OPENING THE COGNITIVE TOOL-BOX OF MIGRATING SCULPTORS (1680-1794): AN ANALYSIS OF THE EPISTEMIC AND SEMIOTIC STRUCTURES OF THE REPUBLIC OF TOOLS

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the epistemic structures of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century migrating image-makers with a particular regard for producers of sculpture. By means of an analysis of journals written by the sculptor Franz Ertinger (1669 – 1747) and the glazier Jacques-Louis Ménétra (1738-c.1803) this thesis identifies an epistemic order which was contingent on the worlds of mobility of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century craftsmen. In order to advance the understanding of how artisan image-makers of this period acquired, organised and developed knowledge, the concept of a cognitive tool-box is introduced. Examining a number of cognitive tools, i. e. epistemic strategies, the thesis constructs an interpretative framework through which itinerant artisans were potentially able to derive meanings from situations, objects and communities which were unfamiliar or culturally different in some ways. Due to the emphasis on cognitive aspects, the thesis's principal method can be described as an epistemological history of art, taking into consideration historically specific mechanisms of interpretation, exchange and knowledge organisation, such as the building of unwritten archives of artisan histories. The thesis also addresses questions surrounding the identities of migrating craftsmen and suggests the existence of a "Republic of Tools", tracing the career of one of its highly mobile citizens, the sculptor Johann Eckstein (1735-1817).

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Johann Eckstein – a mediocre artist?

The German art historian Peter H. Feist who was director of the art historical institute at the Humboldt Universität and director of the Institut für Ästhetik und Kunstwissenschaften at the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR wrote a chapter for a commemorative publication in 1999 in which he wanted to address the "problem" of the art-historical relevance of "those artists who never distinguished themselves through an innovative achievement, or even through a particular aptitude in the application of established methods."[1] The artist who had the dubious pleasure of serving as an example for Feist's argument was the sculptor Johann Eckstein (1735-1817). At the end of a rough biographical sketch, which rests on the sparse literature that exists on Eckstein and passes on the incoherences and mistakes which characterise this literature, Feist's only point in favour of Johann Eckstein's art historical significance is that he was the father and teacher of Friedrich Eckstein who, in turn, was the teacher of Hieram Powers, an artist who, as is implied in Feist's argumentation, is more deserving of his place in the history of art.[2] Yet, there is something compelling about the life of this "mediocre artist" but "remarkable man" which has prevented Johann Eckstein from being forgotten by art historians.[3]

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1 Peter H. Feist, "Johann Eckstein: Mecklenburg – Potsdam – Philadelphia – Havanna. Ein Bildhauerleben im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert" in Gerd-Helge Vogel (ed.), *Die Kunst als Spiegel des Lebens – Romantik und Realismus. Festschrift für Hannelore Gärtner*, Greifswald, Stein Becker Verlag, 1999, 10

2 Feist in Vogel, *Die Kunst als Spiegel des Lebens*, 1999, 15

3 Feist in Vogel, *Die Kunst als Spiegel des Lebens*, 1999, 14

What makes this life so memorable is its mobility; Eckstein was truly a globetrotter who left his home in Bavaria as a young man and was never to return; he lived in Holland, England, Prussia, Mecklenburg, Pennsylvania and, as octogenarian, journeyed to Cuba where he died shortly after his arrival. It is a life of cosmopolitan adventure which makes for great story-telling; but it is also a life marked by rupture, littering the places he went with supposedly inferior and insignificant sculptures which makes Johann Eckstein problematic for a canonical history of art. But, this thesis should end here if Eckstein's motley oeuvre disqualifies him from a “proper” history of art by a logic which dismisses other “inferior” artists as a suitable research object for a discipline which, in general, prides itself on its interdisciplinarity, pushing them in the corner of “artisans” with whom anthropologists and historians may do what they want. Yet, the thesis is warranted because the lives of artists like Eckstein who pursued humble careers as sculptors, or generally speaking, image-makers, require an approach which is not strictly fixated on a body of works that are either unknown, perceived to be unremarkable or in some way lacking in terms of the responses they inspired and continue to inspire. In the early stages of this PhD project, limited material on Eckstein's works was available and although this situation changed as research was being carried out, the first challenge for this thesis which was conceived as a study of the mobility of eighteenth-century artists was to extend the definition of what aspects of an artist's biography are of interest to the history of art and how such a biography can be evaluated to yield results which provide fresh impulses to the field.

The initial constraints of the material available on Eckstein prevented the

risk of overstating the relevance of his works. However, this led to the realisation that the cognitive structures from which these works sprang must not be understated either. Instead of considering the artist primarily as an image-maker, the thesis aims at broadening the definition of the mobile eighteenth-century artist by examining his role as a maker of knowledge through exchanges and interaction in different social contexts before, in the second half of the thesis, turning to selected works by Eckstein and interpreting them in the light of the new information about sets of values and knowledge which he potentially shared with other migrating artisans. The thesis makes an exploration of the epistemic structures of migrating artists like Johann Eckstein its primary concern in order to gain insights into their interpretative capacities which were derived from the oral and visual culture of the workshop and the tavern. A lot of the research presented in this thesis builds on the work of anthropologically and sociologically oriented historians but rather than perpetuating their lines of argument, as the methodological review will show, my own research significantly departs from the positions articulated by, mainly, Rudolf Schenda, Andreas Grießinger, Alain Corbin and the acculturationist Ulrich Gotter.

Despite the thesis's focus on orders of knowledge, my efforts to produce insights into the epistemic structures of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artisan image-makers are not those of a Foucauldian archaeologist of knowledge. Foucault's objective to understand the configurations which made the totality of ideas that were formed during a certain period in history possible, led him to analyse works by makers of knowledge for indications towards these

configurations, which he called the *episteme*.[4] Foucault believed that the *episteme*, this principal order which brings forth all other orders of knowledge, can only be apprehended when operating on the "archaeological level", not on the "level of ideas and themes", which are only a "surface appearance".[5] It could readily be suggested that my concern with epistemic structures of artisans is rooted in Foucault's theory of the *episteme*, but this is, upon closer inspection, not the case. Although it is possible to argue that my analyses take place on the level of ideas and themes and explore the orders therein, it has to be pointed out that my understanding of what conditions the orders of knowledge constructed by artisans differs from the theory of the *episteme*. While the *episteme* is an abstract set of relations between empirical sciences that are conducted within a given period, my argument operates on the premise that a historically specific *social* situation (the migration of craftsmen), and the challenges which arose from it, governed the formation of cognitive strategies, among them the ordering of knowledge in unwritten archives. In contrast to Foucault, my analysis is not aimed at the empirical sciences and their deliberate attempts at classifying, ordering and structuring but focuses on knowledge which was produced and exchanged by artisans and on the organisation of this knowledge in ways that were integral to their communities and their trades. Foucault focuses exclusively on the works of citizens of the Republic of Letters, excluding objects and texts which represent other forms of ordering knowledge to other ends than those of the empirical sciences of a specific period. However, an assessment of whether the epistemic structures and strategies of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artisans are

4 Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things – An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1966), London, Routledge, 1991, xv-xxiv
5 Foucault, *The Order of Things*, 1991, xxii

compatible with a Foucauldian *episteme* goes beyond the scope of this project which is, ultimately, designed to advance our understanding of the worlds of thought of migrating artisans.

1.2 Franz Ertinger, journeyman sculptor and journalist – a way into the cognitive structures of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artisans

The heavy emphasis of the thesis on how artisans acquired, ordered and shared knowledge helps to explain, or at least provides some informed background speculation on, the cognitive processes which were at work in the workshops of continental sculptors and that continued to inform the participation of these artists in the academies and artists' associations which sprang up in England and the New World in the second half of the eighteenth century and at the start of the nineteenth century. In order to begin to comprehend these processes it was necessary to look to Franz Ertinger (1669-1747) who became a journeyman at the close of the seventeenth century and who documented his years in transit in a journal. Analysis of this journal, and that of the Parisian glazier Jacques-Louis Ménétra (1738-c.1803), with the objective of understanding particular epistemic ordering principles which enabled Ertinger and Ménétra to write in the ways they did creates new parameters for writing the biography of an artist like Eckstein which will be outlined in the paragraphs on methodology below. Pursuing what I am going to refer to as an epistemological history of art, and applying the principles of micro-history to the lives and works of two non-canonical sculptors, will reveal the complexity of the cognitive structures of artisans with a specific

orientation towards producers of sculptures.

Although this study emphasises the cognitive structures of image-makers, and sculptors in particular, its results depended on, and continue to be applicable to, the epistemic and semiotic systems of European artisans in general because these artisans shared knowledge and what will be referred to as “cognitive tools”.[6] These tools, which will be explained shortly, were the mechanisms which enabled itinerant artisans of all professions to fit into a variety of cosmopolitan spaces and to deal with the challenges that came with being confronted with cultural differences. It will emerge that some of these tools played a role in the establishment of a particular identity; that of being part of a community which will be described as a companion to the Republic of Letters, namely, a Republic of Tools. From the beginning, the thesis set out to explore the concept of cultural exchange in relation to eighteenth-century artists but, when the Republic of Tools began to take shape from the analysis of Jacques-Louis Ménétra's journal and became a lense through which Ertinger's journal was re-read, implications arose for assessing the relevance of the sharing of knowledge in this environment. Ertinger's journal, which has until now merely served as a reference text against which attributions could be checked, is subjected to multiple re-readings in the light of new insights in this thesis and it can be said that my research has been both exploratory and cyclical. After new avenues of inquiry had been opened up, the following reading yielded new results which advanced the understanding of the

6 It will become more apparent in chapter 4 that systems of signs and processes of interpretation are embedded with the acquisition and organisation of knowledge. While the distinction between epistemic and semiotic systems might seem laboured or inaccurate at first mention, it is necessary to uphold it until a sense of co-dependency of the ways in which knowledge was developed, organised and shared and the ways in which signs were “read” will emerge in the course of the argument of chapter 4.

knowledge organisation of late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artisans further.

While it might appear that there is a discrepancy between Johann Eckstein, Franz Ertinger and, even more so, the glazier Jacques-Louis Ménétra in terms of time, profession and country of origin, the importance of these differences fades in the light of the research objective of finding constants that characterised the ordering, sharing and making of knowledge in the Republic of Tools, and of investigating how cultural differences were negotiated and overcome. While Ertinger's journal stood out to me as the only writing by a journeymen sculptor who describes his *Wanderschaft* (the period of mobility which followed the apprenticeship) of its kind available to date and, therefore, became a crucial resource for my research, Ménétra's *Journal de ma Vie* was chosen as a suitable contrast due to its more personal and critical nature, as well as its temporal distance; this contrast also helps to trace developments and constants within the Republic of Tools. Furthermore, Ménétra's journal was included in the thesis because its author was a direct contemporary of Johann Eckstein and, while their lives and journeys were different, they moved in similar circles of sociability and were likely to have been exposed to a range of opinions and ideas which were influential during the middle decades of the eighteenth century. Thus, the work on Ménétra makes it possible to offer informed speculation on how Eckstein situated himself in these epistemic registers. Scouring the journals for passages which are indicative of the scope and nature of their author's knowledge led to the identification of certain epistemic ordering principles and directed the kinds of questions asked regarding the core case study of Johann Eckstein for whom there

were plenty of archival and printed sources available as far as his migration is concerned but only very little of his own writings. Since this study is concerned with epistemology rather than aesthetics or a standard biography, it was crucial to use material which was composed by artisans themselves, especially a journeyman sculptor, and in which they discussed what they learnt on the Wanderschaft at sufficient length to enable deductions on how this knowledge was assessed, organised and implemented.

The pairing of Ertinger and Eckstein was, at first, born out of necessity due to the sparse material available on the latter, but it has come to form a highly successful synthesis which sparked an original set of research questions and, what is more, enabled me to answer them cogently. Since both artists were part of a Republic of Tools which incorporated artisans of other trades, it might be productive for future studies to exploit the vast body of artisan journals from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in order to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the cognitive structures of those artisans who made images, rather than dismissing this extraordinary resource in order to uphold an artificial distinction between artisans and “artists”. The thesis argues against such differentiations and, consequently, the terms are used interchangeably unless highlighted otherwise. This is not to suggest that there are no differences whatsoever between image-makers and artisans who produced consumer goods; professional identities were likely to have been affected by the perceived functions and values of objects which artisans produced. The spiritual and commemorative aspects of certain objects implies a different status of a maker of images from a maker of candles or breeches; a different status not in a social or trade-related

sense but teleologically and epistemologically.

None of the three artisans on which the study focuses made items of everyday, physical use and, considering their significant historical, political and theological awareness, it can be assumed that they knew that the objects they made had a certain durability, as well as implications for the learning, thinking and worshipping of their contemporaries. Retrospectively it might seem in the light of this notion that there were two classes of artisans, some who produced ephemeral, intellectually insignificant goods, and those which made objects to which learning and memory was attached, such as image-makers, book-makers and builders. There is no indication in the journals that such an explicit bias existed in the perception of Ertinger and Ménétra and, while the thesis is intent on distancing the analysis from modern dichotomies of practical and theoretical knowledge and implied gradients of knowledge between the pedestrian and the noble, it is important to note this distinction due to its possible effects on ways of thinking of different groups of artisans. Ertinger and Eckstein, unquestionably, are image-makers, but Ménétra also produced images in glass, although he made “just” plain glass windows and frames for much of his time. Moreover, Ménétra was in touch with the imagery of churches and palaces as much as any sculptor because churches and abbeys were often his principal site of work besides the traditional shop. As a consequence, all of the artists/artisans discussed in this thesis have a strong awareness of visual narratives and traditions. Therefore, the research outcomes which do have a broad applicability to cognitive structures of the *Wanderschaft* and the workshop, in general, because the principles of tacit knowledge, unwritten archives, semiotic libraries and the sharing of knowledge are

transferable to trades to which *Wanderschaft* was integral, bring to the fore a potentially more intense orientation towards the visual than might have been the case in a study which did not focus on image-makers. What is more, the *Wanderschaft* of sculptors, like that of any other trade, had a trade-specific component (although this was not its only defining feature) which meant in Ertinger's and Eckstein's cases, especially, that they not only visited the workshops of master-sculptors but also sought out sites where they could see eminent examples of sculpture. That means that they were very probably exposed to a greater range of images and had the opportunity to develop a greater sophistication in categorising and decoding things visually than many artisans who worked in other trades. By this sophistication I mean a greater incorporation of historical and theological issues with the places and objects they saw. As such, it will be argued that the thesis's findings can be applied to the experiences of other image-makers of the eighteenth century who had migrated, but such applications would probably have to be qualified if making reference to members of other trades whose semiotic libraries might have been less dependent on, or extensive with regards to, the visual.

The journals of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century journeymen and master artisans are also underresearched outside of art history with the noteable exception of Sigrid Wadauer's ambitious survey *Die Tour der Gesellen* which focuses on accounts of the *Wanderschaft* (Wadauer, however, did not consider Ertinger's journal) and James S. Amelang's study of early modern artisan autobiography.[7] Wadauer argues that the “internal logic (Eigenlogik)” of these texts

7 Sigrid Wadauer, *Die Tour der Gesellen – Mobilität und Biographie im Handwerk vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt and New York, Campus, 2005

has been ignored in order to affirm preconceived hypotheses. As a result, “an abundance of details [remains] for which there is neither an interest nor an explanation, but which are essential nevertheless”; I agree that this omission, and the approaches which have enabled it, have stood in the way of gaining valuable insights into the cognitive worlds of artisans.[8] Wadauer advocates an exploratory approach which I will also employ in my work, as explained elsewhere in this introduction. In contrast to Wadauer's work, however, my own work is not quantitative; rather than evaluating a great number of journals, as she did, only two journals have been selected for a micro-analysis, with Ertinger's *Reisebeschreibung* as main focus. What is problematic with Wadauer's study is her insistance that because of the editorial and archival efforts which have shaped the journals over time it is permissible to dissolve the chronology and narrative coherence of her selection.[9] While it is the position of this thesis that the Republic of Tools had a temporal constancy despite its dynamic character, possibly over centuries, my work postulates artisans as historical agents who participated in specific contemporary discourses on the basis of which they could develop registers of thought and meaning which had the potential to alter the constellation of the Republic of Tools. Therefore, their thinking must be considered in the light of contemporary discursive trends and, crucially, on an individual basis, instead of doing away with “the whole person as a privileged explanatory unit” for the sake of creating synthetic “epistemic individuals” which she constructs despite criticising

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James S. Amelang, *The Flight of Icarus – Artisan Autobiography in early modern Europe*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1998

8 Wadauer, *Die Tour der Gesellen*, 2005, 54

9 Wadauer, *Die Tour der Gesellen*, 2005, 93

Wilhelm Treue's synthetic cloth maker as an erudite projection.[10] None of Wadauer's justifications of evaluating journals from the early eighteenth through to the twentieth century in one examination of mobility are completely persuasive and doubts remain in the face of this broad scope. Nevertheless, many of her observations are valuable and insightful, providing useful impulses for the argument of chapter 3.

Other useful secondary material on artisan migration and life in general has been drawn on, such as the work by Josef Ehmer, James Farr and Geoffrey Crossick.[11] *Walz-Migration-Besatzung* edited by Ehmer, Hahn and Bauer stands out as a collection of essays which touches upon aspects of knowledge organisation, specifically artisan concepts of cultural difference, although this is not formulated as an explicit goal in the volume and, therefore, not pursued in a coherent manner. These surveys, and comparable literature, are a valuable exploration of the social fabric of artisan life. My thesis aims to add an epistemological dimension to this kind of scholarship and will investigate a potential framework through which artisans established an understanding of their surroundings and of other artisans which were, in some ways, culturally distinct (ref. 1.6.2 and 1.6.3). Robert Darnton's remarkable *The Great Cat Massacre* has already provided some insights into the semiotic registers of French artisans of the eighteenth century, taking into consideration forms of folk and oral culture and interpreting contemporary events and literature accordingly. My work shares the

10 “Die ganze Person als privilegierte Erklärungseinheit und als Erklärungszusammenhang wird somit aufgelöst.Daher wird in Folge auch von epistemischen Individuen gesprochen“, Wadauer, *Die Tour der Gesellen*, 2005, 61, 93

11 Ingrid Bauer, Josef Ehmer, Sylvia Hahn, *Walz – Migration – Besatzung: Historische Szenarien des Eigenen und des Fremden*, Klagenfurt, Drava Verlag, 2002
James Farr, *Artisans in Europe 1300-1914*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000
Geoffrey Crossick, *The Artisan and the European Town 1500-1900*, Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1997

motivation to understand mindsets of eighteenth-century artisans in this way but focuses the line of inquiry on the correlations between mobility, both social and geographical, and knowledge.[12] The existing literature on baroque sculpture deals indirectly with the implications of mobility on sculptural production, for example, by turning to the concept of “influence” and making some marginal observations on the role of exchange. But, among this scholarship no study can be found which engages beyond a superficial level with the challenging issues surrounding the epistemological aspects of sculptors' migration.[13] The study of Eckstein and Ertinger is intended to get a methodological and lucid grasp on how baroque sculptors interpreted the art works they saw on the *Wanderschaft* and how the knowledge they acquired through the interaction with others shaped their own sculptural production.[14]

While it might seem that the study should have concentrated on Ertinger alone this would have had a limiting influence on the research outcomes of an investigation of artisan knowledge, identities and mobility. In contrast to Eckstein, Ertinger at one point settled in the Allgäu, the region where he was born and from whence he had set out on his *Wanderschaft*, and is likely to have continued working in the traditional infrastructure of the trade, welcoming apprentices and

12 Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, London, Penguin, 1984

13 for example, Konstanty Kalinowski, *Studien zur Werkstattpraxis in der Barockskulptur im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert,* Poznan, 1992

14 The epistemological observations made in later chapters, as well as the overview of social and professional structures of chapter 1, are heavily rooted in an understanding of how sculpture was produced and how sculptors were trained during the Continental Baroque of which Ertinger is a representative. Eckstein's training as a sculptor from the mid-1740s would still have been aligned with the traditions of the Baroque and would, to an extent, have fostered similar epistemic and semiotic registers to Ertinger and his contemporaries. The case study of Eckstein spans the baroque tendecies of the early eighteenth century, thus, providing exciting opportunities to examine the dynamic between existing and emerging epistemic and professional trends and how interpretative structures of the past (1690s-1750s) evolved and how these structures shaped decisions made by sculptors like Eckstein in the present of the 1760s-1790s.

journeymen into a workshop of his own. Unlike many obscure sculptors like Ertinger and also prominent artists like Roubiliac, Johann Eckstein never “arrived” anywhere for good and although he spent periods of several years in Mecklenburg, Potsdam, England and America, his life was marked by migration until its very end. Eckstein's biography and the existing archival and secondary sources that support it enabled an inquiry into whether the cognitive structures which were shaped by the *Wanderschaft* and which characterised the Republic of Tools developed once Eckstein experienced new forms of artists' associations, such as the Society of Artists and the Royal Academy, and was able to imagine more liberal alternatives than the Continental guild system which relied on the patronage of aristocracy and clergy. Rather than examining patterns of migration, it will be demonstrated how the values of Eckstein were shaped by the knowledge he acquired on his prolonged stays in England and how the epistemic structures which formed the Republic of Tools could potentially develop as a result of these shifts in a value system.

1.3 Further source material on Johann Eckstein's biography and oeuvre

Although the argument of the thesis rests on an in-depth analysis of Ertinger's journal, the principal emphasis remains throughout on Eckstein's vita, to which this thesis adds some substantial research. Until now, entries in dictionaries on sculpture such as the *Dictionary of British Sculptors* by Rupert Gunnis or the extensive and much more accurate entries on both Johann Eckstein, his brother George (who was also a sculptor and whom I am going to discuss occasionally)

and Johann's son John in Saur's *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* have been the principal sources drawn on by writers like Feist. The pieces of information on the Ecksteins from secondary literature have been checked against each other in preparation for the argument which has cleared up confusion regarding which works were to be attributed to Eckstein senior and Eckstein junior. Archival research in Britain and Germany, namely at the Royal Academy of Arts in London, the Landeshauptarchiv at Schwerin, the city archive at Potsdam and the Plankammer at Sanssouci has led to findings of sparse but highly valuable primary material, particularly a set of contracts and letters which shed light on Eckstein's work as court sculptor at Ludwigslust and a legal document at Potsdam which revealed that Eckstein's family lost their house at Potsdam where they lived between 1777 and 1794 (see fig. 1) as the result of an inheritance dispute.

Substantial image research also had to be carried out in Berlin, Potsdam and Schwerin because very few photographs were available of the works attributed to Eckstein in catalogues and dictionaries; some of these will be discussed in relation to the cognitive “tools” identified in chapters 3 through 5, explaining how they fit with the ways Eckstein might have interpreted theological and philosophical matters. This image research has enabled me to remove some doubts regarding the status of Johann Eckstein as painter; a mural in the *Marmorpalais* at Potsdam which had been attributed to Eckstein at some point in the past but is not featured in any of the literature on the artist has been rediscovered during the course of my research (fig. 2.). Moreover, it has been possible to identify a tomb in Potsdam which has mistakenly been listed in the catalogue *Ethos und Pathos – Die Berliner Bildhauerschule 1786-1914* as that of

Johann Eckstein's father as the grave of the court gardener Heinrich Christian Eckstein (d. 1796) rather than the cabinet maker Conrad Eckstein (d. 1773).[15] Additionally, auction sales records have been consulted; reliefs by George Paul Eckstein were put up for auction at Sotheby's in 1974 but did not sell and their whereabouts remain unknown (fig. 10).[16] In an earlier auction on 23 March 1971 a terracotta statue by George Paul (fig. 4) was sold through Sotheby's and, according to the object's file, it depicts Johann Eckstein which conflicts with the information that the sitter was George's father. Unfortunately there was no way to trace this statue or determine whether the sitter was Johann or Conrad Eckstein.[17] Yet, the thesis should not be understood as an attempt to produce a detailed catalogue of works by the Eckstein brothers. Instead, selected works will be discussed in parts of the thesis where they fit into the arguments regarding knowledge organisation and exchange, or where they can provide biographical information. Instead of trying to fit Eckstein's work into either a tradition of Continental baroque sculpture or an academy-oriented “British school” the framework of interpretation for his works will correspond to Eckstein's own possible interpretative faculties which were dependent on the aspects of an epistemic and semiotic order which this thesis is trying to reconstruct. Through this interpretative strategy, selected works by both Eckstein and Ertinger are assessed for their biographical, social, political and philosophical relevance in terms of the

15 Peter Bloch, Sibylle Einholz, Jutta von Simson (eds.), *Ethos und Pathos – Die Berliner Bildhauerschule 1786-1914*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1990, 137

16 Sotheby's sales records, 12 December 1974, no. 198: two plaster reliefs, “one of a bear and her cubs [...] the other of a dog baiting a bull among ruins and a tree-scape”; no. 199 marble relief by George Paul Eckstein, “signed and dated 1768 on the reverse, of a rustic scene with a woman holding a child, a man leaning against the base of a tree, landscape background with a village in the distance” p 68

17 Sotheby's sales records, 23 March 1971, no. 144, thanks to Erik Bijzet, junior cataloguer at Sotheby's

artist's social, political and historical agency. Since the visual analyses of the thesis are embedded within a study of the interpretative capacities of the artist my work opens up a middle ground between reception theory and formal approaches. By evaluating selected sculptures as part and/or product of Eckstein's engagement with a range of discourses, works can be understood as carrying meanings which were highly specific to how the artist situated himself in relation to sets of ideas which could have been shaped by particular instances of exchange.

A big part of the initial research was also directed towards John Eckstein, Johann's son, who was a military official and painter who supplied printmakers in London with images from the West Indies and also distinguished himself as a portrait and genre painter. He worked in London and Birmingham and exhibited his images in the Royal Academy exhibitions between 1787 and 1802, before moving to the West Indies where he worked as a government official and continued to make portraits and landscapes there which were disseminated in England as prints. However, the work on cognitive structures required a micro-level approach, paying attention to the intricacies of knowledge exchanges and organisation, as the next section will explain, meaning that the scope of the thesis had to be narrowed down to just the career of Johann Eckstein. Some peripheral research has also been carried out into Johann's and George Paul's uncle and older brother who emigrated to Sweden and worked there successfully as cabinet makers.[18] While these relatives had to be largely omitted from this micro-historical study of

18 e.g. Bengt Sylvén, *Mästernas Möbler*, Norstedts, Stockholm, 1996. Dr Lars Ljungström, curator at the Royal Collections in Stockholm has kindly provided me with an overview of members of the Eckstein family who worked in Sweden as cabinet makers, beginning with Conrad Eckstein's brother, Friedrich Eckstein (b. 1699 in Nuremberg). Johann Conrad Eckstein (b. 1723 in Nuremberg), son of Conrad, came to Sweden as a journeyman in 1740; he will be mentioned in the text

the family members who were sculptors, they will be mentioned occasionally due to their relevance in relation to the biographies of Johann and George Paul.

1.4 Impulses from Migration Research

In many publications on migration research from the 1990s micro-level studies have been pointed out as a new direction for migration studies. Up until then, research was mostly being carried out on a macro-level which led to the establishment of "push/pull" theories which refer to general economic or religious trends which are believed to determine the migration of particular groups. In opposition to these studies which, when carried out without considering biographical elements, have been identified as rather simplistic and indiscriminate, it has been suggested that micro-level approaches enable historians to develop more differentiated individual "migration profiles".[19] In order to accomplish this, different sets of sources have to be drawn on besides statistical information which produce grids of push and pull factors that for some time have been presented as sole determinants for migration processes.[20] The micro-level approaches are an attempt to introduce individual-level data into the equation of push and pull and, thus, to produce studies which are more representative of the complexity of migration at a given historical moment. Pooley and Whyte suggest that several sources should be synthesised in order to "construct more complete evidence about migration and emigration than is often available".[21] Besides looking to

19 Colin Pooley and Ian D. Whyte, *Migrants, Emigrants and Immigrants – A Social History of Migration*, London and New York, Routledge, 1991, 12
20 Pooley and Whyte, *Migrants*, 7
21 Pooley and Whyte, *Migrants*, 7

alternative sources, the understanding of the nature of migration itself has been significantly broadened through the work of Pooley, Whyte and Boyd. Instead of describing a permanent, relatively unproblematic relocation to another place, the term migration has come to refer to multilateral flows which are themselves embedded in flows of knowledge and objects.[22] In a way, this thesis produces a "migration profile" for Johann Eckstein and Franz Ertinger but transcends the boundaries of strict migration research. While my research was initially driven by the objective to take migration studies into the direction expressed in Colin Pooley's work, chiefly by operating on the micro-level, it was the micro-perspective on Ertinger's and Ménétra's writing which led me to abandon the focus on forms of migration and consider how epistemic and semiotic registers were shaped by learning and exchanges facilitated by a professional culture to which migration was integral.

