

Arts

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The arts have always been one of the most significant instruments of transcultural communication. Travelling artists and their clients, mobile artworks, and the circulation of artistic ideas, forms, materials, and techniques enrich their receiving cultures, creating new quality through their encounter with the local traditions with which they come into contact. Artistic mobility has also been associated with loss, however, where artists have left their homelands unwillingly, forced into exile; or where art has been seized and removed as war booty. While in our times the constant exchange of art between European cultures and beyond is considered mutual enrichment, and one of the foundations of Europe's shared cultural heritage, in the past, the influence of one culture on another has also been instrumentalized to underscore distinctions between groups, or to impose a hierarchy on the actors in cultural relations.

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The term "art"

"Art" is a controversial term whose meaning has changed several times over the centuries. The original Greek term *techné* and its Latin equivalent *ars* originally designated crafting skills that could be employed to make objects according to established rules. Hence such pieces, nowadays considered artworks, belonged to the overarching group of artefacts – in other words, material objects created by humans. The production of such objects had the status of *artes mechanicae*: mechanical or practical arts, distinct from and subordinate to the *artes liberales* (→ [Media Link #ab](#)). The Renaissance era saw the first efforts to have a special status attributed to painting, sculpture, and architecture – the arts of *disegno*, or design (those that shared the common practice of drawing as a preparatory step in the creative process). The modern concept of "fine arts" (painting, sculpture, poetry, music, and dance), which only emerged in the 18th century, was challenged in the 20th century by the opening up of the category and the questioning of the fundamental aesthetic principle of imitation of nature by modern and contemporary art.¹ Encounters with other cultures were another factor that repeatedly called the European, or "Western" notion of art into question. This led to an expansion of the understanding of what art is to embrace, alongside the traditional "high arts", of other categories of artefacts (such as the "applied arts"), and to a dehierarchization of the various types of art in the context of visual studies. This paper focuses on what is known as the "fine arts".

▲ 1

Art in motion and its actors

Common to all objects in the category of artefacts that may be designated as art is their potential to elicit, through their various aesthetic qualities, emotional reactions – to move people. Movement is also intrinsic to the concept of art in many ways: people travelled to make art, and to admire it in other places; sought-after artworks were exported, brought back from voyages as souvenirs, or captured and taken away as war booty. Through their mobility, art and its actors have influenced and indeed initiated intercultural communication and transfer processes throughout Europe's history.

▲ 2

Mobile artists

The journeyman years and travel for education (*Bildungsreisen*)

Mobility (→ [Media Link #ac](#)) is a significant aspect of artistic occupation. The journeyman years were a standard element of the training of craftspeople under the guild system that regulated the production of art well into the early 19th century.² The expectation was that in leaving their familiar environment, the fully trained apprentice should expand the skill set they had learned by experiencing and training in new technologies, themes, and forms. The journeyman years, which ranged from one to six depending on the guild, could be spent either in neighbouring towns or distant centres of art.³ Young adepts often found it difficult to be accepted into the workshop of their choice, however, because guilds tended to restrict the influx of external specialists to protect the interests of local craftspeople.⁴

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The architect, painter, and artist biographer Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) (→ [Media Link #ad](#)) described in his influential work *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1st ed. 1550) the following case: the painter Taddeo Zuccari (1529–1566) (→ [Media Link #ae](#)) from Sant'Angelo, near Urbino, wanted to be taken on in the atelier of Perino del Vaga (1501–1547) (→ [Media Link #af](#)) in Rome. Despite having a letter of recommendation, he was curtly turned away – by his own kinsman, Francesco II Sant'Angelo, who already worked there.⁵ Around 1595, Zuccari's younger brother Federico (1541–1609) (→ [Media Link #ag](#)) made an impressive drawing of the scene against the backdrop of the famous buildings in Rome as part of a series of drawings portraying Taddeo's early life (→ [Media Link #ah](#)).

The restrictions imposed by the guilds and the unwillingness of master craftspeople to employ journeymen from other towns in their workshops were not the only obstacles facing these newly-fledged professionals in their further training. In many cases, they could not afford the fee to be taken on in a famous atelier. The Königsberg-born Baroque painter Michaël Willmann (1630–1706) (→ Media Link #ai), later active in Silesia, was one such. In 1650 he journeyed to Amsterdam to study the contemporary art of masters there, but was ultimately forced to content himself with the purchase of engravings by Jacob Adriaenszoon Backer (1608–1651) (→ Media Link #aj) and Rembrandt Harmenszoon van Rijn (1606–1669) (→ Media Link #ak) as a means of studying their technique. A comparison of his etched self-portrait (→ Media Link #al) with one of Rembrandt's (→ Media Link #am) is testimony to the fact that Willmann took inspiration from the great Netherlandish master not only in terms of his technique but also in respect of the motifs he used.⁶ In subsequent years, he travelled across Europe and spent a longer period in Prague, where he gleaned further creative impulses for his work.⁷ The impressions he amassed developed into a highly individual stylistic idiom that secured Willmann a prominent position in 17th-century Central European painting.

▲ 5

Hints about such educational journeys undertaken in the Early Modern Age but whose routes were rarely documented in any detail were traditionally sought and reconstructed by art historians through the medium of stylistic criticism and analysis of the motifs occurring in the works. Thus, for instance, it is presumed, on the basis of stylistic analyses, that the sculptor Veit Stoß (1447–1533) (→ Media Link #an), who was born in Horb am Neckar, came into contact with the work of Nicolaus Gerhaert von Leiden (1420–1473) (→ Media Link #ao) during his journeyman years, before settling down in Nuremberg and later Krakow.⁸

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In isolated cases, there are indeed freehand drawings, and even more rarely, whole sketchbooks documenting such travels. One group of drawings by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) (→ Media Link #ap) dated 1494–1496 offers an insight into his experiences during the voyage undertaken by the young painter to Northern Italy following his journeyman years.⁹ En route, one of his subjects was the city of Innsbruck, which he depicted in watercolours (→ Media Link #aq).

