Artists and Migration
1400-1850

Artists and Migration 1400-1850:

Britain, Europe and beyond

Edited by

Kathrin Wagner, Jessica David
and Matej Klemenčič

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This book first published 2017

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FOREWORD

When, in 2014, scholars from Germany, Slovenia and the United States were preparing to edit a comprehensive volume on artists and migration from the late Middle Ages to the nineteenth century they chose Britain as the epicentre for their publication, as for art, scholarship and much more it is still one of the most dynamic places in the world. For thousands of years people from different parts of Europe and later the British colonies have made their way to the Isles, which for a long period of time have been described as "*angleterre*" —the *end* or the *last angle* of the known *earth.*

In mythology the major name used for these Isles and their leading country derived from an apocryphal son of King Priam, Brutus, who is said to have fled from Troy to settle in Bretagne and then Great Britain. In reality, Britain's early history is one of colonization, beginning with the Romans and followed by the Angles and Saxons who came from what was to become part of Denmark and Germany. Their pagan tribes invaded the Celts whose insular culture—as a paradox of history—played an outstanding role in preserving the written tradition of Latin Christianity in script and codex. Later, French became the court language in London for centuries because William the Conqueror, a Norman from French Normandy, conquered England. Close connections with France also characterized the remaining years of the Middle Ages, culminating in the Hundred Years' War during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the English were battling for their right to the French crown and their immense territory on the Continent.

Unrest towards the rest of Europe and the world was a major characteristic of English culture ever since. Sailors and merchants, soldiers and noblemen sought to gain influence in a world explored by seafarers who needed safe places, strongholds which tended to become colonies on almost every coast they were to pass. During the Middle Ages, pilgrims were already travelling long distances from the British Isles to Jerusalem, Rome or Santiago de Compostela: when Henry VIII broke with Rome, a sense of cultural pilgrimage took over, at least for well-to-do Englishmen who made their *Grand Tour* and returned with accounts and physical mementoes of the Continent.

At the same time, the Isles grew in attraction for continental artists who travelled the other way to disembark in London. Initially, they may have followed their patrons, gentlemen who served in the army when the English withdrew from France at the end of the Hundred Years' War in the middle of the fifteenth century. When the War of the Roses was over more than a generation later, and peace promised a stable court life, sculptors like the Florentine Pietro Torrigiano made a much longer journey to settle in London. They were swiftly followed by Flemings like the Horenbout family from Ghent. In the latter case we do not know for sure whether they fled the upheavals of the Reformation or were attracted by the new splendor of Henry VIII and his court. Once more a paradox may be observed: prominent painters like Hans Holbein the Younger, who had lost a major part of their income when iconoclasm swept over Germany, gained a new reputation in England despite the fact that they could not produce the same subject matter that had previously sustained them, with iconoclasts being even more radical on the Isles.

But a keen interest in portraiture in English society gave their work a new dimension, were it in easel painting like Holbein's or portrait miniatures like the Horenbouts'. Portraiture, which would continue to feed great immigrant painters of the twentieth century, such as Frank Auerbach or Lucien Freud, remained important for foreign artists in England. Often, these painters did not simply import their skill and aesthetic from the Continent to the Isles, but also developed them in a way that they may not have done at home. One may well therefore discuss whether Anthony van Dyck created English Baroque portraiture or if British society and taste had their part in this great achievement.

The excellent exhibition "Migrations—Journeys into British Art" at Tate Britain in 2012 presented a much broader range of migration experiences and motivations than those famous journeys of great painters and illuminators to Britain. In contrast to the predominantly British perspective of the exhibition, the essays included here stress an international point of view and the dynamics of cross-national, cross-regional and cross-cultural migration of artists in early modern times. In this volume, Kathrin Wagner from Liverpool Hope University, Jessica David from the Yale Centre for British Art in New Haven and Matej Klemenčič from the University of Ljubljana present selected papers from the international art history conference "Inter-Culture 1400–1850. Art, Artists and Migration" that was held at Liverpool Hope University in 2013. It attracted a range of international scholars from Tate Britain, the Warburg Institute in London, the University of Cambridge, Yale University,

the Free University Berlin, the New University of Lisbon, and other European and American institutions.

Not everyone who spoke in Liverpool is represented in this volume, and some scholarship is now included which was not delivered there. A collection of essays cannot serve as a reader of history; these contributions therefore discuss the topic thematically rather than chronologically. This collection of texts considers early modern Britain and its long history as a migrant nation for artists and others alike as a vantage point from which to view what was simultaneously happening in the rest of Europe, the colonial territories, and other parts of the world. The international team of editors may be congratulated for engaging with such important art historical trends and discussions and for their insights on these crucial historical networks.

