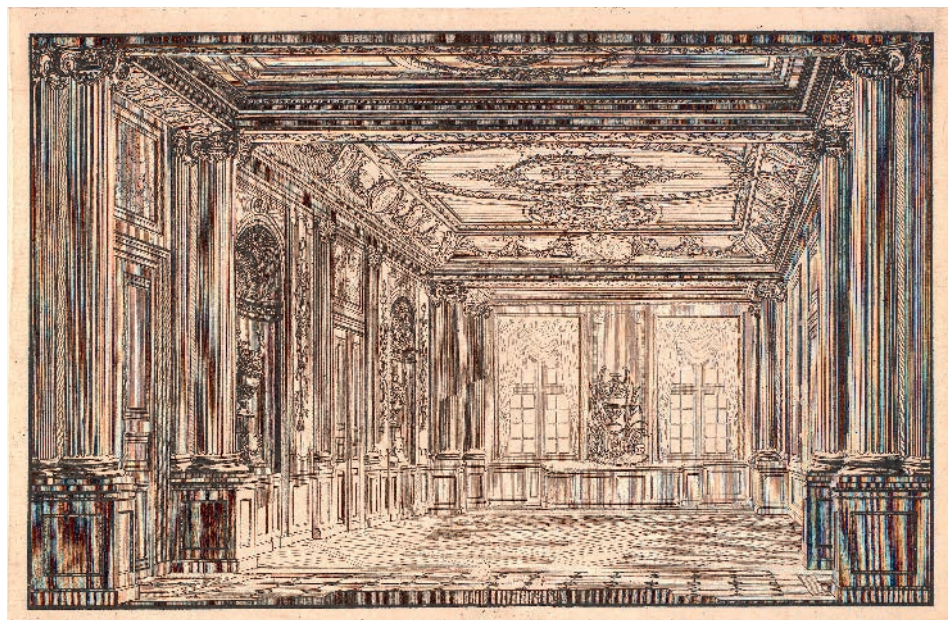
32 Behrens 2006, 180; Degn 1974, 10.

33 Deuter 2003, 31–32.

34 Deuter 1997, 25, 41, 79; Kjær, Ulla. *Nicolas-Henri Jardin. En ideologisk nyklassicist* [Nicolas-Henri Jardin. An ideological neoclassicist]. 2 vol. København: Nationalmuseet, 2010; Kjær, Ulla. *Fransk elegance og dansk snilde* [French elegance and Danish skill]. Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2017.

35 Deuter 2003, 31–32, 41.

Louis XVI style that were later to be understood as binding in Danish and North German mansions.<sup>36</sup> The lime green or ecru-coloured base layer of the walls with gilded festoons and capitals, typical for Carl Gottlob Horn, also matched the supraporta with rural scenes painted by Lorens Lönberg (1732–1811), which in turn were based on the existing large-format bird still life by Tobias Stranover (1684–1735).<sup>37</sup> The wall layout integrates these paintings. The Little Pleasure Garden (*Kleiner Lustgarten*) near the palace was



4. Johannes Gottfred Bradt. Dining Hall (*Spisesalen*) in Moltke's Palace, designed by Nicolas-Henri Jardin. 1757. Copenhagen. Den Kongelige Kobberstiksamling, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, inv. no. KKS18135 (CC0 1.0)

also probably designed by Carl Gottlob Horn; it had a less elaborate draft than the final execution.<sup>38</sup> In 1765 Carl Gottlob Horn made a plan for a stable.<sup>39</sup> The furnishings, by contrast, remain striking, as Rococo elements were still chosen for the representative staircase, but important rooms, such as the dining hall and the garden hall, show forms of Danish early classicism in Nicolas-Henri Jardin's and Johann Gottfried Rosenberg's forms reception.

Since 1761, Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's main residence in Copenhagen was the Berkenthin Palais, which had only been built in 1755 by Johann Gottfried Rosenberg and Niels Eigtved in the new Friedrichstadt, in the immediate vicinity of Amalienborg Palace and Bernstorff Palace.<sup>40</sup> When

36 Kjær 2010, 356–366; Kjær 2017, 228.

37 Deuter 1997, 105–106.

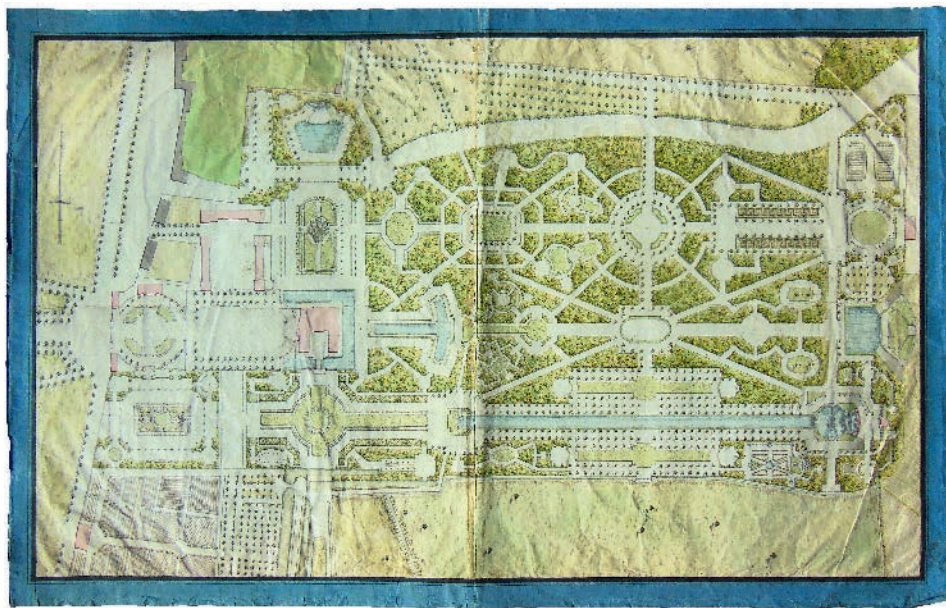
38 Cuveland, Helga de. *Schloß Ahrensborg und die Gartenkunst* (Stormarner Hefte 18). Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1994, 13–22.

39 Hirschfeld 1934, 335.

40 Deuter 1997, 100; Degn 1974, 11–12.



Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann bought it in 1763, he took much of the furnishings of the art-conscious previous owner and had them repaired.<sup>41</sup> In 1775 Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann engaged Georg Erdman Rosenberg, who at that time was already a master builder in Copenhagen, to carry out minor conversion and furnishing works.<sup>42</sup> It can be assumed that Carl Gottlob Horn accompanied these activities from a distance to be able to use them later as prototypes.