▲ 7

Friendship books (*alba amicorum*)¹⁰ were popular from the late 16th century, also among itinerant artists. Containing dated entries by people they met during their travels, these scrapbooks are another source of information on the places they visited and the experiences they gathered. According to his friendship book, between 1647 and 1653, the Augsburg journeyman painter Johann König the Younger, for instance, travelled to cities such as Nuremberg, Ulm, Stuttgart, Kempten, Nördlingen, and Coburg, and collected illustrated entries from people including his fellow journeymen on the way.¹¹ The painter and draughtsman Mathias Strasser (d. 1659) (→ Media Link #ar) gave him a washed pen-and-ink drawing of the renowned Torso Belvedere (→ Media Link #as).¹² This was undoubtedly intended as a reference to Strasser's travels to Italy, and hence also to present him to his less well-travelled fellow artist as a connoisseur of ancient art.¹³

▲ 8

After the establishment of the first art academies in the 16th century (the *Accademia delle Arti del Disegno* in Florence in 1563, the *Accademia di San Luca* in Rome in 1593, the *Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* in Paris in 1648, and the *Maler-Akademie* in Nuremberg in 1662, to name but a few), these offered an attractive alternative to the system of education within the weakening guilds.¹⁴ Supported by rulers, who saw them as a way of rendering their cities more attractive, they drew in artists from other regions, thus becoming influential centres for meeting new people and exchanging ideas (→ Media Link #at). In emulation of the French academy, which awarded the *Prix de Rome*, enabling fine artists to spend several years studying in Rome,¹⁵ other countries also founded state or private grants to facilitate artistic education at the best art schools and promote knowledge of major centres of art. Florence and Rome remained the most popular destinations for art students into the 18th century (→ Media Link #au), but in the 19th they were overtaken by Paris.¹⁶ The academies in Düsseldorf and München also attracted would-be artists from many countries; the latter above all was the cradle of many European national schools.¹⁷

▲ 9

With very few exceptions, women were denied access to an academic art education until the early 20th century, which considerably restricted their participation in intercultural exchange. Individuals such as the successful Swiss-Austrian painter Angelika Kauffmann (1741–1807) (→ Media Link #av), who as the daughter of an artist was able to enjoy a proper education and supplement it with extensive travels, eventually becoming a founding member of the Royal Academy in London, were a tiny minority (→ Media Link #aw).¹⁸ Kaufmann's special status is documented in a painting by John Zoffany (1733–1810) (→ Media Link #ax) depicting the Academicians of the Royal Academy (→ Media Link #ay) at a nude studio session. The two female Academy members, Kaufmann and Mary Moser (1744–1810) (→ Media Link #az), are represented in the room in the form of portraits on the wall, since their physical presence at a nude drawing session was considered improper.¹⁹

▲ 10

Itinerant artists

Zoffany's painting also features another "outsider": the sculptor Chitqua (also known as Tan Chet-Qua, 1723–1796 (→ Media Link #bo)) from Canton (Guangzhou), who visited London in 1769–1772 and exhibited his clay models there.²⁰ This "exotic" guest attracted considerable interest among both art audiences and his peers in the British capital, as his portrait by John Hamilton Mortimer (1740–1779) (→ Media Link #b1) testifies (→ Media Link #b2). The few extant works by Chitqua offer insight into the way in which the Chinese artist viewed his European contemporaries (→ Media Link #b3).

▲ 11

Such encounters with non-European artists were something of a rarity in pre-Modern Europe. European artists, on the other hand, often continued to travel even after they had completed their education. The reasons for and types of these voyages varied widely. Artists who had finished their official training were nonetheless eager to educate themselves further, and thus sought inspiration in famous centres of art. Personal experience of ancient art (→ Media Link #b4) was in this respect an important element of their self-representation and market presence. The Netherlandish painter Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574) (→ Media Link #b5) spent the years 1532–1537 in Rome, where he found employment in the ateliers of local painters (including Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1484–1546) (→ Media Link #b6)) and gave himself over to the study of ancient art, as evidenced by the large number of sketches of ancient buildings and sculptures he left behind.²¹ The long-term impact of this stay abroad is clear from a self-portrait that he made almost two decades after his return to Haarlem, showing him against a background of the Colosseum in Rome (→ Media Link #b7).

▲ 12

Van Heemskerck is one of countless international artists who travelled to Italy, some of them with the hope of winning lucrative contracts there and being able to settle there. The Netherlanders among them in the Early Modern Age were particularly keen travellers.²² Probably the most successful of them was the sculptor Jean de Boulogne (1529–1608) of Douai in Flanders, who is better known under his Italianized name Giovanni da Bologna, or Giambologna (→ Media Link #b8).²³ As court sculptor to the Medicis and a member of the

Florence *Accademia*, he attained a level of mastery, particularly in his bronzes, that caused his works to be some of the most sought-after in Europe. The Medicis, who were great patrons of the arts, leveraged Giambologna's talent in the service of their political interests. A strictly limited number of his bronzes were dispatched as diplomatic gifts to both allied and rival courts, thereby spreading (→ Media Link #b9) both his fame and that of his art-loving patrons.²⁴ At the same time, they also functioned as media of art technology transfer; they were admired the world over above all for what was at that time the unique perfection of their bronze casting.

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The example of the successful migrant artist Giambologna is characteristic for one more reason. His fame drew other young artists to Florence, and the atelier of this great master in the Palazzo Vecchio grew to become an important centre for exchange and education, as well as a springboard for their further careers. Giambologna's former colleagues and students, who went on to win employment at the courts of Europe, contributed to the dissemination of his style. Alongside Italians such as Pietro Tacca (1577–1640) (→ Media Link #ba), many of Giambologna's compatriots were also engaged in his studio: Pierre Franqueville (1548–1615) (→ Media Link #bb) of Cambrai was later appointed *sculpteur du roi* to Henry IV of France (1553–1610) (→ Media Link #bc),²⁵ Adriaen de Vries (→ Media Link #bd) from Den Haag (ca. 1556–1626) was summoned to Prague by Rudolf II, Holy Roman Emperor (1552–1612) (→ Media Link #be),²⁶ and Hubert Gerhard (1550–1620) (→ Media Link #bf) from 's-Hertogenbosch entered the service of William V, Duke of Bavaria.²⁷

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The presence of so many Netherlanders in Giambologna's studio and at the court in Prague testifies to a strong alliance between northern artists abroad, something that tends to be characteristic for artistic diasporas of various nationalities.²⁸ Immigrant artists often form into closed groups that in many cases pose considerable competition for the local talent. This was the case, for instance, with the colony of Italian master builders and sculptors that dominated the art scene in Krakow in the 16th century (→ Media Link #bg).²⁹

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Immigrants could often count on the support of their compatriots as clients. It is this mechanism that is presumed to have functioned in the same city in the 15th century: the abovementioned sculptor Veit Stoß is thought to have received the lucrative commission for the retablo on the high altar in St Mary's Church on Krakow's Main Market Square in 1477 thanks to the influence of the Southern German (chiefly Nuremberg) merchants who had set up branches of their commercial operations there and had come to occupy important positions on the city council (→ Media Link #bh). Even after Stoß's return to Nuremberg (in 1496), he clearly remained in contact with his Krakow network. Testimony to this is the commission that he received for a wooden model for the epitaph of the Italian humanist and professor of the Krakow Academy Philippus Bonaccursius, called Callimachus (1437–1496) (→ Media Link #bi). The epitaph was cast in bronze in the Nuremberg atelier of Peter Vischer (→ Media Link #bj) and sent to Krakow to be installed in the Dominican church there (→ Media Link #bk).³⁰ This case demonstrates that artist mobility, as well as creating transregional networks, also gave rise to considerable mobility of artworks themselves, thereby intensifying cultural exchange on the European scale.