Eberhard König
Berlin

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

THE MIGRANT ARTIST
IN EARLY MODERN TIMES

KATHRIN WAGNER

Migration is a phenomenon as old as mankind. It existed and exists in any society, any period and any social class and is not—as often assumed —an occurrence that arises only as a consequence of the industrialisation in the nineteenth century. In early modern times, painters, sculptors and architects frequently left their place of origin to live and work far away from home. Migration research is commonly conducted within History, Politics and the Social Sciences. In this chapter, I discuss established models and theories of the phenomenon and apply them specifically to the migration of Western European artists during the early modern period. Individual migration patterns help to compile empirical data towards the exploration of common trends and tendencies. The periods before and after the actual act of migration are equally important to analyse. The most significant aspect of the pre-migrational phase is the motivation of artists to migrate, establishing whether it was a voluntary, half-voluntary or coerced act. Contributing factors of such a decision may have been financial, the wish to improve artistic skills, be part of a professional network that required the artist to work abroad, or due to hardship caused by religious or political prosecution. Analysis of the post-migrational phase is equally important as it reveals the status of the artist in the new environment as well as their motivation for staying in a foreign place or returning home.

Museums and Galleries

Migration, and particularly migration among artists, is only occasionally the subject of exhibitions or displays in museums and galleries. Museums that commemorate migration and its impact are often founded in regions that were severely affected by a decline in the number

of residents, such as Växjö in Southern Sweden (Smålands Museum) or Güssing/Burgenland in Austria (Auswanderermuseum—Josef Reichl). The Maritime Museum in Liverpool examines the effects of migration in its permanent display. The museum's temporary exhibition "On their own—Britain's child migrants" (2014–15) focused on the period between 1869 and 1967 when British children were sent to various parts of the Commonwealth, such as Canada and Australia (Hahn 2012, 11). The Museum in Dudelange in Luxemburg focuses on the immigration to that country since the Middle Ages, and is located close to the site where Italian migrants once lived. The most complex representation of the subject can be found in North American museums, in regions that were strongly affected by arriving migrants. The museum in Ellis Island, the Tenement Museum on the Lower East side in New York City and the Pier 21 Museum in Halifax, Canada are but a few. Migration among artists is only occasionally a topic for exhibitions and museum displays and often gets presented as a secondary topic, such as in the exhibition "Dynasties. Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530–1630" at Tate Britain in 1995/96 (Hearn 1995). The first exhibition that was entirely dedicated to the topic of artists and migration was held at the same institution in 2012 and was entitled "Migrations—Journeys into British Art" (Carey-Thomas 2012). It offered a unique perspective on the history of British art that has been affected by successive waves of migration during the last five hundred years.

Models and Theories

Etymologically, the word migration goes back to the Latin word *migrare,* which can be translated as *to migrate* but also as *to wander* or *to roam*. In other European languages, such as German, the term migration has only been used since the early twentieth century when it replaced the more common *Wanderung* (Kulischer/Kulischer 1932, 33). According to Hahn (2012, 26) it is important to make a distinction between journey and migration. The latter term should be used if the person travelling gives up the place of residence in order to look for a new one.

Leading scholars in the field have offered various definitions of the term migration (Ravenstein 1885/89, Heberle 1972, Köllmann 1976, Tilly 1990 etc.). This diversity in interpretation illustrates the plurality of the subject. In 1885 the German-English Geographer Ernst Georg Ravenstein laid the foundation stone for any future research on migration. In his *Laws of Migration* (1885/89, 181ff.) he classified five different groups of migrants: the local migrants, the short-journey migrants, the long-journey

migrants, migrants by stages, and temporary migrants. Heberle (1972, 69) questions the existence of general laws and establishes specific typologies of migration (Typologie der Wanderung). He also introduced the aspects of voluntary, half-voluntary and coerced migration and counts work-related migration as voluntary. He considered migration, with a political or religious impetus as forced migration (Heberle 1972, 71). The American historian and sociologist Charles Tilly distinguishes colonizing, coerced, circular, chain and career migration, but also underlines that "the five different types overlap somewhat, but differ on the average with respect to both retention of positions in sending networks and permanence of the move involved" (Tilly 1990, 88). Tilly also stresses the importance of social networks, and that migration should not be seen as a homogeneous experience. Family, professional or ethnic networks can positively support a new member of the community. But networks can also create or increase social disparity. Tilly states that members of migrant groups often exploited one another as they would not have dared to exploit the native born. According to the author, inclusion also constitutes exclusion.

The theories that have been established to classify movements of migration can be divided into two main groups: 1) those that have an economic focus and discuss migration in relation to the employment market and the law of supply and demand; and 2) those that discuss political, sociological and/or cultural aspects of migration (Hahn 2012, 29–30). One of the most important economic theories to be applied to migration is the Push-and-Pull theory. The *push* factor indicates that a financial crisis, unemployment, political conflict or ecological catastrophe can force people to leave their place of origin. They get attracted to other regions or cities with a prosperous economy, which is described as the *pull* factor. Since the 1960s, this concept has also been applied in studies of historical migration that predate the nineteenth century. Recently the neoclassical economic model of the Push-and-Pull theory has been questioned (Parnreiter 2000, 27). The main point of the critique was the exclusive focus on supply and demand of human labour. It was also doubted that poverty was the main factor for migration since historical and sociological studies show that it is not the poorest members of a community who migrate. Poverty can be one element that supports the decision to migrate but other factors, such as family or professional networks, can also influence people in their decision (Hahn 2012, 31).