Additionally, there appears to be a reluctance among migration historians to strictly separate "internal" movements and emigration. As stated in Pooley and Whyte, "the division of migration studies into 'internal' movements and emigration is an artificial construct based as it is on flows within or across equally artificial and arbitrary boundaries. Not only were internal movements and emigration complementary, they were frequently elements of the same process".[23] Furthermore, the distinction of internal migration and emigration does not readily apply to a period when nation-states were not yet a clearly-delineated concept that shaped individual and group identities. In chapter 3 it will be demonstrated that Franz Ertinger's understanding of regions and countries was historically

22 Monica Boyd: " Family and Personal Networks in International Migration: Recent Developments and New Agendas", *International Migration Review*, Volume 23, No 3, 1989, 641
23 Pooley and Whyte, *Migrants*, 6

contingent, making notions of immigration and emigration less appropriate, particularly, when considering that mobility was a structural part of the careers of the majority of artisans. Instead of identifying migration patterns in Eckstein's, Ménétra's and Ertinger's biographies which are in keeping with the typification by Clark and Souden into local, career, circular or chain migrations, the thesis will prioritise research into knowledge exchange and ordering which was contingent on mobility. This approach deliberately departs from a strategy which achieves little beyond conflating experiences of mobility into categories which obscure the complexity of motivations and far-reaching cognitive implications of these experiences. While this kind of compartmentalisation creates the impression of ordering the confusingly mobile worlds of the past by taking into account characteristics which can be derived from analysing the movements of groups, this generalisation has to be avoided when the research objective is to examine how migration influences the perception and negotiation of cultural difference, as well as the sharing and ordering of knowledge in relation to individuals.24 The work by Pooley and White has to be credited at this point for providing impulses which have set the direction for my own approach by highlighting the significance of micro-history. However, my studies have developed towards epistemology and moved away from the research problems of existing migration research.

24 David J. Siddle, *Migration, Mobility and Modernization*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press. 2000, 111

1.5 Why the history of the cognitive structures of itinerant image-makers has to be a micro-history

So far, I have been suggesting that the thesis will employ strategies derived from microhistory. What microhistory really is and what its tasks are, was fervently contested during the 1990s, a debate which is ongoing and continues to prove provocative to proponents of macrohistories. After the publication of Carlo Ginzburg's *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (1976), a work which keeps being referenced by authors who concern themselves with the methods of microhistory and that can probably be described as seminal, the 1990s brought a number of books and articles which did not only begin to implement microhistorical approaches but also dealt with an onslaught of criticism and defended the validity of the microperspective.[25] Rogier Chartier, for example, wrote in praise of *The Cheese and the Worms* that "it is on this reduced scale and probably only on this scale that we can understand without deterministic reduction the relationships between systems of belief, of values and representations on one side and social affiliations on the other".[26] By this scale, Chartier meant the microscopic level on which the opinions, ideas and motivations of individual persons or groups can be observed. As we shall see once we delve deeper into the scholarship on cultural transfers, efforts of this kind have attracted the criticism, even disdain of historians, in this case of the acculturationists and transfer historians whose work will be evaluated in chapter 5. Transfer studies

25 Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-century Miller*, London, Penguin, 1992

26 Carlo Ginzburg, John Tedeschi, Anne C. Tedeschi, "Microhistory: two or three things I know about it" in *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 20, no. 1, Autumn 1993, 10-35, 19

have always sought to explain knowledge transfers and their impact on the social and cultural fabric of societies on a large-scale level, discarding studies which focus on the exchange between individuals entirely as *Ideengeschichte* (lit. history of ideas), which is perceived to be too trivial and disconnected from societal implications to merit attention.

The proposition of microhistory to focus on micro-worlds, "kleine Lebenswelten" as Hans Medick has called them, in order to get a clearer picture of the mentalities of those whose stories had not yet been considered because they had not been seen as relevant historical agents, has been subjected to fierce attacks. After all, what insights could be derived from the everyday life of peasants and artisans other than how their mundane, small, private worlds worked from day to day.[27] Hans Medick has summed up the principal objection to micro-history in his historiographical review *Mikrohistorie*, saying that a "small" research object also entails a limited perspective and, therefore, the approach naturally has to fail at producing histories which can explain the large-scale effects which drive cultural change.[28] However, as Medick explains, "microhistory is not defined by the micro-dimensions and the smallness of its objects. It gains its opportunities to advance knowledge through its microscopic view point which results from focusing observation on the minute [Verkleinerung des Beobachtungsmaßstabs].[29] This means that putting a microscopic focus on a research object does not limit the research outcomes; on the contrary, it opens up possibilities for exploratory analyses and enables the microhistorian to consider the research object as part of

27 Hans Medick, "Mikrohistorie" in Winfired Schulze (ed.), *Sozialgeschichte, Alltagsgeschichte, Mikrohistorie – Eine Diskussion*, Göttingen, V&R, 1994, 43
28 Medick in Schulze, *Sozialgeschichte, Alltagsgeschichte,Mikrohistorie*, 1994, 44
29 Medick in Schulze, *Sozialgeschichte, Alltagsgeschichte,Mikrohistorie*, 1994, 44

an intricate matrix of “cultural, social, economic and political moments”.[30]

Medick goes on to argue that on the macro-level, that is, the level of generally applicable principles and trends, there are gaps which can only be closed by permitting a complementary micro-perspective. This has turned out to be very much the case in this study on the cognitive fabric of eighteenth-century artisans. Making deductions on the ways in which knowledge was acquired, organised and passed on would have been impossible on the macro-level due to the lack of formal institutions such as academies whose histories could have been drawn on to understand the epistemic order which structured them, neither was an extensive body of specifically “artisan literature”, whatever that might be, available in the case of journeymen sculptors and artisans of this period in general. The *Wanderschaft* itself could be seen as an institution with its guild system and journeymen associations, but narrowing the investigation to these institutions would have detracted attention from the personalised ways of learning, exchange and interpretation. Anything other than a microhistorical approach would have meant a compromise for my research goal; only the microscopic focus on Ertinger produced the interpretative mode which led to insights into the epistemic systems within which he operated. By exploring learning and the mechanisms by which knowledge was shared in reference to Ertinger's journal and his specific experiences it was possible to make informed generalisations on the nature of learning which characterised artisan communities. The emergence of the idea of a Republic of Tools which cohered by means of learning and exchange emerged from an in-depth analysis of the “small” events which occupied Ertinger and

30 Medick in Schulze, *Sozialgeschichte, Alltagsgeschichte,Mikrohistorie*, 1994, 44

Ménétra and prompted action and commentary on their part. Based on particular individual cases, a cognitive framework could be constructed which helps amplify fragmentary biographies such as Eckstein's and turn them into a valuable resource for an epistemological art history.

The micro-perspective also helped to overcome the constraints of the available “direct” evidence regarding both Eckstein and Ertinger. An intense focus on a limited research object often implies a limited set of explicit evidence which has prompted the objection that microhistorians let “interpretation overreach evidence”.[31] In response to this criticism, Richard D. Brown has argued that we must “think beyond the boundaries of evidence” and proposed a synthetical approach. Engaging with the idea of truth claims, Brown states that “our truths have only higher or lower degrees of probablity, and sometimes truths that possess a high degree of uncertainty supply crucial insights for understanding the past.”[32] Many of the claims made in this thesis are speculative and, yet, very likely, helping to improve comprehension of parts of the elusive worlds of past ideas and values. My microanalytical approach enabled me to make relevant claims about the cognitive structures of artisans because it brought my attention to very minute elements in the material, a few paragraphs or sometimes even a sentence which can seem trivial and incidental to the superficial glance but which, if complemented by a range of wider primary and secondary material, can unlock a vast area of the author's critical involvement and hidden biographical information. For example, when Ménétra casually mentions the Protestants of the Cevennes it is easy to miss the implications of this remark on a cursory reading. Ménétra's *Tour de*

31 Richard D. Brown, “Microhistory and the Postmodern Challenge” in *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 23, No. 1, Spring 2003, 1-20

32 Brown, “Microhistory and the Postmodern Challenge”, 2003, 8

France led him past the outskirts of the Cevennes which means that he was likely to have been in contact with the Languedoc Protestants there and had the opportunity to learn about the history of Protestant struggles against Royal oppression. This specific example has little direct bearing on the experiences of Johann Eckstein, a Protestant himself. However, it shows that mid-eighteenth century journeymen were confronted with religious differences which engaged and fostered their critical acumen with a view to religion and other issues This insight supplied me with impulses and points of reference which encouraged me to think about possible ways in which Eckstein perceived and responded to theological matters. In this manner the thesis manages to bring together diverse sources to offer an original perspective on the cognitive orders of artisans.

This example also shows that texts written and images produced by artisans are indispensable for this study. An author, who adamantly rejects that he is a writer of microhistory and, yet, shares a very similar research objective to the one this thesis deals with, is Alain Corbin. Corbin chose a random individual, the nineteenth-century clogmaker Pinagot (1798-1876) about whom practically no source material is available. Of Pinagot, Corbin asks, “With what mental equipment did he perceive and experience processes that would have been easier for him to see because they had a direct impact on him and the people around him?”[33] Corbin is just as interested in the cognitive structures of eighteenth-century artisans as I am, however, his work is much less anchored in sources such as artisan autobiography which are closely linked to these structures. Pinagot apparently never went on a *Tour de France* and had less opportunity to learn

33 Alain Corbin, *The Life of an Unknown – the Redicovered World of a Clogmaker in Nineteenth-century France*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2001

about the history of other regions than Ertinger, Ménétra and Eckstein but Corbin generally underestimates the clogmaker's critical and interpretative capacities because, as will be demonstrated, he does not look beyond the epistemic ordering principles and strategies of his own time and discipline. While it is a noble goal to "give a voice" to artisans, it is crucial to consider the voices of some of them in the form of journals because if these sources are ignored or analysed without the necessary self-consciousness, there is a great danger to impose ideas (or a lack thereof) on the likes of Pinagot which derive from modern orders and hierarchies of knowledge.

A clear strength of microanalysis in my case has been that it forced an ongoing re-examination and re-reading of the relevant primary sources. The new insights which sprang from interpreting aspects of the journal in relation to secondary material on wider historical and theological matters can be said to have unlocked new fields for interpretation. This process of multiple interpretations has led to sophisticated results and sometimes caused the inquiry to go in unexpected directions. The results produced by this approach also complicate the idea of distinct *grand* and *petit* narratives by forcing a reassessment of large-scale historical events or movements from an artisan perspective. Examining how the supposedly *petit* narratives of artisan history became *grand* narratives in the cosmopolitan spheres of the *Wanderschaft* will show that there existed histories of a pan-European, even global, relevance created by the "little people" rather than imposed from "above". Blurring the boundaries between *petit* and *grand* narratives subverts the claim made by Georg Iggers that "microhistory has never been able to escape the framework of larger structures and transformations in which history

takes place".[34] This quote betrays the misconception which characterises some of the criticism of microhistory and which Sigurdur Magnússon has addressed.[35] Magnússon points out that the grand narratives, which he refers to as meta-narratives, such as "nationalism" or "modernity", are seen as the "true glue" of history and, therefore, are believed to obscure any possible results microhistory could offer.[36] He goes on to argue that the "idea that human action always occurs within institutional and cultural structures – powerful, pervasive and invisible" and the focus on solely these structures brings with it major limitations.[37] In his opinion, these limitations can only be overcome if meta-narratives are examined from within the material rather than a pre-conceived perspective, and it appears that by "examined" Magnússon means criticised.[38] This thesis was not conceived as a critique of meta-narratives and should not be understood as such. Yet, grand narratives have emerged from my microhistorical research which could be discarded as petit narratives due to their apparently personalised nature at a superficial glance. But these narratives are, firstly, an invented tradition by European artisans and, secondly, are far from "petit" in the sense of trivial because they could be seen as the "true glue" which made a community as diverse and disparate as the Republic of Tools cohere. Consequently, rather than undermining established grand narratives, my research suggests a different grand narrative which is rooted in the cognitive structures of the mobile population of eighteenth-century artisans.

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34 Sigurdur Gylfi Magnússon, "The Singularization of History; Social History and Microhistory in the Postmodern State of Knowledge" in *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 36, No. 3, Spring 2003, 701-734

35 Magnússon, "The Singularisation of History", 2003

36 Magnússon, "The Singularisation of History", 2003, 715

37 Magnússon, "The Singularisation of History", 2003, 718

38 Magnússon, "The Singularisation of History", 2003, 720

In his book *Visual Piety*, David Morgan wrote that “the everyday compels interest simply because human beings construct their social reality and they do so in the prosaic rhythms of everyday life as well as in the rarified events of catastrophies, epiphanies and revolutions.”[39] This statement is fitting to describe my particular implementation of microhistorical principles. As the argument of my thesis is developed it will be seen that the cognitive structures of artisans shaped and were shaped by both the extraordinary and the ordinary. What is more, social/cultural changes grew out of these structures which means that all microlevel events that might provide insights into epistemic orders and exchange are relevant and worthy of investigation because, despite the mundane situations from which they arise and in which they are played out, they contributed to the mindsets which enabled the specific actions which made extraordinary events and produced extraordinary art works.

1.6 The cognitive toolbox

Crucial to the structure of this thesis has been the concept of a “cognitive toolbox” as formulated by Andreas Grießinger [40] In his book on strike movements and the collective consciousness of journeymen in eighteenth-century Germany, Grießinger included some comments on thought structures of journeymen and the workshop population in general. Unlike Corbin, Grießinger bases his analysis on the recollections of artisans about their apprenticeship and he interprets these

39 David Morgan, *Visual Piety – A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images,* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1998, 17

40 Andreas Grießinger, *Das symbolische Kapital der Ehre – Streikbewegungen und kollektives Bewusstsein deutscher Handwerksgesellen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt, Berlin, Wien, Ullstein Materialien, 1981, 65

commentaries in relation to modes of learning and training in the workshop. However, Grießinger's view point is distorted by an inherent bias against the oral culture of the workshop and he deduces the latter because the modes of learning which sprang from this culture brought forth what he regards as an unsophisticated cognitive framework.[41] Specifically, he states that the oral exchanges of the workshop blocked in-depth reflection and prevented apprentices and journeymen from developing a range of explanatory categories.[42] As a result, they had a limited “cognitive tool-box” at their disposal which they could employ to understand and interact with the complex, mobile world they lived in.[43] The idea of a cognitive tool-box has proven extremely thought-provoking for this study and is reflected in the structure of the thesis which is meant to mirror the cognitive tool-box, as re-envisioned in this thesis, in the way the chapters are laid out. According to Grießinger this tool-box is rather “empty”. My thesis was conceived as an attempt to “fill” this tool-box with the research objective of understanding how the social conditions created by the *Wanderschaft* affected epistemic structures of eighteenth-century artisans. This will be achieved by looking at forms of knowledge which are more in keeping with the oral and visual culture of the workshop, such as Michael Polanyi's concept of tacit knowledge.[44] Rather than perceiving oral and visual modes of learning as an obstacle to forming a sophisticated and critical understanding of historical, social, political, professional and religious matters these modes will be examined for the epistemic ordering principles they had the potential to bring forth.

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41 Grießinger, *Das symbolische Kapital der Ehre*, 1981, 62
42 Grießinger, *Das symbolische Kapital der Ehre*, 1981, 62
43 Grießinger, *Das symbolische Kapital der Ehre*, 1981, 65
44 Michael Polanyi, Marjorie Grene (ed.), *Knowing and Being – Essays by Michael Polanyi*, London, Routledge, 1969

Chapter 3 to 5 will each be dedicated to outlining a cognitive “tool” although their correlations will be highlighted as the argument progresses. In order to be able to place these studies with the “practical” aspects of the everyday life of a sculptor like Eckstein, it is necessary to elaborate on the conditions under which journeymen worked and travelled which will be done in chapter 2. The scarcity of documentation available with regards to sculptors' workshops has been noted by historians of eighteenth-century sculpture and several solutions to the problem have been proposed, for example, by Malcolm Baker who has drawn attention to the “effacement” of the workshop organisation.[45] Baker advocates the creative use of a greater range of source material in order to rectify this “effacement” and gain insights into the collaborative and communal aspects of workshop life. Based on his evaluation of documents such as sculptor's bank accounts, sales catalogues and records of the sale of marble Baker has successfully filled some gaps in the understanding of eighteenth-century sculptors' workshops, for example, by highlighting that subcontracting between workshops was common practice.[46] Instead of focusing research and the selection of source material on one practice such as subcontracting, I have tried to appropriate material from disparate primary sources to create a narrative of workshop life which conforms to a great extent to the biographies of Johann Eckstein and Franz Ertinger. Despite relating the material as far as possible to Eckstein's situation, the results of chapter 2 are broadly applicable to artisan image-makers and provide insights which illuminate the situation of journeymen/*Gesellen*/assistant sculptors on the Continent and in

45 Malcolm Baker, *Figured in Marble: The Making and Viewing of Eighteenth-Century British Sculpture*, London, V&A Publications, 2000, 70

46 Baker, “Collaboration and Subcontracting in Eighteenth-Century British Sculptors' Workshops” in Baker, *Figured in Marble*, 2000

London. Apart from assessing the living conditions of these sculptors by means of statements made by sculptors in court, in order to get an idea how Eckstein lived during his stays in London, forms of journeymen sociability and organisation will be examined by utilising the outcomes of Sigrid Wadauer's survey of artisan journals and by analysing Franz Ertinger's journal. Of particular interest will be the cosmopolitan composition of the workshop and, since not enough source material was available regarding the Carters' yard with whom Eckstein was associated, the workshop of Joseph Nollekens (1737- 1823) of whose members there is detailed information available thanks to the biography *Nollekens and his Times (*1828) *by* J.T. Smith will serve as an example.[47]

1.6.1 Tool 1: Intercultural Competence

Chapter 3 engages with Franz Ertinger's perception of cultural difference and asks what categories of difference can be established on the basis of his journal and how significant these categories were as an epistemic ordering principle. The journal will direct the inquiry towards the importance of religious differences and then turn to concepts of region and country which, as will be seen, are characterised by vagueness and ambiguity, giving clues as to how a culturally diverse area could have been ordered from a pre-nation state perspective. Linguistic differences and possible language barriers will also be explored in relation to both Ertinger and Eckstein, looking at non-verbal communication, possibilities of language learning and the infrastructure which facilitated finding

47 J.T. Smith, *Nollekens and his Times*, London, Oxford University Press, 1929

work with a minimum of verbal communication. Furthermore, it will be asked how the presence of journeymen who came from, and had travelled through, culturally distinct regions and had assembled different sets of work and life experience potentially nurtured the development of certain cognitive and (non-)verbal capacities to negotiate and accommodate difference by the younger members of a household/workshop. From childhood on, eighteenth-century artisans would have been confronted with a variety of ways of working, speaking and interpreting which would have fostered certain tacit skills which enabled them to overcome differences at least to the extent that the workshop operations could run smoothly. This idea will be discussed in relation to the concept of *Verheimatung* ("home-ification"), originally coined by Michael Sonenscher and taken up by Sigrid Wadauer, establishing that journeymen to some degree already possessed strategies to make themselves "at home" with a culturally diverse group of peers and masters before they even left for their *Wanderschaft*.

After presenting thoughts on the implications of the concept of tacit knowledge for the practice and social interaction of eighteenth-century sculptors, the concept of *Fremdcharakteristik* which has emerged from the work on cultural transfers by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner will be introduced. The term refers to the characterisation made of an immigrant by the resident community on the basis of stereotypes and prejudice.[48] It will be assessed what shape this characterisation could have taken in relation to Johann Eckstein in London and it will also be pointed out what possible consequences *Fremdcharacteristik* might have had and how it could have been dealt with by journeymen. In the light of the

48 Michel Espagne, Michael Werner (eds.), *Transferts – les relations interculturelles dans l'espace Franco-Allemand*, Paris, Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988, 14

overall argument in favour of the complexity and sophistication of the cognitive structures of late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artisans, the chapter contributes insights into several facets of cultural difference in an eighteenth-century sculptor's world and into the opportunities and obstacles which characterised the cosmopolitan workshops and artisan associations of this period.

1.6.2 Tool 2: Knowledge Organisation

Building on the idea of tuning into fragments of potentially unfamiliar registers of thought and meaning to which journeymen were exposed during their *Wanderschaft*, the inquiry of Chapter 4 is aimed at making deductions regarding the epistemic categories which structured the learning, reflection and interpretation of journeymen on the basis of Franz Ertinger's journal and some of his works. The objective behind this approach is to understand how the knowledge which could be exchanged and built as a result of becoming accustomed to different ways of working, speaking, celebrating and worshipping was ordered. To detect possible hidden ordering principles in the writing of Ertinger, secondary and primary sources had to be drawn on, which could give clues to why Ertinger was interested in certain subjects and how he acquired knowledge about them. This selection, as will be explained in the introduction of chapter 3, which explores the analytical methods employed by Sigrid Wadauer in her work on mobility and artisan autobiography, was made on the basis of the range of historical and theological topics discussed by Ertinger and Ménétra.

The inquiry into ordering principles with which the entire second half of the

thesis is concerned was not an initial research objective but emerged from reservations about reading the journals from a modern academic perspective which is shaped by its own epistemic order and hierarchy. As noted above, these reservations were provoked by the arguments of Andres Grießinger, Alain Corbin and Rudolf Schenda. What the work of these historians has in common is that their speculative studies on the cognitive capacities of eighteenth-century artisans are based on sets of expectations which spring from a concept of knowledge that does not correspond to the cognitive requirements of the worlds of eighteenth-century artisans. The cognitive challenges and opportunities for learning presented by the milieus in which migrating artisans moved are underestimated by these three authors because of a bias against modes of discourse which did not rely strictly on the written word. In order to assess processes of intercultural exchange, as was the primary objective of the thesis, it suddenly became essential to avoid projections of not only modern perceptions of cultural difference but also of epistemic categories in general because exchange processes are both contingent on these categories as much as they generated them. Thinking about what the epistemic and semiotic order of men of tools like Ertinger, Eckstein and Ménétra could have looked like was to take up a substantive amount in the analysis of their journals and biographies which came to be reflected in not just the structure of the thesis itself but also the time and pages dedicated to what grew into an “epistemological art history”. The epistemological turn of the argument in chapter 4 does not mean, however, that cultural difference no longer plays a role overall; the examination of knowledge organisation and composites of knowledge (chapter 5) is aimed at understanding how artisans were able to make sense of the unfamiliar

and create contexts in which it could be accommodated within, even become significant for, their own lives.

The *Life of an Unknown* by Alain Corbin should briefly be discussed at this point because it influenced the direction of my research and much of my methodological reflection, yet, cannot be applied directly to the case of Ertinger and Eckstein. Alain Corbin takes a similar view to Grießinger in relation to the historical awareness of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century artisans. In his book *The Life of an Unknown* Corbin employs many useful strategies to recreate many aspects of the universe of Louis-François Pinagot, an early nineteenth-century clog-maker resident at the fringes of the forest of Bellême.[49] Pinagot's life is practically undocumented, which is the reason Corbin selected him for his case study in order to "repair the neglect of historians for all those things that are irrevocably relegated to oblivion".[50] Facing an almost total lack of direct source material for the life of this individual, Corbin examines Pinagot's environment in creative ways; he considers the flora and fauna of the surrounding woods, the specifics of the clog-makers' workshops, not least, the mobility of the local population, always with a view to how those aspects would have shaped Pinagot's perception of time, his profession, his place in the world and in history. Although Corbin's account maps out many noble ambitions, the author cannot always live up to them, failing to relate the information he gathers cogently to Pinagot in many cases because his analysis remains insensitive to the possible epistemic systems in which Pinagot might have operated.

The book's greatest flaw is the chapter *The Past Decomposed* in which

49 Alain Corbin, *The Life of an Unknown: The Rediscovered World of a Clog-maker in Nineteenth-century France*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2001
50 Corbin, *The Life of an Unknown*, 2001, intro xiii

Corbin speculates on Pinagot's concept of history.[51] Even though he promises to "deconstruct [his] own understanding of history" so as to avoid imposing a modern concept of history on Pinagot, Corbin states in the very first paragraph of the chapter that Pinagot would have had "no real ability to historicise" because he did not organise "his thinking in terms of clearly differentiated periods".[52] Due to his limited literacy, as Corbin argues, Pinagot's only sources of knowledge of the past were family members and acquaintances of previous generations.[53] Corbin rejects the idea that knowledge filters down through different segments of society, believing that "many mechanisms existed for the "horizontal" transmission of historical understanding and judgement",[54] yet it seems that the only mechanism of this kind that Corbin explores is the oral transmission of knowledge between relatives. From this position Corbin infers that Pinagot would have had a view of history which was limited to the events which had taken place during the lifespans of his parents and their grandparents. Of these events he had a fragmentary and chronologically jumbled view as he had been brought up "on stories of hardship and popular reaction".[55] Corbin denies Pinagot and his parents the faculty to impose any kind of order on events of the past that goes beyond the sphere of their immediate and personal experiences. The idea that Pinagot's immediate family, his neighbours and people in the workshop were his only source of historical knowledge is at odds with Corbin's acknowledgement of the rural population's mobility and the kinship networks which they established beyond the

51 Corbin, *The Life of an Unknown*, 2001, 127-144
52 Corbin, *The Life of an Unknown*, 2001, 127
53 Corbin, *The Life of an Unknown*, 2001, 129
54 Corbin, *The Life of an Unknown*, 2001, 128
55 Corbin, *The Life of an Unknown*, 2001, 135

region.[56]

Corbin constructs Pinagot as illiterate, or semi-literate at most; moreover, Pinagot never went beyond the region where he was born and had less opportunity to acquire a range of knowledge as broad as Ertinger's, Ménétra's and Eckstein's. For these reasons I will refrain from comparing my case studies to Corbin's and reassess the correlations between oral culture and historicising in terms of journeymen. Without returning at length to the case of Pinagot, the methods and results of chapter 4 throw a critical light on Corbin's study and its inherent prejudice against the capacity of artisans (settled or not) to generate histories of their own which have meaning and function beyond the emotional and the intimate. It will be shown that the ability of artisans to “historicise” created a coherent, if diverse and dynamic, community which will be referred to as the Republic of Tools. Furthermore, oral exchanges and visual observation led to the formation of “semiotic libraries” which will be examined in relation to religious works by Johann Eckstein and Franz Ertinger. The chapter will evaluate artisan concepts of history as a counterstudy to Corbin's ideas expressed in “The Past Decomposed” and also focus on religion in relation to an explanatory category of art works, engaging with Grießinger's thoughts on religion but not approaching it as a “complexity-reducing” mechanism. The thread of religion will be taken up again in chapter 5 where it will be discussed in relation to the sharing of knowledge and the building of new sensibilities. A third line of inquiry will be concerned with the concept of liberty which appears to have been a catalyst for the migration of Johann Eckstein's later years.

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56 Corbin, *The Life of an Unknown*, 2001, 31

It will be seen that Eckstein's notion of liberty was probably influenced by his experiences in the Society of Artists and, later, the Royal Academy. The role of foreigners in the Royal Academy has been explored, for example, by Shearer West, Holger Hoock and David Solkin and it would have been possible to expatiate on Eckstein's possible position with these institutions.[57] Rather than judging how someone like Eckstein fitted into the politics of the Royal Academy where he exhibited in 1770 during his second stay in London, it was more in line with the thesis's principal research objectives to take into account ideas and attitudes which he might have taken away from, or developed as a result of, his experiences of these artists' associations. To begin with, his activities in the Society of Artists and the Royal Academy are very sparsely documented. It is possible that Eckstein attempted to gain a position in the Royal Academy which had been founded in 1768, just one year before Eckstein returned in 1769. Yet, he did not write about this in the two letters to his aristocratic patron, the Duke Friedrich of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Nor do the minutes of the Royal Academy betray his presence. Except as exhibitor in 1770, where he showed wax reliefs which are untraced but probably similar to those which are preserved at the Schwerin Museum (figs. 28-37), there are no indications that Eckstein had prolonged dealings with the Academy except maybe through friends he might have made in the Society of Artists where he exhibited alongside the likes of Nollekens, Bacon and Banks. Instead of situating Eckstein in relation to the academic climate

57 Shearer West, *Italian Culture in Northern Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998
Holger Hoock, *TheKing's Artists – The Royal Academy of Arts and the Politics of British Culture 1760-1840*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2003
David H. Solkin, *Art on the Line: The Royal Academy Exhibitions at Somerset House 1780-1836*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2001

and rhetoric which seemed to add no significant insights to existing studies on the position of foreigners in the Academy, it will be asked how these institutions could have been interpreted by citizens of the Republic of Tools, whether English or German, and how they affected both the Republic and the epistemic structures on which it depended. This line of argument is intended to acknowledge what Matthew Craske has referred to as "earlier traditions" of sculptural production in order to begin to restore the "sense of relationship to early- and mid-eighteenth-century tradition [without which the study of sculpture in the reign of George III has generally occurred]" as far as is appropriate within the parameters of this thesis.[58]

1.6.3 Tool 3: Knowledge Exchange

The third and final "tool" which will be examined in chapter 5 brings the previous tools together and explores their interdependence. While the significance of exchange has been implied in chapter 4, the inquiry will now focus on the specific scholarly field of exchange/transfer and acculturation studies. Eminently, the seminal work by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, and the acculturationist revisions to the traditional transfer model by Ulrich Gotter subsequently will be tested for the chances they offer to, and the limitations they impose upon, an analysis of "intercultural" exchange among eighteenth-century artisans.[59] There are pointers in Ménétra's journal and Eckstein's letters to exchanges of specifically

58 Matthew Craske, "Reviving the School of Phidias: The Invention of a National School of Sculpture in Britain 1780-1830" in *Visual Culture in Britain*, Vol. 7, Issue 2, 2006, 25-46, 42

59 Ulrich Gotter, "*Akkulturation* als methodisches Problem der historischen Wissenschaften" in Wolfang Eßbach (ed.), *Wir/Ihr/Sie – Identität und Alterität in Theorie und Methode*, Würzburg, Ergon Verlag, 2000
Michel Espagne, Michael Werner (eds.), *Transferts – les relations interculturelles dans l'espace Franco-Allemand*, Paris, Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988

professional know-how. The glazier, for example, writes of designing a shop in the Parisian style ("an office in the shop which I had modelled after the offices in Paris Shops") for a Languedoc client, or boasts of his ability to make Bohemian glass ("most glaziers had no idea how to do this kind of work"), a skill which he was likely to have picked up from a Bohemian journeyman, or learnt in the workshop of a glazier who had been to Bohemia or employed Bohemian glass-makers previously.[60] From London, Johann Eckstein also wrote about sculptural novelties to his patron at Ludwigslust to whom he advertises these marvellous cabinet ornaments which "from afar look like painted but close up it is embossed"; there is no doubt that he was referring to polychrome wax reliefs which he proceeded to make for the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin and, later, for the Academy at Philadelphia.[61] Instead of singling out these specific work-process related instants of exchange for analysis it was more in keeping with the goal to identify cognitive tools to pursue the more discursive sharing of knowledge which was not exclusively relevant to trade and labour. This is not to say that the technicalities of workshop operations did not involve or foster exchange processes which promoted interpretative capacities. Instead, the decision to prioritise conceptual over technical aspects of the experiences of journeymen image-makers was made because the former enables a different and more comprehensive synthesis of cognitive operations within which technical processes can be placed.