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Nonetheless, not all migrant artists could count on the support of their compatriots. Some were 'lone wolves', who had to face up to opposition from local master craftspeople alone. In 1670, the ivory and amber carver Christoph Maucher (1642–1707) (→ Media Link #bl) from Schwäbisch Gmünd settled in Danzig (Gdańsk), an artistic amber-processing centre. In spite of numerous protests from members of the Danzig Guild of Amber Turners against the activity of this talented immigrant, Maucher ran a successful atelier in the Baltic commercial metropolis, and supplied the neighbouring courts in Berlin, Warsaw and Vienna with small-scale ivory and amber sculpture (→ Media Link #bm).³¹

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Beside wanderlust, the desire to develop one's skills in renowned centres of art, and the prospect of winning a lucrative engagement at the court of a ruler who appreciated good art, there were yet other reasons why artists left their homelands. These were quite often negative factors, such as insufficient commissions from local patrons owing to strong competition on the labour market, economic crises, war, or persecution. Hence labour migration (→ Media Link #bn) became a structural feature of several European art regions. From the early Middle Ages until the Early Modern Age, master builders, stonemasons, and stucco workers from the Lake Como region (thus known as *maestri comacini*) left their homeland to seek employment in Northern Italy, and Central and Northern Europe. Such itinerant artisans, who often travelled in groups, sometimes as whole families, transferred technical construction know-how and stylistic innovations to distant regions, and this made them highly attractive to foreign clients.³² In 1561, the Stuttgart master constructor Aberlin Tretsch (ca. 1500–1577) (→ Media Link #bo) reported to Duke Christoph von Württemberg (1515–1568) (→ Media Link #bp) thus about the *maestri comacini*:

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[They] come, then, in springtime, descending upon the land like storks, do not wish to work for the local masters as journeymen, but must nonetheless be paid well. In the autumn and wintertime, they travel forth with their money-pouches full, leaving the poor masters in the land alone with their complaints.³³

In fact, not all the *maestri comacini* returned to their homeland every winter. Some travelled from court to court in the hope of landing attractive commissions. The Parr-Niurion family, builders from Bissone near Lugano, began their (documented) art travels in Silesia, went on to Mecklenburg, and ended in Sweden. The castles and palaces they built in Brieg (Brzeg, 1548–1557), Schwerin (1558–1573), and Kalmr (1574–1582) (→ Media Link #bq) demonstrated the ability of these specialists to tailor their work to the wishes and tastes of local clients.³⁴

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One example of a large-scale artist migration initiated by religious persecution, war, and the ensuing economic crisis was the mass exodus of Netherlanders in the first decades of the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648). In this context, the words of the Spanish agent Caspar de Castillo, who visited Antwerp in 1585 to seek assistants for the sculptor Leone Leoni (1509–1590) (→ Media Link #br), are telling: "nowhere in all the states are there practitioners of this art [sculpture], due to the long war".³⁵ This loss for the (chiefly southern) Netherlands precipitated the rise of other centres, such as Amsterdam, which evolved into a global metropolis and a preeminent centre of the arts in the 17th century, above all as a result of immigration. Netherlandish artists also found safety and enthusiastic clients in Germany, Denmark, England, and Poland, whose rulers were only too glad to take in qualified specialists. This movement had a decisive influence on the development of the European Late Renaissance (→ Media Link #bs) north of the Alps.³⁶

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Recipients of art as actors of exchange

Other important actors in the European art exchange were of course the recipients of that art. These were primarily rulers and nobles, for whom the display of splendour, by means including possession and connoisseurship of art, was an important element of their ducal and aristocratic self-image and representation of power. Francis I (1494–1547) (→ Media Link #bt) recognized the potential of Italian art for the furtherance of his political aims during his campaigns in Italy. By inviting Italian artists to Amboise (Leonardo da Vinci (1452–

1519) (→ Media Link #bu)) and Fontainebleau,³⁷ and acquiring Italian masterpieces (by Raphael (1483–1520) (→ Media Link #bv), Titian (1490–1576) (→ Media Link #bw), and Michelangelo (1475–1564) (→ Media Link #bx)), he succeeded in putting France on the map of the European Renaissance. He was also impressed by the unique work of artists from the north.³⁸

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Some European rulers were passionate patrons and collectors of art, and they made a particular contribution to cultural transfer. By keeping a carefully selected corps of contemporary artists and scientists from a range of backgrounds at his Prague court, and building his network of art agents who sourced artworks, natural curiosities from the New World, and scientific instruments for him, Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612) created a unique intellectual milieu. His renowned *Kunstammer* (→ Media Link #by) evolved into a material expression of his highly individual taste and understanding of art, and at the same time a reflection of the expansion of the world in the age of the great voyages of discovery (→ Media Link #bz).³⁹

▲ 22

The bourgeoisie, which was becoming increasingly emancipated in the Early Modern Age, was keen to emulate the forms of artistic representation used by the nobility.⁴⁰ A prime example in this respect is the Fuggers, an Augsburg merchant family whose representatives were skilled at leveraging art as an instrument for generating prestige, particularly after they were raised to the nobility (1511).⁴¹ By means of their global networks, they were able to source inspiration for their art commissions from the abundance of the European Renaissance and the luxury goods becoming available from the New World. They were also known as art agents for their high-ranking clients, such as the dukes of Bavaria. One piece of evidence for this status is the following object: a small box containing tapestry portraits depicting the children of the heir apparent, William V (1548–1626) (→ Media Link #co), Maximilian and Christina, gifted to his parents, Duke Albrecht (1528–1579) (→ Media Link #c1) and Anna of Bavaria (1528–1590) (→ Media Link #c2) (→ Media Link #c3). The decoration of the container was crafted from a number of exotic materials (ivory, coral, lapis lazuli, pearls, and rubies), which had probably been acquired by Hans Fugger (1531–1598) (→ Media Link #c4) in Venice. It was made by an international team of artists: the design by the painter Friedrich Sustris (ca. 1540–1600) (→ Media Link #c5), born in Italy to Netherlandish emigrants, and recommended to the art aficionado William V also by Hans Fugger.⁴² The ivory carving, a rare skill at that time, was entrusted to the Milanese Giovanni Ambrogio Maggioro (1550–1598) (→ Media Link #c6).⁴³ The filigree reliefs in coral and lapis lazuli were executed by the stone carver Valentin Drausch (1546–ca. 1610) (→ Media Link #c7) of Strasbourg.⁴⁴ The miniature tapestry portraits also required a highly specialized skill that was known above all in the Netherlands, and so this task was given to the Brussels tapissier Jan de la Groze (documented in Munich in the period 1575–1583) (→ Media Link #c8).⁴⁵ This diminutive piece, which seems to have been made for the family circle, is nonetheless a reflection of the pan-European network of the Bavarian dukes and their bankers, the Fuggers, as well as of the global circulation of luxury goods and resources.