The Artist-Migration-Model

Many artists lived in various places before arriving indirectly at their final destination; their act of migration was conducted in stages. A one-way and definite movement of migration includes the artist's death in the new place of residence. Another consequence of the indirect movement in stages could be the return to the place of origin, described by the term circular act of migration. Those artists returning home can be divided into those who lived temporarily abroad (up to five years) and those who lived there on a long-term basis.
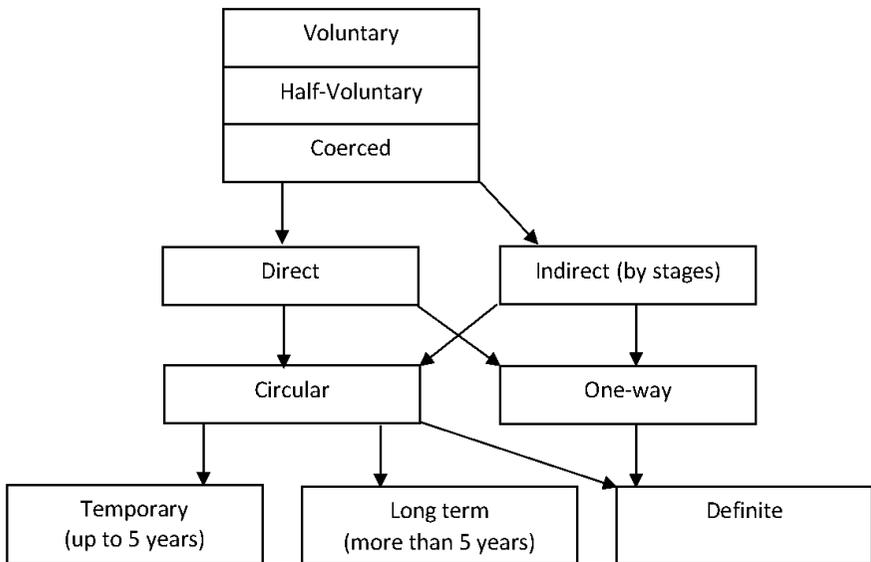

Fig.1-1 Artist-Migration-Model.

However, a circular movement, with the artist returning home, does not necessarily end the migration story. In some cases, artists departed more than once from their place of origin. As in the case of Holbein the Younger, which will be discussed later in this chapter, these multiple departures can still end in a definite act of migration.

Heberle's classification (1972, 71) with the three different types of migration—voluntary, half-voluntary and coerced—is useful for the analysis of this specific professional group. He describes work related motives for migration as voluntary. Many artists, who had been successful in their place of origin, migrated on a temporary or long term basis to broaden their horizons, to raise their artistic profile, or to better their fortunes. One of the most prominent early modern migration stories is that of Hans Holbein the Younger (Fig.1-2). Until 1526, he had successfully worked in Basel, making his mark with portraits of humanist scholars, among them Erasmus of Rotterdam. With Erasmus's recommendation, Holbein easily established himself as an artist in the circle around Thomas Moore and quickly built a reputation that promoted him to King's Painter under Henry VIII. Holbein was initially eager to keep his options open in Basel and to be able to return. As a citizen of Basel he was allowed to be absent for a maximum of two years, and so as not to challenge his citizenship he returned in 1528, but then came back to England in 1531/32 after encountering violent iconoclastic riots (Foister 2006, 13). In Holbein's case one could argue that his motive for migration was voluntary at the beginning and, as it was conducted in stages, half-voluntary after 1530 when his decision to migrate to England for good was also influenced by the difficult political and religious situation in Basel. After becoming an English denizen, Holbein died in London in the late autumn of 1543.
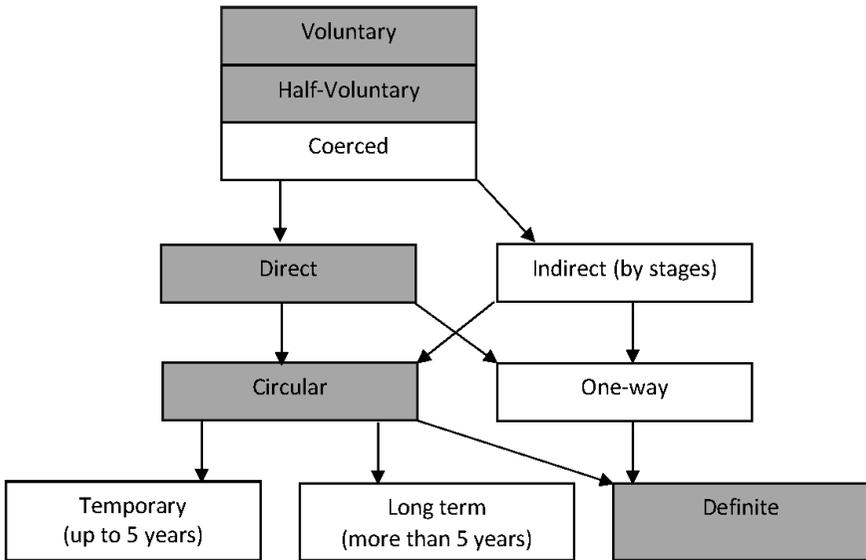
Fig.1-2 Migration patterns of Hans Holbein the Younger (c. 1497–1543).