5. Carl Gottlob Horn. Plan for the castle garden, Wandsbek. 1768. State Archives Hamburg, 720-1 Plankammer, Nr. 152-1=7\_651

At this time Carl Gottlob Horn was still employed, until 1765, as a master mason and conducteur with an annual salary of 120 talers.<sup>43</sup> He acquired his practical knowledge at the construction site in Ahrensburg, while two trips initiated by Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann in 1763 and 1769 took him to Paris.<sup>44</sup> In 1767 Carl Gottlob Horn completed a garden design for Wandsbek (fig. 5) that bears a French inscription.<sup>45</sup> It is very likely that he never visited Italy or England. The Danish residences of the nobility, on the other hand, were known to him, but whether he studied them personally or acquired knowledge through other means is not understood. In addition, Carl Gottlob

41 Munthe af Morgenstjerne, Otto von. *Odd-Fellow Palæet i København (det fhm. grevelige Berckentinske Palais)* [Odd Fellow Palace in Copenhagen (formerly Count Berkenthin's Palace)]. København: Høst i Komm., 1926, 54–55.

42 Hirschfeld 1934, 337; Hirschfeld 1939, 403.

43 Deuter 1997, 66–67; Hirschfeld 1934, 332, 333.

44 Hirschfeld 1934, 333: Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's letter dated 27.10.1763, written in Hamburg: "Mr. Carl Gottlob Horn, ein Kondukteur in meinen Angelegenheiten nach Paris und von da nach einigem Aufenthalte wieder anhero zurück zu reisen hat" ["Mr. Carl Gottlob Horn, a conductor of my affairs, has to travel to Paris and from there, after some stays, back again here"].

45 Hirschfeld 1934, 333.

Horn possessed an extensive library with about 50 classical architectural theoretical works, including those by Leon Battista Alberti, Vignola and the first edition of Andrea Palladio's *Architettura*, which was an influential text on classicism.<sup>46</sup>

The French theorists Louis Savot, Roland Fréart de Chambray and further authors from the time of Louis XIV, as well as, above all, the opposition around 1700 with Abbé Cordemoy, Jacques-François Blondel the Elder and Charles Étienne Briseux, formed a group that advocated the consideration of functional architecture oriented to nature and habits. From these influences Carl Gottlob Horn adopted the typical rustic structure of the façade.<sup>47</sup> Carl Gottlob Horn collected the works of Abbé Laugier, frowned upon by contemporaries as a 'New French connoisseur', in various languages.<sup>48</sup> Of the German architectural treatises, he owned only books by Johann Christian Seyler, Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach and August Rode.<sup>49</sup> He also owned ten books on garden art, including one on the English landscape gardens at Stowe, Claude-Henri Watelet's book on the French gardens and August Rode's work on the Wörlitz gardens.<sup>50</sup> For the bosquet complex in Wandsbek, Carl Gottlob Horn used engravings from the best-known textbook on the French garden, Antoine Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville's *La théorie et pratique du jardinage* from 1739.<sup>51</sup> Among his preserved designs are engravings by Jean François de Neufforgues from *Recueil élémentaire d'architecture*, the compendium of Louis XVI style, which Carl Gottlob Horn also used for inspiration.<sup>52</sup>

With the purchase of Wandsbek in 1768, Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann very strategically realised his claim to representation and immediately commissioned new construction to model the residence according to the modern taste that he identified as such.<sup>53</sup> The models were buildings representative of Denmark's most influential political actors and Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's close contacts, while regional models were out of the question for his purposes. The aim was to build a rural summer residence in keeping with his status, as was customary in the Danish aristocracy. For this purpose, he could completely neglect regional building developments in Holstein. In October 1768, before the purchase of Wandsbek, Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann visited the manor of the Danish Foreign Minister Johann Hartwig Ernst von Bernstorff in Gentofte, which Jardin had only recently built between 1759 and 1765.<sup>54</sup> Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann

46 Deuter 1997, 66–67; Hirschfeld 1934, 358.

47 Hirschfeld 1934, 358–359.

48 Hirschfeld 1934, 359.

49 Hirschfeld 1935, 354; Hirschfeld 1934, 360.

50 Hirschfeld 1934, 357–358.

51 Hirschfeld 1934, 357.

52 Hirschfeld 1934, 350.

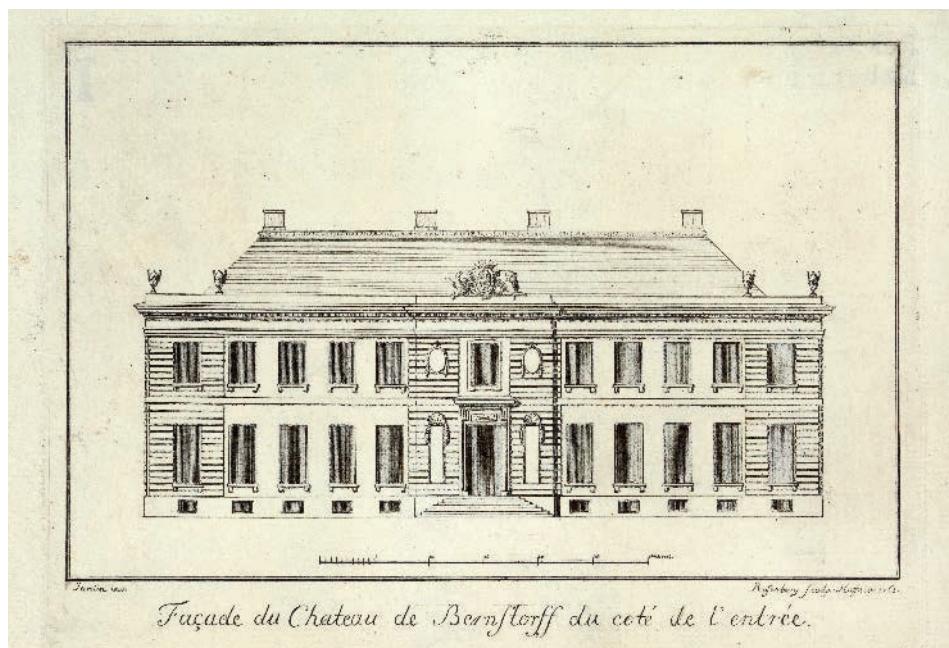
53 Deuter 1997, 100.

54 Kjær 2010, 511–521; Hirschfeld 1939, 394.



clearly set himself the task of instructing his house architect Carl Gottlob Horn to build a palace in keeping with Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's standing and meet Copenhagen's exemplary tastes.