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The European elites also travelled, so availing themselves of the opportunity to experience the art of other lands at first hand, and to expand their own collections. In 1624–1625, the Polish crown prince Ladislaus Vasa (1595–1648) (→ Media Link #c9) undertook an incognito grand tour (→ Media Link #ca) through Austria and Southern Germany to Italy, and on to the Southern Netherlands. In Antwerp, he had a portrait of himself made in the atelier of Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) (→ Media Link #cb), visited the famous publishing house run by Christophe Plantin (1514–1589) (→ Media Link #cc), and toured the art collection belonging to Cornelis van der Geest (1575–1638) (→ Media Link #cd).⁴⁶ This latter visit was documented in a painting depicting the renowned collection and van der Geest's high-ranking guests (→ Media Link #ce).⁴⁷ On his return to Warsaw, Ladislaus had his own *Kunstkabinett* and the many treasures he had amassed on his travels immortalized in a painting (→ Media Link #cf).

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It was not only prominent merchants and merchant bankers such as the Fuggers for whom collecting served as a medium of self-representation and mark of social advancement. The bourgeois middle classes and the petty nobility also contributed significantly to the cultural exchange in Europe and beyond, increasingly well equipped to engage in the intellectual discourse through their academic education, and familiarized with the wider world thanks to the Grand Tour (also known in German as the *Kavalierstour*). The lawyer and later mayor of Danzig Bartłomiej Schachmann (1559–1614) (→ Media Link #cg) undertook a *peregrinatio academica* and *Kavalierstour* through Germany, France, and Italy, followed also by travels around the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁸ In the course of his voyages, he amassed an extensive collection of art, books, and curios, and recorded his impressions from his travels to the Orient in a fascinating travelogue (→ Media Link #ch).⁴⁹

▲ 25

Mobile artworks

Artworks have always been objects of desire, due to their aesthetic qualities, their material value, a particular production technique, their provenance, or their history. The fact that they served as instruments for the legitimization of power and social positioning increased their mobility and thereby also the transcultural exchange that they initiated. The expense and effort devoted to having such monumental ancient Egyptian or Roman relics (such as pillars or obelisks) transported to Europe and integrated into new construction projects (e.g. the Palatine Chapel in Aachen) or urban spaces (squares in Rome or Paris (→ Media Link #ci)), testifies to both their immense inherent symbolic potential and the desire to learn more about the unfamiliar through acquisition.⁵⁰

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Luxury products such as Chinese porcelain (→ Media Link #cj), Venetian glass, or furniture from the Paris Boulle marquetry atelier (→ Media Link #ck) were seen not only as aesthetic *objets d'art* in and of themselves but also as media showcasing an exclusive form of know-how unique to one specific place. Possession of such pieces thereby intimated a worldliness and at once access to resources and the attendant knowledge only accessible to an elite stratum. Exhibited in representative rooms or included in collections, such objects assumed a new context and were subject to an interpretation that gives an indication of how they were perceived. One good example of such transcultural framing (→ Media Link #cl) is seen in Chinese porcelain vases, which in Europe were embellished with gilded silver (→ Media Link #cm). The purpose of such goldsmithing refinements was to adapt the vessels, which were often without handles, to the uses to which their European recipients were accustomed, to emphasize the aesthetic quality of the porcelain through the contrast with the shiny metal and thus to increase their value, and to unify sets of diverse pieces.⁵¹ Such framing gestures were undoubtedly an expression of appreciation and an active means of taking possession, which led to the creation of hybrid objects.

▲ 27

Mobile materials

Art materials themselves could also travel, and thereby spin many-layered, multi-vectored fabrics binding cultures together.⁵² To make the pigment ultramarine, for instance, needed for the most intensive blue tones in painting (→ Media Link #cn), the mineral lapis lazuli was needed, and this occurs in the necessary quality only in Afghanistan. Thus it was imported from Central Asia at great expense and effort, and its distant origins are recorded in the name of the pigment (Lat. *ultramarinus* – overseas).⁵³

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The provenance of the materials was not necessarily always foremost in the minds of the beholders, however. The Netherlands, not a country with significant supplies of wood, had been importing weathered oak from the Baltic states since the Middle Ages for shipbuilding, construction, and the needs of its art industry (panel painting and sculpture).⁵⁴ As a result of the centuries-long tradition of use of Baltic oak in art produced by Netherlandish workshops, and thanks to the renown they enjoyed, this material came to be more strongly associated with the centre of processing than with its region of origin. In the contract for production of an altarpiece for the chapel in Barcelona City Hall concluded with Lluís Dalmau (ca. 1400–1460) (→ Media Link #co), his clients specifically stipulated the use of Flanders oak (→ Media Link #cp). In his *Virgin of the Counsellors*, this painter, who was sent by King Alfonso V (1396–1458) (→ Media Link #cq) to Flanders in 1431 to study the revolutionary painting technique used by painters there, referenced both the characteristic Old Netherlandish style of painting and the materials and techniques employed in it.⁵⁵

▲ 29

The art market as a factor in exchange

The fact that Spanish clients were so well informed about the qualities of Netherlandish art is a function of the unprecedented reach of the art market in the Low Countries. The Southern Netherlands in the 15th and 16th centuries were a producer of luxury goods – e.g. tapestries, church furnishings such as carved wooden altarpieces (→ Media Link #cr),⁵⁶ and prints affordable for a broader public,⁵⁷ both as individual commissions and as serially produced runs for anonymous foreign clients. Netherlandish ateliers were able to reach a broad, diverse client base abroad because they had access to the logistical and financial infrastructure of the commercial metropolises of Bruges, Ghent, or Antwerp. This was further supported by the emergence of early forms of distribution, such as the year-round art market (e.g. the Dominican *Pand* in Antwerp) or art lotteries, as well as the gradual evolution of the profession of specialized art trader.⁵⁸ In the Northern Netherlands, particularly in Amsterdam, which was booming, and in the 17th century emerged as an art and commercial metropolis, this tradition was continued.⁵⁹ From the 18th century on, however, the most desirable items (furniture, fittings, or clothing) came from Paris. The fact that the French capital was able to rise to the status of centre of the European art and luxury goods market was due not only to the influential role of the royal court there but also to the innovative production and marketing strategies of its *marchands-merciers*.⁶⁰ The catalogues printed in Paris detailing the luxury merchandise to be had there drew international visitors in and disseminated an image of the city as a fashionable, sophisticated forum for art.⁶¹

▲ 30

Art looting

Artworks travelled not only thanks to an efficiently organized art market and demand from foreign clients; they were also stolen in all kinds of circumstances. The story of the Last Judgement triptych by Hans Memling (ca. 1430–1494) (→ Media Link #cs) may be cited here as an example representative of thousands of other artworks: in its over five-hundred-year history, it has been relocated several times as a result of various types of art looting. Made around 1467 in the Bruges workshop of this master from Seligenstadt to a commission by Angelo di Jacopo Tani (1415–1492) (→ Media Link #ct), the plenipotentiary of the Medici Bank in Bruges, this altarpiece was painted for the St Michael Chapel in Badia Fiesolana near Florence. The galley that was to have shipped the work to Italy, however, was hijacked in 1473 by another vessel from Danzig (now Gdańsk, Poland), and its captain, Paul Beneke (ca. 1440–1480) (→ Media Link #cu), gifted the looted retable to the City of Danzig to be displayed in St Mary's Church. Despite interventions from the highest instances – the Duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold (1433–1477) (→ Media Link #cv), and Pope Sixtus IV (1414–1484) (→ Media Link #cw) – the work was not returned to its rightful owner.⁶² The renown of this masterpiece, which was admired by the many visitors to the commercial metropolis on the Baltic, spread, and ambitious art collectors such as Emperor Rudolf II and Tsar Peter the Great (1672–1725) (→ Media Link #cx), offered Danzig City Council vast sums of money for it, but in vain.