The idea of sharing knowledge is crucial because it had the potential to

60 Jacques-Louis Ménétra and Daniel Roche (ed.), *Journal of My Life*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1986, 93, 169

61 Letter from Johann Eckstein to the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 8 September 1770, 2.26-1, Großherzogliches Kabinett I, 10162
Georgiana Eckstein, *A Few Particulars respecting the Eckstein Family*, London, Strangeways, 1908

perpetuate and alter constellations of epistemic and semiotic registers not just on an individual, but also on a communal, even global, level. The chapter will propose the circumstances under which this sharing took place, what strategies it required and what its possible outcomes were. Transfer scholarship has distanced itself from what has been called *Ideengeschichte*, literally history of ideas and meaning the exchange of ideas between individuals, for the sake of a method which operates on the macro-level of nations of identity groups and is intent on observing cultural change on a societal level. However, this approach underestimates the complexity of a single exchange situation on the micro-level and its proponents had to devise a number of conditions in order to maintain a precise formula for intercultural transfers/acculturation. Despite the shortcomings of the work by acculturationist Ulrich Gotter, for example, it proved thought-provoking and enabled me to test the applicability of Gotter's proposed method in relation to eighteenth-century migrating artisans. Doing so identified the flaws in Gotter's suggestion to examine exchange between identity groups because, as will be seen, the identities of artisans have to be understood as composite and dynamic which complicates the idea of a universally valid formula of transfer.

The chapter will resume the discussion of religion and Eckstein's concept of liberty begun in chapter 4, exploring how both Eckstein and Ménétra might have participated in religious discourses in specific environments and engaged with religious differences. It will be demonstrated how existing concepts and categories could come under pressure in exchange situations and, consequently, be altered as a result, leading to the building of new knowledge, mentalities or sensibilities - a process which was ultimately conditioned by, and conducive to, the intercultural

competence of eighteenth-century artisans. Having got to the bottom of this provisional and, by far, not complete cognitive toolbox the thesis will hopefully have deepened the understanding of how representatives of the mobile population of eighteenth-century image-makers organised and shared knowledge, how their epistemic and semiotic registers were shaped as a result and how their works were part of a complex world of ideas in which mobility and exchange were of the essence.

2. LIVES ON THE ROAD – ITINERANT SCULPTORS IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND BRITAIN 1690-1790

2.1 The cosmopolitan journeyman population of eighteenth-century sculptors' workshops

> "Was mag er für ein Meister sein, / Der hat geseßen stets daheim / Hinterm Ofen und hinter der Höll / An der alten weiber Stell!
>
> (What a master can he be / who always sat at home / behind the stove and behind hell / in the old women's place)".[1]

This quote from a popular eighteenth-century song designed to ridicule artisans who had not left their hometowns to travel the Continent for several years in order to gain not just professional but also life experience, shows how crucial these years in transit, called the *Wanderschaft* in German, were for the social and professional identities of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artisans. While this crucial period in the life of an artisan has received attention by scholars who deal with the history of artisans, generally, such as James Farr whose work will be cited frequently throughout this chapter, in the field of art history practically no work has been carried out on the *Wanderschaft* of eighteenth-century sculptors. The many non-canonical sculptors who made up the population of workshops on the Continent and in England between 1690 and 1790 were an indispensable part of

1 Quoted in Sigrid Wadauer, *Die Tour der Gesellen – Mobilität und Biographie im handwerk vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt and New York, Campus, 2005, 43

European art production. In spite of this, they are seen as interchangeable and insignificant as far as their contributions to eminent works of sculpture are concerned. This thesis will reject the notion that non-canonical sculptors are non-canonical because they have nothing to offer to art history apart from the efforts of their manual labour. As the introduction has outlined, it is the purpose of this thesis to advance understanding of how the conditions of the mobile lives led by Franz Ertinger and Johann Eckstein affected how these sculptors perceived each other, how they shared in a range of discourses and how they interpreted the things they saw, heard and read. At the end of the thesis it will be impossible to see the works produced by Ertinger and Eckstein as trifling or naïve because they will have been located within the rich semiotic libraries built by these artists during their journeys.

Before the thesis turns to the “cognitive tool-box”, it is necessary to take a look at the practicalities of the journeys of Ertinger and Eckstein and explore, in relation to secondary material regarding artisan lives, Ertinger's journal and pieces of material related to the workshop culture of 1760s London; that is to say, the conditions under which these artists travelled and worked. The chapter will focus on the aspects of Ertinger's journal which are indicative of the structure and composition of the workshops in which he lived and, thus, will provide a framework of “exterior” conditions in which the cognitive structures and strategies that are the subjects of the remaining chapters developed and unfolded. The thought structures and interpretative strategies which characterised the mobile lives of eighteenth-century artisans, and image-makers in particular, were shared by canonical artists who were never completely removed from their artisanal roots (as

chapter 4 will show). By tracing the histories of some forgotten Continental artists and inserting their activities into the canon as it shapes British art history today, it can be shown that eighteenth-century art production was connected to a very high degree both laterally across regions and countries, as well as vertically across supposed distinctions between artist and artisan. It should be pointed out that the sculptors who were instrumental to the formation of the Royal Academy had been brought up and matured in the traditional workshop structure. Thomas Banks, for example, a direct contemporary of Johann Eckstein, trained with the ornament carver Barlow for eight years whilst studying in the workshop of Peter Scheemakers, which was located in Barlow's immediate neighbourhood.[2] Academicians such as Joseph Wilton continued to employ sculptors like Nathaniel Smith who barely had any formal contact with the Academy and yet made major contributions to academically acclaimed monuments.[3] However, the status of these artists is still underestimated as far as their cognitive capacities and contribution in workshops across Europe are concerned.

Many sculptors never reached the status of master and were often forced to keep travelling to find employment throughout their careers.[4] As this group made up a vast part of the workshop population and represented at least a career stage in the life of even the most prominent of sculptors, they deserve art historical attention. What is more, by situating these artists in the history of eighteenth-

2 John Flaxman, *Lectures on Sculpture*, London, George Bell and Sons, 1892, 278

3 Nathaniel Smith executed most of the figures of Wilton's cenotaph to General Wolfe in Westminster Abbey; Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660-1851*, London, Odhams, 1953, 358 and entry on Joseph Wilton, Grove Art Online

4 Ingeborg Schemper-Sparholz in Konstanty Kalinowski, *Studien zur Werkstattpraxis der Barockskulptur im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Poznan, 1992, 333: chapter on sculptors associated with monasteries: „Viele Gesellen brachten es nie zu Sesshaftigkeit und Meisterschaft“ (Many *Gesellen* were never able to settle down or achieve mastership)

century sculpture and analysing their movements, the early careers of canonical artists such as Roubiliac and others, which were similarly shaped by migration, become more accessible. In the following text I will be referring to these artists as both journeymen and *Gesellen*. Whilst the term *Journeyman* implies mobility and an incomplete training, the German term *Geselle* does not and can more readily be applied to artists who were fully-trained, potentially settled, but still not in charge of their own workshop.[5] In his article on sculptors active in Danzig in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Janusz Palubicki argues that from 1650 a shift in the status of *Gesellen* was gradually taking place "[from] persons in the middle state of training between the apprentice and the master". Instead they became "a type of professional assistants […] with few possibilities to advance their careers".[6] The term *Wanderjahre* or *Wanderschaft* will also be used because they describe the training years in transit more accurately and avoid unsatisfactory English paraphrases where possible.

In his book *Nollekens and his Times* J. T. Smith gives an account of the carver William Arminger (1752-1793) who was employed long-term in the workshop of Joseph Nollekens (1737-1823), a direct contemporary of Johann and George Paul Eckstein. According to Smith, whose father was *Altgeselle* to Nollekens from middle age until his death, Arminger was made part of the workshop after he had approached Nollekens at his front gate, saying that "he was a cutter of funeral inscriptions come from the city of Norwich and would be glad of

5 In contrast to *Wandergesellen*, who were explicitly in transit; there is also the term *Altgesellen*, which refers to a middle-aged or elderly sculptor, who did not possess the status of master.

6 Janusz Palubicki, "Die Danziger Bildhauer im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert", in Konstanty Kalinowski, *Barockskulptur in Mittel-und Osteuropa*, Posnań, Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiwicza w. Poznaniu, 1981, 160

a job".[7] Smith goes on to write that Arminger "had become extremely useful to [Nollekens], for he had, by slow degree, improved himself in the art of cutting marble as a sculptor."[8] The development of an assistant-sculptor's skill, therefore, was mutually beneficial and might, for this reason, have been encouraged by the master. In the *Dictionary of British Sculptors* Arminger is mentioned as the owner of his own workshop which produced tablets for chimney-pieces.[9] Arminger's biography is barely researched but, nevertheless, shows that for itinerant sculptors prolonged stays in established workshops were an environment in which to build skills, a reputation and maybe even a small fortune ("under [Nollekens] he made what is called a pretty fortune")[10] to set up their own business.

Other sculptors employed by Nollekens remained *Gesellen* throughout their lives; for example, Nathaniel Smith, even though he had been awarded six premiums in the Society of Artists exhibition and had once been part of the workshops of Roubiliac and Wilton, for whom he worked on many prestigious commissions.[11] Smith's example shows that a sculptor could prosper in eighteenth-century London within another's workshop, pursuing a career path which did not result in setting up a workshop of his own. Johann Eckstein's career in the early 1760s resembles that of Nathaniel Smith. Like Smith he gained recognition in the exhibition of the Society of Artists where Johann Eckstein was awarded premiums in the categories of best relief in Portland Stone in 1762 and

7 J.T. Smith, *Nollekens and his Times* [1828], London, Oxford University Press, 1929, 38
8 Smith, *Nollekens*, 1929, 76
9 Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors*, 1953,19
10 Smith, *Nollekens*, 1929, 39
11 Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors*, 1953, 358-359

best relief in marble in 1764.[12] At this point, Johann was associated with the yards of Benjamin Carter (died 1766) and his nephew Thomas Carter (died 1795). Only two works executed by Eckstein during this period have been identified; a signed relief, which is part of the monument for General Townshend in Westminster Abbey (fig. 3) and a drawing of several hand studies (fig. 5) which bears the inscription: “The first hand of each of the following specimen were drawn by Eckstein, a very excellent sculptor, painter and draughtsman of Germany, when these following drawings were made he worked at B Carters, Sculptor, Hyde Park about the year 1760”. Since only the first hand in each of the three sets is said to have been done by Eckstein, it seems likely that his drawings served as pattern to be copied by Benjamin Carter's students. This leads to the conclusion that older, more experienced assistants like Eckstein were a valuable resource because they were able to train apprentices and supply each other with knowledge they had picked up on their journeys. The mechanism and implications of this knowledge transfer will be explored in the following chapter.

Apart from the inscription on the drawing there is anecdotal evidence in J.T. Smith's *Life of Nollekens* which links Johann Eckstein with the workshop of Benjamin's nephew Thomas Carter. J.T. Smith quotes Nollekens who asserts Johann Eckstein's authorship of the relief part of Carter's monument to General Townshend, stating that “Tom Carter had the job and employed another man of the

12 William Bailey, *106 Copper Plates of Mechanical Machines and Implements of Husbandry, approved and adopted by the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Manufactures and Commerce*, London, 1782, 162.
q.v. *Society of Artists catalogue of the paintings, sculptures, models, drawings, engravings, etc. now exhibiting at the Great Room of the Society instituted for the encouragement of the arts, manufactures and commerce*, 1762

name of Ecksteine [sic] to model the tablet".[13] In 1746 Thomas Carter employed more than 40 men but, since little is known about the individual members of either of the Carters' yards, the dynamics of these particular sites can barely be assessed. [14] The comparable yard of the Fishers, a dynasty of sculptors associated with York Minster and contemporaries of the Carters, has been subject of an interesting thesis which also includes an examination of the workshop's staff.[15] Regrettably, the author excludes journeymen from the study almost entirely while focusing on the circumstances of apprentices in the Fisher's workshop for whom there is comparatively abundant documentation available in form of the York Apprentice Register and individual apprentice indentures.[16]

Interregional and international compositions such as these can also be found in the sculptors' workshops of 1760s London. Apart from the prestigious workshops which were run by Dutch masters such as Scheemakers, there were also a number of foreigners among the *Gesellen* population. Besides Nathaniel Smith from Shropshire, Nollekens's workshop was manned by "Plara"[17] which appears to be a misspelling of Guiseppe Plura (b. 1753), grandson of a wood carver from Lugano and son of Giovanni Plara (d. 1756), who worked as a sculptor in London and Bath in the 1750s.[18] Furthermore, Nollekens employed an Irish sculptor of the name Sebastian Gahagan whose younger brothers Lawrence and

13 J.T. Smith, *Nollekens*, 1929, 116
14 Rupert Gunnis, "A Monument by Thomas Carter to Colonel Moore in Great Bookham Church, Surrey" in *Country Life*, 18 January 1952, 163. Carter mentioned the size of his workshop in a letter to Lady Oxford's agent
15 Poppy Corita Myerscough, *The Fishers of York – A provincial carver's workshop in the 18th and 19th centuries*, Thesis (PhD.), University of York, 1996
16 Myerscough, *The Fishers of York*, 1996, 69-70
17 J.T. Smith, *Nollekens*, 1929, 76
18 Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors*, 1953, 309 and Thieme Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig, A. E. Seemann Verlag, 1933, Vol 27

Vincent also became successful sculptors in London,[19] the Englishman John Green (b. 1753), William Arminger whose country of origin could not be established, and a nephew of Laurent Delveaux (1696-1778).[20] The elder Delveaux hailed from the Low Countries and had immigrated to London in 1717 where he was to spend the next eleven years of his life.[21] Given the high mobility which characterised the careers of many young sculptors in the eighteenth century (a point which this thesis will go on to illustrate), the international and interregional composition of Nollekens's workshop will be assumed to have been representative of other contemporary sculptors' yards. The remainder of this chapter will explore the challenges which journeymen encountered within such a workshop and also in other sites (lodgings, taverns and on the road) where their *Wanderschaft* took place.

2.2 Franz Ertinger – journeyman and journalist

An immensely valuable source for the study of itinerant artists on the Continent has been largely overlooked so far by historians of sculpture. The travel diary of the journeyman sculptor Franz Ferdinand Ertinger (1669-1747), dating from the 1680s and 1690s, is a highly relevant document for this study because it is a very rare first-hand account by a *Wandergeselle* who was a sculptor. This manuscript which was transcribed and published in 1907 has since been drawn on by art historians to confirm or fill in gaps in the biographies or oeuvres of other

19 J.T. Smith, *Nollekens*, 1929, 76 for the younger Gahagans refer to Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors*, 1953, 160-161
20 J.T. Smith, *Nollekens*, 1929, 76
21 Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors*, 1953, 126

artists, for example, in the monograph on the wood sculptor Meinrad Guggenbichler in whose workshop Ertinger spent two weeks.[22] The journal's editor, Erika Tietze-Conrad, sees the journal's principal value in the descriptions of art works, many of which Ertinger saw in their original settings.[23] These descriptions and the attributions made by Ertinger have been recognised as a tremendously useful resource for researchers of Continental baroque art by Tietze-Conrad. While art historians like Decker and Tietze-Conrad look to Ertinger for information on other, more prominent artists and their work and workshop practice, the journal's pivotal relevance for a study of journeyman sculptors has not been appreciated until now.

It is unclear whether the account was written retrospectively but due to the detailed description of events which took place in particular places, it seems likely that Ertinger at least kept some ephemeral notes which he may have turned into a journal later on in life. As noted by Tietze-Conrad, some of the passages on local history and art could have been lifted from contemporary travel literature because of certain similarities.[24] The editor's main achievement in the preface and footnotes is the thorough fact-checking of information on other artists and their works against other primary and secondary material, leading to the affirmation that most of the information given by Ertinger is accurate, despite the odd mix-up.[25] The purpose of this exceptional manuscript remains elusive – its lack of personal information and similarity to contemporary travel literature suggests that it may

22 Heinrich Decker, *Meinrad Guggenbichler*, Vienna, A. Schroll, 1949, 9
Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1908, 22 (H. Guggenbichl)
23 For example, an altarpiece by Rubens, now in the Neue Pinakothek in Munich, was seen by Ertinger in Freisingen Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1908, xi
24 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1908, XVIII
25 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1908, XI

have been intended as a reference text for other apprentices and journeymen, although it appears to never have been published.

The manner in which the journal was written raises questions regarding the availability of travel literature in workshops and households of sculptors and their significance for the planning of apprentices' itineraries. It can be speculated that Ertinger's travel diary was an attempt to create a travel book which was suited to the interests of itinerant *Gesellen* and apprentices, since he included information not only on artworks and their creators, but also on local masters (plus their addresses)[26] and other journeymen he encountered on his way. This information would potentially have been valuable to a close contemporary who could have sought out the masters listed by Ertinger without having to source this information locally. On the other hand, Ertinger does not include value judgements in these lists, failing to mention any good or bad experiences he had with particular masters in terms of learning, commissions, connections or personal contact. He also does not mention all local masters who worked in particular places, only the ones he encountered himself. Yet, the sober and impersonal nature of the account does imply that it was intended to convey practical information, rather than personal sentiments.

What the journal also reveals is that Ertinger was fully literate. He probably acquired his writing skills at school, completing his education in 1683 just after he had returned from his first journey.[27] The journal ends abruptly and is presumably incomplete, but the reason for this is not documented. Maybe Ertinger lost interest

26 For example: Ertinger is employed by the sculptors Andres Marx "wohnhaft in dem Weissgerhof" (who lives at the Weissger-farm) and Johann Georg Stamel "Bildhauer in der Mur Vorstadt" (sculptor at the Mur suburb) in Graz; Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 34

27 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1908, 5

in the project, it was interrupted by his death or it is simply not completely preserved. Nevertheless, the literacy of itinerant apprentices merits attention because it is one of the determinants of knowledge transfer which will be discussed in chapter 5. The literacy and reading habits of artisans have been subject to studies, for example by Rudolf Schenda, which will be reviewed in chapter 4. Yet, literacy and the production and consumption of printed matter will be considered in relation to other modes of learning and exchange which these artisan image-makers had at their disposal.

There are some explicit comments in the journal which affirm Ertinger's presence in certain places such as the church of St Moritz in “Olmiz” (Olomouc/Olmütz) where “the choir was set up in my time”.[28] Apart from the choir, the church was unfurnished but Ertinger had faith that “it will be a beautiful and magnificent interior if it is constructed according to the model”.[29] In this town Ertinger spent nine months in the workshop of “Herren Franz Zirn bey S. Moriz”[30] which indicates that the workshop was associated with the church of St Moritz. Ertinger was most certainly involved in the production of the choir and must have seen the “model” (presumably the designs for other furnishings and ornamental features of the church) for the interior of the church in Zürn's workshop. This

28 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 62

29 “der Chor in dem thurn wahre zu meiner Zeit auch auffgebaut weiter nichts, weird ein ansehnliches und prächtiges Gebey wan solches nach dem model verferdigt wierd”[all sic in] Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 62

30 Franz Zürn, probably a son of David Zürn (1598-1666) who had settled in eastern Bavaria and worked on several wooden altars in regional churches, ref. entry of the Zürn family (Franz Zürn not mentioned by name but “sons and grandsons” of David Zürn who were active in Wasserburg am Inn, Passau and Olomouc) in Grove Art Online Dictionary http://www.oxfordartonline.com.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/art/T093720?q=zurn&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit last accessed 16/04/2010

means that Ertinger was capable of working in wood as well as stone.[31]

Remarkably, Ertinger does not credit the workshop or, indeed, his master with the work, nor does he claim any credit for himself. With the exception of a set of garden sculptures he never mentions current projects he was involved in and also fails to highlight the achievements of his masters, unlike the glazier Jacques-Louis Ménétra who repeatedly writes of projects he carried out, often detailing his exact contributions. Ertinger's avoidance of showing off his own works and, thus, building a reputation is noteworthy; it is a hint that Ertinger did not conceive of the journal as a means to promote himself professionally. Instead, he seems to have been more concerned to present himself as a good Christian of solid character. In relation to works he studied Ertinger is less shy about making attributions. The journal is riddled with the names of past and contemporary sculptors and painters. Curiously, these are only of masters. Although Ertinger was by nature of his profession aware of the collaborative structure of sculptural production, his acknowledgement of the work of other *Gesellen* who could be creatively involved to a high degree and often worked independently is nil. Instead of highlighting the collaborative aspect inherent in a set of altar pieces, for example, he identifies the “hand” of the painter “Willman (see chapter 4, p. 181), who was famed for his art (des kunstgeriembten Wihlmans Handt in allen aldar bläder wohl zu sechen)”.[32] Yet, the journal's lack of explicit acknowledgement of the work of *Gesellen* (including Ertinger's own) should not be viewed as an anomaly or a repression of the “true” nature of sculptural production. At the same time this lack of acknowledgement of sculpture as workshop product must not straight away be

31 See garden statues in stone, Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 37
32 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 67

read as an indication that Ertinger held his own work and that of other journeymen in low esteem. Neither should this lack be viewed as a vindication of the neglect of journeymen artists as a branch of study for art history.

The loose, seamless stream of description for the elements of churches and the random discussion of paintings, architecture and sculpture suggests that Ertinger approached churches as *Gesamtkunstwerk*. As has been shown Ertinger worked in wood as well as in stone and would have fashioned different ornaments for a church interior. His exposure to ecclesiastical art, probably even before his *Wanderschaft* when Ertinger was likely to have assisted his father, the sculptor Hans Ludwig Ertinger (1638-1722),[33] most certainly led him to consider his own work in relation to art objects other than stone and woodcarvings, accounting for his interest in painted altar pieces and architecture. It seems that not only sculpture but the church as a whole was recognised as a collaborative effort by Ertinger. He does not hesitate to praise anonymous works such as “a beautiful and artful seated figure of Christ” (this sculpture will be discussed further in chapter 4) in a church in Landshut, showing his appreciation for a plenitude of beautiful altar pieces and artful churches throughout the journal without being able or caring to identify the artists who executed them. At the same time Ertinger makes individual attributions whenever he can without explicitly privileging the works by well-known artists, all of the works are beautiful, all of them are artful, regardless of authorship. The descriptions convey a sense of equilibrium between anonymous

33 Besides the research carried out by the journalist Gunther Le Maire, there is no information available on the Ertinger family, which included engravers and sculptors; Ertinger's younger brother Philip Jakob Ertinger (1673-1748) also became a sculptor and is reported to have settled in Vienna. Ref. Gunther Le Maire's articles on the Ertinger in *Allgäuer Anzeigenblatt*, No 162, 16 Kuly 2005 and No. 174, 30 Juli 2005

works, carried out by many, and individual works by famous artists. Ertinger appreciates the objects and interiors he saw in much the same way, regardless of whether the author was known or unknown, an individual or a collective. Chapter 4 will further discuss Ertinger's description of art works and consider the concept of visual piety in relation to the works he saw, but also a set of sculptures which he produced.

Franz Ertinger (1669-1747) went on a cross-regional tour of what is now Austria and Southern Germany on 25 August 1682, at age 13 (for itineraries refer to map, fig. 6 and fig. 7 which shows the workshops where Ertinger was employed). He set out from Kempten, a town near his birth place, Immenstadt in the Allgäu, but returned there after a short period of time. Having completed his schooling on 21 March 1683, he was apprenticed to a local sculptor, mostly likely his father, although he does not mention his master by name.[34] It is likely that Franz travelled around searching for a master, potentially of another trade, who would accept him as an apprentice. Unlike other artisan autobiographies, the account gives no detailed information on Ertinger’s experiences during his apprenticeship.

According to Josef Ehmer’s analysis of the migration patterns of artisans in eighteenth-century Vienna, the majority of apprentices in Viennese workshops were recruited from Vienna and surrounding regions. It is stated in this study that the period of apprenticeship required little migration. Apart from occasional, short-distance moves to the master’s workshop, apprenticeships were characterised by

34 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 5: „Anno 1683, den 21 Marzi bin ich auß der schuel zu der bilthauerey kunst gelangt solche zu Ehrlehrnen [sic]“

spatial stability.[35] In Danzig, guild statutes allowed non-natives to become apprentices with local sculptors under the condition, applicable to natives and non-natives alike, that they could prove their origins and were backed by two guarantors who would provide a deposit (*Einschreibegeld*).[36] This deposit was intended to prevent apprentices from dropping out of their training prematurely, binding them to a particular workshop for the duration of their apprenticeship.[37] It appears that the apprenticeship was supposed to be a period of comparative stability compared to the subsequent *Wanderschaft*.

Ertinger set out on his second tour, the actual *Wanderschaft* (marked red on the map, fig. 6), on 16 July 1690. Initially Ertinger travelled south, towards Innsbruck, along the fringe of the Alps and continued eastward. He meticulously included information on the masters he worked for which makes it possible to gain some insights into the types of workshops he was part of and into the competences and status of average journeymen sculptors. Two of the masters he mentions, namely “Adam Claudi Franz” and “Johann Papist [Baptist] Fischer”, the father of the baroque architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach,[38] worked at or in close proximity to religious sites which were undoubtedly their main source of commissions, much like the abbey at Mondsee which employed Meinrad Guggenbichler with whom Ertinger also stayed for a brief period of time. The

35 Josef Ehmers, “Worlds of Mobility – Migration Patterns of Viennese Artisans in the Eighteenth Century”, in Geoffrey Crossick (ed.), *The Artisan and the European Town 1500-1900*, Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1997, 185-186
36 Palubicki in Kalinowski, *Barockskulptur*, 1981, 160
37 Palubicki in Kalinowski, *Barockskulptur*, 1981, 160
38 Grove Art Online, entry on Fischer von Erlach, http://www.oxfordartonline.com.ezproxye.bham.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/art/T028425?q=johann+baptist+fischer&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit

former's workshop was located in a village near Linz close to a calvary,[39] which may have been a work in progress at the time, while sculptors were also in demand at the numerous cloisters and churches in Linz itself, producing new works and carrying out repair works. Fischer's workshop was near the abbey of the knights of St John, seemingly the main source of employment for the members of the workshop.[40] Ertinger's association with these artists leads to the assumption that, in some capacity, he was involved in the execution or restoration of altarpieces, choirs and other decorative sculptural products in stone, stucco or wood.

Most of the masters Ertinger worked for are described as “burgerlich”.[41] Although this term generally refers to the status of a free citizen, in the context of the journal Ertinger uses it to distinguish regular masters from court sculptors (“hoff bilthauer”).[42] Encounters with court sculptors are only mentioned at one point in the journal when Ertinger reports introducing himself to court sculptor Andreas Faistenberger and “the old court sculptor Obleitner” in Munich who rejected his proposal to become their assistant.[43] In the end, Ertinger was offered a position in Wolff Leitner's workshop in Munich. However, Ertinger decided not to take Leitner up on his offer, but to move on instead.[44] Ertinger's account shows that journeymen sculptors at the close of the seventeenth century did not necessarily have to accept every offer of work indiscriminately but were selective about which positions to take or even to terminate. Apart from the refusal to work fo Leitner,

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39 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 19
40 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 32
41 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 32
42 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 12
43 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 12
44 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 12

Ertinger also records abandoning masters twice; once clandestinely at night as a result of “Erheblicher Ursahen (a grave cause)”,[45] the other time apparently with the master's consent as Ertinger had fallen ill frequently with fevers and desired a change of air, thus, ridding his master of an assistant who caused more problems than he was worth.[46] This incident shows that health concerns shaped the professional lives of journeymen.