Voluntary Migration

Voluntary migration was popular among those artists who were part of the "circulating elites" (Hahn 2012, 87). The migration of academics, scholars and educational travellers was extremely important for the dissemination of knowledge. Italy, as the birthplace of the Renaissance, became the place to be for many foreign artists at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The French painter Geoffrey Tory, who had lived in Italy for several years, declared in 1529 in his *Champ Fleury*: "The Italians are sovereign in perspective, painting and sculpture…we have no one here to be compared with Leonardo da Vinci, Donatello, Raphael of Urbino or Michelangelo" (Burke 1998, 80). Temporary migration during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was not only conducted from north to south but also vice versa. With an unusual amount of documentary material, it is possible to reconstruct the life of the Lombard painter Zanetto Bugatto and his patterns of migration (Fig.1-3).
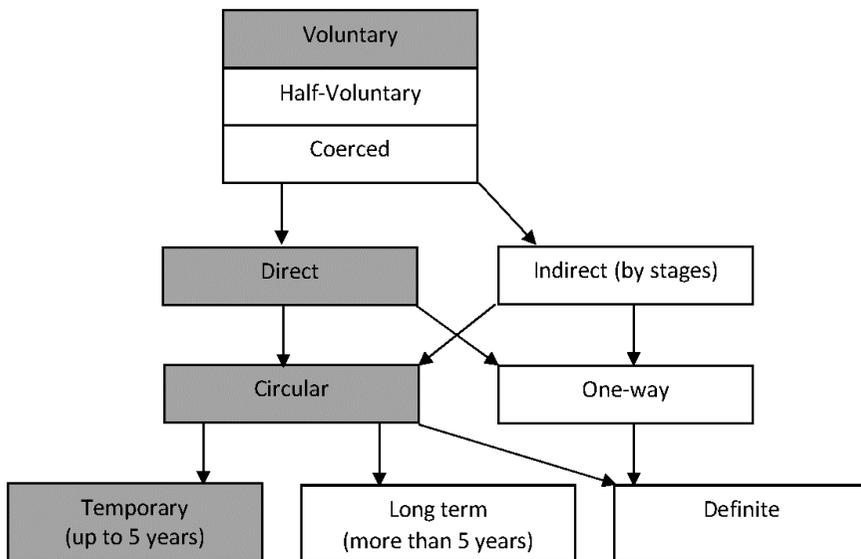
Fig.1-3 Migration patterns of Zanetto Bugatto († 1476).

Bugatto, a key figure in the discussion of Netherlandish influence on Italian painting, was trained in Rogier van der Weyden's workshop in Brussels between 1460 and 1463 (Syson 1996, 300). This stay is recorded in a letter from Bianca Maria Visconti, Duchess of Milan and wife of Francesco Sforza. She wrote to Rogier on 7 May 1463, thanking him for teaching the artist "tucto quello intendevati nel mestiero vostro" (Ibid.). Syson indicates that Bugatto's pictures looked more "Netherlandish" and he assumes that this was regarded as positive (Ibid.). The migration patterns for Bugatto (Fig.1-3) refer to this three-year period but we know that he lived abroad more often. On 6 March 1468, the artist returned to Milan from a longer stay in Paris, where he had painted the portrait of Bona of Savoy, the future wife of Galezzo Maria Sforza. Syson assumes that on this stay he must have seen and been influenced by pictures of Fouquet and other French painters.

The migration of artists as part of the circulating elites was not always limited to a few years, as the examples of eighteenth century artists Mengs and Tischbein illustrate. The German neoclassical painter Anton Raphael Mengs studied under his father in Dresden but spent most of his life as an artist in Rome, where he died in 1779 (von Klenze 1906; Fig.1-4).
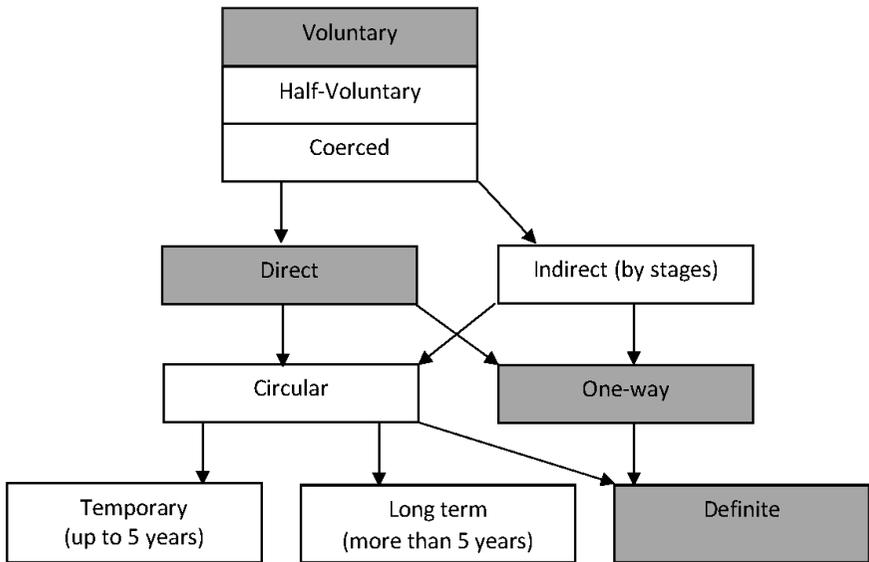
Fig.1-4 Migration patterns of Anton Raphael Mengs (1728–79).