▲ 31

Not until 1807, after the conquest of Danzig by the French army, was the piece confiscated by Vivant Denon (1747–1825) (→ Media Link #cy), who masterminded the looting of artworks for the Napoleonic regime, and taken back to Paris for the *Musée Napoléon*, where it once again became the object of great interest and admiration. After Napoleon's defeat, *The Last Judgement* was restituted forthwith, and in 1815 it was taken to Berlin. In the Prussian capital there was likewise no shortage of parties who expressed their interest in keeping it, but they were all decisively repulsed by Danzig City Council,⁶³ and Memling's masterpiece returned to the Baltic city in 1816. This was not to be its final journey, however. During World War II, it was removed to Thüringen for its own protection, where it was discovered after the war by the Red Army and sent to Leningrad (St Petersburg), to be exhibited in the Hermitage. When it was returned to Poland during the Thaw in 1956 and restored, it did not go back to its original home in St Mary's Church, but was placed in the National Museum in Gdańsk, where it remains on display to this day. Memling's *Last Judgement* is thus an artwork whose exceptional artistic qualities have for centuries rendered it a vehicle for the desires and demands of a range of actors, and which in its many roles – as purely an object of value, as a valuable facet of a local identity, and as an element of hegemonic culture politics – triggered diverse cultural interactions.⁶⁴

▲ 32

The looting of cultural assets in wartime, today deemed unacceptable – despite the fact that it continues to happen – was sanctioned by the right of the conqueror, which had been recognized since Antiquity and was legitimized (→ Media Link #cz) by legal scholars in the Early Modern Age.⁶⁵ The plundering of art treasures was a particularly effective method of humiliating the vanquished and visualizing military triumph. In the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) (→ Media Link #do), looting of such goods was frequent, widespread, and committed by all parties: the capturing of the Bibliotheca Palatina (1622) (→ Media Link #d1) by the armies of the Catholic League and its removal from Heidelberg to Rome;⁶⁶ the theft of Rudolf II's famous Prague collection on the personal initiative of the Swedish queen Christine (1626–1689) (→ Media Link #d2);⁶⁷ or the sack of the Gonzaga collection in Mantua (1630) are significant examples in this context.⁶⁸

▲ 33

Extensive and systematic looting of artworks also took place during the Napoleonic Wars (→ Media Link #d3).⁶⁹ The appropriation and looting by colonial powers of objects of particular significance for the identity of indigenous cultures,⁷⁰ and the plundering of art by the Nazi and Soviet regimes during World War II were further, though sadly not the last examples of this age-old practice. While they must of course be decisively denounced, it is, paradoxically, undeniable that such pillaging did contribute to a more even distribution of art treasures across Europe. Integrated in new collections, redistributed by the art market, and presented to a new public, they stimulated cultural transfer and laid the foundations for the development of modern museums. Nonetheless, an awareness of the dubious basis of many European institutions of culture is necessary for full transparency surrounding the history of their collections.

▲ 34

Conclusion

The arts have for centuries been one of the most important platforms for cultural exchange both within Europe and beyond. The travels of artists and clients alike, whether forced or voluntary, gave rise to encounters with other actors in the art system. This produced an exchange of artistic ideas, forms, materials, and techniques that left lasting traces in both the output and perception of art. Artworks themselves, both those marketed or gifted on a voluntary basis and those that were plundered, also had an impact that reached beyond

the culture of their origins to shape also those into which they were relocated. European art can thus be seen as a reflection of the continent's intercultural integration. The arts are in constant flux, but their propensity to cross borders and push boundaries remains a constant. The mobility of artists and their works, together with the global expansion of art markets, continues to be a considerable factor in the intensification of transcultural exchange today. The other side of this coin is, however, that globalization often leads to the loss of local flavour. Contemporary artists today tend to pay far more attention to their status as intermediaries or outsiders looking in on more than one culture in addition to their migration experience than was the case in pre-modern periods. And even if the conclusions we can draw from such ego-documents cannot automatically be applied to historical circumstances, examining contemporary art certainly broadens our view of the artistic interactions of the past.

▲ 35

Aleksandra Lipińska (→ Media Link #d4)

Appendix

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Notes

1. ^ Tatarkiewicz, Geschichte 2003, pp. 29–78; Ullrich, Kunst 2010.
2. ^ Cf. Weber, Arbeits- und Wirtschaftsmigrationen 2022.
3. ^ Tacke, Vor der Reise 2020, pp. 83–86.
4. ^ E.g. in Cologne, as an important goldsmithing centre in the Late Middle Ages, the guild sharply restricted its intake of journeymen from elsewhere to protect the interests of local artists, see Maurer, Jakob Biermann 2011.
5. ^ Vasari, Das Leben 2009, pp. 45–46.
6. ^ Koziół, Rysunki 2010, p. 7.
7. ^ Koziół, Michael Willmann, 2019; Lejman, Willmann 2022.
8. ^ Zimmerman, Künstlerische Quellen 1985.
9. ^ Grote, Albrecht Dürer, 1998, p. 9, fig. 3; Böckem, Der frühe Dürer 2012.
10. ^ Schnabel, Das Stammbuch 2003. Cf. Wriedt, Christliche Netzwerke 2011.