It appears from the journal that short-term employment of several days required few formalities, as opposed to long-term arrangements of several weeks or years which are marked by the phrase “in contiction”, meaning that Ertinger was bound by contract to a particular master.[47] There is no indication that at any point he prematurely terminated or failed to fulfil these contracts as these actions might have had negative consequences for Ertinger because he might not have been able to receive a *Kundschaft*, a document which attested to the reliability and industriousness of the journeyman who, upon its receipt, was officially relieved of his employment.[48] Trade-specific *Kundschaften* were issued by the guilds (although many unofficial and forged documents were also in circulation) and had to be signed by the master and officially sealed by the guild.[49] Usually, these documents had an expiry date which ensured that journeymen were swift at finding a new place of work. Moreover, a master was officially not permitted to accept a journeyman without a valid *Kundschaft*.[50] Once Ertinger had received

45 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 22
46 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 33
47 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, for example 33
48 Klaus Stopp, *Handwerkskundschaften mit Ortsansichten – beschreibender Katalog der Arbeitsattestate wandernder Handwerksgesellen (1731-1830)*, Vol. 1, Stuttgart, A. Hiersemann, 1982, 3-6
49 Stopp, *Handwerkskundschaften*, 1986, 6
50 Stopp, *Handwerkskundschaften*, 1986, 19

such a document, he would have been back on his way to the next place. Yet, this did not mean that he was left to his own devices, as the following paragraphs will show.

2.3 Support networks of journeymen sculptors

Biographies of other artists imply that young sculptors often crossed paths with other family members who were older *Gesellen* or established masters. These biographies confirm the significance of family networks in the early career stages of many continental sculptors in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. For example, the young Franz Anton Zauner (1746-1822) who was to become professor of sculpture and later director of the *Akademie* at Vienna was placed as an apprentice with the sculptor Balthasar Horer, a distant relative, by Zauner's uncle Josef Deutschmann who ran a sculptor's workshop in Passau.[51] It seems that Deutschmann was unable to take on Zauner as an apprentice himself and used his professional and personal connections to find Zauner a master. It is also noteworthy that Zauner, in his first instance of regional career migration, had to travel from his hometown Untervalpatann in the Tyrol to the Cloister of the Order of St Bendict at Marienberg in the same region where Horer was currently involved in sculpting an altar.[52] Before this commission Horer had worked in Bayreuth and, as such, is another example for the type of itinerant artists with which this thesis is concerned. It is unknown whether Balthasar Horer had gained the status of master

51 Hermann Burg, *Der Bildhauer Franz Anton Zauner und seine Zeit: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Klassizismus in Österreich*, Vienna, A. Schroll & Co., 1915, 4
52 Burg, *Franz Anton Zauner*, 4-5

at this point and was in charge of a workshop of his own. The level of mobility which characterises Horer's work might suggest independence of the responsibilities that came with running a workshop, yet, there is evidence which points towards some level of mobility of masters who owned workshops like Deutschmann who received subcontracts for the decoration of churches from another Austrian sculptor[53] which potentially required regional migrations. Zauner assisted Horer for two years, presumably for the duration of the work on the altar, and was subsequently taken on as an apprentice by Deutschmann in 1756 at whose workshop he remained until 1766.[54] Thus, Zauner's relatives provided a vital support network in the early stages of his career. Comparably, Louis François Roubiliac, who is reported to have received some of his training from Balthasar Permoser at Dresden,[55] might have found employment in the court sculptor's workshop because his uncle, a book-keeper at the court of Augustus II,[56] would have informed the young Roubiliac about opportunities at Dresden and also might have put in a good word for his nephew.

In the case of the Ecksteins too, family connections proved valuable for advancing careers. In an autobiographical fragment, Johann Eckstein's younger brother, George Paul (1739-1828?), describes how he travelled to The Hague where he expected to find his brother and, presumably, hoped to gain employment

53 Burg, *Franz Anton Zauner*, 5
54 Burg, *Franz Anton Zauner*, 5-6
55 J.T. Smith's account *Nollekens and his Times* refers to Roubiliac as "a pupil of Balthasar of Dresden, Sculptor to the Elector of Saxony", quoted in Malcolm Baker, "Roubiliac and his European Background, in Kalinoski, *Studien zur Werkstattpraxis*, 1992, 225
56 Reference in G. O. Müller, *Vergessene und halbvergessene Künstler des vorigen Jahrhunderts*, 1895, quoted in Malcolm Baker, "Roubiliac and his European Background, in Kalinowski, *Studien zur Werkstattpraxis*, 1992, 225

or connections.[57] Although Johann's stay in the Netherlands cannot be dated precisely, it can be said with certainty that the time in the Netherlands immediately preceded his move to England which took place around 1758, just after George Paul's arrival at Amsterdam.[58] As George Paul was born in 1739, and assuming that his training followed traditional patterns, he would have recently embarked on his *Wanderschaft* in the late 1750s. According to the fragment, George Paul sought out the workshop at which his brother worked in The Hague where he "saw some men at work at the figures in marble" but learnt that Johann had just left for Amsterdam. After catching up with him there, the brothers parted ways with Johann headed for London, while George Paul decided to leave for Danzig, where he spent five years in that flourishing centre for the production of sculpture.[59] It is worth noting that a large number of sculptors who had trained or worked in Danzig in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries emigrated to Sweden where, according to George Paul's biographical fragment, several members of the Eckstein family had settled, specifically those who had taken up cabinet making as a profession.[60] George mentions an older brother who worked as a cabinet-maker in Stockholm[61] and whom he approached for a remittance in order to fund his

57 Georgiana Eckstein (ed.), *A few Particulars respecting the Eckstein family*, London, Strangeways,1908, 21
58 Eckstein, *A few Particulars*, 1908, 21
59 Eckstein, *A few Particulars*, 1908, 21
60 Janusz Palubicki, "Die Danziger Bildhauer im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert – Herkunft, Wadnerschaft, Wirkung" in Kalinowski, *Barockskulptur in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, 1982, 163
61 Mentioned by George Paul but not named in Georgiana Eckstein's family tree. There is a line of Stockholm cabinet makers called Eckstein, originating from Nuremberg. Friedrich Eckstein, born in 1699 in Nuremberg, was made master cabinet maker in 1730 in Stockholm and received court commissions during the 1740s and 1750s. He was Johann and George Paul Eckstein's uncle. The elder brother in question must be Johann Conrad Eckstein (b. 1723 in Nuremberg, d. 1785 in Stockholm), who came to Sweden as a journeyman around 1740, attained mastership and was subsequently appointed court cabinet maker in 1755. This information was kindly supplied by Dr Lars Ljungström, Curator of the Royal Collections, Stockholm taken from Bengt Sylvén, *Mästarnas möbler*, Nordstedts, Stockholm, 1996. For an example of his work refer to

travels when his *Gesellen*-budget would not stretch far enough.[62] For a survey on the origins and *Wanderschaft* of sculptors in Danzig Janusz Palubicki evaluated the correspondence of the guild at Danzig and discovered that Sweden was a popular destination for sculptors because it appears to have been comparatively easy to set up shops there.[63] It is likely that George Paul was aware of the opportunities for sculptors in Sweden and might have considered going to Stockholm where his brother Johann Conrad had attained considerable success as court cabinet maker (appointed 1755, see footnote 61 and 1. 3) by the time George Paul resided in Danzig. Yet, he chose to follow Johann, the sculptor, who had been able to build a reputation for himself in Potsdam where Frederick II invested heavily in building projects after the end of the Seven Years War.

Several years later, around 1765/66, after having parted ways in Amsterdam in c1759, the brothers joined up again in Potsdam, where Johann was contracted to execute sculptures for the *Neues Palais* in the park of Sanssouci. It is not completely clear whether Johann ran a workshop of his own, however, the *Baumeister* who coordinated the work on the *Neues Palais* listed him among twelve other sculptors who brought a group of *Gesellen*, which suggests that Johann had at some point obtained the status of master and could legitimately work for the court at Potsdam.[64] George Paul explicitly states that he worked for Johann, “while I stopped there”.[65] The fragment shows that family networks which provided vital financial, professional and personal support for itinerant sculptors

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illustration [no.8]

62 Eckstein, *A few Particulars*, 1908, 21

63 Palubicki in Kalinowski, *Die Barockskulptur in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, 163

64 Sibylle Badstübner-Gröger, Horst Drescher, *Das Neue Palais in Potsdam – Beiträge zum Spätstil der Frederizianischen Architektur und Bauplastik*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1991, 220

65 Eckstein, *A few Particulars*, 1908, 22

were not necessarily close-knit and regional but could be maintained over vast geographical areas with personal contact being sporadic, often occurring when family relations could provide a professional advantage. Josef Ehmer pointed out that connections with the region of origin were significant for migrating artisans since they enabled the sourcing of apprentices, marriage partners and, not least, money.[66] Yet, the Eckstein's biographies are proof that these networks did not necessarily need a fixed point of reference but flexibly joined highly mobile members to each other, rather than to a region of origin. However, two of the three artisans on whom this thesis is focused, namely Franz Ertinger and Jacques-Louis Ménétra, returned to their birthplaces after their *Wanderschaft*, suggesting that artisans' hometowns were still an important nucleus of their personal and professional lives unless they were lucky enough to establish themselves during their *Wanderschaft* or, alternatively, they had no opportunities at home (a likely factor in the migration decisions of Johann and George Paul Eckstein). It should be stressed at this point that other factors motivated migrations, not least ideas which sprang from exchanges as explored in chapter 5, as well as biographical events such as the loss of the house inherited by Johann's wife which the family had probably used as a workshop from 1777 until 1794 (see chapter 4).[67]

In the context of the Ecksteins' family relations, one particular terracotta model attributed to George Paul Eckstein stands out. This undated model, which was sold in a Sotheby's auction on 23 March 1971, is a full-length portrait of George Paul's father, the cabinet maker Conrad Eckstein (fig. 4). The model was

66 Ehmer in Crossick, *The Artisan and the European Town*, 1997, 184
67 Contract/Dispute of Inheritance, 23 December 1794, Stadarchiv Potsdam, Grundbuchnummer 977

later placed on an ormolu base by the sculptor's grandson, which bears the inscription “likeness of [George Paul's] father”.[68] It seems unlikely that a terracotta portrait of a provincial cabinet maker from Bavaria would have attracted the attention of a London audience; the small-scale work seems to have been made for private use, possibly to keep alive the memory of the father who died in 1773.[69] It is potentially misleading to try and deduce how George Paul Eckstein felt about his father from the way he portrayed him, yet, it can be said the figure's dress and posture give the work an air of formal respectability instead of intimacy. If the portrait is indeed of Conrad Eckstein, the elaborately carved table on which the figure's hand is rested could be an allusion to the father's achievements as a cabinet maker. This is a significant observation which I will return to in the discussion of Johann Eckstein's concept of liberty and its implication on the status of artisans in chapter 5. The size, material and sitter of the model suggest that the work was conceived and displayed in a private context. Although the object does not reveal much about the nature of the relationship between father and son, its existence shows that George Paul continued to think of his father who had remained in Bavaria.

Yet not just family members provided support for journeymen. Franz Ferdinand Ertinger’s journal contains many references to fellow *Gesellen*, with whom he shared the workplace. In keeping with the generally impersonal tone of

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68 Clipping from Sotheby's archive, ref. Auction 23 March 1971, no. 144
In the catalogue entry the model is described as “an attractive terracotta modello, of Johann Eckstein”. There is a possibility that the model is a portrait of George Paul's brother Johann Eckstein, but the inscription on the base commissioned by a descendant seems more reliable. The sculpted table and vase are not indicative of the sitter's identity – the table could refer to the cabinet maker Conrad and the ornamental vase to the sculptor Johann.

69 Eckstein, *A few particulars*, 1908

the journal, these relationships are not described further; Ertinger merely mentions the names and birthplaces of other *Gesellen*, such as “Casper lauffensteiner Ein schwab von ottobeiren” (Casper Lauffensteiner, a Swabian from Ottobeuren), “Wilhelm banzer, Ein bem” (Wilhelm Banzer, a Bohemian) and “Rudolph Witwer ein Türoller” (Rudolpf Witwer, a Tyrolean), whom he encountered in the workshop of Franz Jubeck in Vienna.[70] Friendships with other journeymen were a valuable resource for itinerant sculptors and could be drawn on at a future stage to secure employment. In Ertinger’s case, he was employed in the workshop of the sculptor Franz Zürn in “Olmiz [sic]” for nine months, after having worked alongside Zürn’s nephew David, also a journeyman at the time, many months before in a workshop in “Eübeßwalt [sic]”.[71] Through the acquaintanceship with David Zürn, Ertinger would have learnt about Franz Zürn’s workshop. This information may have shaped Ertinger’s itinerary. Besides, if Franz Zürn had received confirmation from his nephew that Ertinger was a diligent worker and good colleague, it would have facilitated gaining a reliable assistant for Zürn, as well as finding a master in the new town for Ertinger. Thus, an acquainted journeyman could be exploited for family connections with established sculptors who, in turn, would have benefitted from the network by securing an influx of capable assistants.

Beyond the personal level, journeymen also formed networks of a more official nature. James Farr has shown that journeymen confraternities or *Gesellenvereine* existed across Europe and were often the first point of reference

70 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 56
71 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 33, 63; the family relation has been verified by Tietze-Conrad

for arriving journeymen.[72] The use of the term “confraternity” is not unproblematic because it is vaguely defined across the literature on artisan culture in Europe which has been consulted for this thesis. Necessary research regarding the nature and roles of these associations, which unfortunately is beyond the scope of this thesis, remains to be carried out so that the nuanced agendas and functions of these groups can be understood more fully. In the following analysis, these concerns have little bearing on the unfolding argument. Therefore, “confraternity” (and very occasionally, “compagnonage”) are to be understood, according to the etymological root of the word, as “brotherhood” or a more or less formal association of journeymen, without taking into account their specific theological or professional orientations.

Upon arrival in a new town, journeymen went to a particular tavern, where they were met by resident *Altgesellen* appointed the task of greeting newcomers and finding them employment.[73] After enquiring with local masters, the *Altgesellen* returned to the tavern and escorted the arrivals to the workshop where they had been accepted. If no work was available, the journeymen moved on.[74] Once a journeyman had been given a position in a local workshop, he became an associate of the local brotherhood into which he was received with a ritualised drink of wine.[75] To mark his membership he was baptised and rechristened with a new name.[76] Farr highlights the strong sense of community and autonomy which was felt by the members of continental journeymen confraternities in the

72 James Farr, *Artisans in Europe 1300-1914,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, 251
73 Ehmer in Crossick, *The Artisan and the European Town*, 1997, 189
74 Ehmer in Crossick, *The Artisan and the European Town*, 1997, 189
75 Ehmer in Crossick, *The Artisan and the European Town*, 1997, 189
76 Farr, *Artisans in Europe*, 2000, 252

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[77] While chapter 3 will engage in greater detail with the implications of the role of regional origin for the perception of difference, chapter 5 will resume the discussion of journeymen associations and link it with the composite nature of artisan identities that shaped specific encounters in Ménétra's and Eckstein's lives.

2.4 Workshops, taverns, lodgings – how journeymen lived

Ertinger does not mention any involvement in confraternities, but there is an allusion to the custom of greeting and releasing fellow journeymen with a drink of wine when he mentions that he was met by some good friends ("Etwelchen guethen Freinden" [all sic]) at an Austrian turnpike, who saw him off with a glass of wine ("mit einem Gläßel wein beurlaubet" [all sic]) before he moved on to Moravia.[78] There are also occasional hints that he frequented taverns.[79] Farr fittingly describes the taverns as "viscerally important hearths and homes" for journeymen. Tavern and confraternity life might have been so essential to the every-day life of an itinerant *Bildhauergesellen* like Ertinger that he felt no need to expatiate on its unwritten rules and rituals. This infrastructure continued to be meaningful well into the eighteenth century[80] and is very likely to have defined the *Wanderschaft* of Johann and George Paul Eckstein on the Continent.

Upon their arrival in England Johann and George Paul were confronted with slightly different circumstances. A strict, controlling guild system as they knew it

77 Farr, *Artisans in Europe*, 2000, 265
78 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 58
79 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 35
80 Farr, *Artisans in Europe*, 2000, 254-255

from their peregrinations on the Continent did not exist in mid-eighteenth century London for every trade. In contrast to the dominant guilds firmly in place in many Continental centres of sculptural production, the companies of London had a feebler grasp on the metropolitan population of artisans. In the introduction to their book *Guilds, Society and Economy in London* Ian Gadd and Patrick Wallis give an assessment of the relevance of trade companies, arriving at the conclusion that the "relationship between company and trade was at best loose and at worst almost non-existent".[81] What is more, profession did not dictate membership with the respective company in the eighteenth century any longer; while company membership offered social advantages such as pensions to assist older members or those who had fallen on hard times, membership was not vital for the practice of one's trade.[82] Freedom of trade could be granted to non-members through licensing; [83] in 1750 the Common Council passed an act enabling masters to apply for licences to employ non-freemen journeymen.[84] Journeymen from outside of London, referred to as "foreigners" at this time, had to be registered with the City clerk at the cost of 2 s. 6 d.[85] Freemen journeymen clubs opposed this measure.[86] Hence, it seems rather unlikely that non-freemen journeymen, especially outsiders and "strangers" like the Ecksteins, would have been able to join or expect support from these associations. Dobson does not mention any non-freemen journeymen clubs in his survey of master and journeymen associations in eighteenth-century

81 Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (eds.), *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800*, London, Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002, 7
82 Gadd and Wallis, *Guilds, Society and Economy*, 2002, 149
83 Gadd and Wallis, *Guilds, Society and Economy*, 2002, 150
84 C. R. Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen – A Prehistory of industrial Relations 1717-1800*, London, Croom Helm Ltd., 1980, 55
85 Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, 1980, 55
86 Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, 1980, 54-55

London.[87] In mid-century trade companions which list the companies of London, there is no indication that an incorporated or non-incorporated company of sculptors, statuaries or carvers existed.[88] Masters might have joined the long-standing masons' guild or even companies of other trades,[89] but so far no research has been carried out on the involvement of sculptors in journeymen associations.

The craft's openness to the reception of sculptors from the Continent seems to have called for alternative forms of organisation and regulation which accommodated the constant flow of artisans to and from the Continent. Little can be said about the legal framework in which Johann Eckstein worked, but it seems certain that freedom of trade did not concern him. Many of his works are likely to have been made part of the Carter's chimney-pieces and monuments for which he would have been paid as a sub-contractor. To find work initially, Johann might have had to rely on the networks of his previous Dutch masters in London but there is also the possibility that he sought out the “houses-of-call” of his craft.[90] There, artisans looking for work could have had their names added to a list which was kept by the landlord of the respective establishment and which would be consulted in regular meetings of the craftsmen's associations.[91] Although there were no official societies of sculptors, there may have been a tavern where sculptors met and where such a list could be found; this would have been another way for Johann Eckstein into the Carter's workshop besides introducing himself personally.

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87 Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, 1980
88 For example *A general description of all trades, digested in alphabetical order*, London, printed for T. Waller, 1747
89 Gadd and Wallis, *Guilds, Society and Economy*, 2002, 149
90 For houses-of-call refer to Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, 1980, 38
91 Dobson, *Masters and Journeymen*, 1980, 39

Alehouses would also have provided lodging and, according to Peter Clark, refuge from the occasionally harsh world of the master's household.[92] There is no hint as to where Johann Eckstein lived during his first stay in London but it is likely that he spent some time living in inns and "publick houses" before either moving into a master's household or finding lodgings elsewhere. When he returned to England in 1769 with his family, he lodged with "Mr M^{e} Gilivray" in Portland Row, before moving to John Street/Oxford Road, according to the Royal Academy Exhibitors' List.[93] A possible reason for this move might have been the birth of a son of which Eckstein wrote to the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin who was awaiting the return of his court sculptor. In this letter, dated 8 September 1770, Johann explained that his son had fallen ill but that the doctor "had been able to fix him with God's help", although the son had "kept a somewhat crooked back".[94] Johann might have decided to move house to provide his family with a more suitable environment or to find somewhere cheaper in order to cover the cost of the doctor.

The Ecksteins were also connected to the world of London alehouses in another way. As we know from J. T. Smith's account of the life and times of the sculptor Joseph Nollekens, George Paul Eckstein who settled permanently in England made a living as a tavern proprietor himself: "[Johann Eckstein's] brother

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92 Peter Clark, *The English Alehouse: a social history 1200-1830*, London and New York, Longman, 1983, 228

93 Envelope of a letter to Eckstein's patron, the Duke of Mecklenburg, dated 15 September 1769 and Algernon Graves, *A Dictionary of Artists who have exhibited works in the principal London Exhibitions from 1760 to 1893*, London, H. Graves, 1901

94 " noch einige kränkliche Zufälle des kindes sindt darzwischen gekomen, welches der doktor durch hülffe Gottes etwas zurechte gebracht hat, das kindt aber bey diessen umständen noch etwas einen schieffen rücken behalden hat." [All sic] Letter from Johann Eckstein to Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 8 September 1770 in Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, 2.26-1 Großherzogliches Kabinett I, 10162

kept a public-house, the sign of the Goat and Star, at the corner of Tash-court, Tash-Street, Gray's Inn Lane."[95] It is likely that the pub was run by George Paul's wife and children, as was customary in eighteenth-century England,[96] which allowed him to pursue his career as a sculptor. According to the Royal Academy exhibitor's list, George Paul resided at 41 Tash-Street when he exhibited a series of animal models between 1798 and 1802.[97] So far, the Goat and Star appears to have not been featured in any of the London guidebooks which are preserved from the eighteenth-century and while it might have had a significance as a meeting point for itinerant and resident sculptors this could not be ascertained on the basis of the consulted material. However, George Paul's knowledge of the London art world would have been a useful resource to travelling sculptors. The tavern certainly served as a focal point for the family network. In the same exhibitors list we find the name of John Eckstein, George Paul's nephew, living at 41 Tash Street in 1787; John returned to the neighbourhood in 1796 after a stint in Birmingham, and appears to have lived at 55 Gray's Inn Lane for several years (see map fig. 9).[98] While no information could be found regarding the date when George Paul became owner and/or proprietor of the Goat and Star, a record from the Old Bailey Archives of the trial of Peter Ponsonby who was convicted of theft on 21 April 1819 established that the pub had passed into the possession of a Mr William Gabb by 1819. Mr Gabb's son had been the victim of the crime and gave testimony at the

95 J.T. Smith, *Nollekens and his Times* [1828], London, Oxford University Press, 1929, 116
96 Clark, *The English Alehouse*, 1983, 205
97 Graves, *Dictionary of Artists*, 1901
98 Graves, *Dictionary of Artists*, 1901

trial that Ponsonby had been his fellow lodger at the tavern.[99] It is possible that these rooms had been available to let at the time when the pub was run by George Paul which means that the sculptor potentially was an important source of information and help for journeymen of different trades.

Journeymen were prone to stealing; from each other as well as from shops. The Old Bailey Archives contain records of proceedings against journeymen sculptors who were accused of stealing tools or slabs of marble. Besides attesting to the criminal activities of some assistant (mason-)statuaries, these protocols give important insights into the availability and use of tools and material both within and outside of a workshop. In the case of Isaac Payton who was tried for grand larceny on 14 September 1796, several pieces of marble, valued at 42 shillings in total, had been found at the house of the carpenter Richard Polesham where Payton had been lodging.[100] Payton, accused of breaking into the workshop of Thomas Carlton and stealing the marble pieces, explained their presence at his lodgings as follows: “I had two cart loads of marble which I brought to the house when I first came there as a tenant (in May) and I never carried any there since I bought it, and can prove that I bought it.”[101] He rejected the claim that one of the slabs had been lined in Carlton's workshop because it was “damaged stuff, cracked at the back”, insisting that he had lined the slab himself.[102] Payton went on to say that the other pieces belonged to his father whose profession is not mentioned in the

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99 *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 6.0, 23 May 2011), April 1819, trial of Peter Ponsonby (t18190421-117)

100 *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, 9 December 2009), 14 September 796, 17960914-37

101 *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, 9 December 2009), 14 September 796, 17960914-37

102 *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, 9 December 2009), 14 September 796, 17960914-37

document, nor was the father called as a witness. There is no indication in the material that Payton had been an assistant to Carlton or employed in another workshop at the time of his trial. The presence of marble at Polesham's house in itself, however, seems to have been no cause for suspicion to the landlord, suggesting that it was not unusual for mason-statuaries who did not own their own workshops to store material at their lodgings. It cannot be verified whether Payton had worked or had intended to work any of the marble in his possession and had sold, or planned to sell, works illegally rather than the raw material. But, the fact that he kept marble at his lodgings could suggest that Johann Eckstein produced the reliefs which he exhibited at the Society of Artists and later at the Royal Academy not in a workshop setting but “at home”. Incidents of theft which took place in sculptors’ workshops not only shed light on the living arrangements of journeymen sculptors but also draw attention to a darker side of workshop life, as 2.5 will explain further.

2.5 A dead bellmaker's apprentice – abuse and crime in workshops and taverns

Theft perpetrated by journeymen was in some cases a response to mistreatment by masters. Apart from the obscure incident which led Ertinger to abandon one of his masters and which might have had to do with either a misdemeanour on Ertinger's part or with abuse inflicted upon Ertinger, a particular story in the journal testifies to a rougher side of master-assistant relations. Ertinger writes of a bellmaker's apprentice who, against his master's instructions, filled the mould for a bell with metal. After tearfully confessing his misdeed the apprentice

was stabbed by the enraged master who ended up finding the bell perfectly intact. In the meantime, the apprentice had passed away. The master was sentenced to death for his crime and the bell had since been known as “sinners' bell”.[103] Although Ertinger does not explicitly link the anecdote to his personal experiences, it is possible that he had experienced some kind of mistreatment or deprivation in a master's workshop at some point as an apprentice or even as journeyman. There is cause to assume that he found the retribution against the cruel bellmaker pleasing if he, or peers whom he met on the road and in taverns and with whom he swapped stories, had been abused without the responsible masters having been brought to justice.

Several autobiographical texts from the eighteenth and early nineteenth century record abuse suffered at the hands of a master. The ropemaker's apprentice Probst who wrote the story of his apprenticeship in 1790 recalled with bitterness the cruelty of his master:

> “In the morning it was freezing cold, which afforded him the opportunity to make me feel his cruelty once more. He ordered me to make musical strings […] I had to spend the whole morning on this job, all the while crying out to God for mercy. When this was over, I had to prepare horse hair, a job, which was chosen to torture me through frost and to make my life miserable, because one is unable to get warm, and no master would make his people do this work in winter without being accused of the greatest cruelty, because one is in danger of getting frostbite to hands and feet.” [104]

103 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 75

104 J.G.A. Probst, *Handwerksbarbarei, oder die Geschichte meiner Lehrjahre. Ein Beytrag zur Erziehungsmethode deutscher Handwerker* (1790), Halle, Leipzig, 1923, quoted in Andreas Grießinger, *Das symbolische Kapital der Ehre: Streikbewegungen und kollektives Bewusstsein deutscher Handwerksgesellen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, Vienna, Ullstein Materialien, 1981, 61

Probst also laments the scarcity and bad quality of the food he was given in the master's household and the beatings he had to endure should he have refused the disgusting fare.[105] Although journeymen ranked higher in the workshop's hierarchy than a humble apprentice, they were also subjected to mistreatment and malnourishment in some workshops. A tavern conversation recorded in the autobiography of the journeyman Johann Eberhard Dewald from the early nineteenth century revolves around the slim diet offered in a particular household:

> "[they said the master] was cruel and a miser, who counted every spoonful into the journeymen's mouths and could not complain enough how dear the food was, which made them want to throw it up, had they not been worried that the mistress would turn it into another meal. For she was his match and no better. He treated the best assistant [Altgesell] no better than an apprentice."[106]

Hardship and abuse were part of life in many workshops in the seventeenth and eighteenth century and it is likely that both Ertinger and the Ecksteins experienced oppression, tension and conflict in some of the households of which they were part. However, as we have seen, masters and mistresses were not the only culprits in workshop conflicts. Both journeymen and apprentices responded with resistance to unfair and violent treatment eventually, ranging from verbal

105 Probst in Grießinger, *Das symbolische Kapital*, 1981, 60
106 Johann Eberhard Dewald, *Biedermeier auf der Walze, Aufzeichnungen und Briefe des Handwerksburschen Johann Eberhard Dewald, 1836-1838*, Berlin, 1986, quoted in Sigrid Wadauer, *Die Tour der Gesellen: Mobilitt und Biographie im Handwerk vom 18. bis zum 20.Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt, New York, Campus Verlag, 2005, 245

retaliations to criminal activities - chiefly theft.[107] Jean-Jacques Rousseau who had been apprenticed to an engraver in his youth painted an equally bleak picture of his training, the brutality of which ultimately taught him “to covet in silence, to conceal, to dissimulate, to lie, and finally to steal.”[108] Rousseau stole food but also tools and prints from his master;[109] his theft often went undiscovered and never had other consequences than a beating from the master.