From 1771 Carl Gottlob Horn was finally listed in Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's account books as master builder and architect with an annual salary of 200 talers.<sup>55</sup> From this time onwards, he was obviously able to prove his acquired knowledge in practice according to his employer's



6. Georg Erdman Rosenberg. Bernstorff Manor in Gentofte: façade facing the courtyard. After a drawing by Nicolas-Henri-Jardin. Scale 1:200. 1763. Nationalmuseet, Antikvarisk-Topografisk Arkiv

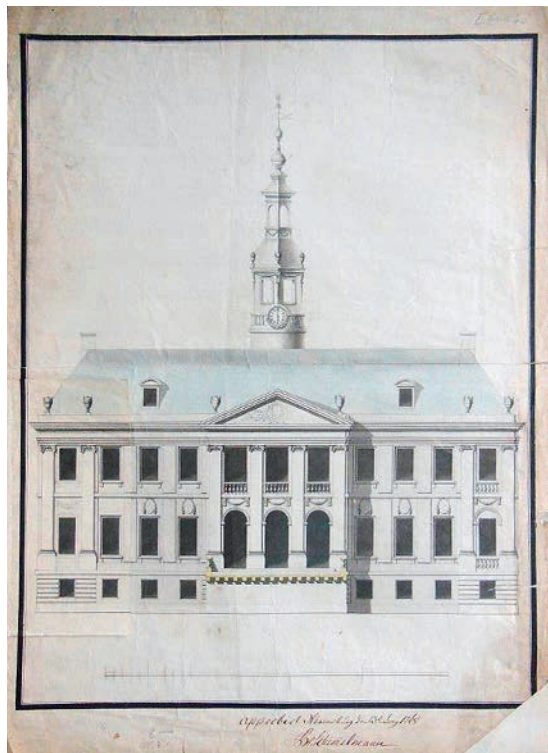
ideas. He always remained close to the designs of Nicolas-Henri Jardin and his pupil and conducteur Georg Erdman Rosenberg and thus to the Danish nobility's accepted taste. Carl Gottlob Horn's varied designs for Wandsbek's new building on the foundations of the old building dating from 1568 were based on Bernstorff Manor in Gentofte, the façades of which have been preserved in Georg Erdman Rosenberg's engravings from 1763 or 65 (fig. 6).<sup>56</sup> Wandsbek's garden façade was to be comparably divided and decorated with medallions, festoons and vases (fig. 7). Moreover, it combined elements of both façades facing the courtyard and the garden in Gentofte. It is also conceivable that Carl Gottlob Horn referred to French literature or Andrea Palladio.<sup>57</sup> In the same year, Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann also took advantage of his contact with Georg Erdman Rosenberg to expand his

<sup>55</sup> Deuter 1997, 66–67; Hirschfeld 1934, 332, 333.

<sup>56</sup> Hirschfeld 1935, 344; Hirschfeld 1934, 337.

<sup>57</sup> Hirschfeld 1935, 344.

knowledge of Roman architecture. In the summer of 1768, during his stay in Rome, Georg Erdman Rosenberg sent him the floor plans of Palazzo Chigi-Odescalchi, where the Danish king used to stay while travelling. The U-shaped ground plan of the palazzo, rebuilt by Gian Lorenzo Bernini for Pope Alexander VII Chigi in 1665, later served as a model for the new



7. Carl Gottlob Horn.  
Design for the garden façade in  
Wandsbek,  
approved by Schimmelmann  
on 13 June 1768.  
State Archives Hamburg,  
720-1 Plankammer, Nr. 152-1=7\_653.7

Wandsbek building.<sup>58</sup> A close collaboration between Carl Gottlob Horn and Georg Erdman Rosenberg, initiated by Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann, was to be assumed in the following years.

Wandsbek's interior courtyard façade (fig. 8), however, deviated stylistically in the preserved designs in the Hamburg State Archives from the three sides of the building, which were based on Bernstorff Palace in Gentoft. Carl Gottlob Horn obviously tried to integrate the tower into a volute gable covering the façade, a form he knew from Baroque church buildings, and he interrupted the central risalit with four wide horizontal bands. Moreover, he did not use any Ionic colossal pilasters, festoons or oval medallions in the middle of the façade.<sup>59</sup> He probably had not seen the palace in Gentoft first-hand.

<sup>58</sup> Ceynowa, Tatjana. *Das Wandsbeker Herrenhaus des Heinrich Rantzau. Zur Geschichte eines Adligen Gutes in Holstein*. Kiel: Ludwig, 2004, 297; Deuter 1997, 69–70.

<sup>59</sup> Deuter 1997, 73–74.

In June 1768 Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann approved Carl Gottlob Horn's design for Wandsbek's garden façade; the shell was probably completed between 1772 and 1774, but very probably according to later designs that have not survived, and ten years later the castle was completely finished.<sup>60</sup> The realised façades show a close relationship to the Frederiksgave manor



8. Carl Gottlob Horn.  
Design for the courtyard façade,  
Wandsbek.  
1767–1768. State Archives Hamburg,  
720-1 Plankammer, Nr. 152-1=7\_653.1

house on Funen (Fyn), built at about the same time as Wandsbek by Georg Erdman Rosenberg.<sup>61</sup>

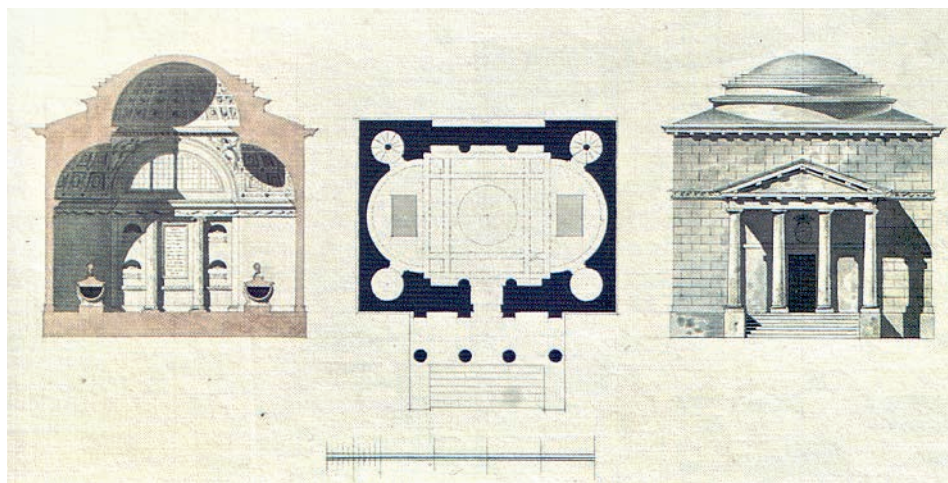
Carl Gottlob Horn also supplied the draft for the garden (fig. 5), which before Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's intervention in Carl Gottlob Horn's plans was to be strictly Dutch–French with hedges and bedding. Carl Gottlob Horn used Prince Eugene of Savoy's Belvedere Garden in Vienna (Wien) as a model for his revised sketches. In addition, bosquets are the main motif of the garden, and Carl Gottlob Horn ignored the emphasis on the central axis chosen by the French garden designer Dominique Girard.<sup>62</sup> The usual floral parterre is missing, but there are no hints of a landscape park as was already developed in Schleswig-Holstein as designed by the garden theorist Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld. Drawings of Traventhal and Jersbek in Carl Gottlob

<sup>60</sup> Hirschfeld 1934, 333, 340.