Together with his friend, the archeologist and art critic Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Mengs was crucial to the dissemination of neoclassical ideas in Northern Europe. In 1761 he completed his painting of the *Parnassus* at the Villa Albani in Rome and also worked as a portrait painter in Rome, competing with Pompeo Batoni, the leading portraitist in the city. Many educational travellers on their Grand Tour commissioned a portrait to bring home proof of their stay in Italy.

The German painter Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein financed his first stay in Rome in 1779 with a bursary from the Kassel Academy (von Klenze 1906; Fig.1-5).
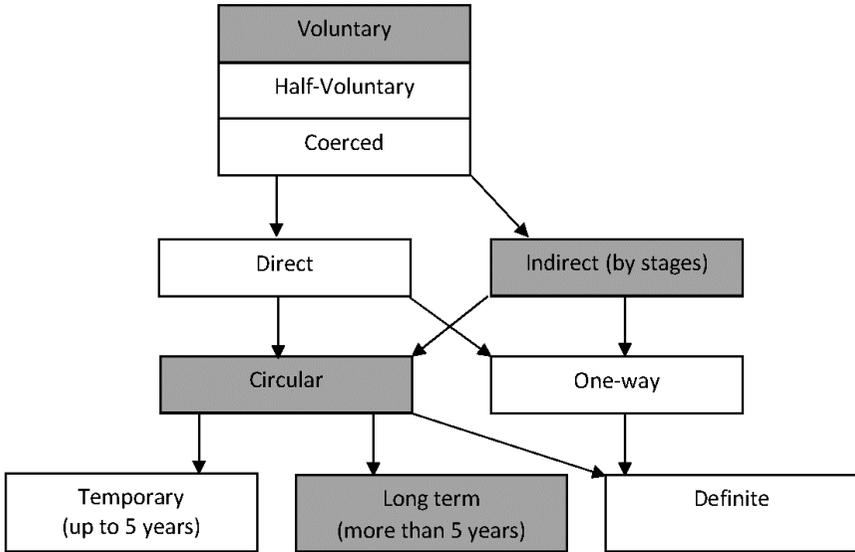
Fig.1-5 Migration patterns of Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein (1751–1829).

When he ran out of money in 1781, he spent two years in Zurich. Tischbein came back to Rome in 1783 after Goethe had arranged another bursary for him, this time paid by Ernst II, Duke of Gotha-Altenburg. During this second stay in Italy, that lasted sixteen years, Tischbein became a friend of Goethe. The artist is most remembered for *Goethe's Portrait as a Traveller in the Roman Campagna* (Moffit 1983). Between 1789 and 1799 Tischbein was director of Naples' Art Academy, the Academia di Belle Arti. He left the city to escape French troops in 1799 and died in 1829 in Eutin, Northern Germany. A coerced return, in contrast to the more common coerced departure, is a rare occurrence among artists, since the return to the home country is normally a voluntary or half-voluntary decision, often made because of personal or financial reasons. Tischbein's migration story can therefore be described as follows: it started with voluntary movement, was conducted in stages and was long term. Due to the artist's coerced return to Germany it was circular.

The matrimonial policy among European noble families also enforced mobility among artists and craftsmen. Italian-born Beatrice of Aragon, who was married to Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, appointed several artists and craftsmen at her court, among them Verrocchio and Filippino Lippi. Italian Renaissance elements were used for building and

decorating the palaces in Buda and Visegrád (Burke 1998). Most of these voluntary movements were circular and temporary, limited to five years or less.

But it was not only new marriages that enforced the appointments of foreign artists at royal courts. Neil Cuddy (1995, 11) describes the role and importance of art at the English court in the early sixteenth century: "…dynastic preoccupations shaped that elite's culture. Part of that culture, new and increasingly significant, was the commissioning, collecting, and display, of paintings". For most of his reign, Henry VIII competed with the French and Habsburg kings, Francis I and Charles V, not only for wealth, but also in the pursuit of splendour and fashion. With Leonardo in France and Titian in Madrid, Henry was under pressure to appoint a first class painter at his court (Ibid. 14) Holbein's main contribution to the establishment of the dynastic English elite was his unique portrait style. The famous Whitehall portrait of Henry VIII contributed to the establishment of Tudor legitimacy. But the King also appointed a number of European painters who specialized in creating miniature portraits, such as Lucas Horenbout, who was employed as King's Painter and Court Miniaturist from 1525 until his death in 1544. Horenbout was exceptionally well paid, and had an even higher income than Holbein (Strong 1983, 84). The Flemish Renaissance miniaturist Levina Teerlinc came to England in 1545 after Holbein's death and served as Royal Painter to Henry VIII. Teerlinc never returned to her place of origin but died in London in 1576. The list of foreign artists who voluntarily came to the Tudor court and died in London is long, and includes artists such as Hans Eworth, Steven van Herwijck and Steven van der Meulen. Many of them found it difficult to make a living at home and came to England to better their fortunes. In his *Schilder-boek* of 1604, Karel van Mander writes about the artist Lucas Cornelis de Kock:

> As things did not go well for him in Leiden, because he could hardly make a living from painting, and as he understood that art at that time was valued and much sought after in the England of Henry the Eighth, he travelled there with his wife and children, of whom he had at least seven or eight.[1]

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[1] Lucas dewijl het hem te Leyden onghelegen was, overmits dat uyt t'schilderen den cost qualijck wilde vallen, verstaende dat ten tijde van den Conigh van Engelandt Henricus de 8e. de Const daer in't landt in weerden en wel begheert was, vertrock hy derwaerts met Wijf en kinderen, die hy wel tot 7. oft 8. in getal hadde […] (Van Mander 2014).

We know that de Kock substantially improved his finances in England, and his work was very sought after, he even became King's Painter. It is reported by van Mander that when the Earl of Leicester visited the Netherlands he bought many of his works to take them back to England (van Mander 2014). It is unclear whether he returned to the Netherlands to retire but we do know that he died in Leiden around 1552 (RKD 2014).

As Karen Hearn (1995, 9) pointed out, artists living and working in England did not simply sign their work with their name but also with a hint as to their origin. In 1545–56 the German artist Gerlach Flicke signed his work as "Gerlacus flicus Germanus", Quentin Metsys with "ANT" for Antwerp in 1583 and Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger added to his signature "Brugiensis" for "from Bruges" (Ibid.). Gheeraerts' example is particularly interesting since he came to England as a child but insisted on his Flemish heritage for more than forty years; this could imply that artists with foreign roots were likely to be more successful when they explicitly outlined these. We still do not know much about the training artists received in England, but it is known that foreign artistic networks were tightly knit. John de Critz the Elder, for example, was apprenticed in London to a fellow Netherlander, Lucas de Heere. But there is also evidence of successful foreign artists who did not consider a stay in England as a worthwhile option for their career. In 1611 and 1612, Prince Henry tried to appoint Michiel Jansz. van Miereveld, a very successful portrait artist from Delft. Miereveld was unwilling to stay for longer than three months, and since no common agreement could be found the negotiations ended (Hearn 2001, 123).

The success of foreign artists in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries might also be related to the absence of an Academy of Art in the country. In 1680, London did not have an official Academy as was already established in Paris or Brussels (Glanville & Glanville 2004, 18). The informal club of artists and designers, called the Society of Painters, led to the foundation of Keller's and Thornhill's academies. Only at the turn of the century did the employment of English artists increase, enforced by a new nationalism that is evidenced in a comment about the 1714 monument to the Stuarts in the Strand: "Something must be done in England that strangers may not say that we think only of eating and drinking (but) admire us for Polite people in the Arts" (Friedman 1982, 14).

Half-Voluntary Migration

The idea of Transnationalism was established during the 1980s, and originated initially within the political sciences (Glick Schiller 2004). It explores the idea of the migrant living within two different worlds at the same time. New means of communication and media allow migrants in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries to continue participating in the life of their originating society: they become transnational individuals who live in transnational spaces. Bade (2004) and Harzig/Hoerder (2009) criticized this approach as inappropriate for the historical research of migration as it is strongly reliant on the idea of national states.

> Transculturalism denotes the competence to live in two or more differing cultures and, in the process, to create a transcultural space which permits moves and linkages back to the evolving space of origin, entry into the evolving space of destination, connections to other spaces and the everyday praxes of métissage, fusion, negotiation, conflict and resistance. Strategic transcultural competence involves capabilities to plan and act life-projects in multiple contexts and to choose. In the process of transculturation, individuals and societies change themselves by integrating diverse lifeways into a new dynamic everyday culture. Subsequent interactions will change this new—and transitory—culture (Harzig/Hoerder 2009, 84–85).

A simplified concept of Transculturalism is present among builders and stonemasons of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The new Italian style that was spreading into central Europe also meant an increasing demand for Italian architects and builders. Their family networks were solid, and strong ties to their homeland were kept alive over several generations. Master builders often recruited new apprentices in their own home-towns. These intense ties to the place of origin were particularly strong among the builders and plasterers from the region around Milan and Lake Como. Many "magister murariorum" left cities after their building projects were finished, but a few bought land or real estate and acquired civic rights. Francesco Piazzoli migrated in 1629 from Milan to Vienna and achieved the title of Master Craftsman in 1642. He was heavily involved in the building of the city's fortification, and stayed in Vienna throughout his life (Hajdecki 1906, 70).
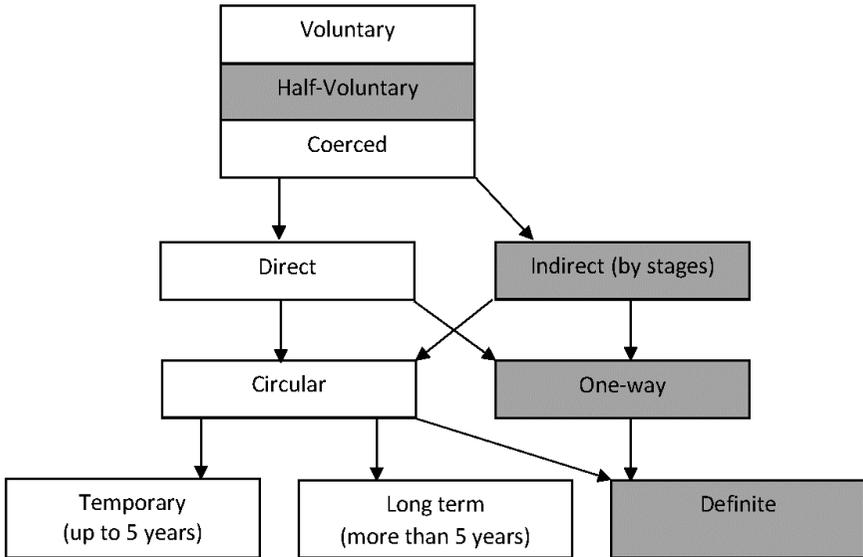
Fig.1-6 Migration patterns of Giovanni Simonetti (1652–1716).