Sigrid Wadauer noted the ambiguity which characterised the relationship between fellow journeymen; the others could provide support and comfort but they were also a potential threat to each other.[110] The glazier Jacques-Louis Ménétra experienced violence from other journeyman (he also exerted violence frequently). For example, at a tavern he was threatened by a group of journeymen who belonged to a rival confraternity, the much hated Gavots, who asked him to “[drink] to their health or they were going to blow me to kingdom come”.[111] Lucky for Ménétra, the Gavots' tavern father intervened which caused the former enemies to turn into friends, at least for a short while, during which “they stood me to a drink and told me I was a good fellow”.[112] Very often, however, the glazier reports of the kindness of his compagnions. After he had been robbed on the road, having walked “almost two leagues without shoes”, he found a tavern where the companions “upon learning of the misfortune that had befallen me loaned me

107 Grießinger, *Das symbolische Kapital*, 1981, 64
108 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Confessions of Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (completed 1765, published 1781), Bungay, Penguin Books, 1954, 40
109 Rousseau, *Confessions*, 1954, 43
110 Sigrid Wadauer, *Die Tour der Gesellen – Mobilität und Biographie im Handwerk vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt, Campus Verlag, 2005, 152
111 Jacques-Louis Ménétra, Daniel Roche (ed.) *Journal of my Life*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1986, 63
112 Ménétra and Roche (ed.), *Journal of my Life*, 1986, 64

everything that I needed".[113] From a German breeches-maker whom he befriended on the road he received a pair of "leather breeches all festooned with flowers".[114] Other journeymen also helped the glazier when he contracted small-pox, "the companions took me to the Saint Eligius hospital mounted on a donkey with a cover over my back to companions on either side holding me and another holding the bridle and several following which made a nice cavalcade.[115] From Franz Ertinger's journal we know that he was often ill with fevers and although he does not mention that he received help from his fellow journeymen, it is likely that they provided him with support during times of illness when he was not part of a workshop/household.

Journeymen also shared the *Geschenk* (gift), a ritualised gift of either wine or money which artisans received when they reported to the journeymen association of their trade in a new town.[116] Sigrid Wadauer has pointed out the crucial importance of this gift whose acceptance often placed journeymen under the obligation to remain in employment for at least two weeks which made the gift a method of regulating labour. This could explain some of Ertinger's fourteen-day stays in workshops (see map, fig. 7).[117] Apart from its social and professional function, the gift was also important for the livelihood of artisans; sometimes they went for a long time without income and after the allowance they had normally received from their parents, the so-called *Muttergroschen* (mother's penny), had dried up they often had to resort to begging or stealing in order to make ends

113 Ménétra and Roche (ed.), *Journal of my Life*, 1986, 64
114 Ménétra and Roche (ed.), *Journal of my Life*, 1986, 61
115 Ménétra and Roche (ed.), *Journal of my Life*, 1986, 65
116 Wadauer, *Die Tour der Gesellen*, 2005, 128
117 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 22

meet.[118] Maybe it was due to dire financial conditions that the Ecksteins were attracted to London, where a journeyman "who has a good hand in forming stone figures may earn fifty shillings a week". Working in plaster and wax was slightly less lucrative, bringing about a "guinea a week and more", according to the *General Shop-Book*, published in 1753.[119] In comparison, the weekly pay of a journeyman tailor in London would have come to a mere 12 shillings, that of the average journeyman tradesman to 18-22 shillings in 1777.[120] According to Lisa Picard, the rates for journeyman silversmiths were comparable to those for sculptors (£1, 1 shilling).[121] What is more, there were opportunities in London to not only exhibit works in front of other image-makers but to be financially rewarded for excellence; for his Portland stone relief "The Death of Epaminondas" exhibited in 1762 Eckstein received 15 pounds 15 shillings, his second success, a first premium for a relief in marble, brought him as much as 52 pounds and 10 shillings.[122] It appears that the London market for sculpture proved rewarding for Eckstein in several ways until he was attracted by the big architectural and sculptural projects engineered by Frederick II in 1765.

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118 Wadauer, *Die Tour der Gesellen*, 2005, 249

119 Anon., *The General Shop-Book or Tradesman's Universal directory*, London, 1753, entry on "Statuaries and Sculptors"

120 Lisa Picard, *Dr Johnson's London – Life in London 1740-1770*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2000, 295-296

121 Picard, *Dr Johnson's London*, 2000, 296

122 William Bailey, *106 Copper Plates of Mechanical Machines and Implements of Husbandry, approved and adopted by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce"*, London, 1782, 161

2.6 Time without clocks – chronological references in Ertinger's journal

While the lives of journeymen were governed by money and the lack thereof to a great extent, time was less important. Whenever Ertinger mentions the workshop of a new master he also includes information on the duration of the stay at the site. The information on the temporal aspects of his activity as *Wandergeselle* is more or less precise, ranging from a more specific "36 weeks" at Martin Neyberg's workshop at Frauenberg in the Salzburg region,[123] to a vague "some time" with Johann Georg Stamel in Graz.[124] Not once do we find specific dates for the start or termination of an employment. In fact, the only personal events dated to the day and even the hour in the journal are Ertinger's birth (18 August 1669, between 5 and 6 am), the departure on his first journey (25 August 1682), the start of his training as a sculptor after his schooling had ended (21 March 1683) and the beginning of his *Wanderschaft* (16 July 1690). Only two journeys on the *Wanderschaft* itself are marked by date: the departure to Vienna on 16 December 1694[125] and to Moravia in a stage coach on 1 October 1694, after lunch ("nach Eingenohmen Mitagmahl").[126] The scarcity of exact dates and the variation in temporal descriptions seem to suggest that it did not occur to Ertinger to record his *Wanderjahre* in a detailed temporal grid. It cannot be ascertained whether the incoherence of the time references is due to a failure to recollect dates on Ertinger's part because his idea to write a journal may have been conceived retrospectively, or whether precise temporal structures did not feature

123 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 27
124 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 34
125 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 38
126 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 58

prominently in his experience of the *Wanderschaft*. The vagueness of time references also contrasts with the meticulousness with which Ertinger lists places, betraying a prioritising of information on space over information on time. Whilst the *Wanderjahre* were characterised by both spatial and temporal fluidity, as the availability of work and length of contracts could never be predicted, it is the places and their characteristics and opportunities which Ertinger selects for description, rather than time and how it was spent individually.

The journal also exhibits Ertinger's muddled sense of time sequence, for example, in the description of Austria and the different theories about the origin of this country. Observing the first of these theories according to which “as some would have it” Austria was founded one hundred and ten years after the Flood, it becomes evident that he accepted biblical events as historical truth.[127] At the same time Ertinger is just as aware of the archaeological relevance of antique artefacts, in this case a number of tomb stones which had been discovered in Vienna and which, as he reports, date back “to the years 3599, 4016 and many more since the creation of the world”.[128] While the journal's timelines are incoherent, the dates Ertinger supplies the reader with appear to be largely correct (dated from A. D. forward, rather than the creation of the world, for example the events surrounding the council of Constance). In fact, Ertinger was eager to date a great deal of things. It is likely that he gathered many of these dates from monuments, plague columns, tombs and the like;[129] this explains why executions, epidemics and the completion of buildings are the most common markers of calendar-time in the

127 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 39
128 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 39
129Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 41 example

narrative. However, this strategy of chronicling occurrences, which is tied up with Ertinger's itinerary, gives the impression of discontinuous, fragmented timelines, suggesting that the journal's author had no conception of chronology. This should not be interpreted exclusively as an indicator that Ertinger lacked the general knowledge to chronicle coherently. Instead, the exact dates seem to clash with a particular concept of time which was shaped by the unpredictability inherent in the Wanderschaft experience.

Time was not measured by the hands of a clock or even in days, weeks or months because it was hard to determine for journeymen how long their journeys would take and for how long they would remain with a master. James Farr has explored this non-normative concept of time in relation to labour disputes in the eighteenth century.[130] Farr discusses the conflicts which arose over the duration of a workday, highlighting an incident in a German workshop, where Gesellen showed their refusal to work the hours dictated to them by their master by destroying the bell which marked these hours.[131] Workshop time was a contested and ill-defined issue and it can be gathered that normative time which was not useful to structure a journeyman's everyday life was also not utilised by Ertinger to order the events of the past. Ertinger's sense of time, as much as of history, was attached to locations and even art objects, such as the plague column at Vienna.[132] This observation regarding Ertinger's concept of time was one of the particularities of the journal which encouraged the subsequent inquiries into the alterity of epistemic organising principles which structured how migrating artisans

130 James Farr, *Artisans in Europe 1300-1914*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, 145
131 Farr, *Artisans*, 2000, 145
132 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 48

ordered, shared and remembered information; for this reason, these paragraphs on workshop chronology have been included at this point although they will not feature in the remainder of the thesis.

2.7 Conclusion

By synthesising some of the scattered and fragmentary primary material available regarding the Eckstein brothers with elements of Franz Ertinger's journal, along with wider secondary material on how journeymen lived and worked, it has been possible to convey an idea of the circumstances under which eighteenth-century sculptors grew up, trained and spent the early stages of their careers. Not only does such a synthesis provide a framework of “external” conditions in which the subsequent studies of knowledge acquisition, organisation and application can be situated; it also advances our understanding of how journeymen acted within their surroundings, coped with the pressures and exploited the opportunities which these surroundings brought with them. Noting the violence which characterised the lives of many artisans from childhood on will become necessary to make sense of the ways in which the violence experienced throughout their lives was appropriated and even sublimated into a semiotic template which influenced how Ertinger, in particular, interpreted and related to history and imagery. The observation that time was a foggy concept in the workshop and on the road draws attention to the absence of certain organising principles in the lives of these artisans which encourages the search for other epistemic principles which might have been of greater relevance to them; an inquiry into what these structures

could be and how they developed out of the mobile world of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artisan population will be pursued from now on. What the chapter has also shown is the hidden potential of sources such as the protocols of legal proceedings which have revealed a great deal about the living and working situation of sculptors in eighteenth-century London who did not own their own workshops. In the course of assembling material of this kind and considering its bearing on the situation of Johann Eckstein it has been possible to arrive at a somewhat more complete picture of how this sculptor engaged with an unfamiliar setting and gain insights into how and why he tried to find his place within it. Moreover, it is necessary to have a basic idea of how the population within a workshop could be constituted in terms of region of origin, the implications of which will be explored in chapter 3, and how journeymen supported and interacted with each other in order for us to be able to place the discussion of knowledge exchange. In other words, the chapter has supplied a series of situations and external conditions from which the tools of the cognitive tool-box were derived and to which they were applicable. The following chapter will begin the analysis of the cognitive tool-box by examining the ideas of intercultural competence and tacit knowledge both of which were contingent on, and integral to, the modes of learning and living which characterised the workshop environment.

3. INTERCULTURAL COMPETENCE

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 What is culture and what constitutes cultural difference?

In the previous chapters the external conditions of the cosmopolitan world inhabited by itinerant sculptors (1690s-1770s) have received attention. Now it is time to focus the investigation on the cognitive frameworks with which these sculptors could process the encounters with artisans and non-artisans which took place during their *Wanderschaft* and beyond. It will be argued that journeyman sculptors were able to deal with culturally complex situations and to accommodate difference in their environment by employing strategies developed as a result of the mode of learning and living in their home workshop/household. The issue of language barriers will be addressed and juxtaposed with visual modes of communication. A discussion of cultural differences naturally requires a definition of culture. A suitably concise definition has been given by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner in their book *Transferts*. These two transfer historians whose work will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 5 describe culture as a "system or register of cognitive forms and mental structures"; this register is understood to be dynamic, making the definition suitable to their discussion of cultural transfers and acculturation.[1]

This definition of culture as a set of registers of thought and meaning (that is

1 Michel Espagne, Michael Werner, *Transferts – Les Relations Interculturelles dans L'Espace Franco-Allemand*, Paris, Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988, 20

to say, epistemic and semiotic registers) is helpful for a study which is concerned with the cognitive structures of itinerant sculptors because it can more readily encompass concepts that imply cultural fluidity and reconfiguration, such as negotiation of difference, learning and exchange which the thesis is concerned with. Consequently, this definition of culture fits more seamlessly with a notion of artisan culture as not monolithic but complex and dynamic. While the previous chapter fostered an awareness of the cosmopolitan compositions of workshops, chapter 3 is aimed at providing insights into how sculptors who commanded cultural registers which were potentially distinct or unfamiliar to them could overcome possible obstacles to the workshop production which are inherent in this confrontation of different registers of thought and meaning. By learning to understand in what ways artisans were raised in households which were characterised by a constant presence of journeymen who commanded different fragments of epistemic and semiotic registers it becomes possible to make informed speculations on their abilities to comprehend and accommodate cultural differences. This investigation is a vital pre-amble to the studies of chapters 4 and 5 of how encounters which took place during the Wanderschaft and other migrations brought about changes in epistemic and cognitive registers and how artisans could develop new perspectives and sensibilities as a result. In several ways, this chapter does the ground work on which the following two chapters depend and produces key ideas which enable a frame of reference for the ongoing interpretation of Ertinger's journal and the application of further secondary literature from a variety of fields. Among these central outcomes are the role of tacit knowledge and the ways in which it could be acquired during the

Wanderschaft and the intercultural competences developed by apprentices and journeymen which had the potential to shape their careers as the example of Johann Eckstein will show in this and, especially, subsequent chapters.

3.1.2 Acknowledging the logic of artisan journals

Before this inquiry can begin it is necessary to engage with an objection to the use of artisan's journals as a basis for a study of cultural differences that was raised by Sigrid Wadauer who produced an extensive analysis of artisans' travel diaries and biographies.[2] Discussing these specific objections will lead into a synopsis of Wadauer's work and necessarily involve an excursion on how artisan journals are dealt with by Wadauer and how they will be dealt with in this and the following chapters. Wadauer cautions against "extracting a sense of foreignness from the texts, filling the gaps of one author with the writings of another, thus, piecing together an imaginary map of the foreign and creating a collective average of foreignness".[3] Advocating a literary analysis of the journals, Wadauer approaches these texts entirely as literary constructs and denies them any kind of historical relevance or "authenticity".[4] She argues that the journals follow a formula which she convincingly traces through a vast body of journals stretching from the eighteenth to the early twentieth century. The principal objective behind this

2 Sigrid Wadauer, *Die Tour der Gesellen – Mobilität und Biographie im Handwerk vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt, New York, Campus Verlag, 2005

3 Sigrid Wadauer, "Fremd in der Fremde gehn: die Erzeugung von Fremdheit im Unterwegs-Sein von handwerksgesellen", in Ingrid Bauer, Josef Ehmer, Sylvia Hahn, *Walz – Migration – Besatzung*, *Historische Szenarien des Eigenen und Fremden*, Klagenfurt, Celovec, Drava Verlag/Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Kultur, 2002, 43

4 Wadauer in Bauer, Ehmer, Hahn, *Walz – Migration – Besatzung*, 2002, 52

formula was, in her view, to convey a sense of adventure. In the face of danger the journeyman-author is able to show off his strength of character and manly bravery to the reader. In these narratives foreignness affords opportunities to face adventure.[5] It cannot be denied that this motif surfaces repeatedly in Ertinger's journal in the many grisly tales of murder, assault and natural phenomena of biblical proportions. These stories can, indeed, be read as a wish to prove his Christian character and ability to prevail in an unfamiliar world where danger was lurking at every corner. Similarly, the glazier Jacques-Louis Ménétra writes of robberies, brawls and desperate situations from which he sometimes emerges as a victim but, more often than not, as the glorious victor or rescuer who mitigates in disputes with the authorities or assists a woman who had just given birth on the road as he passed by.[6] That these motifs can be identified in the journals should not deter historians from viewing these texts as sources on which studies of cognitive and semiotic structures can be based. As will be seen, Ertinger's journal contains valuable clues to his perception of cultural otherness that cannot be discarded as “inauthentic” on the grounds of speculation regarding the purposes of the journal.

While confrontations with cultural others might be part of a possibly formulaic structure which Wadauer has identified, this does not suggest that these texts are not “authentic” and cannot reveal how journeymen structured their world and where they perceived cultural boundaries; in fact, as chapter 4 will show, the formulaic character could also spring from alternative modes of learning, thinking

5 Wadauer in Bauer, Ehmer, Hahn, *Walz – Migration – Besatzung*, 2002, 45
6 Jacques-Louis Ménétra and Daniel Roche (ed.), *Journal of My Life*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1986, 52-54, 61-62

and, therefore, writing. Wadauer refuses to view these texts as anything but self-contained and does not situate them with their respective historical backgrounds (given the scope of her project this would be hard to do), since she believes that the texts follow their own logic, a logic which, in her opinion, has been obscured by imposing a pre-determined agenda or identity on the journals.[7] As much as I agree with the statement that the internal logic, or in terms of this project, the epistemic order which structured the composition of these texts has been ignored, I cannot accept the position that drawing on relevant primary sources to complement the analysis of the journals obstructs the identification of this logic/epistemic order. Rather than blinding the reader to a logic of which these texts are indicative, a consultation of additional primary and secondary material can raise research questions which are unlikely to have emerged from an isolated study of the journals. Moreover, drawing on “external” sources creates premises for the interpretation of the journals against which elements of their internal logic or epistemic organisation stand out more clearly (for example, Ertinger's comments on iconoclasm in Prague, see chapter 4). Wadauer is concerned not to produce a study which is distorted by the projection of “previously formed hypotheses”. But to her proposed approach the objection has to be made that historians are operating from within epistemic and semiotic systems which most likely are not compatible with the internal logic of journeyman autobiographies. Therefore, it is vital to be critical of the logic/epistemic order with which one approaches the logic/epistemic order of the journals; chapter 4, which deals with knowledge acquisition and organisation, will investigate the specifics of this problem in detail. Secondary

7 Wadauer, *Tour der Gesellen*, 2005, 54

literature on the nature of knowledge can provide concepts and impulses which allow a self-conscious but informed speculation on the tools which eighteenth-century workshop populations had at their disposal to interpret and shape their world.

Sigrid Wadauer advocates against the use of additional material in the analysis of artisans' journals but, as chapters 3 to 5 will show, it is possible to produce a reliable and meaningful interpretative framework by taking into consideration other material apart from the journals themselves. The strategy of re-reading and re-evaluating the journals in the light of other sources does allow for the journals to unfold their own logic and for subsequent interpretations to be driven by that logic, rather than limiting the analytical parameters to a rigid set of questions which would reduce the study to a scholarly projection which perpetuates certain prejudices against oral and artisan culture (as discussed in subsequent chapters). In order to avoid the conflict which Wadauer perceives to exist between internal and external logical structures, or in terms of my analysis, to avoid reading the journals with dominant cognitive structures and biases of contemporary scholarly discourses, it is necessary to make research objectives and the selection of sources conditional on pointers within the journal. Certain aspects within a journal point towards ways of learning and understanding which should be explored by means of respective secondary material and, although the identification of these pointers is shaped by certain preconceived research questions, this approach renders the process of arriving at the final research outcomes more dynamic and, most importantly, to an extent contingent on the structures of the journals themselves.

One of the main pre-conceived research questions which was brought to the topic of sculptors' migration and cosmopolitan communities in the eighteenth century was that of the significance of cultural difference as a cognitive category. This research task implied the first step of identifying, firstly, a workable definition of culture which would assist in the very complex task of establishing a concept of cultural difference which was potentially meaningful to late seventeenth- to mid-eighteenth-century journeymen. In order to assess what qualities were perceived to constitute a significant difference in the eyes of itinerant artisans, that is, a difference which prohibited working together or inspired feelings of alienation and animosity Franz Ertinger's journal was searched for mentions of foreignness or compatriot-ship with noteworthy results. Moreover, this sculptor's awareness of regions, countries and continents will play a role in gaining insights into how differences were situated and negotiated.

3.2 Franz Ertinger's “Journey to Foreign Lands”

At the beginning of his narrative Franz Ferdinand Ertinger describes his impending *Wanderschaft* as “Meine Raiß in die frembte (my journey to foreign/unknown lands)”.[8] Implicit in this statement is the *Wandergesellen*'s anticipation to travel to places which were seen as distant or in some way culturally distinct. Ertinger does not announce his first journey in this way; he merely states that he “set off” for Salzburg,[9] suggesting that he expected to travel in familiar territory, including the Allgäu (Ertinger's region of origin), Bavaria and

8 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 5
9 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 3-5

Swabia, for a foreseeable stretch of time. Only at one point in the journal does Ertinger refer to “nacher hauß (home)”, when he states that for his return journey there he would travel on a stage coach in accordance with his parents' wishes.[10] This statement is devoid of sentimentality and nowhere in the journal does Ertinger articulate an attachment to, or longing for, his home town or his relatives. Yet, it becomes clear that Ertinger's definition of home as his town or region of origin (maybe even the house of his parents) persisted throughout the *Wanderjahre*. “Home” remained a point of reference in his life as the end of the *Wanderschaft* was approaching which, in turn, indicates that the opportunity had not arisen during his journeys for Ertinger to establish a household and workshop of his own.

Ertinger refrains entirely from describing his fellow *Gesellen* or his masters as foreign (or in any other personal way, for that matter), despite the diversity of their regions of origin and only on one occasion does he refer to himself as “Lands frembter” (foreigner). In Prague, Ertinger visited a Jewish indoor market for the purpose of buying new clothes where was led under

> alda […] wurd ich unders Tach gefürt, in einen sehr langen gang an denen Zimer gleich Kauffmansgewölbe so alles graget voller Juden das ih ganz beschwerlich durch vil hundert Juden durchdringen mueste, Zu Ent in ein Zimer kame, alwo nit nur Tausent gemachte alt und neye Klayder ganze beig lagen, wie mir als ein lands frembter Zu mueth weillen ih kein Christen mensch um mich sache, ist leicht zu erachten [all sic].[11]

10 “und nahme auff meiner l: Eltern Verlangen meine ruck rais nacher hauß auff einer landguzen”, Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 77
11 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 84

> a roof […]. into a very long corridor where there were rooms like in a merchants' vault and there were Jews everywhere, so that with great difficulty I had to make my way through many hundreds of Jews, and in the end I came into a room, which was filled with piles of old and new clothes, and it is easy to see that I felt like a foreigner because I could not see a Christian.

Ertinger's anti-Semitic stance is evident throughout the journal and the tone of the paragraph cited above betrays his discomfort and feeling of forlornness in places dominated by a Jewish population. Apart from this incident, Ertinger appears to have felt rather comfortable in places which he recognised geographically and linguistically as different, such as the Silesian capital of Breslau, where he noted the “friendliness and virtue of the common people (deß gemeinen Volckhs Freindlichkeit und Ehrbahren Wandels)”, the general wealth and the beauty of the women (“schöne Weibs bilder”); concluding that it was a “beautiful and pleasant place (ein schön und lustreiher ohrt)”.[12] These statements reveal that Ertinger was profoundly affected by cultural differences rooted in religion, rather than by any other particularities of region or country, since no similar explicit reference to a sense of discomfort or alienation respecting either a region or a group of people are made in the journal.

However, a particular aspect of Andreas Grießinger's interpretation of journeymen's journals suggests that Ertinger's assessment of difference cannot be trusted as far as religion is concerned. In his intriguing book on the strike movements of German *Gesellen*, Grießinger searches texts written by *Gesellen* in

12 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 66

the eighteenth century for clues to the cognitive strategies employed by the authors in describing and making sense of their apprenticeship and years in transit.[13] Grießinger is interested in the collective consciousness of the *Gesellen* population which he tries to grasp through the assessment of their concepts of time, learning and social status whose roots he seeks in the everyday experiences in the workshop. Analysing specific instants of the transmission of knowledge from master to apprentice (as recorded in the journals) Grießinger observes a lack of "explantory categories", which were supposedly unavailable to both master and apprentice, thus, barring them from understanding the ramifications of specific tasks or actions.[14] The imitative style of learning and the demands to conform to the methods as demonstrated left little room for innovation and inhibited reflection according to Grießinger.[15] This resulted in the lack of a "cognitive tool box", rendering the *Gesellen* incompetent to consider structures outside of the context of immediate individual action.[16] In Grießinger's view *Gesellen* were able to observe complexity but failed to explain it rationally, having to resort to religion which had a "central, complexity-reducing function".[17] Unfortunately, Grießinger does not continue to explore the cognitive development of the *Gesellen* but is content to leave it at the assumption that a workshop culture based on the oral transmission of knowledge is prohibitive of sophisticated reflection into cause and effect and so formative for the apprentices that their thought processes remain this rigid for the

13 Andreas Grießinger, *Das symbolische Kapital der Ehre – Streikbewegungen und kollektives Bewusstsein deutscher Handwerksgesellen im 18. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt, Berlin, Wien, Ullstein Materialien, 1981
14 Grießinger, *Das symbolische Kapital,* 1981, 62
15 Grießinger, *Das symbolische Kapital,* 1981, 62
16 Grießinger, *Das symbolische Kapital,* 1981, 65
17 Grießinger, *Das symbolische Kapital,* 1981, 64

remainder of their lives.

Due to its bearing on exchange processes in the workshop, Grießinger's argument will be challenged later on, but at this point it provides an interesting avenue for thought about Ertinger's ability to recognise cultural differences. As noted above, foreignness is only noted explicitly in relation to religious differences by Ertinger. Following Grießinger's argument, Ertinger's explanation of foreignness in terms of religion might merely be a reaction to complex experiences of expressions of epistemic and semiotic registers which were incompatible to his own or, at least, unfamiliar. As such, attributing his sense of alienation to religious difference can be seen as a coping mechanism which sprang from the limitation of his ability to process the complexity of a culturally diverse city. Ertinger might simply not have had the capacity to have, or articulate, complicated emotional responses towards what he perceived as foreign. On the other hand, however, we have to ask ourselves whether the subtleties of cultural difference remain largely uncommented upon in the journal because Ertinger did not deem their negotiation worthy of mention, or whether they were irrelevant to the formation of his identity and his career. When describing differences of language, customs, “mentality” and so forth, the tone of the journal is matter-of-fact and does not give any indication of Ertinger's attitudes towards these differences. The absence of comments on the described cultural difference might not necessarily mean that Ertinger was too simple-minded to engage with them. Instead, these descriptions might not have been his own, their actual source being the travel books he consulted and

copied.[18] While Ertinger was likely to have recognised differences, they might not have had an alienating effect on him which could be another reason for his failure to comment on them in depth.

Other seemingly clear catgories of difference, such as nation or country, are much more diffuse in Ertinger's journal than the antagonistic categorisation of non-Christians. To begin with, Ertinger's notion of “Germany” is not clearly delineated in the text, but it becomes apparent that, rather than a country in its own right, “Germany” spanned several countries in Ertinger's world-view. For example, he refers to Austria as “one of the best countries in Germany [eines der besten landen in Teutschlandt]”. This definition shows that Ertinger understood the places he visited in the context of overarching, supra-regional entities, which encompassed several “countries”, that is to say, the principalities, duchies, and even monarchies, such as the Hungarian Empire, which comprised central Europe at the time. It seems that none of the areas on Ertinger's itinerary are placed outside of this Germany in his understanding, despite their differences in terms of denomination, language, economy and mentality. A remark about Bohemia, however, indicates that he saw this “province” at the periphery, maybe outside, of Germany. Ertinger is amazed at the prevalence of the German language in Bohemia and he states that the province might be “schier mitten in Teutschlandt [sic]”, nearly in the middle of Germany.[19] The entity he calls Germany is vague, abstract and not clearly delineated. It features in the description of Ertinger's work or travels only when he refers to a broad historical context, rather than to the specificities of his everyday life and work.

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18 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, xxiii
19 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907,80

Interestingly, Ertinger mentions his “landts mannschafft” (compatriot-ship) to the sculptor Stohrer whom he called on in his workshop in Leibniz. He expresses his great delight at learning that Stohrer is a native of Konstanz: “welcher negst aller hefflihkait grosse Freight erzaigt wegen d. landts mannschafft” (lit. who besides all politeness caused great joy because of the compatriotship).[20] Ertinger was born in “Immenstatt” (Immenstadt) in the Upper Allgäu, very near Lake Constance, which suggests that he defined compatriot-ship rather narrowly. The comment also indicates that Ertinger was attached to the region of his origin and that he felt a sense of kinship towards other inhabitants of the Lake Constance region, just like Jacques-Louis Ménétra sometimes sought out the company of fellow Parisians (see chap. 5, p. 206). A similar sentiment is not expressed anywhere else in the journal. As has been pointed out, Ertinger mentions the regional origins of the *Gesellen* who were present in the workshops where he took up employment. It seems that regional origin constituted a significant category in Ertinger's world view. Unfortunately, the nature of the source material prohibits further conjecture on whether Ertinger's encounters with people from other countries were shaped by regionalism or the notion of “Germany” which structured his macroscopic view of historical events.