<sup>61</sup> Deuter 1997, 69.

<sup>62</sup> Hirschfeld 1934, 355.

Horn's collection also suggest that these might have served as inspiration.<sup>63</sup> The garden was modernised in 1778 after a visit of Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld, using elements from the English landscape garden.<sup>64</sup> In the fourth volume of his *Theorie der Gartenkunst* of 1782, Christian Cay Lorenz Hirschfeld noted that the innovations to be made 'particularly concerned the moderation of the still visible symmetry of the first complex, as well as many extensions and completely new scenes and buildings. At the time when I was last at Wandsbek, all this was agreed upon and intended for execution'.<sup>65</sup> Previously,



9. Carl Gottlob Horn. Design for the mausoleum in Wandsbek (the so-called 'interim design'). 1785. Longitudinal section, ground plan, front elevation. State Archives Hamburg, reproduced in Pommerening 2004, 111

Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann had had figures for the garden made by Rachette between 1773 and 1777, and he acquired others from the estate of Count Brühl of Dresden, whom he admired very much but who had died ten years earlier.<sup>66</sup> The concept of the modern landscape garden seems to have penetrated Carl Gottlob Horn at this time and not much later, because when he planned the garden for Emkendorf in 1791, he again planned a static system with a roundabout, avenues and bedding, without taking into account the natural conditions. It was not until 1802, shortly before his retirement, that he planned 'irregular footpaths through woods and meadows', in accordance with the prevailing landscape gardening ideas.<sup>67</sup>

Carl Gottlob Horn's latter work in this lifelong employment relationship was the design of Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's funeral chapel (fig. 9). The planning, which Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann initiated a year before

<sup>63</sup> Hirschfeld 1934, 355.

<sup>64</sup> Hirschfeld 1934, 355; Hirschfeld 1935, 346.

<sup>65</sup> "... die besonders auf die Milderungen der noch zu sichtbaren Symmetrie der ersten Anlage gingen, auch viele Erweiterungen und ganz neue Szenen und Gebäude. Alles dieses ward damals, als ich das letztmal zu Wandsbek war, verabredet und zur Ausführung bestimmt." Hirschfeld 1934, 356.

<sup>66</sup> Hirschfeld 1939, 392.

<sup>67</sup> "Regellose Fußwege durch Wald und Wiesen", Hirschfeld 1934, 357.



his death in 1782, also followed a similar pattern to his previous work here. Initially, various artists were commissioned to draw up drafts: Caspar Frederik Harsdorff, Johannes Wiedewelt, Carl Frederik Stanley and Luigi Grossi from Copenhagen, Johan Tobias Sergel from Stockholm and Johann Adam Oeser from Leipzig.<sup>68</sup> Finally, Carl Gottlob Horn designed a tomb, which Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's son Ernst sent to Giovanni Antonio Antolini in Rome for examination.<sup>69</sup> In 1786 Giovanni Antonio Antolini returned the new designs, which Carl Gottlob Horn simplified on the basis of cost planning



10. Caspar Frederik Harsdorff. Funeral chapel for Frederik V with a grave monument by Johannes Wiedewelt. 1768–1777, 1825 completed. Roskilde Cathedral. Photo: Julia Trinkert

and adapted based on the interior of Caspar Frederik Harsdorff's chapel for Frederik V in Roskilde Cathedral (fig. 10).<sup>70</sup> The Wandsbek chapel was completed in 1792, the necessary marble sarcophagi having arrived from Italy two years earlier.<sup>71</sup>

After Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's death, Carl Gottlob Horn was involved, until 1790, in the construction of farmhouses in Wandsbek parallel to the construction of the burial chapel.<sup>72</sup> He received a pension of 200 talers but also worked until his death for Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's son-in-law Friedrich (Fritz) Karl Graf von Reventlow at Emkendorf Manor,

<sup>68</sup> Hirschfeld 1935, 347.

<sup>69</sup> Hirschfeld 1935, 349.

<sup>70</sup> Hirschfeld 1935, 350.

<sup>71</sup> Hirschfeld 1935, 351.

<sup>72</sup> Hirschfeld 1934, 334.

where he rebuilt the main building and designed the gardens.<sup>73</sup> He used proven smooth colossal pilasters such as those from Wandsbek, which he had planned thirty years earlier.<sup>74</sup> The Rewentlowsches Palais at Flämische Str. 19 in Kiel and the extension of the university hospital there are also attributed to him.<sup>75</sup> For the Reventlow brothers, Cai and Heinrich, he built Altenhof and, in 1803, Falkenberg Manor near Schleswig.<sup>76</sup>

The cavalier houses at Knoop Manor are also Carl Gottlob Horn's work.<sup>77</sup> Another son-in-law of Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann, Count Baudissin, entrusted Carl Gottlob Horn with this assignment one year after Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's death. For the redesign of the manor house itself, Carl Gottlob Horn again relied on proven forms from Wandsbek and planned eleven axes, a hipped roof and a ridge turret with a Baroque dome. He designed a stylistically different porch with Ionic columns and an attached mezzanine in front of the classical central risalit.<sup>78</sup> Later, Axel Bundsen adopted this proposal for the courtyard and garden front in 1793 to 1796.<sup>79</sup>

Carl Gottlob Horn died on 1 May 1807 at the age of 73.<sup>80</sup> His estate included clothing, work utensils and musical instruments, as well as an extensive collection of folders with hundreds of engravings of landscapes, buildings, gardens and architectural drawings, 48 framed copper engravings, oil paintings that included a portrait of himself, statues and a box of plaster and wooden models.<sup>81</sup>

## CONCLUSION

During his more than 50 years in employment with the von Schimmelmann family, Carl Gottlob Horn carried out numerous prestigious construction projects, although he acted outside the usual dynamics of his artistic contemporaries. The special employment situation and the close livelihood and artistic dependence on his employer led to a surprising immobility. Carl Gottlob Horn followed Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann at the age of about 22 from Saxony to Hamburg and on to Holstein. After that, only two short journeys to France arranged by Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann can be proven. This form of mobility clearly differs from the examples usually considered and can be described as passive migration. Carl Gottlob Horn was not dependent on competition and did not have to react to changing markets. He implemented his employer's commissions according to their wishes and specifications without creating progressive designs, intrinsically dealing with new tasks elsewhere or even wanting to compete with his contemporaries.