The stucco plasterer (stuccatore) Giovanni Simonetti was born in 1652 in Grisons, Switzerland (Fig.1-6). As part of a transnational network of masons and stucco plasterers, he is first recorded in 1668 as a journeyman bricklayer in Prague (Pfister 1993). In 1680 he finished the stucco decorations of the St. Elisabeth chapel in the Cathedral of Breslau (present-day Wrocław). He was then appointed as Royal Stucco Plasterer at the court in Berlin-Brandenburg. Between 1698 and 1706, he worked as leading and co-ordinating stucco plasterer on his most prestigious project, the stucco decorations of the Berlin city castle. Owing to the demolition of the building in 1950, all of his Berlin works are lost but he left his artistic mark on various other buildings in Eastern Germany, such as the Leipzig Stock Exchange (1687) and Köpenick castle (1684–90). In 1689 Simonetti became a member of the local guild. His migration story started as half-voluntary, since he was part of a transnational network that sent young Grison apprentices to major building works in Europe. It was indirect, or conducted in stages, since the artist lived and worked in various places before settling down in Berlin and can also be described as a one-way movement. The act of migration became definite when the artist died in his last place of residence in Berlin in 1716.

Coerced Migration

Coerced migration among artists was rare but, did nevertheless exist. It was often evoked by times of hardship as a consequence of political and/or religious persecution. The violent plundering during the Sack of Rome in 1527 led to the emigration of various artists (von der Mülbe 1904). Rosso Fiorentino, who had lost most of his possessions, was invited by Francis I to live and work at his court in Fontainebleau (Fig.1-7). Francesco Primaticcio from Bologna followed him in 1532, and also contributed to the extensive decorative programme at Fontainebleau castle. Even after Rosso's death in 1540, young Italian painters such as Niccolo dell'Abate, were recruited south of the Alps. Only the group of artists that emerged around 1594, and that was later called the Second School of Fontainebleau, was shaped by Franco-Flemish artists, such as Ambroise Dubois, Toussaint Dubreuil and Martin Fréminet.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Tudor and Jacobean courts welcomed Flemish and Dutch Protestant artists who were persecuted by the Habsburg regime. John de Critz the Elder was born in Antwerp in 1551/52 but his parents brought him to England shortly afterwards. A reference from 1571 indicates that the family had come "for religion", and were "of the Douche church". In the same year, de Critz was apprenticed to Lucas de Heere who came "hither fyve yeres ago for religion", but returned after the Pacification of Ghent in 1576 (Hearn 2001, 12).

Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger was born in Bruges in 1561 or 62 and came to England in 1568 when his parents were also escaping the persecutions instigated by the Duke of Alba. The young Marcus was most probably trained by his father, Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder, who painted the large altarpiece in the Church of Our Lady in Bruges, and which was destroyed by iconoclasts in 1566. Marcus the Elder married Susanna, the sister of John de Critz in 1571, and Marcus the Younger wed Magdalen de Critz, the sister of his stepmother in 1590. These marriages illustrate how tightly knit the incomer communities were. Karen Hearn stresses the importance of the collaboration among these alien craftspeople that were not always welcomed by the indigenous community (Ibid). When James VI succeeded Elizabeth on the English throne in 1603, John de Critz was appointed almost immediately as Serjeant Painter to the King. A reference from 25 April 1604 indicates "John de Critts born in Flanders and his heirs" were granted denization (Ibid. 122).
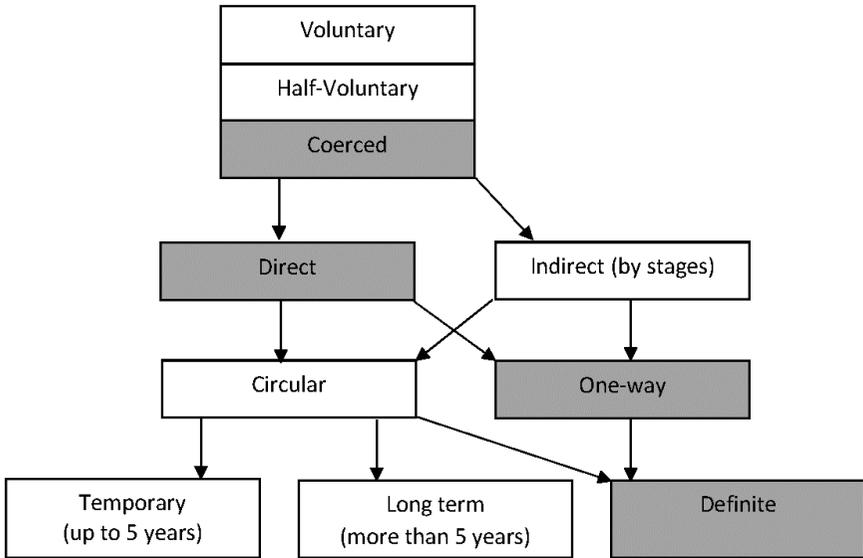
Fig.1-7 Migration patterns of Rosso Fiorentino (1494–1540).