However, two categories can be found in the journal which has previously been interpreted as resembling nations: the *Welsch* and the *Deutsch*. In their study on the terminology surrounding notions of foreignness in guild discourse, Josef Ehmer and Thomas Buchner note that the “variety of the regions of origin of the individual artisans retreated behind the ascription to a “teutschen” or a

20 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 32

"welschen" nation".[21] In *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* Michael Baxandall has traced these two broad and elusive categories in verses composed by a Renaissance wood-carver and explored their meanings.[22] Baxandall defines Welsch as flexibly "denoting the Latin or Romance, the Italian or French, sometimes the outlandish in general" as opposed to the Deutsch which must be seen "in an emphatic sense as German-as-opposed to Welsch".[23] According to Baxandall, these terms resonated beyond the arts in Germanic renaissance societies, suggesting two culturally distinct entities. Baxandall argues, based on his interpretation of written sources by a sculptor named Veit, that the two generic categories of Welsch and Teutsch were attached to nations in the minds of Renaissance artists.[24] In Ertinger's journal these categories are not frequently used, but they do surface in descriptions of art. The differences articulated in this juxtaposition seem deeply-rooted; the two terms also appear to mark the limits of the intercultural competence of journeymen sculptors. It is extraordinary that within the "Deutsch" significant differences in language and mentality could be accommodated, while "Welsch" was recognised as fundamentally distinct. This distinction cannot have sprung from different workshop structures because they were fundamentally the same across Europe. Nor was the perceived boundary between "Deutsch" and "Welsch" impermeable regarding knowledge transfer processes. Oldřich Blažíček, for example, has traced tendencies of Italian baroque in early eighteenth-century Eastern European

21 Bauer, Ehmer, Hahn, *Walz – Migration – Besatzung*, 2002, 28
22 Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1980
23 Baxandall, *Limewood Sculptors*, 1980, 135
24 Baxandall, *Limewood Sculptors*, 1980, 142

sculpture and from Ertinger's journal we know that he was familiar with Italian terms and practices (“facciata”).[25] [26] A possible reason why Ertinger and his contemporaries recognised and named a cultural distinction between the “Welsch” and the “Deutsch” could be that the flux of journeymen between the regions of Central and Eastern Europe, which Ertinger located within “Germany”, was more “standard” than that between “Germany” and France or Italy. Ertinger mentions only one encounter with a “Welsch” person, but does not characterise his companion as such, instead referring to his regional origin (“[mit einem] Savoyat[en]” - a man from Savoy), which shows that “Welsch” and “Deutsch” were not necessarily as fundamental a cultural distinction as Baxandall makes them out to be.[27] However, they appear to have been a significant category for the description of style and it is implied in the journal that Ertinger held an understanding of art along the lines of a binary distinction of “Welsch” and “Teutsch [Deutsch]”, apparent in his entry on Linz: “Es werden auh kunstreihe seiden bledel von Welschen und Teitschen künstlern gesehen (all sic; There can be seen artful silk canvases by Welsch and Teitsch artists).[28]

All in all, based on the journal it can be said that a young Continental sculptor at the end of the seventeenth century had at his disposal a terminology which betrays a horizon of a pan-European scope. The journal reveals that Ertinger structured his world not just into regions or countries, but also located these in a European context which is shown by his description of Prague as “one

25 Oldřich Blažíček, “Italienische Impulse und Reflexe in der böhmischen Barockskulptur” in Kalinowski, *Barockskulptur in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, 1981
26 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 50-51
27 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 65
28 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 50-51

of the biggest cities in Europe".[29] In other words, Ertinger's historical and geographical understanding included a component that stretched beyond the regional. It is tempting, therefore, to refer to Ertinger's outlook as "international". Yet, there is no sign of an identification of Ertinger with any of the entities that might have resembled the formal qualities of a modern nation. Ertinger structures his Europe into entities with distinct borders, governments, vernaculars and customs, always eager to point out their characteristics, but the concepts of Germany and Europe which transpire from his journal suggest that, in his understanding, all of these countries somehow belonged together. In other words, they formed one *Kulturkreis*,[30] despite their diversities. Regardless of the many differences noted by Ertinger, the journal never conveys at any point, except for the market incident discussed earlier, that he felt to be outside of his comfort zone. What we have seen so far suggests that religion and region could create a sense of belonging or kinship, yet, regional or religious differences did not necessarily have a divisive effect when noted. Attempts to attach a label to Ertinger's way of life that corresponds to modern conceptions of nation (inter-, supra- or trans*national*) are potentially misleading because they require the identification of a national component in Ertinger's world-view. Even though the units he describes seem alike to modern nations, they seem alike only from a view-point conditioned to recognise these structures as national.

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29 "eine der grosten stätten in Eropa", Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 83

30 The German term *Kulturkreis* literally translates as "circle of culture" and refers to an area with shared cultural forms regardless of national boundaries. It will be applied to the regions which Ertinger travelled and which are different in terms of language, mentality, traditions and so on,but which were not necessarily recognised as distinct by Ertinger. Technically, the shared artisanal culture of the *Wanderschaft* could be seen a *Kulturkreis* yet is not referred to as such in this text.

The assumption that Ertinger recognised the places he visited as different but not as foreign poses further questions regarding the knowledge he had about other countries prior to his *Wanderschaft* and the expectations he formed based on this knowledge. In her extensive study on journeymen's journals across the centuries, Sigrid Wadauer has pointed out that the father of a journeyman who was about to embark on his *Wanderschaft* was a source of information about other countries; most of them had gone on the *Wanderschaft* themselves in their youth and could supply information which was used by their offspring to plan their own itineraries.[31] Gathering information from their fathers and from other *Gesellen* in their father's or master's workshop meant that they would have had attained a certain level of familiarity with the places they were to visit. This knowledge would have been highly personal and trade-specific, and possessing it was likely to make the journey less daunting (the implications of “personalised” knowledge will be explored in detail in chapter 4). Ertinger also would have met fellow professionals from all kinds of cultural backgrounds in his home region and seen them work together in a workshop environment which was more or less homogeneous across Europe despite the cultural diversity of its members. Having been raised and trained in households where people from different countries not only worked but also lived together for prolonged periods of time, he would have regarded a fellow sculptor from a different country as a peer first of all and not primarily as a foreigner. Interestingly, Ertinger never describes the *Gesellen* who worked alongside himself in his workshops as foreign, even though the only other information he gives about them is their region of origin, which might have been a

31 Sigrid Wadauer, *Die Tour der Gesellen – Mobilität und Biographie im Handwerk vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main, Campus Verlag, 2005, 164

factor that could have helped his readers identify these sculptors who might, in due course, have become masters in their home towns and, thus, a potential resource for journeymen who read his diary.[32]

While Andreas Grießinger has argued that the mode of learning (imitative, oral tradition) in the workshop is prohibitive of certain modes of thinking, in particular the capacity to abstract and understand complex chains of events, it makes sense to propose that this mode of learning and working also opened up other paths of thought. Considering that journeymen from other countries were part of the workshop hierarchy, whithin which they were teachers, mentors or, at least, superiors to the local apprentices, it is reasonable to assume that the thinking of Ertinger and his contemporaries would not have been at all dominated by notions of cultural difference when they left for their *Wanderschaft*. Ertinger would have been brought up in a context where diversity of origin would have been recognised as a nominal category but where it would have been part of the familiar to such an extent that sculptors from other countries did not per se constitute a cultural other or a "foreigner". Thomas Buchner and Josef Ehmer have examined the use of the term "Fremder (foreigner)" in eighteenth-century guild rhetoric.[33] Buchner and Ehmer note that upon entering a position in a workshop a journeyman officially lost his status as foreigner which he then resumed once the contract ended.[34] Hence, foreignness was a relative category and Buchner and Ehmer point out that there were no insurmountable or fixed boundaries between

32 For example Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 63
33 Bauer, Ehmer, Hahn, *Walz – Migration – Besatzung,* 2002
34 Bauer, Ehmer, Hahn, *Walz – Migration – Besatzung*, 2002, 26

"foreigners" and "non-foreigners" in the context of trade-based migration.[35] This vagueness surrounding the notion of foreignness does not indicate an inability to grasp it, as Grießinger's line of argument implies. The thinking of mobile and settled artisans was, instead, shaped by ongoing negotiations of these differences which, paradoxically, rendered them familiar.

3.3 The concept of *Verheimatung*

At this point it is useful to consider the term "Verheimatung" as discussed by Sigrid Wadauer.[36] "Verheimatung" refers to a process through which a formerly alien territory becomes familiar and is increasingly seen as "home (Heimat)".[37] The idea of "Verheimatung" seems to correspond to the journeymen's expectation to settle in other countries if the opportunity to do so arose either through marriage into a master's household or by accumulating the financial means and status of a citizen that was required to establish a shop of their own. However, the concept of "Verheimatung" suggests that the territories in question were recognised as alien before journeymen started to develop the kind of attachment towards a place previously regarded as foreign which the term "home" implies. This idea suggests that a threshold existed which had to be overcome before a sense of home could be achieved. Given the cosmopolitan nature of the original workshop/household (the one an individual was brought up and/or trained in), it seems unlikely that such a threshold existed to the extent that we can understand "Verheimatung", as

35 Bauer, Ehmer, Hahn, *Walz – Migration – Besatzung*, 2002, 33
36 Steven Laurence Kaplan and Cynthia J. Koepp, *Work in France: Representations, Meaning, Organisation and Practice*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1986
37 Sigrid Wadauer, *Die Tour der Gesellen*, 2005, 252

defined in Kaplan and Koepp, as a central process in the experience of eighteenth-century journeymen. Through continuous personal contact with journeymen from other countries, the existence of cultural differences and their negotiation, in particular of language differences, would have become internalised to the point where encountering difference would not contest or affirm the identities of journeymen. Moreover, it is likely that older relatives had settled in other countries during their *Wanderschaft* or later on in their lives and, as we have seen in chapter 2, established masters continued to be regionally mobile.

Family connections in other countries might have reduced a sense of foreignness or prevented it from developing in the first place. While cultural differences certainly remained recognisable and useful for identifying individuals, it is unlikely that an opposition along the lines of Self and Other was perceived or actively propagated in a geographical and professional zone where encounters with peers from other countries were common. In the light of these considerations the original use of the term “Verheimatung” seems inappropriate, relying on a distinction between familiar and foreign that was not necessarily a given. The sentiment behind “Verheimatung” becomes more accurate when the term is used to define the development of a particular frame of mind, irrespective of location, in which familiarity and cultural differences were not mutually exclusive, rather than referring to a process of homeification/familiarisation set in motion by a prolonged confrontation with the “foreign”. That way the term's original focus on territory, which is being “verheimatet”/home-ified shifts onto the subject whose outlook had been “verheimatet”/home-ified before the *Wanderschaft* even began. Introducing

the concept of “Verheimatung” into the apparently so plain cognitive tool-box[38] of journeymen bears on the following discussion of the strategies they employed to cope with the unfamiliar. It will now be asked how journeymen dealt with obstacles to the work process posed by cultural differences.

3.4 “Learn thou dull beast” – workshop communication and language barriers

The principal obstacle arising from the diverse cultural backgrounds of the workshop population appears to have been language barriers. In his journal, Ertinger frequently points out differences in language. For example, he states that a mixture of German and Bohemian was spoken in Moravia and both Polish and German in Silesia.[39] Several of Ertinger's fellow *Gesellen* originated from these regions and there is no indication in the journal that Ertinger, who records conversations with characters remarkable to him, spoke other languages apart from German.[40] According to Klaus Stopp's extensive analysis of the *Handwerkskundschaften* (guild-issued documents which increasingly assumed the function of travel and work permits), German was used as a lingua franca in the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires even in regions where only a minority of the resident population was germanophone.[41] In bilingual regions *Kundschaften* were sometimes issued in both languages, but the extensive body of items

38 “kognitives Inventarium”: Grießinger, *Das symbolische Kapital,* 1981, 64
39 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 63, 66
40 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 43, conversation with prisoners from Belgrade who spoke “a little German” [zway baßa von offen und bellgradt, haben beide etwas Teutsch mit uns gerett” all sic]
41 Klaus Stopp, *Die Handwerkskundschaften mit Ortsansichten – Beschreibender Katalog der Arbeitsattestate wandernder Handwerksgesellen 1731-1830*, Vol.1, Stuttgart, Anton Hierseman Verlag, 1982, 209

catalogued by Stopp suggests that German and Hungarian were the dominant languages in the exchange between local guilds and itinerant craftsmen.[42] While the communication with guild authorities required journeymen to have a very basic grasp of German, language barriers were likely to surface more in the daily life of the workshop.

There is no textual material available at present which records instances when language differences caused problems in a workshop. Yet, it would be misleading to brush aside the issue of spoken communication in sculptors' workshops as trivial because it is practically undocumented. This absence of concrete textual evidence certainly prevents precise estimates of the severity of problems caused by language barriers, but it should be noted, nonetheless, that language differences among the workshop population had the potential to disrupt the work process and to influence professional and personal relationships between workshop members. The probable existence of language barriers among artists raises questions regarding the activities and status of assistants whose ability to speak the native language was limited, the relevance of spoken communication for workshop production and the strategies employed to overcome language barriers. For example, language differences presented no great difficulties for journeymen sculptors who were looking for work on the Continent because systems were firmly in place to gather them in designated locales and to place them into a workshop, as discussed in chapter 2. These procedures necessitated little agency of the itinerant sculptor, so he could have gotten by with a limited knowledge of the foreign language. It can be gathered from Stopp's analysis that the *Kundschaften*

42 Stopp, *Handwerkskundschaften*, 1982, 210

substituted formal contracts in which the terms of employment were detailed. This implies that journeymen did not have to face contracts in languages they could not read but, at the same time, that they had little control over the conditions of their work at least as far their individual position was concerned.

Once placed in a workshop, language barriers would have become more noticeable. A basic stock of work-related terms, such as names of tools, could have been acquired fairly swiftly in the respective languages by both locals and migrants. Given the short duration of most of the stays in workshops, there would not have been enough time to gain a sufficient level of fluency to communicate more complex ideas verbally, unless another member of the workshop was bilingual and able to translate. It seems implausible that a journeyman would have been marginalised in the workshop because of a lack of language skills; his contribution in basic terms of labour would have been too valuable to allow this to happen. In turn it is very much plausible that a population of tradesmen, whose version of the familiar incorporated cultural differences, was ready to accept a certain level of failure to communicate verbally.

It is noteworthy that Ertinger uses Italian terms to describe architectural elements. For example, he refers to the facade of a Viennese church as “facciata” and also uses terms such as “a fresgo [sic]”, implying that he might not have known the German equivalent of these terms, if there was one.[43] This suggests that the vocabulary he used when communicating with other journeymen who did not speak German was a composite of work-related terms sourced from a range of languages, possibly interjected with expressions specific to journeymen which,

43 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 50-51

according to Sigrid Wadauer, were gathered in printed glossaries.[44] Wadauer describes this as a “secret language of a subculture of migrants” which incorporated even code words used by criminals. It can be envisioned that there was in existence a kind of Continental journeyman cant which insinuated itself into Ertinger's journal-writing through the use of these Italian terms even though he stuck to his version of “regular” German throughout. Although usage of non-German expressions is relatively rare in the journal, it nevertheless highlights that work-related vocabulary was not only shaped by endemic knowledge exchange but that this composite vocabulary aided communication across linguistic boundaries by combining words from different languages into a presumably widely understood jargon.

Additionally, the relevance of non-verbal communication for workshop production should not be underestimated. For sculptors, but also many other craftsmen, learning had a large visual and tactile component. They acquired competence in selecting, handling and shaping materials, also in conceiving and executing designs, through copying drawings, making clay models after their master's designs or antique casts, and executing commissions for their masters. The learning experience of the majority of sculptors would have been at least as visual and tactile as it would have been based on verbal communication. Observing and being shown was likely to have taken priority over being told which was also a strategy to bypass language barriers. That the exchange of knowledge relevant to sculptural production would have largely taken place through visual channels is a possibility which is inherently denied by art histories who insist on

44 Sigrid Wadauer, *Die Tour der Gesellen – Mobilität und Biographie im Handwerk vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt and New York, Campus, 2005, 35

creating a canon for sculpture based on the concept of the artist as solitary intellectuals whose workshop population is merely a non-thinking, uncreative appendix without potential to innovate. A speech given by John Flaxman in 1805 in the Royal Academy supports the idea of visual learning. Flaxman talks about the youth of Thomas Banks who had been apprenticed to “Mr Barlow, an ornament carver”, yet, strayed to the workshop of Peter Scheemaker after-hours to study and copy Scheemaker's collection of casts.[45] While this text highlights the development of Flaxman's visual faculty through copying it also singles Banks and Scheemakers out as exceptional and betrays an arrogance towards supposedly humbler native craftsmen (in this case the “ornament maker” Barlow).

So far, we have seen that the visual was not only a principal mode of learning in sculptors' workshops but also presented a strategy to acquire and develop stylistic and technical novelties whose transmission did not lend itself to verbal communication anyway. It is potentially misleading to think of language barriers as a major impediment to the production of sculpture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yet, such an assumption is seductive because it conforms to the nationalistic tendency engrained in many of the traditional and canonical art histories. The perceived gravity of language barriers also springs from a logocentric view which has led authors dealing with the cognitive faculties of craftsmen of the eighteenth century, like Alain Corbin and Andreas Grießinger, to make belittling claims about journeymen's capacity to understand complex causalities which supposedly had an impact on their understanding of their work and history. Given that the activity of journeyman sculptors was intrinsically visual,

45 John Flaxman, *Lectures on Sculpture*, London, George Bell and Sons, 1892, 278

however, it is valid to explore the possibility that the visual quality of their work granted them access to a body of knowledge supposedly reserved for other, more erudite classes. Before elaborating on this assertion, it is necessary to return to the issue of language and compare the linguistic capacities with those of Johann Eckstein which, due to his different itinerary to Ertinger, developed in other ways.

Johann Eckstein was not drawn to the centres of Baroque sculpture in Bohemia and the surrounding areas as far as we know (unlike his brother George Paul who spent five years in Danzig, by his own account).[46] Rather, Johann decided to move westwards to England via the Netherlands. A letter in practically flawless English in Johann Eckstein's handwriting is preserved, which gives some insight into the foreign language skills he had attained by the age of 66. This letter is addressed to Thomas Jefferson and dated 27 February 1801, more than forty years after Johann's first arrival in England.[47] There is the possibility that the letter, which asks for Jefferson's patronage, was dictated to Eckstein by a native speaker. However, Johann's prolonged stays in England and America, and his active involvement in artistic communities in both countries, support the idea that he managed to acquire proficiency in the English language. It is unlikely that Johann had an opportunity to develop his language skills significantly before he first arrived in England because before the middle of the eighteenth century English classes were highly uncommon in Germany and literature in English was

46 Eckstein, *A few Particulars*, 1908, 21

47 Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Series 1, General Correspondence, 1651-1827, Johann Eckstein to Thomas Jefferson, 27th February 1801, memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/P?mtj:1:./temp/~ammem_PI8o::

hard to come by.[48] His arrival in England might have been his first contact with the language and, like Ertinger, he would have had to negotiate linguistic differences. To deal with the language barrier initially, Johann might have acquired a traveller's *vade-mecum*, a guide book which contained helpful information on the practicalities of the journey and sometimes a dictionary section,[49] or a grammar book, such as William Johnston's *Grammar of the English Language whereby a stranger may soon and easily acquaint himself with its principles and learn to speak English properly*.[50] Johann König's bilingual *A Royal Compleat Grammar, English and High German* of 1715 even included a list of “familiar dialogues”, organised into categories such as “Of Shewing Civility”, “Of Affirming, Granting, Believing and Denying”, “Of Lying” or “Of wishing well to one another”.[51] Some of the phrases can be imagined to have been applied in a workshop environment such as “To what purpose is that?”, “Thou hast told me a hundred times already”, or even such strong imperatives as “Learn thou dull beast”, “Don't meddle with that” or “For God's sake don't do it”.[52]

In contrast to the Continent, there was no system to place journeymen with local masters in England, meaning that Johann Eckstein needed to establish contact with the resident artist community himself. This would have required him to either rely on personal networks or to quickly acquire a basic vocabulary relevant

48 Joseph Canning, Hermann Wellereuther (eds.), *Britain and Germany Compared: Nationality, Society and Nobility in the Eighteenth Century*, Göttingen, Wallstein Verlag, 2001, 19-20

49 James Wilson, *The soldier's friend and traveller's vade-mecum, or a new pocket vocabulary in six languages*, London, 1799; this vade-mecum was aimed at soldiers and contains mostly military vocabulary; these kind of companions were available for different professions, yet I have not managed to find a multi-lingual builder's vade-mecum – these mainly contained London rates for builders' and carvers' work for the respective year (e.g. William Salmon)

50 William Johnston, *A short grammar of the English language, whereby a stranger may soon and easily acquaint himself with its principles and learn to speak English properly*, London 1772

51 Johann König, *A Royal Compleat Grammar of English and High German*, London, 1715

52 König, *A Royal Compleat Grammar*, 1715, 180-188

to the practicalities of his work, in order to secure employment. There is the possibility that he could have communicated past achievements by showing samples or drawings of his work or demonstrating his skills as sculptor on the spot. His qualities as a draughtsman, which he developed at the Nuremberg academy, would have been evident in sample drawings and would certainly have improved his chances of finding a suitable place in a workshop. Also, his former association with workshops in The Hague might have helped him to secure employment, since sculptural production in London in the first half of the eighteenth-century was dominated by Dutch artists who had established esteemed workshops in London during the 1720s and 1730s. A letter of recommendation from a Dutch master, or the mention of experience with these masters, might have resonated among London sculptors, many of whom originated from the Netherlands themselves. Although this cannot be corroborated, there is the possibility that Eckstein had learnt some Dutch during his time in The Hague which would have enabled him to communicate with Dutch masters or journeymen who had settled in London. But, it must not be presumed that English was always the predominant language in a London workshop. The heterogeneity of workshop populations in terms of nationality, as pointed out in the previous chapter, suggests that several languages may have been spoken in a workshop of larger proportions. Bi- or multilingual workshops might have facilitated spoken communication, rather than prohibiting it, since they were likely to have contained sculptors who were able to translate, thus, making the acquisition of the new language a part of the work process.

Eckstein spent almost a decade of his life in England, which makes it likely

that he achieved considerable proficiency in the English language. Ertinger, in comparison, had never stayed long enough in one place to gain fluency in a second language; neither had he needed to. The juxtaposition of these two sculptors in this respect raises some questions about the impact of language skills on how their careers unfolded over time; some of these questions may remain unanswered, but are nevertheless worth considering. Ertinger would have had to resort to accessing and transmitting professional knowledge visually when in workshops where little German was spoken, Eckstein increasingly had the verbal mode of accessing and transmitting knowledge at his disposal during his stays in England and America. Following the logic of authors like Grießinger and Corbin whose concepts of cognition and perception are closely linked with literate culture, the fact that Eckstein was bi-lingual at least (mis)leads to the conclusion that he was more erudite than a sculptor of Ertinger's calibre. This approach privileges knowledge attained through language over that gained through visual modes of learning and exchange. Since it is the hypothesis of this chapter that this idea is based on a logocentric fallacy, alternatives to the notion that Ertinger's understanding of art and culture was inferior to Ecksteins, therefore, rendering him the “lesser” artist, will be explored. Yet, it should be pointed out that Eckstein's language skills might have been a definitive factor for his social mobility, influencing the course of his career by allowing him to participate in a different sphere of cosmopolitan sociability which extended to new partonage systems. It remains to be seen whether visual and verbal modes of transmitting knowledge are class-specific and whether they create different kinds of knowledge.

Considering the research of Mark Granovetter on community ties, language

skills would have shaped the peer networks developed by itinerant sculptors. Granovetter argues that weak ties between individuals result in a less dense network which, however, has particular effects on the flow of information through this community as well as the coherence of the community overall.[53] While strong inter-personal ties between most members of a group of individuals would result in a community that is close-knit but also closed off, weak inter-personal ties create a more loose-knit community which, however, would be more wide-spread and open.[54] Granovetter goes on to state that the diffusion of information is more effective when taking place through weak ties, while "the fewer indirect contacts one has, the more encapsulated he will be in terms of knowledge [...] beyond his own friendship circle".[55] Moreover, weak ties make a community cohere because they have the potential of binding networks within this community together. Granovetter uses the example of an individual A who gets a job through a "weak" contact B, thus bridging his own network and that of B, creating more weak links between the individuals of network A and B and making the community cohere.[56] These weak ties often lie dormant but are reactivated at chance meetings or through mutual friends.[57] Granovetter's model is applicable to the situation of itinerant sculptors and also very useful in terms of knowledge transfer theories. Journeyman sculptors would have made many acquaintances but forged few intimate friendships while they were migrating. While language barriers would not have impeded a flow of knowledge in some ways, they were likely to have had an

53 Mark S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties" in *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 78, No 6, 1973, 1360-1380
54 Granovetter, *American Journal of Sociology*, 1973, 1375
55 Granovetter, *American Journal of Sociology*, 1973, 1371
56 Granovetter, *American Journal of Sociology*, 1973, 1372
57 Granovetter, *American Journal of Sociology*, 1973, 1372

impact on the formation of interpersonal relationships, potentially preventing journeymen from making close friends with peers who spoke a different language. However, they would have established weak ties with the journeymen they encountered in other workshops or in taverns which, according to Granovetter, would have facilitated a flow of trade-related knowledge across countries and given coherence to the diverse and loose-knit community of (itinerant) sculptors. In Johann Eckstein's case no documentation is preserved which attests to specific friendships with other artists resident in London during the late 1750s and 1760s, apart from maybe the Carters with whose workshop he was associated. Yet, his return to England in 1769 and the “private business”[58] he wished to attend to there would have provided an opportunity to seek out old acquaintances and patrons, thus, refreshing some of the dormant weak ties and accessing sources of new information. It should be noted at this point that limited verbal communication was only one factor which, according to the logic of Granovetter, could have a stabilising function for a community of European artisans. The following chapters will argue that story telling was a vital mode of learning which also caused specific epistemic and semiotic (rather than social as in Granovetter's work) ties to be forged which also functioned as a glue which made this community, the Republic of Tools, cohere. Yet, this does not mean that these two mechanisms (Granovetter's and the one outlined in chapters 4 and 5) by which communities cohered had to be mutually exclusive.

58 Letters by Johann Eckstein to the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, dated 12 April 1775, Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, 2.26-1, Großherzogliches Kabinett I, 10162

3.5 Intercultural competence as a form of tacit knowledge

The kind of community structure which grew out of the mobility of the sculptors' profession facilitated exchange processes and seems to have been an ideal ground for the development of intercultural competence. This term was used in the introduction to the book *Migration and Transfer from Germany to Britain* and springs from the two-tier definition of knowledge articulated by Michael Polanyi.[59] Polanyi distinguishes between two types of knowledge: explicit and tacit. While explicit knowledge can be codified in words, maps, manuals and the like, tacit knowledge is "personal, context-specific and difficult to articulate" and includes, for example, personal experience.[60] How much tacit knowledge in two or more cultural contexts one possesses constitutes one's level of intercultural competence, according to Manz, Beerbühl and Davis.[61] The workshop situation with its modes of training seems to be particularly suited to the transmission of tacit knowledge, the acquisition of which appears to require different strategies, namely that of observation and experience, to those needed to build explicit knowledge from "codified" material. While explicit knowledge seems to rest on abstraction and articulation (both textual and visual), tacit knowledge is engrained in the activity or situation to which it is connected and from which it is hard to extract or abstract. As a result, an individual would have to become enveloped within, or exposed to that activity or situation in order to gain access to the (implicit) tacit knowledge. This suggests a temporal view of cognitive processes

59 Stefan Manz, Margit Schulte Beerbühl, John R. Davis, *Migration and Transfer from Germany to Britain 1660-1914*, Munich, Saur Verlag, 2007, 13
60 Manz, Beerbühl, Davis, *Migration and Transfer*, 2007, 13
61 Manz, Beerbühl, Davis, *Migration and Transfer*, 2007, 13

according to which understanding unfolds over stretches of time. Young sculptors were exposed over many years to diversity and the secrets of their craft which would have allowed them to build up a body of tacit knowledge.

Polanyi distinguishes the two types of knowledge because one (tacit) lends itself to a mode of acquisition and transmission that is fundamentally different from the other (explicit). While explicit knowledge can be gained through the study of textual material, including images and maps, and seems to constitute technical knowledge, tacit knowledge can be equated with the development of certain sensibilities.[62] In the context of this chapter tacit knowledge could refer to a type of inter-personal knowledge which is absorbed to the point that it can be seen as intuitive. The process of *Verheimatung*, as described above, can be seen as a type of tacit knowledge when it is understood as the readiness to engage with cultural differences and to be at ease with a style of living and working which incorporates these differences, rather than factual knowledge of other countries or the knowledge of a language. This means that the modes of training that characterised the workshop milieu supplied its members with tacit knowledge, specifically, the ability to effortlessly engage and learn from each other irrespective of cultural differences.