73 Hirschfeld 1934, 334; Hirschfeld 1935, 344.

74 Hirschfeld 1934, 350.

75 Hirschfeld 1934, 334.

76 Deuter 1997, 66; Hirschfeld 1935, 344.

77 Hirschfeld 1935, 343–344.

78 Hirschfeld 1934, 342.

79 Hirschfeld 1934, 342.

80 Hirschfeld 1934, 334.

81 Hirschfeld 1934, 361.

While sought-after artists often worked at court or for the aristocracy, Carl Gottlob Horn's career does not show any intellectual exchange with other architects, but rather the adoption and careful supplementation of already existing building forms. These building forms show how well established his employer Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann was in the Danish aristocratic circles, and how this acceptance ultimately opened up creative scope for Schimmelmann, which Horn then implemented as commissions. Carl Gottlob Horn was allowed to work in his own world until the end of his life.

The career of Carl Gottlob Horn, a second-rank artist, was inevitably linked to special factors that can be explained by the social establishment of the parvenu Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann in the Danish aristocracy and the resulting need for a representation appropriate to his status. The social ascension of Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann, his remarkable wealth, self-confident demeanour, extravagant lifestyle, successful admission to the Danish aristocracy and his position as treasurer of the Kingdom of Denmark amazed his contemporaries. The socialisation of this middle-class merchant at the Saxon and Prussian courts resulted in an acquired aristocratic habitus, which led to uncertainties, especially in social and cultural contexts. His wealth, acquired early on, probably triggered Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's ambitious and goal-oriented career aspiration for an important position. On his way to social advancement, Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann probably lacked important key skills in the beginning of his career to establish himself there. His contacts with foreign diplomats led him into Danish aristocratic society, whose scarce resources he was able to serve with his fortune, extensive representative real estate, his own master builder, Carl Gottlob Horn, close networks, prestigious titles and extravagant celebrations. With the help of Carl Gottlob Horn, he was able to skillfully compensate for the inadequacies in his cultural capital.

Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann and Carl Gottlob Horn were likely to lack the necessary cultural capital, which Carl Gottlob Horn, however, acquired through literature and Schimmelmann's network: Danish role models who worked for the court in Copenhagen and thus undoubtedly represented the taste of the targeted society. These included the Danish court architect Nicolas-Henri Jardin and his pupil and later Copenhagen city architect Georg Erdman Rosenberg, whom he clearly emulated.

Carl Gottlob Horn was less the architect postulated by art historians as innovative in Schleswig-Holstein, the first representative of early classicism, than a solidly working architect who drew on the designs of established colleagues. Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann's role models here were exclusively the most important politicians in Denmark, Senior Court Marshal Adam Gottlob Moltke and Danish Foreign Minister Johann Hartwig Ernst von Bernstorff, as well as the royal house and its artists. By drawing on these sources of inspiration, he reproduced his contemporaries' perceptions of the aristocratic social reality surrounding him on his estates in Holstein.

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# PRAGMATIC MIGRATION AND ROMANTIC NOMADISM OF ARTISTS ACROSS AND FROM THE GERMAN-RULED BALTIC PROVINCES OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE AT THE TURN AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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## SUMMARY

After the demise of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia in 1795, when its territory was annexed to the Russian Empire, the local world of art became dispersed, fragmentary and fluid; migration of artists was inevitable. For artists of local origin, migration could be the result of educational accomplishments. Most migrant artists travelled to Germany (Berlin, Dresden, Düsseldorf), at times ending up also in Paris, Vienna, Switzerland and Rome. Some of them returned, but others stayed for good in their new places of residence (Johann Jakob Müller, Ernst Gotthilf Bosse, Johann Carl Baehr, Eduard Schmidt von der Launitz et al.). At the same time, artists mainly from Germany came to the Baltic provinces, either to look for work or to execute special commissions. They settled here for shorter or longer periods but later could return to their homeland or proceed further to St Petersburg (the twin von Kügelgen brothers, Johann Friedrich Tielcker, Joseph Dominikus Oechs, Gottlieb Schwencke et al.). The mobility of all these artists was migration in the full sense of the word, and it had a quite pragmatic motivation.

The mobility of some artists of the time can be explained in a more subtle way involving concepts of aesthetics and even psychology. Pragmatic needs mingled with a nomadic yearning for romantic wandering in search for creative stimuli. A paradigmatic example is the well-known biography and artistic output of Karl Gotthard Grass (1767–1814). Some other artists (Gustav Hippius, Otto Ignatius, August Georg Wilhelm Pezold, Johann Leberecht Eggink et al.) could also be named.

It is impossible to assert that pragmatic and nomadic wandering was a phenomenon specific to the Baltic art world. Biographical data of many artists from the Northern countries, Germany and Russia contain information about analogous migration routes, centres of educational interests and permanent or temporary working places. Broad general

context is indispensable. It is possible only to venture a comparative generalisation and to state that migration and nomadism of Baltic artists were especially fluent and rootless due to factors of political and social history.

After the demise of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia in 1795, its monarch and court, both significant patrons of art, ceased to exist as a magnet for artists



1. Migration directions of artists related to the Baltic provinces at the turn and the beginning of the 19th century. © Design: Ernests Kļaviņš

and lost their role as managers of the main centre of artistic life. The Duchy was the last Baltic territory annexed to the Russian Empire and thereby turned into one of the Baltic provinces (Livonia, Estonia and Courland in the territory of present-day Estonia and Latvia) that formed the Empire's western part until 1917–1918. The historical context of visual arts making at the beginning of the nineteenth century could be concisely described in terms of binary oppositions: centralised empire versus the autonomous Baltic nobility; landlords versus serfs; German upper class versus low-class Latvians, Estonians and rich burghers; flourishing manors versus poor peasantry; spread of Enlightenment ideas versus conservative politics. Social turmoil, Napoleon's war of 1812, Alexander I's liberal reforms at the very beginning of the century were followed by the stagnative peace of the bureaucratic police state during the reign of Nicholas I. In such historical context, the local world of art, if the notion is adequate in this case, was narrow, dispersed, fragmentary and fluid. In 1902 the first German-writing Baltic art historian Wilhelm Neumann summed up the specificity and spread of

local fine art, explaining its narrowness with the ‘clearly separated classes’ in the society’s structure.<sup>1</sup> Given the absence of any significant centres of art production and consumption, the migration of artists was inevitable (fig. 1).