11. ^ Tacke, Vor der Reise 2020, p. 87; Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Stammbuch Johann König 1647–1653, Stb 112.
12. ^ The Belvedere torso is a marble sculpture discovered in the 15th century and attributed to the Hellenistic sculptor Apollonios of Athens. It was placed on display in the Cortile del Belvedere in the Vatican Palace and admired by many artists visiting Rome. On the torso and its reception, see *Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance*.
13. ^ [Anonymus], Article "Strasser" 2021.
14. ^ Pevsner, *Die Geschichte* 1986, pp. 21–186; Plagemann, *Die Kunstreise* 2011.
15. ^ Valerius, *Académie Royale* 2010.
16. ^ Cf. Prokopovych / Sweet, *Metropolen* 2017. For Germans who studied in Paris, see Nerlich, *Pariser Lehrjahre* 2013.
17. ^ Baumgärtel, *Die Düsseldorfer Malerschule*, 2011; Jooss, *Nationale Identitäten* 2006.
18. ^ Baumgärtel, Article "Kauffmann" 2012.
19. ^ Pevsner, *Die Geschichte* 1986, p. 183.
20. ^ Frank, *Chitqua* 2021.
21. ^ Maarten van Heemskerck's "Roman sketchbook" is held in the Berliner Kupferstichkabinett, see also Bartsch, Maarten van Heemskerck 2019.
22. ^ On migrant artists from the Netherlands in general, see Liedekerke, *Fiamminghi a Roma* 1995; Scholten, *Art and Migration* 2014.
23. ^ Avery, *Giambologna* 1993.
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25. ^ Boudon-Machuel, Article "Franqueville" 2021.
26. ^ Scholten, *Adriaen de Vries* 1999.
27. ^ Diemer, *Hubert Gerhard* 2004.
28. ^ Cohesion between migrants is a broader phenomenon that is naturally not restricted to artist groups, see here e.g. Brinkmann, *Jewish Migration* 2010.
29. ^ Schulz, *Giammaria Mosca* 1998, pp. 90–91; Torbus, *Italien in Krakau* 2005.
30. ^ Woldt, *Krakau – Nürnberg* 2008.
31. ^ Kandt, *Christoph Maucher* 2010.
32. ^ Della Torre, *Magistri d'Europa* 1996.
33. ^ Hahr, *Die Architektenfamilie Pahr* 1908, p. 35.
34. ^ Torbus, *Od Brzegu* 2006; Lipińska, *The Parr Family* 2016.
35. ^ Koomen, *Una cosa* 2013, p. 96.
36. ^ Scholten, *Art and Migration* 2014.
37. ^ Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) spent the final two years of his life in France, see Fagnart, *Léonard de Vinci* 2019. As his successors, the Mannerists Rosso Fiorentino (1495–1540) and Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570) became the pillars of the First School of Fontainebleau, see Weisvogel, *Rosso Fiorentino* 2000.
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39. ^ Fučíková, *Rudolf II and Prague* 1997; Zimmer, *Die Schatz- und Kunstkammer* 2021.
40. ^ Anderson, *Early Modern Merchants* 2016.
41. ^ Lieb, *Die Fugger und die Kunst* 1952.
42. ^ Maxwell, *The Court Art of Friedrich Sustris* 2011.
43. ^ Diemer, *Giovanni Ambrogio Maggioro* 1985.
44. ^ Lietzmann, *Valentin Drausch* 1998.
45. ^ Volk-Knüttel, *Jan de la Groze* 1981.
46. ^ Rottermund, *De Grand Tour* 1997.
47. ^ Marr, *Ingenuity* 2019.
48. ^ On his grand tour, Bartholomäus Schachmann visited the universities in Kraków, Strasbourg, Heidelberg, Erfurt, Orleans, Basel, and Siena. On the grand tour, see Leibetseder, *Educational Journey* 2013.
49. ^ Nefedova, *Bartholomäus Schachman* 2012.
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51. ^ Grasskamp, *Objects in Frames* 2022, pp. 9–51.
52. ^ Smith, *Entangled Itineraries* 2019.
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54. ^ Ważny, *The Origin* 2005.
55. ^ Nash, *Northern Renaissance* 2008, p. 48.
56. ^ Jacobs, *Early Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces* 1998.
57. ^ Cf. Prokopovych / Sweet, *Metropolen* 2017.
58. ^ Ewing, *Marketing Art* 1990; Lyna et al., *Art Auctions* 2009.
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60. ^ Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets* 1997.
61. ^ Pomian, *Collectionneurs* 1988, Kapitel 5.
62. ^ Welzel, *Die Kisten der Kaufleute* 2010.
63. ^ Savoy, *Kunstraub* 2011, pp. 186, 397.
64. ^ On the functions of art theft, cf. Savoy, *Kunstraub* 2011, pp. 15–17.
65. ^ Alberico de Gentili, *De iure belli libri tres* (1589); Hugo Grotius, *De iure belli* (1625); cf. also Tauss, *Daß die Räuberei* 1998; Jaeger, *Ius et bellum* 2021.
66. ^ Tauss, *Daß die Räuberei* 1998; Mallon, *Bücher und Kulturtransfer* 2021.
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68. ^ Nemravová, *Der Sacco di Mantova* 2021.
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70. ^ E.g. Savoy, *Africa's struggle* 2022.

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Citation

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Taddeo rebuffed by Francesco II Sant'Angelo, ca. 1595

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- <http://www.ieg-ego.eu><https://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/mary-moser-flowers-still-life-jardiniere-of-flowers-ca-1780>
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- John Hamilton Mortimer (1740–1779) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/59164068) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118884808) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118884808) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118884808.html) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118884808.html)

Link #b2

- John Hamilton Mortimer (1740–1779), A Chinese Mandarin; © Hunterian Museum, Royal Collenge of Surgeon <http://www.ieg-ego.eu><http://surgicat.rcseng.ac.uk/details/collect/46031>

Link #b3



- <http://www.ieg-ego.eu><https://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/woman-holding-a-child-ca-1775>
Woman holding a child, ca. 1775

Link #b4

- Model Classical Antiquity <http://www.ieg-ego.eu><https://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/models-and-stereotypes/model-classical-antiquity/ulrich-niggemann-kai-ruffing-model-classical-antiquity>

Link #b5

- Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/88717459) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118547658) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118547658) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118547658.html) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118547658.html)

Link #b6

- Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1484–1546) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/22181137) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118794426) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118794426) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118794426.html) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118794426.html)

Link #b7



- <http://www.ieg-ego.eu><https://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/maarten-van-heemskerck-14982013-1574-self-portrait-with-the-colosseum-1553>
Maarten van Heemskerck (1498– 1574), Self-portrait with the Colosseum, 1553

Link #b8

- Giovanni da Bologna, known as Giambologna (1529–1608) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/34725916) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118678477) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118678477) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118678477.html) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118678477.html)

Link #b9

- Giovanni da Bologna (1529– 1608), Mercury; © Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden <http://www.ieg-ego.eu><https://skd-online-collection.skd.museum/Details/Index/117631>

Link #ba

- Pietro Tacca (1577–1640) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/3267128) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118801171) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118801171) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118801171.html) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118801171.html)

Link #bb

- Pierre Franqueville (1548–1615) <http://www.ieg-ego.eu><http://viaf.org/viaf/6014379>

Link #bc

- Henry IV of France (1553–1610) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/59094245) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118548174) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118548174) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118548174.html) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118548174.html)

Link #bd

- Adriaen de Vries (1545/46–1626) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/285928785) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118770454) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118770454) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118770454.html) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118770454.html)