As we have seen previously, Ertinger's journal suggests that he had less contact with journeymen who had “Welsch” origins in comparison with German ones. It could be readily assumed that this relative absence of “Welsch” artisans might have impeded a process of *Verheimatung* to some extent, thus, limiting the development of intercultural competence with regards to the cultural specificities of

62 Michael Polanyi, Marjorie Grene (ed.), *Knowing and Being – Essays by Michael Polanyi*, London, Routledge, 1969, 126-127

the Welsch. However, it should be considered that the usefulness of intercultural competence resulting from the *Verheimatung* towards certain cultures (in this case, Bohemians, Silesians, Scandinavians and others) would not have been restricted to encounters with representatives of just these cultures. Recalling the definition of intercultural competence as a certain sensibility, namely a readiness to engage with cultural others and to negotiate differences, it surfaces that intercultural competence has a transferable quality. Since tacit knowledge constitutes intercultural competence, it can be said that there are two types of tacit knowledge, one culturally specific or fixed and the other a more transferable skill. The Eckstein brothers who had been raised and trained in an almost identical milieu to Ertinger might have possessed a culturally specific knowledge of other Central and Eastern European cultures, but probably not of England. Yet, the inherent transferable qualities would have made a transition into the new culture rather seamless, despite the lack of specific knowledge about England. To clarify, what was transferable about intercultural competence might not have been concrete strategies for dealing with cultural differences but more vague qualities, such as the flexibility to adapt to novelty and to overcome difficulties that might have arisen from the new circumstances.

It can be assumed that Ertinger and Eckstein had achieved different kinds of intercultural competence rather than different levels of the same competence. When Johann Eckstein entered a period of relative stability as he lived in England in the late 1750s and early 1760s, his circuit of mobility was drastically reduced. The workshops he would have moved in and out of would have been in comparatively close proximity to each other and, in order to advance his career in

London, it was necessary that he developed his intercultural competence in a direction that suited the situation he was in. While superficial relationships with his peers and masters would have been acceptable for Ertinger who would have moved on after a few weeks or months, Eckstein's agenda was, at least for six years, to remain, learn and prosper in one particular city. The specific nature of the English market for sculpture meant for him that he had to enter circles of sociability which promised contact with established artists and, possibly, patrons. Mainly, he participated in the Society of Artists' annual exhibition which was an important event to network and establish a profile for himself. Being able to speak English would have been an advantage in this milieu. Ertinger's assumed failure to learn languages is not due to a lack of ambition or intelligence, the particular conditions and requirements of his Wanderschaft merely meant that he was “interculturally incompetent” in a different way from Johann Eckstein. Eckstein's stay in London could be understood as an attempt to settle there and establish a shop for himself whereas Ertinger did not stay in a place for more than a year, either because he failed to marry into or set up a workshop or because he knew that the father's shop was waiting for him back in Immenstadt. Therefore, Ertinger had to adapt to cultural novelty more frequently, but also less intensively, due to the shorter and more regulated nature of his stays. It seems that the competences which grew out of Eckstein's Continental migration and the time he spent in England stayed with him throughout his life. What is more, his experiences in London were also likely to have shaped Eckstein's idea of liberty (as will be explained in chapters 4 and 5). His Continental migration (c1750-1758) would have equipped him with the same competences as Ertinger and these probably featured in his decision-making

processes to migrate several times in his old age. In other words, possession of a tacit ability to negotiate cultural difference could have lowered the inhibition threshold of these artists to move at any stage of their lives.

As we have seen, the training and experience of journeyman sculptors at the close of the seventeenth and in the early eighteenth century supplied these artists with knowledge and skills they needed to cope with the complexity of a cosmopolitan workshop environment. Andreas Grießinger's argument that journeymen only had a “limited cognitive tool-box” at their disposal does not take into account that their upbringing and training in workshops enabled them to build up the kind of tacit knowledge which was needed to enable not only professional success but also interpersonal relationships between artisans from a variety of backgrounds. With the arrival of a new journeyman in a workshop, the tenuous cultural equilibrium of the site was broken up and had to become realigned. Plainly speaking, this means that artisans had to “get used” to each other and sound out each others' skills and personalities, in order to establish functioning professional and personal relationships. Rather than thinking of this stage as a process of assimilation or a preliminary transfer phase, it makes more sense to refer to it as a “tuning” stage during which new workshop and community members could familiarise themselves with, or become attuned to, distinct registers of thought and meaning. At this stage, journeymen and locals had to find ways to arrive at a level where communication, collaboration and conflict resolution became possible between people who spoke different languages or dialects, believed in different versions of Christianity, held on to and practised local traditions, and had diverse work and life experiences. Arrival at this level was facilitated by their ability to

navigate culturally diverse settings and create a sphere where registers of meaning, which could be distinct at best and incompatible at worst could be incorporated in the daily life of the workshop. Thinking of Franz Ertinger's strong Catholic bias, for example, one can form an idea of the possibly challenging nature of getting accustomed to each other, if the other was, say, a Protestant. This is far from implying that this process of becoming attuned to each other was a peaceful or egalitarian one, or always successful; it must be seen as firmly rooted in the hierarchical and often violent ways of the workshop. Reaching this stage was the result of an ongoing learning curve (building of intercultural competence) but also the foundation for further learning processes of which knowledge transfer in the traditional sense can be seen as a facet but not its sole possible structure or outcome, as will be explained in the last chapter of this thesis.

3.6 “Eating the bread out of the mouths of the natives” - The dynamic between intercultural competence and Fremdcharakteristik/Xenophobia

While this transferable tacit knowledge appears to have reduced the potentially disruptive impact of cultural differences on the operations of the workshop in Ertinger's Germany, it did not remove the perception of a cultural demarcation on a greater scale. A lack of specific tacit knowledge alone cannot have been responsible for the continued existence of binary distinctions like the *Welsch* and *Deutsch* – Ertinger cannot have possessed much prior knowledge of most regions he visited. What could have imposed limitations on the implementation of intercultural competence is what Michel Espagne and Michael

Werner have referred to as *Fremdcharakteristik*.[63] This term describes the identification of "immigrants" as foreigners in their new environment. This outward definition as foreign potentially elicits two responses in the immigrants, rejection or absorption, each of which can bear on and alter their self-definition.[64] According to Espagne and Werner, *Fremdcharakteristik* made regional and class identities retreat behind an emerging national identity, causing German immigrants to France in the eighteenth century to view themselves as German for the first time.[65] Ehmer and Buchner have highlighted the fluidity of the appellation "foreigner" in eighteenth-century Continental guild discourse (see chapter 2).[66]

The idea of *Fremdcharakteristik* loses its definitive character when considering the imprecision surrounding the term "foreigner" as applied to migrating artisans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This vagueness reveals that "foreign" and its opposite were constantly contested in these circles as a result of high levels of intercultural competence. The relevance of the term "foreign" appears to have been chiefly bureaucratic and, as Ehmer and Buchner have pointed out, being foreign was not a synonym for being unknown or unfamiliar.[67] It is true that the emphasis on the formal aspects on foreignness might spring from the bureaucratic nature of the material selected by Ehmer and Buchner for their analysis, but this emphasis might also hint at attitudes towards journeymen beyond the guild administration. It cannot be readily assumed that Ertinger and his fellow journeymen were perceived as foreign on every level or in

63 Espagne, Werner, *Transferts*, 1988, 14
64 Espagne, Werner, *Transferts*, 1988, 14
65 Espagne, Werner, *Transferts*, 1988, 13-14
66 Bauer, Ehmer, Hahn, *Walz – Migration – Besatzung*, 2002, 33
67 Bauer, Ehmer, Hahn, *Walz – Migration – Besatzung*, 2002, 25

an antagonistic way by locals, least of all in the workshop sphere. And, it should be remembered that Ertinger refers to himself as foreign only once in the journal, as a result of a confrontation with religious difference.[68] Becoming part of a workshop seems to have averted a characterisation of the arriving journeymen as foreign, since they not only lost their status of foreigner legally but also were accepted as part of a workshop "family", as a labourer and an individual.[69] Simultaneously, as Wadauer points out, some journeymen's journals betray an awareness that the settled population perceived them as suspicious, as possible carriers of disease or bringers of disorder, subjecting them to constant controls when in transit.[70] As a consequence of these conflicting identifications, journeymen artisans did not have one consistent characterisation as "foreigners" to reject or absorb, which explains the focus on regions as most immediately meaningful units in Ertinger's world-view. The perception of a cultural divide between the "Welsch" and "Deutsch", however, suggests an internalised *Fremdcharakteristik* which might have originated in the distant past and continued to have had some significance for ordering the culturally diverse world of eighteenth-century artisan labour.

While Ertinger's kind of identification by others as a foreigner was inconsistent and complex on the Continent, Johann Eckstein's *Fremdcharakteristik* in eighteenth-century England seems to have been more straightforward. In an issue of *The Beauties of all the Magazines Selected* (1762-1764) where his contribution to the Society of Artists' exhibition Eckstein is referred to as a German: "The same patriotic society have also given a premium of 50 guineas to the Rape

68 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 84
69 Bauer, Ehmer, Hahn, *Walz – Migration – Besatzung*, 2002, 26
70 Bauer, Ehmer, Hahn, *Walz – Migration – Besatzung*, 2002, 45

of Cassandra, in basso relievo, by Mr Exkin [sic], a German artist, and another of 25 to Mr Holme, a German also, for a basso relievo of Hector and Andromache".[71] Although it is easy to detect a criticism in this remark regarding the distribution of significant sums of prize money to foreign artists, the quoted excerpt is not framed by any comments nor made in a tone that suggests that the awards to Eckstein and Holm(e?) were controversial in any way. In William Bailey's list of the Society's premiums, only Eckstein's name is mentioned and the precise sum he received (52 guineas, 10 shillings); "Lloyd Anderson Holm" received 26 guineas, 5 shillings.[72] From Johann Eckstein's obituary we learn that "the reception he met with in that country [England], and the encouragement held out to him by artists and friends were […] highly flattering". He is also said to have departed England with "more painful emotions than ever" in 1770.[73] The family chronicle also highlights the regret Eckstein felt at leaving London in 1765.[74]

While these fragments cannot provide in-depth insights into how Eckstein felt about his stays in England, they do suggest that Johann Eckstein found friendship and professional encouragement among, and possibly beyond, the artistic community in London. These artists would not have continued to see Johann as a foreigner. After a while he would have become a colleague and eventually a friend, gradually losing his status as foreigner – not legally, as in Ertinger's case, but in the minds of his new friends. There appears to be no space

71 George Alexander Stevens (ed.), *The Beauties of all the Magazines Selected...Including several comic pieces*, Vol. 3, London, 1762-1764, 238
72 William Bailey, *One hundred and six copper plates of mechanical machines, and implements of husbandry, approved and adopted by the Society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, London*, 1782, 223
73 *The New Jerusalem Church Repository,* Johann Eckstein's Obituary, 325
74 Eckstein, *A Few Particulars*, 1908, 47

for this shift in the concept of *Fremdcharakteristik* which only makes sense if restricted to an initial phase when an immigrant's "foreignness" would have been still acute, as it were. Depending on the intercultural competence of either "side", as well as the specifics of the individual case (such as age, levels of erudition, economic situation, ability to communicate and so on), this presumed threshold of the unfamiliar might have been overcome without resulting in attitudes which brought about a deep-rooted change in the immigrant's identity. The idea of *Fremdcharakteristik* implies an effect resembling a violent trauma which stays with an immigrant and consequently taints relationships formed with the group who imposes the *Fremdcharakteristik.* This idea seems to overestimate the relevance of the status of "foreigner" among professional groups where mobility was a core characteristic and mostly anticipated by both mobile and settled parts of the population, irrespective of country. This is not to suggest that *Fremdcharakteristik* did not exist but it should be taken into account that someone like Eckstein in mid-eighteenth-century England might not have been identified as foreign by everyone, or that an identification as foreigner could have been unproblematic. *Fremdcharakteristik* could have been superficial and nominal, without disrupting "business as usual" or inhibiting the formation of friendly and mutually supportive relations between natives and non-natives.

On the other hand, *Fremdcharakteristik* could take on a problematic character, breeding hostility and conflict under certain circumstances and creating a sense of opposition. Daniel Statt has examined hostile tendencies towards foreigners in the debate surrounding immigration and naturalisation between 1660 and 1760. Statt's analysis of polemic literature and protocols of court proceedings

dealing with the harassment of immigrants led him to observe that economic anxiety was at the root of many xenophobic tendencies.[75] This sentiment is discussed in Josiah Tucker's *Reflections on the Expediency of a Law for the Naturalisation of Foreign Protestants* (1752). Tucker who argues in favour of a naturalisation act explains how the import of technology from other countries had benefited the nation in the past "even tho' their establishment was opposed from the same ill-grounded apprehensions, which now subsist, that such foreigners came to eat the bread out of the mouths of the natives."[76] Curiously, the accusation of "cutting the dear bread off in front of the mouths of the Germans (das liebe Brot vor dem Maul abschneiden)" was brought up against "Welsch" masons by the Viennese masons' guild in 1624.[77] The longevity of this sentiment and its identical phrasing in different languages hints at an underlying existential fear which could be dealt with by projecting it onto foreigners, resulting in a naïve, but potentially very potent, xenophobia. In times of economic hardship for a certain group of artisans this sentiment flared up again as is evident in attacks on immigrants who had lived and worked, undisturbed, in one place for years and even decades.[78] This makes it obvious that these sporadic eruptions of violence towards immigrants in the eighteenth century were fuelled not so much by fear or hatred of cultural otherness itself but, were driven by anxieties connected to the local artisans' livelihood which were articulated in xenophobic terms. These sentiments obey a certain sub-conscious logic which is based on the idea that the

75 Daniel Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen – The Controversy over Immigration and Population 1660-1760*, Newark, University of Delaware Press, 1995, 175
76 Josiah Tucker, *Reflections on the Expediency of a Law for the Naturalisation of Foreign Protestants*, London, 1752, 3
77 Bauer, Ehmer, Hahn, *Walz – Migration – Besatzung*, 2002, 28
78 Daniel Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen*, 1995, 179

economic difficulties for which the (former) outsider is supposedly to blame can be removed if the foreigner was to leave – the economic equilibrium would be restored.

This explanation of xenophobia among eighteenth-century artisans in Europe, however, supports Andreas Grießinger's argument of simplification.[79] Complex economic currents were (and still are) conflated into crude xenophobic sentiments, so the simplifying agent in this case was not religion, as in the cases argued by Grießinger, but the “foreignness” of other artisans. While on the one hand artisans like Ertinger were very much able to engage with cultural complexity through processes of *Verheimatung* and the application of intercultural competence as has been demonstrated in this chapter, they were also not beyond narrowing their perception of cultural difference to a polemic “them” versus “us”, in other words, creating (and accepting) a problematic *Fremdcharakteristik*. Recurring economic tensions could have been a factor in antagonising groups in a mobile society, steadily reinforcing a demarcation between “Welsch” and “Deutsch”, English and “French”. While these considerations point towards the relevance of economic factors for the definition of cultural difference, they do not fully explain the paradox surrounding the distinction between “Welsch” and “Deutsch”. There is no doubt that the masons in seventeenth-century Vienna had ample competition from itinerant and immigrant masons who were not “Welsch”, but these artisans were not subject to this xenophobia. This suggests that under certain economic conditions intercultural competence was, wilfully or subconsciously, not extended to the contact with certain groups. It can be said that

79 Grießinger, *Das symbolische Kapital,* 1981, 62-64

economic anxieties seem to have activated a pernicious *Fremdcharakteristik* where there was none before or where it did not impede friendly or neutral relations.

3.7 Conclusion

Building on the previous overview of the practices and conditions of journeymen life which, as has been shown, involved several locations characterised by a cosmopolitan and dynamic composition, chapter 3 has identified how those who participated in these spheres perceived and dealt with each other's cultural particularities. Crucially for the second part of the thesis, this chapter has explained the concepts of tacit knowledge of which intercultural competence was a significant element. At the end of this chapter, these concepts are still broadly applicable and largely theoretical, whereas the remaining parts of the thesis will build on this theoretical groundwork and elaborate how “interculturally competent” image-makers like Ertinger and Eckstein were able to process and order knowledge which came from sources which can be described as culturally distinct. While the issue of *Fremdcharakteristik* had to be addressed in a discussion of concepts of cultural difference and “foreignness” it will be marginalised in the subsequent inquiry because I believe it to be of little relevance for the following research questions regarding the nature of knowledge and its exchange upon which the following chapters will focus. Yet, the remaining chapters will continuously refer back to both tacit knowledge and intercultural competence which were integral components of the other cognitive strategies explored in this

thesis. Most importantly, the notion that sculptors “tuned into” fragments of registers of thought and meaning which were unfamiliar when they became incorporated in a new environment or, alternatively, welcomed a new person into their workshop/tavern/community will be taken up and elaborated on in the analysis of exchange processes.

In the next chapter, the thesis will make an epistemological turn and explore how journeymen, and artisans in general, acquired and organised knowledge. This exploration will be oriented towards modes of reading but also wider modes of learning which spring from visual observation and the oral culture of the tavern and the workshop. During the course of this inquiry, it will be demonstrated that the sharing of knowledge through the structures of oral and visual culture had the potential to create a sense of community. Since this community relied on forms of learning which are specifically artisan, it will be referred to as the “Republic of Tools” in relation but not juxtaposition to the notion of a Republic of Letters which underlies much research on exchanges between eighteenth-century scholars. Several facets of the concept of intercultural competence will become evident in relation to considerations of how Ertinger was able to comprehend local, formerly unfamiliar histories which stretched centuries and professions and relate them to a grand narrative of artisan history. Thus, the following two chapters, although they shift focus from discussions of cultural difference to the epistemological implications of artisan mobility in the eighteenth century, will deepen the understanding of practices which constituted and were brought forth by intercultural competence.

4. KNOWLEDGE ORGANISATION – A HISTORY OF KNOWING BECOMES A HISTORY OF BELONGING

4.1 Introduction

As we have been rummaging through the “cognitive toolbox” of Franz Ertinger and, by inference, the young Ecksteins, we have found that the oral and, most of all, visual modes of learning in the sculptor's workshop must not be seen as an impediment to sophisticated cognitive activity. The facility with which sculptors adapted to each others' semiotic registers derived largely from their observational skills and, as a result, their ability of acquiring “tacit” knowledge efficiently. What has driven these considerations forward is my profound suspicion of the marginalisation of craftspeople in a historiography of the intellect. Their thinking has, in a highly uncritical manner, been dismissed (directly and indirectly) as being too one-dimensional to merit more than a footnote in the history of knowledge. I readily admit that the journal of Franz Ertinger was in danger of suffering the same fate of being confined to a footnote or maybe a paragraph in this thesis, until the later stages of my research. Yet, after the journal had yielded all it had to offer regarding the external characteristics of its author's *Wanderschaft*, it still seemed, in its deceitful naiveté, to be a keyhole which permitted a glimpse of the intellect of the itinerant sculptor in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The way to peek through this keyhole into the workings of Ertinger's mind is to abandon the assumption that his way of acquiring and organising knowledge is compatible with ours, that is, of twenty-first-century academics or that his thoughts fit the

hierarchies of knowledge that we take for granted. Since the interpretation of the journal is carried out from within an internalised framework of comprehending particular orders of knowledge, it is impossible to recover the key to this door. The epistemic universe inhabited by Ertinger is only fragmentarily represented by the journal to begin with, and its analysis will inevitably be shaped by assumptions about the nature of knowledge which remain undetected at this point, regardless of the self-criticism and reflexivity that this thesis hopes to exhibit. However, the realisation that the limitations of Ertinger's journal and, by extension, his intellect are not his, but *ours*, is the first step towards an understanding of alternate (historical) epistemic orders and, what is more, towards an acceptance of their validity in their envisioned historical contexts.

Even though the following argument is designed to establish the validity of the ways in which itinerant sculptors organised knowledge, it is expressly not intended to defend their thought structures and, in particular, Ertinger's literary/historiographical efforts in relation to a modern dichotomy and hierarchy of “practical” knowledge and higher learning. It will be demonstrated that there is a rift between this dichotomy (and its inherent value system) and the epistemic order which can be extrapolated from the journal. Therefore, the chapter is not an attempt to put scholarly caps on these craftsmen and declare them all great intellectuals of their day, but to consider the complexity of the means by which they navigated a fluid and unpredictable world of learning and experience. By abandoning this dichotomy of knowledge the argument takes on a deconstructivist character. Instead of fitting Ertinger's learning and writing in or around the categories of practical versus scholarly knowledge, the chapter will provide some

insights into an alternative epistemic “ordering” principle that determined how Ertinger and his fellow artisans, Johann Eckstein and also Jacques-Louis Ménétra, another artisan journalist and direct contemporary of Eckstein, acquired and applied knowledge. The chapter will focus on an artisan concept of history as a case study to demonstrate the ways in which itinerant artisans constructed their pasts and in what ways their own sense of history can be grasped in terms of grand and petit narratives. It will be seen that the history of knowledge was also a history of belonging as the dynamics of the archive of unwritten artisan chronicles reveal. As a result, the inquiry will introduce a notion of an artisan Republic of Tools, as opposed to the Republic of Letters, and will explore, using the example of Johann Eckstein, upon what factors the citizenship of this republic was contingent.

The previous chapters have served to highlight that adaptability was a fundamental feature of a journeyman's tacit skillset. It became clear that the ability to master the random transitions in and out of unfamiliar, fragmentary semiotic registers encountered in workshops, abbeys, quarries, taverns and courts of many regions and to merge them with one's own registers of thought (to the extent that participation in these spheres became possible) was conditional on the ability to adapt. The following inquiry will demonstrate further the ways in which the historically and culturally contingent mode of learning and incorporating what had been experienced into a semiotic register, in turn affected this epistemic-cultural adaptability. Increasingly, it becomes apparent that the cognitive tools which are the subject of this thesis, cohere, and even depend on each other in terms of their development and application. A certain sensitivity towards the “otherness” of the

cognitive structures of eighteenth-century workshop populations has been an undercurrent of the previous chapters. This otherness will be brought to the fore in this chapter which begins to come to grips with an epistemic order whose existence has been obscured by the structural prejudice against forms of knowledge which were fostered by workshop-based labouring and living. Pondering the implications of sculptors becoming “attuned” to unfamiliar cultural registers and, as a consequence, the expansion and modification of the cultural registers they already held and shared, has raised questions about what organisational system was available to these individuals for ordering their thinking in the first place. The absence of those characteristics in Ertinger's journal which we take to be indicators of intellectual integrity and logical thought, such as a linear narrative, seems to beg the assumption that his thinking was disorderly, that he was unable to impose any kind of order on what he learnt (or detect historical and political structures beyond the narrow margins that scholars like Alain Corbin would allow him). However, rather than being unable to order his text according to these concepts because his intellect was too plebeian to do so, it seems more accurate to say that principles of chronology or linearity were not employed by Ertinger because they did not feature in his travels, his work or his learning and, consequently, made no sense to him. After all, the conditions of the Wanderschaft meant that adaptability trumped planning any day, which begs the question: Why would Ertinger impose structures on his thinking that had no parallel to the ways he learnt and lived? The answer to this question is simple: he did not. Naturally, the follow-up question has to be how his thinking was organised, and it is much more difficult to answer.

As difficult as it might be to envision an alternative, even “alien” epistemic order from a journal which complicates matters by serving its author's own agenda and which is decoded by analytical means that are part of a set of incompatible cognitive tools, it is possible to resolve this dilemma. Certain passages of the journal which deal with (art) history can be employed as clues which can account for a structure that does not lend itself to scrutiny through the lense of twenty-first-century academia. Before these clues can be addressed, it is necessary to deal with some of the work carried out on the literary and epistemological aspects of “artisanal culture”, revisiting very briefly the arguments of Alain Corbin and evaluating Rudolf Schenda's and Martin Kintzinger's ideas about the cognitive capacities of artisans.[1] An analysis of Ertinger's journal which considers visual and oral forms of exchange and learning will prompt informed speculation on ways in which knowledge was shared and ordered in artisan communities which were characterised by a visual/oral culture and by migration. The chapter will also engage with questions regarding the role of knowledge in the formation of bonds between artisans and will explore how artisans developed “semiotic libraries” that accommodated the composite knowledge which resulted from the specific learning experiences of the Wanderschaft.

1 Rudolf Schenda, “Orale und literarische Kommunikationsformen im Bereich von Analphabeten und Gebildeten im 17. Jahrhundert” in Wolfgang Brückner, Peter Blickle und Dieter Breuer (eds.), *Literatur und Volk im 17. Jahrhundert – Probleme populärer Kultur in Deutschland*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1985, Vol 2, 447-464
Martin Kintzinger, “Eruditus in Arte – Handwerk und Bildung im Mittelalter” in Knut Schulz (ed.), *Handwerk in Europa - Vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Frühen Neuzeit*, Munich, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1999, 155-187

4.2 When people without books write histories

Schenda's and Kintzinger's accounts of non-scholarly knowledge in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the Middle Ages respectively suggest that the artisanal and rural populations of this period had practically no understanding of the more abstract aspects of the world in which they lived. Although Kintzinger assessed the epistemic status of medieval artisans, his position informed my objection to the differentiation of scholarly and practical knowledge and to the incompatibility inherent in this opposition of forms of knowledge. As the analysis of the nature of knowledge organisation in communities of early modern image-makers progresses, it will become apparent that the specific, composite forms of knowledge of early-modern craftsmen defied a dichotomy of the theoretical and the practical. It will be seen that their historical knowledge was anchored in a variety of social practices and that creating a narrative of artisan history was crucial in perpetuating their worlds of work, which blurrs the boundaries between the theoretical and the practical. It should be acknowledged that the sphere of artisan knowledge was affected by the increasing availability of printed material in the eighteenth-century but, for the most part, little changed in the workshop and on the Wanderschaft between the Middle Ages and Ertinger's time.

Both Schenda and Kintzinger argue in favour of a division of knowledge into that which is part of the realm of “literature, debate and reflection” and that which is applied, practical and has no literary (or even verbal) expression. Schenda, who produced an extensive study of popular reading material (ironically titled Volk ohne

Buch, people without books), is convinced that the head of a household such as those workshops frequented by Ertinger and the Ecksteins, “even though he might be able to read, would merely attain superficial or proletarian scholarship”.[2] While the tenet of Kintzinger's article is principally in keeping with the line of argument pursued by Schenda, this author strives to construct his argument in a less condescending manner. Kintzinger, who makes sure to differentiate scholars and artisans, refers to the practically skilled artisan as “eruditus in arte”, thereby attempting to acknowledge the value of the particular type of non-scholarly knowledge he identified in his text.[3] While his work shows a greater readiness to appreciate non-academic ways of thinking, Kintzinger's own conceptualisation of knowledge is still firmly rooted in the dichotomy of scholarly and practical knowledge which, in turn, resounds with divisions of literary and oral culture and, fundamentally, divisions of class.

Schenda, on the other hand, unceremoniously declares that the “lower classes” of seventeenth-century society inhabited a completely separate world of knowledge, where not only the written but also the spoken word was largely absent.[4] He presumes that labourers and artisans mostly worked and lived in silence, and if they indeed did speak to each other, their conversations were “brief, sparing and artless”.[5] This claim certainly does not hold up when considered in relation to the case of migrating artisans or those who employed them. To imagine that the long journeys of the Wanderschaft or compagnonnage, the time spent in workshops or taverns was filled with silence, rather than chit-chat, banter,

2 Schenda in Blickle and Breuer, *Literatur und Volk*, 1985, 454
3 Kintzinger in Schulz, *Handwerk in Europa*, 1999, 155
4 Schenda in Blickle and Breuer, *Literatur und Volk*, 1985, 451
5 Schenda in Blickle and Breuer, *Literatur und Volk*, 1985, 452

arguments and tales of places, art and curiosities that had been seen, of festivals that had been participated in, of kind and cruel masters, seems to deny the validity of communication and thought structures of a large part of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century society. This denial, sophistically arrogant as it may seem, can be read as a displacement strategy, resulting from the failure to assess historically contingent possibilities of non-academic/-literary/-verbal ways of accessing knowledge and generating meanings. The incompatibility of an alternative, past world of knowledge with the characteristics of modern scholarship (and its notion of what intellectual activity should be) goes unacknowledged, which leads Schenda to impose the logic and value system of his own academic tradition onto historical agents. Others, like Alain Corbin and Wilhelm Treue, who opted to give a "voice" to artisans whose lives are largely undocumented fell into the same trap, despite their awareness of the alternative perception of their subjects. One could say that these authors succeeded in giving Pinagot and Wegener (a fictional eighteenth-century cloth-maker whom Treue describes as a "synthetic" figure, representative of artisans of the period) a voice, but made them speak in the authors' own language.[6] It takes continuous self-reflexion and re-examination of one's reasoning and methodology to avoid this trap and, yet, one is always skirting it narrowly. Franz Ertinger's activity as a journal-ist and (art) historian is immensely helpful in avoiding fallacies of this kind to an extent, since his text allows hypotheses regarding his "cognitive tools" to be derived from, and tested against, interpretations of his own writing (a luxury which Corbin and Treue did not have).