For artists of local origin, migration could be the result of educational aspirations and accomplishments. At the time when art academies were being established and on the rise throughout Europe, there were none in the Baltic

2. Johann Peter Pfab.  
*Self-Portrait.*  
 Not later than 1811.  
 Oil on canvas, 65 x 54 cm.  
 © Riga History and Navigation  
 Museum (Rīgas vēstures un  
 kuģniecības muzejs).  
 Photo from the archives  
 of publishing house *Neputns*



provinces. The drawing school within Dorpat (now Tartu) University could not substitute for a specialised high profile institution. Most artists wanting to obtain the higher-level or at least good education, travelled west, largely to Germany, where they studied in Berlin, Dresden, Düsseldorf, at times ending up also in Paris, Vienna, Switzerland and Rome. Some of them returned, but some stayed for good in their new places of residence. For instance, Riga-born Johann Jakob Müller (1765–1831), called ‘Müller from Riga’ (*Müller von Riga*), studied painting at Dresden Academy of Art, stayed for some time in Rome but settled permanently in Stuttgart, where he became known as a cultivator of Classicist landscapes. Johann Peter Pfab (1769–1811), the son of a Riga blacksmith, went to Paris where, as it seems, he managed to acquire top-level academic mastery, which he used to portray himself as a lyrical, pensive dreamer in the vein of Romanticist imagery (*Self-Portrait*, c. 1800, fig. 2). Rigan Ernst Gotthilf Bosse (1785–1862), who studied with Karl August Senff in Dorpat and Dresden Academy

<sup>1</sup> Wilhelm Neumann. *Baltische Maler und Bildhauer des XIX. Jahrhunderts: Biographische Skizzen mit den Bildnissen der Künstler und Reproduktionen nach ihren Werken*. Riga: A. Grosset, 1902, 12.

Professor Joseph Mathias Grassi, finally settled in Florence. Riga-born Johann Carl Baehr (1801–1869) studied in Dresden, where he later became professor at the Academy of Art, fully joining the history of late German Romanticism and producing conventional scenes with historical and religious subjects. Eduard Schmidt von der Launitz from Courland (fig. 3), the most significant Baltic-born sculptor of the era, after a period of studies in Göttingen ended up in Thorvaldsen's workshop in Rome, but since 1829 lived in Frankfurt am Main,



3. Carl Christian Vogel von Vogelstein.  
*Portrait of Eduard Schmidt von der Launitz.*  
 1822. Pencil on paper,  
 23.3 x 17.7 cm  
 © Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche  
 Kunstsammlungen Dresden.  
 Photo: Andreas Diesend

where he produced monuments, grave monuments and architectural sculpture. He also taught at Städtisches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt and Düsseldorf Academy of Art. Launitz's main work in Frankfurt was the multigure monument to the inventor of book printing, Johannes Gutenberg, telling a solemn narrative and placed on a high, historicised base (1856–1858). Eduard von der Launitz's nephew Robert Eberhard von der Launitz (1806–1870) also studied with Thorvaldsen and, after the studies, moved to the USA, where he authored numerous memorials, becoming one of the central figures of the branch. Painter and etcher Friedrich Ludwig von Maydell (1795–1846) from Livonia, after a one-year stay in Stuttgart, educated himself within the circle of the so-called Nazarenes in Rome and then returned to his homeland, settling himself in Reval (now Tallinn).

At the same time, artists mainly from Germany came to the Baltic provinces, either to look for work and subsistence or to execute special commissions. They settled here for shorter or longer periods but later could either return to their homeland or proceed further to St Petersburg. St Petersburg became



a magnet also for Latvia-based Baltic Germans who, having obtained artistic education in the West, strived to build their careers in the Empire's capital, succeeding in some cases. Concerning the group of immigrants and transient artists, the most spectacular one was the achievement of two elite painters, the twin von Kügelgen brothers (fig. 4). Born in Bacharach am Rhein, they studied in Koblenz, Würzburg, made a prolonged trip to Italy, then travelled to Riga and later to St Petersburg. Gerhard Franz von Kügelgen (1772–1820)

4. Gerhard Franz von Kügelgen.  
*Self-Portrait*. C. 1795.  
 Oil on canvas, 65.5 x 58.7 cm.  
 © Riga History and Navigation  
 Museum (Rīgas vēstures un  
 kuģniecības muzejs).  
 Photo from the archives  
 of publishing house *Neputns*



was mainly a portrait painter; wherever he stayed, the circle of his clients were the nobility, sovereigns and renowned cultural figures. A member of both the Prussian and Russian Imperial Academies of Arts, he later settled in Dresden, where he became a professor at the local Academy and made friends with Caspar David Friedrich. Here his brilliant career came to a sudden end, when he was accidentally murdered by a robber. His brother Johann Karl Ferdinand von Kügelgen (1772–1832) painted landscapes and became a court painter in St Petersburg. The two brothers cleverly chose balanced Classicist, sentimental and Romanticist elements, emphasising one or the other depending on the conceived or ordered tasks related to a particular image.

A number of other painters and engravers could be named; unfortunately, their biographical data are scarce. The Braunschweig-born painter and graphic artist Johann Friedrich Tielcker (1763–1832) was active in various places in Germany, including Darmstadt and Berlin; later he stayed in St Petersburg and visited Riga several times. A preserved example of his output is a pastel portrait depicting the influential Baltic liberal enlightener Karl Gottlob Sonntag (no later

than 1827). Another immigrant, Joseph Dominikus Oechs (1775–1836) from Erbach in Württemberg, who specialised in small-format portrait painting, acquired his professional skills in Regensburg, Nuremberg, Dresden, Dorpat, St Petersburg, and finally settled himself in Mitau (now Jelgava) in Courland. A testimony of his skills is a neoclassicist watercolour portrait of an unknown woman (c. 1817). Gottlieb Schwencke (?–1821), whose biography remains very obscure, also worked in Mitau. Said to be born in Saxony, Schwencke studied



5. Gottlieb Schwencke.  
*Portrait of Heinrich von Offenber.*  
 1818. Oil on canvas, 79 x 64.5 cm.  
 © Riga History and Navigation Museum  
 (Rīgas vēstures un kuģniecības muzejs).  
 Photo from the archives  
 of publishing house *Neputns*

with renowned portraitists and travelled a lot. He likely stayed in Mitau several times, his last visit being in 1818. The following year Schwencke moved to Rome to meet his teacher, the famous Viennese painter Joseph Mathias Grassi, and died in Munich in 1821. At least one may conclude that Schwencke encountered masters of the top-level European art centres and is represented in the art history of Latvia with an impressive oil portrait of the Courland High Court President and art collector Heinrich von Offenber (1818, fig. 5). Another little-known immigrant, from Eastern Prussia, was Johann Ferdinand Mäklenburg (also Mäkelburg, 1777–1830). Educated at the Berlin Academy, he was a painter of large-format portraits and miniatures, who worked for several years in Riga and Mitau. One more painter and engraver from Berlin, Karl Wilhelm Seeliger (1766–1821), worked in Riga and later in St Petersburg. To continue the list, Karl Traugott Fechhelm (1748–1819), one of the Dresden-based Fechhelm family painters, with his *veduta*-style documentations of Riga should be named, just as his colleague in this branch of landscapes, Wilhelm Barth (1779–1852), court artist of Prussia, who painted scenes of Riga, Livonia and Courland.