The existence of shared payment records to de Critz and Gheeraerts the Elder strongly suggests they worked in collaboration. The second generation of Netherlandish artists who arrived in England after 1615 came for economic reasons and to advance their careers, among them Paul van Somer and Daniel Mytens: they no longer had to flee political and religious persecution.

The Bohemian etcher Wenceslaus Hollar had to leave his home-town of Prague due to the Sack of Prague during The Thirty Years War (Fig.1-8). He lived in Stuttgart, Strasbourg and Cologne before moving to England in 1636, following an invitation by the art collector Thomas Howard, twenty-first Earl of Arundel (Godfrey 1994). During the English Civil War, Hollar lived and worked in Antwerp and only returned to London in 1652. This adds a unique aspect to Hollar's migration pattern since for political reasons he was forced to migrate twice in his life. The second act of migration, however, was temporary and circular as Hollar returned to London. In 1668, Charles II sent him to Tangier to make drawings and etchings of the town. After his return to England he continued producing etchings such as the large plate of Edinburgh from 1670. Although he lived in poverty at the end of his life, he never left England, and died in London in 1677.
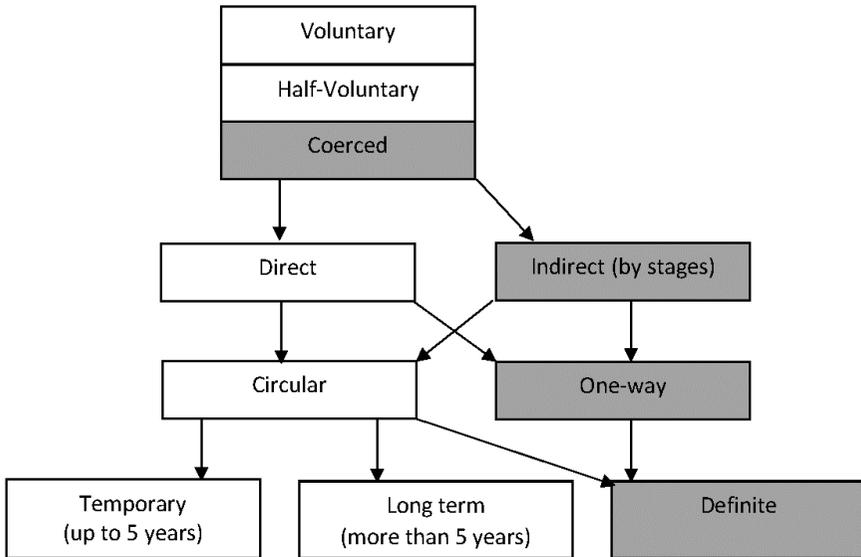
Fig.1-8 Migration patterns of Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–77).

The artists analysed in this chapter derive from various locations spread out across Europe. With the help of the Artist-Migration-Model, it is possible to categorize each unique migration story and to follow up trends and tendencies of migration among western European artists in the early modern period. This allows us to draw the following conclusions.

1) The majority of artists whose migration predated the industrial revolution left their place of origin voluntarily. The main motivation to migrate on a temporary or long-term basis was to better their fortunes and to improve artistic skills.

2) Artists who migrated voluntarily can be considered part of the so-called "circulating elites" (Hahn 2012, 87). They were either attracted to a new place by a new patron or employer (Hollar), sent by a commissioner back home to receive training (Bugatto), or migrated voluntarily to live and work in a new place of their choice that was a hotspot of the contemporary art scene (Mengs).

3) Half-voluntary migration existed when the artist was sent by a sending network (Simonetti), or when his motivation to leave was partly inspired by the wish to improve his professional career and

partly enforced by political circumstances in the place of origin (Holbein the Younger).

4) Coerced migration among early modern artists is comparably rare, and was often a consequence of political or religious persecution (Fiorentino, Gheeraerts).

5) A migrant artist was normally held in high esteem in his new place of residence. Foreign artists often stress their origin when signing a work (Flicke, Gheeraerts) but, owing to their popularity among patrons, their presence was often not appreciated among local artists and craftsmen. Social networks within the incomer communities therefore played a vital role.

6) Due to their improved status, many migrant artists did not return to their place of origin but died in their new place of residence (Holbein, Fiorentino, Hollar, Simonetti, Mengs).

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