Link #be

- Emperor Rudolf II (1552–1612) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/14909824) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118603701) [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118603701) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118603701.html) [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118603701.html)



- <http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/bueste-von-kaiser-rudolf-ii-1552-1612>
Bust of Rudolf II (1552–1612)

Link #bf

- Hubert Gerhard (1550–1620) VIAF [ⓘ](http://viaf.org/viaf/14156402) (http://viaf.org/viaf/14156402) DNB [ⓘ](http://d-nb.info/gnd/122114663) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/122114663) ADB/NDB [ⓘ](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd122114663.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd122114663.html)

Link #bg



- <http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/the-sigismund-chapel-krakow>
The Sigismund Chapel, Kraków

Link #bh



- <http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/high-altar-in-st-mary2019s-church-krakow>
High altar in St Mary's Church, Kraków

Link #bi

- Philippus Bonaccursius (1437–1496) VIAF [ⓘ](http://viaf.org/viaf/46768955) (http://viaf.org/viaf/46768955) DNB [ⓘ](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118675354) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/118675354) ADB/NDB [ⓘ](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118675354.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118675354.html)

Link #bj

- Peter Vischer (ca. 1455–1529) VIAF [ⓘ](http://viaf.org/viaf/23509162) (http://viaf.org/viaf/23509162) DNB [ⓘ](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118768654) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/118768654) ADB/NDB [ⓘ](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118768654.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118768654.html)

Link #bk



- <http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/tombstone-for-filippo-buonaccorsi-1496>
Tombstone for Filippo Buonaccorsi, 1496

Link #bl

- Christoph Maucher (1642–1707) VIAF [ⓘ](http://viaf.org/viaf/285214114) (http://viaf.org/viaf/285214114) DNB [ⓘ](http://d-nb.info/gnd/1012286193) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/1012286193) ADB/NDB [ⓘ](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd1012286193.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd1012286193.html)

Link #bm



- <http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/detail-of-emperor-leopold-i2019s-amber-throne-ca-1667>
Detail of Emperor Leopold I's amber throne, ca. 1667

Link #bn

- Economic Migration Early Modern Europe (<http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-on-the-road/economic-migration/klaus-weber-economic-migration-in-early-modern-europe>)

Link #bo

- Aberlin Tretsch (ca. 1500–1577) VIAF [ⓘ](http://viaf.org/viaf/35373229) (http://viaf.org/viaf/35373229) DNB [ⓘ](http://d-nb.info/gnd/123797411) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/123797411) ADB/NDB [ⓘ](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd123797411.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd123797411.html)

Link #bp

- Christoph von Württemberg (1515–1568) VIAF [ⓘ](http://viaf.org/viaf/265719076) (http://viaf.org/viaf/265719076) DNB [ⓘ](http://d-nb.info/gnd/100089003) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/100089003) ADB/NDB [ⓘ](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd100089003.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd100089003.html)

Link #bq

- <http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/kalmar-castle-sweden>
Kalmar Castle, Sweden

Link #br

- Leone Leoni (1509–1590) VIAF [☞](http://viaf.org/viaf/57410696) (http://viaf.org/viaf/57410696) DNB [☞](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118779567) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/118779567) ADB/NDB [☞](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118779567.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118779567.html)

Link #bs

- Model Germania (<http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/models-and-stereotypes/model-germania/thomas-schauerte-model-germania>)

Link #bt

- Francis I. of France (1494–1547) VIAF [☞](http://viaf.org/viaf/88805531) (http://viaf.org/viaf/88805531) DNB [☞](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118534947) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/118534947) ADB/NDB [☞](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118534947.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118534947.html)

Link #bu

- Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) VIAF [☞](http://viaf.org/viaf/24604287) (http://viaf.org/viaf/24604287) DNB [☞](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118640445) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/118640445) ADB/NDB [☞](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118640445.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118640445.html)

Link #bv

- Raffaello Sanzio (1483–1520) VIAF [☞](http://viaf.org/viaf/64055977) (http://viaf.org/viaf/64055977) DNB [☞](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118597787) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/118597787) ADB/NDB [☞](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118597787.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118597787.html)

Link #bw

- Tiziano Vecellio (1490–1576) VIAF [☞](http://viaf.org/viaf/109266837) (http://viaf.org/viaf/109266837) DNB [☞](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118622994) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/118622994) ADB/NDB [☞](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118622994.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118622994.html)

Link #bx

- Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564) VIAF [☞](http://viaf.org/viaf/24585191) (http://viaf.org/viaf/24585191) DNB [☞](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118582143) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/118582143) ADB/NDB [☞](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118582143.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118582143.html)

Link #by

- Chambers of Art (<http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/crossroads/knowledge-spaces/gabriele-bessler-chambers-of-art-and-wonders>)

Link #bz

- <http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/seychelles-nut-ewer>
Seychelles nut ewer

Link #co

- Wilhelm V. of Bavaria (1548–1626) VIAF [☞](http://viaf.org/viaf/10090462) (http://viaf.org/viaf/10090462) DNB [☞](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118771841) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/118771841) ADB/NDB [☞](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118771841.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118771841.html)

Link #c1

- Albrecht V. of Bavaria (1528–1579) VIAF [☞](http://viaf.org/viaf/88838540) (http://viaf.org/viaf/88838540) DNB [☞](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118647571) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/118647571) ADB/NDB [☞](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118647571.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118647571.html)

Link #c2

- Anna of Bavaria (1528–1590) VIAF [☞](http://viaf.org/viaf/70105436) (http://viaf.org/viaf/70105436) DNB [☞](http://d-nb.info/gnd/132969548) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/132969548) ADB/NDB [☞](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd132969548.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd132969548.html)

Link #c3

- <http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/ivory-box-with-tapestry-portraits-of-maximilian-157320131651-and-christina-von-bayern-157120131580-1576>
Ivory box with tapestry portraits of Maximilian (1573–1651) and Christina von Bayern (1571–1580), 1576

Link #c4

- Hans Fugger (1531–1598) VIAF [☞](http://viaf.org/viaf/88898191) (http://viaf.org/viaf/88898191) DNB [☞](http://d-nb.info/gnd/11870351X) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/11870351X) ADB/NDB [☞](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd11870351X.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd11870351X.html)

Link #c5

- Friedrich Sustris (ca. 1540–1600) VIAF [☞](http://viaf.org/viaf/16256985) (http://viaf.org/viaf/16256985) DNB [☞](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118799487) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/118799487) ADB/NDB [☞](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118799487.html) (http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118799487.html)

Link #c6

- Giovanni Ambrogio Maggioro (1550–1598) VIAF [☞](http://viaf.org/viaf/96213176) (http://viaf.org/viaf/96213176) DNB [☞](http://d-nb.info/gnd/1019430346) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/1019430346)

Link #c7

- Valentin Drausch (1546–ca. 1610) VIAF [☐](http://viaf.org/viaf/3299182) DNB [☐](http://d-nb.info/gnd/120336995) ADB/NDB [☐](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd120336995.html)