The mobility of all these artists could be called migration in the full sense of the word, and its motivation was quite pragmatic; better professional education signified a better position in the art world and any forthcoming commissions. The latter could also be achieved by travelling and staying in remote places without local artistic forces or, just the opposite, in big centres where there was a pressing need for art-making or educational services. In that regard, the migration of artists from and across the Baltic provinces of the time could



6. Karl Gotthard Grass. *Self-Portrait*. 1808. From Johann Georg von Dillis' original. Pastel on paper. 32 x 29 cm. © Latvian National Museum of Art (Latvijas Nacionālais mākslas muzejs). Photo from the archives of publishing house *Neputns*

be an ideal material for a sociological, even neo-Marxist art history, basing interpretation on the reciprocal relations between artists and consumers.

However, the mobility of some artists can be explained in a more subtle way involving aesthetics and even psychology. Pragmatic needs mingled with a nomadic yearning for wandering in search of places and landscapes which could provide a stimulus to the inventions of scenes corresponding to the Neoclassical ideal of the 'Golden Age' harmony or the Romantic notion of the 'sublime', overpowering and dramatic forces of untamed nature. It can be attributed also to simple wanderlust as a means of escaping unacceptable social rules of an exceedingly materialistic and rational establishment. A paradigmatic example is the biography and artistic output of Karl Gotthard Grass (1767–1814, fig. 6). He was born into a pastor's family in Dzērbene (a small village in Livonia). After attending Riga Imperial Lyceum, Grass studied theology at the University of Jena, at the same time practising drawing, painting, poetry and travelling. Grass's talent was acknowledged by Friedrich Schiller with whom he maintained friendship and correspondence till the poet's death, as well as by Goethe whom



Grass met in 1791. Grass's artistic skills were self-taught; he copied copperplate engravings and was inspired by artists promoted by Goethe, either residents or visitors of Weimar. Grass tended, on the one hand, towards German early Classicist landscape and its compositional stereotypes; on the other hand, he gravitated towards German early Romanticism, sometimes dubbed 'Storm and Drive' (*Sturm und Drang*), analogously to the famous movement of literary 'geniuses'. Its features were orientation to local motifs and sketch-like painterliness (fig. 7). It



7. Karl Gotthard Grass. *Waterfall by Walenstadt*. 1790. Sepia and watercolour on paper, 36.9 x 22.7 cm.  
© Tartu University Library  
(Tartu Ülikooli raamatukogu)

is noteworthy that Schiller, inspecting these works and assessing his friend's poetic talent, in a letter called Grass a 'genius'.<sup>2</sup> After returning to his homeland in 1791, Grass became a teacher of drawing in Riga and got involved with a circle of freethinking enlighteners. He provided one of them, namely Garlieb Merkel, a fierce enemy of serfdom, with the necessary information about the miserable existence of Latvian peasants. Later, Merkel's explosive book *Die Letten, vorzüglich in Livland, am Ende des philosophischen Jahrhunderts* (1797) got a wide acclaim both home and abroad, not just in Germany but also in France and the Scandinavian countries. Grass wandered all over Livonia, painting and drawing landscapes (so-called prospect views) and some figural compositions for his former Lyceum teacher Johann Christoph Brotze's collection of topographic and ethnographic visual documents that included both ethnographically proper

2 Neumann, Wilhelm. "Der Landschaftsmaler Karl Gotthard Grass". In: *Kunstbeilage des Rigaer Tageblatts*, 11, 1908, 43.



representations of the inhabitants of the depicted places and small figures of voyagers, observers and artists in line with the general typology of travellers and nature's admirers in the Romanticist landscape. He became a pastor in Suntaži but soon gave up this post and left Livonia because of an unfortunate love affair. He settled in Switzerland, visited Paris in 1801 and moved to Italy in 1803. In 1804, Grass together with architects Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Gottfried Steinmeier and writer Philipp Rehfuës travelled to his dreamland Sicily, where he



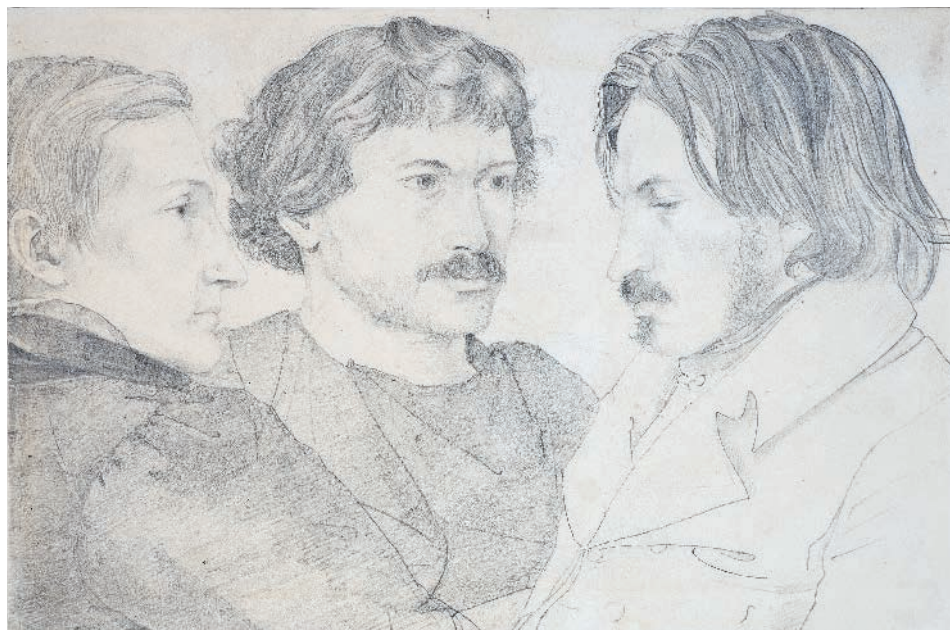
8. Karl Gotthard Grass. *The Carcaci Waterfall near Aderno at the Foot of Mount Etna*. Not later than 1809. Oil on canvas, 88 x 120 cm. © Latvian National Museum of Art (Latvijas Nacionālais mākslas muzejs)

stayed alone in the abandoned Brolo Castle for almost a month. According to Grass's own description, Sicily was for him 'a land of romantically poetic memories', where a traveller is 'surrounded by the golden era of fairytales'.<sup>3</sup> In Brolo, staying in a room with a hole-ridden roof and no windows, having only one meal a day consisting of a piece of bread, wine and fruits, Grass was happy to contemplate and make sketches of the surrounding vistas. He relived the same experience later during his four-month stay in the monastery of Palazzola near Rome. Grass spent the last years of his life in Rome (1805–1814), where he created his largest and most complete works: four landscapes with Sicilian motifs exhibited in the Roman Capitoline in 1809. The motifs were arranged so as to create an ideal, epically heroic landscape (*Spring Morning in the Sant'Angelo di Brolo Valley*, not later than 1809, the Zuzāns Collection); in one of the Sicilian landscapes,

3 Grass, Karl. "Etwas über meine dem Andenken an Sicilien gemahlten vier Landschaften". In: *Zeitung für Literatur und Kunst*, 3, 1812, 12.

the most unconventional of all, he chose, in his own words, what is 'most imposing and dreadful' near Mount Etna: dramatic cliffs and a huge waterfall (*The Carcaci Waterfall Near Aderno at the Foot of Mount Etna*, not later than 1809, fig. 8).

The mobility of young artists was motivated by educational needs. However, they attended art schools in different cities all over Europe for relatively short periods of time, and it seems that seeking new instruction



9. Carl Philipp Fohr. *Triple Portrait of Otto Friedrich Ignatius (left), August Georg Wilhelm Pezold (middle) and Gustav Adolf Hippius (right)*. 1817–1818. Pencil on paper, 11.7 x 18 cm. © Heidelberg, Kurpfälzisches Museum. Photo: K. Gattner

was partly a pretext for romantic wandering. The instruction was modest, but the search for it provided the young romantics with accidental earnings and grants. Romantic travelling could be performed solo or in company. The biographies of four contemporaries from the Baltic provinces, which can be detected from literary sources and diaries, provide a striking example of the 'companionship mode' of travelling. Gustav Hippius (1792–1856), Otto Ignatius (1794–1824), August Georg Wilhelm Pezold (1794–1859, fig. 9) from Estonia and Johann Leberecht Eggink (1787–1867) from Courland met each other in 1815–1816 in Vienna, where they attended the local Academy of Arts. Having failed to achieve any satisfactory gains, they tried to improve themselves individually and enjoy social life. They were friendly and enthusiastic; it was the time when 'heart ruled', as Leopold Pezold, son of August Pezold, later wrote.<sup>4</sup> They were poor, and their regular meals, as it is said, consisted of bread, cheese, milk, sometimes potatoes, pears and, on festive occasions,

4 Pezold, Leopold von. "Aus den Wanderjahren dreier estländischer Maler". In: *Baltische Monatsschrift*, 36, 1889, 723.

wine. Each of them had already had some *Wanderjahre*. Hippius visited Berlin, Dresden and Prague; Ignatius went to St Petersburg and then to Berlin; Pezold, after studies in Dorpat University, accompanied Ignatius on his trip to Berlin; Eggink studied philosophy and art at Dorpat, then after attending drawing classes at the Art Academy in St Petersburg travelled to Berlin and Dresden. In 1816, Hippius and Eggink left Vienna for Munich; they wandered on foot as far as Salzburg, staying for a day in a monastery in Admont, then reached Munich in a post chaise. Their studies there were short, if any. Two preserved Eggink's drawings of models were likely made in the Art Academy. Hippius was busy with a love affair and made an excursion to Augsburg, where he enjoyed the old masters in the local gallery. Their four-month stay in Munich ended in February 1817, when both painters departed for Italy. They went via Venice and Florence to Rome, where they later met Ignatius and Pezold who had also made a four-month trip from Vienna to Trieste, then to Venice, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Mantua and Florence. In Rome, the Baltic romantics joined the colony of German-speaking artists, making friends with the so-called Nazarene artists. Rome was a fascinating place with regard to finding examples to follow and making social contacts with like-minded artists. Nevertheless, after a few years they also left Rome. The wandering enthusiasts gradually turned into migrating artists in search for secure professional income and stable jobs. In 1819 Ignatius returned to his homeland before moving to St Petersburg, where he got some commissions from the court; he died there in 1824. Hippius, after a trip to Switzerland, also moved to St Petersburg in 1820, where he became a teacher of drawing and painted commissioned portraits for the next thirty years. Pezold's course to the same place was more complicated: he travelled to Paris and London, returned to Estonia in 1821, went to St Petersburg in 1825, but came back to the Baltic provinces, worked for a while in Riga, Wenden (now Cēsis), Fellin (now Viljandi) and Dorpat, and finally got drawing teacher tenure in some institutions of the Empire's capital.

Notwithstanding incomplete sources of information, it is possible to presume that there were other examples of nomadic Baltic artists. For instance, Johann Samuel Benedictus Grune (1783–1848) from Eisleben likely obtained artistic education in Berlin, travelled around Germany and northern Italy, and finally became the drawing tutor for Prince Karl Christoph Lieven's family in St Petersburg and Courland. He created free, picturesque visions in the vein of Romanticist, subjective self-expression. A tendency towards peculiar solutions, subjective fantasies, a sketch-like brushwork and even certain amateurishness allow comparing Grune with the German *Sturm und Drang* trend, whose conception Grune could retain in the provincial Courland as late as the early nineteenth century. Or the almost totally marginalised landscape painter Johann Ferdinand Blazewicz (1804–1866) from Mitau who, after studies in Dresden with Johann Christian Dahl, travelled around Bavaria, Saxony, Switzerland and Silesia until his return to Mitau in 1836 or 1837. While travelling, Blazewicz



searched for motifs of cliffs, waterfalls, broken trees and thunderclouds essential in all Romanticists' landscapes, relying on immediate impressions and moods evoked by the motifs (fig. 10).

It is certainly impossible to assert that pragmatic and nomadic wandering was a specific phenomenon of the Baltic art world. Biographical data of many artists from the Northern countries, Germany and Russia contain information



10. Johann Ferdinand Blazewicz. *Rhine Waterfall near Schaffhausen*. 1832. Oil on canvas, 58.5 x 82 cm.  
© Art Museum Riga Bourse at the Latvian National Museum of Art (Mākslas muzejs "Rīgas Birža").  
Photo: Normunds Brasliņš

about analogous migration routes, centres of educational interests and permanent or temporary working places. German romantic migrants and nomads are typologically the nearest. We can encounter their representations in some iconic works of Caspar David Friedrich, Ludwig Richter and Moritz von Schwindt. The wanderer was an important figure in the German literature of the period, as discussed in the research of Andrew Cusack.<sup>5</sup> Broad general context, anyway, is indispensable. It is possible only to venture a comparative generalisation and to state that migration and nomadism of Baltic artists were especially fluent and rootless due to the mentioned factors of political and social history.

5 Andrew Cusack. *The Wanderer in Nineteenth-Century German Literature: Intellectual History and Cultural Criticism*. Rochester, New York: Camden House, Boydell & Brewer, 2008.



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