Link #c8

- Jan de la Groze (documented 1575–1583) VIAF [☐](http://viaf.org/viaf/96416116)

Link #c9

- Władysław IV. of Poland (1595–1648) VIAF [☐](http://viaf.org/viaf/35870749) DNB [☐](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118834657) ADB/NDB [☐](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118834657.html)

Link #ca

- Educational Journey, Grand Tour (<http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-on-the-road/educational-journey-grand-tour/mathis-leibetseder-educational-journey-grand-tour>)

Link #cb

- Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) VIAF [☐](http://viaf.org/viaf/56647196) DNB [☐](http://d-nb.info/gnd/11860354X) ADB/NDB [☐](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd11860354X.html)

Link #cc

- Christophe Plantin (1514–1589) VIAF [☐](http://viaf.org/viaf/120696841) DNB [☐](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118741004) ADB/NDB [☐](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118741004.html)

Link #cd

- Cornelis van der Geest (1575–1638) VIAF [☐](http://viaf.org/viaf/191468609) DNB [☐](http://d-nb.info/gnd/188485376) ADB/NDB [☐](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd188485376.html)

Link #ce

- <http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/the-gallery-of-cornelis-van-der-geest-1628>
The Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest, 1628

Link #cf

- The art cabinet of Prince Władysław Sigismund Vasa; © The Royal Castle in Warsaw [☐](http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.zamek-krolewski.pl/en/node/603) (<http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.zamek-krolewski.pl/en/node/603>)

Link #cg

- Bartłomiej Schachmann (1559–1614) VIAF [☐](http://viaf.org/viaf/250519578) DNB [☐](http://d-nb.info/gnd/1027642594) ADB/NDB [☐](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd1027642594.html)

Link #ch

- Nefedova, Olga et al. (eds.): Bartholomäus Schachman (1559–1614): The Art of Travel, 2015. [☐](http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://qm.org.qa/en/about-us/publications/orientalist-art/bartholom%C3%A4us-schachman-1559-1614-the-art-of-travel/) (<http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://qm.org.qa/en/about-us/publications/orientalist-art/bartholom%C3%A4us-schachman-1559-1614-the-art-of-travel/>)

Link #ci

- <http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/the-luxor-obelisk>
The Luxor Obelisk

Link #cj

- China Fashion (<http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-and-the-world/europes-fascination-with-china-17th-18th-century/mareike-menne-china-fashion-and-sinophilia-in-the-17th-and-18th-centuries>)

Link #ck

- André-Charles Boulle (1642–1732) VIAF [☐](http://viaf.org/viaf/22150743) DNB [☐](http://d-nb.info/gnd/119045664) ADB/NDB [☐](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd119045664.html)

Link #cl

- Cultural Transfer (<http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/theories-and-methods/cultural-transfer/wolfgang-schmale-cultural-transfer>)

Link #cm

- The Trenchard Bowl; © Victoria and Albert Museum, London [☐](http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O7759/the-trenchard-bowl-bowl-unknown/) (<http://www.ieg-ego.euhttps://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O7759/the-trenchard-bowl-bowl-unknown/>)

Link #cn



- <http://www.ieg-ego.eu><https://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/johannes-vermeer-163220131675-woman-reading-a-letter-ca-1663>
Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675), Woman reading a letter, ca. 1663

Link #co

- Lluís Dalmau (ca. 1400–1460) <http://www.ieg-ego.eu><https://viaf.org/viaf/41167759748513570656/>

Link #cp



- <http://www.ieg-ego.eu><https://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/the-virgin-of-the-counsellors-144320131445>
The Virgin of the Counsellors, 1443–1445

Link #cq

- Alfonso V of Aragon (1396–1458) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/290606108) <http://viaf.org/viaf/290606108> [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118648098) <http://d-nb.info/gnd/118648098> [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118648098.html) <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118648098.html>

Link #cr



- <http://www.ieg-ego.eu><https://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/mediainfo/altar-retable-in-st-mary2019s-church-in-lubeck>
Altar retable in St Mary's Church in Lübeck

Link #cs

- Hans Memling (ca. 1430–1494) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/36926265) <http://viaf.org/viaf/36926265> [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118580647) <http://d-nb.info/gnd/118580647> [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118580647.html) <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118580647.html>

Link #ct

- Angelo di Jacopo Tani (1415–1492) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/172918104) <http://viaf.org/viaf/172918104> [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/1068036672) <http://d-nb.info/gnd/1068036672>

Link #cu

- Paul Beneke (ca. 1440–1480) <http://www.ieg-ego.eu><https://viaf.org/viaf/62768537/>

Link #cv

- Charles I "the Bold" of Burgundy (1433–1477) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/84075206) <http://viaf.org/viaf/84075206> [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118560026) <http://d-nb.info/gnd/118560026> [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118560026.html) <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118560026.html>

Link #cw

- Pope Sixtus IV (1414–1484) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/37712552) <http://viaf.org/viaf/37712552> [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118797476) <http://d-nb.info/gnd/118797476> [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118797476.html) <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118797476.html>

Link #cx

- Peter I of Russia (1672–1725) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/30329184) <http://viaf.org/viaf/30329184> [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118592955) <http://d-nb.info/gnd/118592955> [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118592955.html) <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118592955.html>

Link #cy

- Vivant Denon (1747–1825) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/64021324) <http://viaf.org/viaf/64021324> [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118671499) <http://d-nb.info/gnd/118671499> [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118671499.html) <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118671499.html>

Link #cz

- Codification Movements (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu><https://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/crossroads/legal-families/wilhelm-brauneder-codification-movements>)

Link #do

- Thirty Years' War (<http://www.ieg-ego.eu><https://www.ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/european-media/european-media-events/esther-beate-koerber-the-thirty-years-war-as-an-european-media-event>)

Link #d1

- Biblioteca Palatina – digital <http://www.ieg-ego.eu><https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/de/bpd/index.html>

Link #d2

- Christine of Sweden (1626–1689) [VIAF](http://viaf.org/viaf/4931803) <http://viaf.org/viaf/4931803> [DNB](http://d-nb.info/gnd/118520652) <http://d-nb.info/gnd/118520652> [ADB/NDB](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118520652.html) <http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd118520652.html>

Link #d3

- Antoine Béranger (1785–1867), Etruscan scroll vase: Arrival in Paris of the works destined for the Musée Napoléon; © GrandPalaisRmn (Sèvres – Manufacture et musée nationaux) / Martine Beck-Coppola <http://www.ieg-ego.eu><https://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/06-516769-2C6NUoPEWVX3.html>

Link #d4

- Aleksandra Lipińska VIAF [↗](http://viaf.org/viaf/42086658) (http://viaf.org/viaf/42086658) DNB [↗](http://d-nb.info/gnd/1068279338) (http://d-nb.info/gnd/1068279338)

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