6 Alain Corbin, *The Life of an Unknown: The Rediscovered World of a Clog-maker in Nineteenth-century France*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2001
Wilhelm Treue, *Eine Frau, drei Männer und eine Kunstfigur – Barocke Lebensläufe*, Munich, C.H. Beck, 1992

As will be seen, some aspects of his writing act as pointers into a realm of visual and oral comprehension which guides speculation on how he came to know and understand things beyond the written word.

According to authors like Schenda, “social and ideological barriers” were firmly in place which prevented the “lower orders” to access any kind of theoretical knowledge, in particular of medicine, law, theology and history.[7] It appears that in his analysis the author does not observe these boundaries but, in fact, erects them, reinforcing an anachronistic and classist perspective on a world of knowledge which, due to his prejudiced view, is as closed to him as he believes the sphere of erudition to have been closed to the artisans and peasants of seventeenth-century Europe. If this was indeed the case, it would have been a rather exceptional effort on Johann Eckstein's part to move beyond the humble workshops of his childhood and adolescence and to overcome their supposed cogitative limitations. After all, Eckstein appears to have taken a vivid and critical interest in theological and philosophical matters and is said to have practiced music which endeared him to Frederick II who is reported to have let Eckstein play the flute for him and even to have given him an instrument as a token of appreciation (Frederick played the flute himself).[8] From his letters, we learn that Eckstein returned to England in 1769, presumably to visit the newly founded Royal Academy and, proactive as he was, maybe to fish for a post as an academician.[9]

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7 Schenda in Blickle and Breuer, *Literatur und Volk*, 1985, 454

8 Erich Köllman, *Berliner Porzellan 1763-1963*, Vol. I, Braunschweig, Klinkhart&Biermann, 1966, 127. Neither the author nor I were able to verify this information, but it is also mentioned in: Peter H. Feist, “Johann Eckstein: Mecklenburg – Potsdam – Philadelphia – Havanna. Ein Bildhauerleben im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert” in Gerd-Helge Vogel, *Die Kunst als Spiegel des Lebens: Romantik und Realismus*, Greifswald, Steinbecker Verlag, 1999, 12

9 Letter from Eckstein to the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 8 September 1770, Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, 2.26-1, Großherzogliches Kabinett I, 10162

Whilst there, he was requested by his patron at Ludwigslust to execute a portrait of the Royal Family (linked to the Schwerin principality through Charlotte).[10] This request was to be unfulfilled because Eckstein was unsuccessful at gaining access to the Queen which he blamed on an unreliable lady in waiting,[11] but it tells us that the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin thought nothing of asking his sculptor to socialise at one of the most important courts in Europe or, at least, not to embarrass him there. And even though Eckstein had not managed to get his foot in the door at the Royal Academy, he ultimately attained the status of academician at the Pennsylvania Academy of Arts.[12]

One could assume that Eckstein was somehow able to bridge the two worlds which correspond to the dichtomy of knowledge proposed by Schenda and Kintzinger, by “bettering” himself through further education (and, not to forget, the attention of erudite patrons), and elevating himself over the “practical” and implicitly inferior sphere of knowledge which Ertinger seems to represent. This assumption reinforces a classist and “canon-ist” distinction of the plain-thinking craftsman who forever reproduces what he had seen his father/master do (and whose anonymity in the history of art is, therefore, unproblematic) and the artist-intellectual who conceives of great works (and is, thus, deserving of a place in the canon). It is an easy assumption to make because it panders to the structural preconceptions which come so strongly to the fore in Schenda's work as well as Corbin's, Grießinger's, Kintzinger's, even in Tietze-Conrad's introduction to Ertinger's journal. If this assumption had been made outside of this thesis, it is

10 Letter from Eckstein, 15 September 1769
11 Letter from Eckstein, 8 September 1770
12 Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon, Bd. 52, Leipzig, München, 2002, 112

likely to have gone uncontested and would have reinforced these preconceptions about the epistemological and historiographical status of artists/artisans further. However, the objections raised in previous chapters to some of these speculations have set a direction for the following analysis of Ertinger and, briefly, Ménétra's journal in terms of knowledge acquisition and organisation whose results provide a very different explanation which supports the significance of adaptability already hinted at in chapter 2 of Eckstein's social and professional mobility.

In contradiction to the argument Alain Corbin made in relation to the eighteenth-century Bellêmois clog-maker Jean Pinagot, Ertinger's journal exhibits an awareness of historical, theological and ideological issues beyond his immediate sphere of existence. Yet, the journal is far from a dissertation on history; it can rather be described as a series of historiographical vignettes and random observations which appear to be tagged together in an apparently arbitrary fashion. Ertinger's recollection of what he experienced and learnt is attached to the places in which these experiences occurred. Once he moves on in his narration, he does not revisit these particular stories. One the one hand, this supports the claim made by Pinagot that history was, to the lower orders of eighteenth-century craftsmen, a localised affair.[13] But to leap to the assumption that outside of this local context historical knowledge was irrelevant or that artisans were unable to situate themselves in relation to histories connected to different locations is a mistake. For example, Ménétra stopped off at an inn in Gascony where he was encouraged by the tavern mistress to await her son's return so that the son could

13 Alain Corbin, *The Life of an Unknown: The Rediscovered World of a Clog-maker in Nineteenth-century France*, New York, Columbia University Press, 128-129

engage in conversation with a Parisian.[14] Ménétra recalls that “he enjoyed asking me about the Pont-Neuf, Henri Quatre, the Samaritaine, the Place des Victoires and about everything that was remarkable in Paris”.[15] Not only the innkeeper's son took in Ménétra's stories enthusiastically, but “all the folks who had come to drink and had never seen anything but their own village steeple listened and opened their eyes wide”.[16] They even accepted these stories as a form of payment for their guest's board and lodging which caused Ménétra to “congratulate myself for coming from Paris”.[17] Of course, the mischievous glazier told this anecdote to show how he managed to cleverly sponge off some locals but, to the historian, it is indicative of the provincial population's interest in events of both geographical and temporal distance. Inversely, Ertinger was able to learn from (semi-)settled local people about the histories of not only their home towns, but also their trades.

Ertinger discusses events which superficially seem to be as remote from his sphere of “practical” knowledge, namely those connected to the Hussite unrests in Bohemia during the early fifteenth century, as the reign of Henri IV was to the Gasconards encountered by Ménétra. Yet, the journeyman sculptor took a substantial interest in the Hussite doctrines for which he provided a comparatively long, theoretical explanation. So, how did he acquire insights which appear to have been part of a sphere of knowledge from which, according to Rudolf Schenda, he was barred? To answer this question a more detailed analysis of Ertinger's account of the Hussite revolution is a good starting point.

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14 Jacques-Louis Ménétra, Daniel Roche, *Journal of My Life*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1986, 60-61

15 Ménétra and Roche, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 61

16 Ménétra and Roche, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 61

17 Jacques-Louis Ménétra, Daniel Roche, *Journal of My Life*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1986, 60-61

Some of the Hussite doctrines mentioned by Ertinger equated devotion with poverty and simplicity[18] which incited a wave of attacks on the ornate churches and monasteries of Prague in the 1420s.[19] Ertinger's commentary focuses on these incidents and conveys a sense of personal investment in the events through the pathos of his words:

> "[Und sie] blinderten und raubten die gottheusser zerissen die aldär heylige und reliquen [all sic] (and they plundered and robbed the houses of god tore up the altars saints and relics)"[20]

Readily, this investment can be attributed to Ertinger's piety and his resulting dismay at the destruction of sacred objects. Further research into the Hussite revolution, undertaken primarily to verify and situate Ertinger's claims, however, prompted another explanation of Ertinger's emotional response to an event evidently so far removed from his own set of experiences and expectations. Heymann's comprehensive text on Hussite and Taborite movements mentions, in passing, that there was resistance against these acts of iconoclasm.[21] This resistance came from within the ranks of local artisans, specifically, from members of the butcher's guild, who prevented the Taborites from setting the monastery of

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18 In his own words: "man sol der heyl. bildnus weck Thuen (the holy images must be put away)" and "Die prister sollen nit reich seyn, Kein gelt noch schäz hinder sich legen (the priests must not be rich, put no money nor riches behind themselves)" [all sic], Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, Reisebeschreibung, 1907, 83

19 Heymann, *John Žižka*, 1955, 81

20 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 83

21 Frederick G. Heymann, *John Žižka and the Hussite Revolution*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1955, 167

St James on fire by forming a chain around the building.[22] The butchers' motives are not immediately recognisable, as St James was not the butchers' patron saint (further research, which has no place here, is required to understand the significance of the monastery for the local community of butchers and other artisans). Their resistance made the revolts and, thus, the doctrines which incited them, part of the history of the local butchers' trade. Stories about those who participated were likely to have been passed on by descendants, keeping the memories of not only what happened but also why very much alive among the artisan population of Prague whose ancestors had actively resisted the destruction of monasteries.

By the time Ertinger arrived in the city, the Taborite iconoclasm had become part of the local artisans' history. Moving in their circles of sociability would have allowed him to gain insights into this particular part of their history. Ertinger would have had ample opportunity to indulge his curiosity about the Taborites which might have been satisfied by a visit to that small alley, where, as his guide who was probably a local artisan might have told him, their blood had run in rivers centuries ago, and by exchanging stories in taverns as Ménétra would later with the Gasconards. A parish priest might have been able to fill him in on the theological details of which Ertinger demonstrates clear and concise knowledge. These considerations elucidate how a theologically and historically cataclysmic set of events resounded among those parts of the population who are often retrospectively denied historical agency and understanding. The butchers' actions make plain the ramifications of “large-scale” historical events on the daily lives of

22 Heymann, *John Žižka*, 1955, 167

an artisan, not only at the time of their occurance (an objective of micro-history) but, also, in the longer term. Had these butchers not resisted the destruction of the monastery, who knows whether memories of the Hussite revolution would have been kept alive among this community of artisans which roused Ertinger's interest in the Taborites and their theological objections to certain Catholic practices.

Ertinger's passages on the Taborites contrast with those Tietze-Conrad has identified as having been copied from books (usually the summaries of the geographical and economic specificities of a place).[23] Books on Hussitism and religion in general might have been made available to Ertinger by priests, just like Jacques-Louis Ménétra received what can be assumed to have been theological or philosophical reading material from a local curate (see chapter 5, p. 227). Like the French glazier, Ertinger often worked at abbeys and monasteries which were likely to have had libraries; possibly he was granted access to these if he got along with the monks or demonstrated an interest in theological questions. Masters and fellow journeymen were also likely to have shared books between each other. A late sixteenth-century text which might have been around when Ertinger began looking for information on the history and theology of Hussite artisans is composed in a way which mirrors how theological knowledge, in textual and verbal form, was shared by a mobile population. The Dialogus Mysticus (1583) by Valentin Leucht explains the positions of a Catholic, a Lutheran, a Hussite, a Calvinist and a “layman” which emerge in conversations that take place in a tavern, a principal site

23 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, xxiii

of exchange for journeymen.[24] Before the Hussite and the Calvinist start talking about religion, they discuss news which one of them had heard earlier in the market and read on a “print (abdruck)”, presumably a poster or broadside of some sort.[25] Yet, the Hussite had returned to the tavern with the intention to “hear what else he [the Calvinist] had to proclaim out of the new booklet which he had with him”.[26] The two men ask each other about the doctrines of their respective religions, laying out a neat theological comparison for the reader. Several points mentioned by Ertinger appear in the dialogue, such as the role of the Pope in Hussitism and the historical background of the Council of Constance.[27] As the Hussite and the Calvinist carry on their conversation, they are joined by a Catholic, who reads to them from a book of his own. Catholicism, as all agree in the end, is the one true faith, a position which would have met with Ertinger's agreement who himself calls it the “true faith (um des wahren gaubens wüllen)”.[28]

Other texts, such as the Waldenser Chronick of 1623, an account of the persecutions experienced by the Waldensians and related reformed religious groups, such as the Hussites, were unapologetic defenses of alternative interpretations of scripture and resulting forms of worship.[29] The language of this chronicle was likely to appeal to Ertinger due to its pathos For example, the narrative features stories of enemies of the religion whose flesh, as a divine

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24 Valentin Leucht, *Dialogus Mysticus – Ein newes geistliches Gespräch zwischen einem Engel und fünff Personen, nemblich einen catholischen, Lutheranen, Hussiten, Caluinisten und einem gemeinen Leyhen, etc. In welchem klärlich erwiesen und gründlich angezeigt wird, wo die eynige ware Kirche Gottes wol zu finden*, 1583

25 Leucht, *Dialogus Mysticus*, 1583, 28

26 Leucht, *Dialogus Mysticus*, 1583, 26

27 Leucht, *Dialogus Mysticus*, 1583, 28

28 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 84

29 Johann Jacob Grasser, *Waldenser Chronick. Von den Verfolgungen so die Waldenser, Albigenser, Picarder und Hussiten, etc. Fünffhalbhundert Jahr lang haben ausgestanden*, Basel, 1623

punishment, fell off their bones after they had been eaten by worms and rotted alive for some time.[30] The tale of the reformed religions is one of revenge and divine retribution:

> "Wie Gott der Herr seiner Gläubigen thränen aufffasset, und dieselben in einem Sack behaltet, wie solt er dann auch nicht ihr vergossen Blut auffassen und dasselbe rächen? [all sic]"
>
> (How the Lord God catches the tears of his faithful and keeps them in a bag, how should he not catch their spilt blood and avenge the same?)"

This kind of rhetoric and language, frequently referencing an impending apocalypse, highlighting the heavenly rewards for people who suffered oppression due to their religious convictions would most likely have made an impression on Ertinger whose penchant for the gory and dramatic will be addressed shortly. Although Ertinger does not make an explicit judgement about the Hussite cause and history along the lines of the enemies of reformed religions as quoted in the journal, the language of this passage in his journal betrays conflicting attitudes. His matter-of-fact list of their doctrines is devoid of polemic; for example, he states that

> Der Pabst hat nit mer gewalt, dann ein anderer bischoff [all sic]
> (The Pope is not more powerful than any other bishop);
>
> so die seelen schaiden von dem leib, fahren sie gleich in den himmel, oder in die höl,

30 Grasser, *Waldenser Chronick*, 1623, introduction

> und wird kein fegfeur gefunden [all sic].
> (as soon as the souls leave the body they go straight to heaven, or hell, and there is no purgatory).[31]

In Grasser's *Waldenser Chronick* the same doctrines are listed as supposedly preached by the opponents of reformed religions:

> "Der Bapst sey nit das Haupt der Kirchen, darumb solle man ihm auch nicht gehorchen [all sic].
> (The Pope is not the head of the Church, therefore, people should not obey him.)

> Die Mönch seyen ein stinkendes Aaß von derselben Gelübde seyen die Malzeichen der grossen Bestien [all sic].
> (The monks are stinking carrion, of the same vows are the evil signs of the great beasts)

> Das Fegefewr […], die Verehrung der Heiligen unnd das Gebätt für die Abgestorbenen seye nichts anderes dann des Sathans Lehr [all sic].
> (Purgatory […], the worship of saints and the prayer for the dead are nothing else than the teachings of Satan)[32]

The superstitious Ertinger, who went on several pilgrimages and believed in the intervention of angels as well as the Devil, would have been susceptible to this kind of polemic and might have considered the salvation of his soul both in relation and in opposition to the reformed religions, assuming that he read the *Chronick.*

31 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 82
32 Grasser, *Waldenser Chronick*, 1623, 11

However, his own narration of the Hussite doctrines and history is not openly hostile or critical; this differs from his mention of Jews in whose faith he is not remotely interested and whom he refers to with unwavering contempt. Although he ultimately opposed the Hussite religion, as is indicated by the closing remark that the Hussites “played the master” until they were subdued by the imperial forces, he held back with overt criticism or insults. While his dismay at Hussite iconoclasm is evident and his disagreement with the Hussite rejection of the worship of saints probable (as son of a maker of statues of saints, see figs. 11 and 12, and as sculptor who made these statues himself (fig. 13, 14, 15), the issue would have held not only a religious significance, but had implications of professional pride), his engagement with doctrinal details could be indicative of his interest in alternative forms of Christianity.

At a superficial glance, the relevant passages in the journal appear “un-learned” and uncritical, but they can also be interpreted as revealing the limitations of language in Ertinger's comprehension of history. As will be seen shortly, his possible interest in theological literature would most likely have been preceded by experiencing the history of Prague through the recollections of the city's artisan population which were linked with the cityscape, its landmarks and art works. Closer inspection of these pages reveals that Ertinger employed several conventions of rhetoric at once which can be attributed to different practices of “studying”. To compose his journal, Ertinger drew on the narrative conventions he had internalised through what he had read and through the ways in which he had been taught in Catholic institutions. For example, the list of Hussite “commandments”, a list of plainly wrought main clauses, evoke the catechism of

Ertinger's schooldays in their dogmatic conciseness (see ftn 18). His Catholicism shaped both his understanding of history, in which biblical and secular events are intertwined in one world history,[33] and also provided him with a set of stories which allowed him to frame what he experienced himself, such as a particular incident on his return journey to Graz. Before Ertinger could reach the city, he was caught in what he at first believed to be a thunder storm but was, as he soon realised, a swarm of locusts which “darkened the sun (die Sonnen also verfünsteret)”.[34] This lasted several hours and caused such fear among everyone that “the bells were rung in all churches and guns and muskets and other arms were fired (Hat man in allen kierchen und Glockhen geleut, mit stuckh und musgeten unnd ander Gewehr geschossen)” to put to flight the bugs which were “wretched and frightful (erbärmlich unnd forchtsam)” to look at.[35] The anecdote achieves several things at once. It carries connotations of a biblical plague which Ertinger withstands, thus, highlighting his spiritual integrity and purity. At the same time, this story, as an example of many in the journal, evokes a sense of adventure and caters to the tastes of readers of colportage literature, among which Ertinger can probably be counted. Rudolf Schenda, in Volk ohne Buch, identified heroism, poverty and misfortune, cruelty, crime, executions, justice and the triumph of innocence as well as the erotic as dominant themes of German colportage literature.[36] All of these themes can be identified in Ertinger's journal, with the exception of the erotic which is completely absent in his narrative. In contrast, the Parisian glazier Ménétra let no opportunity pass to brag about his amorous exploits, confidently referring to

33 For example, Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 39
34 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 37
35 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 37
36 Schenda, *Volk ohne Buch*, 1970, 344-366

himself as the “god of pleasure” who had no reservations about seducing even nuns.[37] The sculptor from Lake Constance, on the other hand, was more fond of the gruesome and gory, as his description of the alley in Prague mentioned above illustrates:

> “[mir ist ein] bergab gehentes Gässerl gewüssen worden, alwo einige Jahr hernach die Kayserl: bey ein nam der neystatt, also under den husiten gemezget das daß blut in gedachtem Gässerl so häuffig abgeflosßen, das es die Totten Corper abgeschembt gleich in einem reisenden flus, und wurde hiemit der Taboriten gewalt zertrent [all sic].
>
> [I was shown] a small down-hill lane, where some years later the imperials at the siege of the new town butchered so among the Hussites that the blood in the very lane flowed so copiously that it carried the dead bodies away just like a rapid river and the Taborite's domination was broken.”[38]

The rest of the journal abounds with robberies, murders and executions. Many of these dangers had to be avoided by Ertinger himself, which supports the claim made by Sigrid Wadauer that these situations were portrayed by artisan authors as a test of their own rectitude and intrepidity.[39] This is certainly true to an extent, but should not be seen as the singular function of the journal. Biblical, literary and oral narrative elements are at Ertinger's disposal and he succeeds in presenting himself as a good and brave man, just like Ménétra makes sure to emphasise his charitable and, despite all abuse hurled against priests, devout

37 Ménétra and Roche, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 54
38 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 85, 88
39 Wadauer, *Die Tour der Gesellen*, 2005, 52

nature, besides his entrepreneurship and virility.[40] The way Ertinger tells stories identifies him as a reader of the bible and popular literature, if not scholarly texts, although the research of Erdmann Weyrauch into the reading materials owned by both provincial and urban craftsmen of the late seventeenth century has shown that the libraries of settled artisans contained theological, (natural-)philosophical, medical and historical texts as well as works by the likes of Cicero, Virgil and Ovid.[41] Yet, the set of narrative strategies he gleaned from the books he had access to merely equipped him with a limited set of tools to convey in writing the fullness of his experience and his knowledge.

After all, not all of his "education" was bookish. Long working hours and much time spent in transit would have prevented Ertinger and Eckstein from devoting themselves to reading widely, although their reading habits probably were marked by re-reading meaningful passages, a conventional practice unlike reading books from cover to cover.[42] However, the "study time" of the Wanderschaft often included visits to churches, workshops of famous artists, palaces, sites and festivals and the collaboration with other sculptors (as the previous chapter showed). Such learning often took place through interaction with others. People he encountered provided him with frames of reference for the buildings, cityscapes, landmarks, sculptures and altarpieces he saw. Bob Bushaway, in his work on oral culture in rural England, has pointed out that there existed a "range of

40 Ménétra and Roche, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 58, 88, 93 (examples)
41 Erdmann Weyrauch, "Die Illiteraten und Ihre Literatur" in Blickle and Breuer, *Literatur und Volk*, 1985, 465-474
42 Herman Pleij, "What and how did lay persons read?" in Thomas Kock and Rita Schlusemann (eds.), *Laienlektüre und Buchmarkt im späten Mittelalter*, Frankfurt, Peter Lang, 1997, 26
for the use of historical anecdotes as conversational tools in eighteenth-century England, see Daniel Woolf, "Speaking of history: conversations about the past in Restoration and Eighteenth-century England" in Adam Fox and Daniel Woolf (eds.), *The Spoken Word – Oral Culture in Britain 1500-1850*, Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 2002

perambulatory rituals, which provided a memory tool to access the mental map of the village".[43] The idea of a mental map is helpful because it accommodates the significance of locations and objects which served as anchors of communal memory. Churches, streets, plague columns and statues were topics of conversation because of what they signified to the local population in terms of their political, social, religious and professional past(s) and present(s). Later on in this chapter the idea of a mental map will be replaced with the idea of an archive or library because of considerations regarding the composite nature of knowledge and identity held by artisans such as Ertinger, Eckstein and Ménétra (see chapter 5).

Becoming a temporary member of the communities of local artisans and of other residents by participating in church services, festivals and the like, allowed Ertinger to share in their traditions and knowledge. It is, thus, possible to argue that the oral culture of the Wanderschaft enabled what can be described as a vicarious experience of localised histories. We have to imagine that, in keeping with his empathic re-telling of this history, he was likely to have been told these stories by a local to whom these stories had been passed down through generations and for whom they were part of a local, social, professional and possibly even personal identity. In other words, they were part of that artisan's cultural register, to which Ertinger was sensitised or attuned through an oral and visual exchange of ideas. By sharing in this community and approximating their semiotic and ideological registers, Ertinger was likely to form a "personalised" view of events which took place centuries ago. It can be assumed that he had no real

43 Bob Bushaway, "Things sung or said a thousand times – customary society and oral culture in rural England 1700-1900" in Fox and Woolf (eds.), *The Spoken Word*, 2002, 260

concept of a world history; to him, the Hussite revolution was likely to have been the history of his peers and, also, his trade, which in turn made it more accessible and relatable to the Bildhauergeselle from far-away Lake Constance. This is not to suggest that Ertinger had no grasp of the theological or political implications of the Hussite reforms, but instead, that a history which otherwise may have been abstract and irrelevant became part of his personal history. Potentially, this kind of "historicising" could also have strengthened the bonds Ertinger must have formed with local artisans.[44] What is more, it also demonstrated that artisan populations had a repository of "theoretical" (as opposed to practical) knowledge, but that this knowledge was not connected to academic study; instead it was part of the dynamic of trade-related identities.

4.3 How petit narratives become grand narratives

However, it would be very much misleading, following the reasoning of authors such as Corbin and Schenda, to assume that, like the clog-maker Pinagot, whose sense of the past, as far as Corbin is concerned, did not stretch beyond his social sphere or his immediate surroundings of the forest of Bellême, all artisans were only able to comprehend a grand narrative of history if it had made an emotional impact on the two previous generations (e.g. the horrors of war). To dismiss the unwritten family and trade chronicles of the artisans of seventeenth

44 I share the view of Bob Bushaway that "local lore was a shared resource from which were constructed identities, memories and histories", with the distinction that the focus of this chapter is on a flexible and cosmopolitan community of artisans and their sense of belonging not only in a specific place but across "cultures" both in their geographical and semiotic/cognitive sense Ref. Bushaway in Fox and Woolf, *The Spoken Word*, 2002, 272

and eighteenth-century Europe as trivial, or to construct them as evidence of intellectual inferiority and insignificance in the grand scheme of things, is to deny artisans the capacity to create a continuity of their value systems based on a past which was not just inflicted on them, but which they and their ilk actively shaped and remembered. As a consequence, these histories, which are brushed off as petit narratives, made for and by petit people by opponents of microhistory, deserve much greater acknowledgement than they have received because these narratives were intricate constructions, perpetuated over centuries and preserving the expertise, experiences and traditions of generations of artisans working in different trades and countries so that the social and epistemic structures of artisan life could continue. Before the age of the nation state, these histories of the artisanal communities would have been of greater significance than any invented tradition by empires or subsequent nation states; they were infused with the symbols, sentiments and knowledge which mattered to those who told and, ultimately, wrote them. As a result, these histories would have been more durable because they held personal, professional, local, in short, cultural relevance to these artisans. Yet, they are not deemed being as worthy of historical recognition as conventional grand narratives.

To Ertinger and his peers, history was not an abstract, academic construct in which they had no part, as Schenda would have it, but something which was evoked by their environment and kept alive in discourse. Crucially, it has been observed that there is the strong possibility that Ertinger learnt about reform and unrest in fifteenth-century Prague from a perspective which enabled him to relate this history to his own social and religious identity, whereby the initially tenuous

bond between him and the resident artisan community would have been reinforced. This kind of historicising suggests that knowledge about history was structured by a sense of trade-related/social identity, and also functioned as a social glue which gave the diverse community of artisans in Prague at the close of the seventeenth century a sense of shared values. In a way, this social group was able to link their own lives to an alternative, dynamic grand narrative. Yet, it should be stressed again that these narratives were inventions of their own, originating from the values and actions of past artisans, rather than state or empire-orchestrated efforts. From these considerations, a notion of a “Republic of Tools” (as opposed to Letters) is beginning to emerge, which penetrated the Continent not just on a “practical” level, but cohered by means of a past, which was not shared by ancestry but by values and ideas about religion and politics, as much as by work.

The concept of a Republic of Tools, as it emerges at this point in the thesis, is not entirely unproblematic because it connotes a specific political format and is further complicated by the implications of Habermas's thoughts on the Republic of Letters in the eighteenth century. Originally, the term Republic of Tools was chosen because it highlights the existence of an epistemic tradition which cannot be described as scholarly and which was rooted in the social circumstances of craftsmen. What is more, it gave a sense of gravitas and acknowledgement to the world of artisan thought which, in its ordering principles and narratives, was on par with that of an erudite Republic of Letters. Consequently, finding a term which accommodated my concern with historically situating and legitimising the thought structures of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century image-makers overshadowed

the question whether the concept is thoroughly appropriate in its political aspect. The fifth chapter's analysis of craftsmen's identities shows that the idea of a Federation of Tools is more suitable to evoke the relations among artisans. On the other hand, the word “republic” was used by Nicholas Contat, journeyman printer and author of the account of the Great Cat Massacre, to describe the relationship between the master and journeyman population of his trade in the 1730s.[45] Contat stated that this republic was “governed by its own laws and traditions”.[46] Whether Contat's statement is an individual sentiment or indicative of a broader identification of craftsmen as republicans would require further analysis of a wider set of journals which would deviate from the thesis's research objectives.

The duality of a Republic of Tools and Republic of Letters is artificial on some levels, as becomes more apparent in the subsequent chapter, but needs to be maintained, nevertheless, to work out the specificities of knowledge organisation and exchange in social spheres which were dominated by craftsmen. The reader should also be aware that the use of the term “Republic of Letters” skirts its Habermassian link to a phenomenon which brought forth the public sphere but makes reference to an older Republic of Letters which was set in the monasteries and universities of medieval and early modern Europe and to which the Republic of Letters of the Salon tried to establish a bond.[47] The narratives of the Republic of Tools also reached far back into the pasts of European artisans where its histories intertwined with those of the old Republic of Letters

45 Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History*, London, Penguin, 2001, 82
46 Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre*, 2001, 82
47 Refer to Dena Goodman's discussion of the “ancestry” of the Republic of Letters in Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters – A Cultural History of French Enlightenment*, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1994, 15-16

(monasteries and palaces were sites of work for craftsmen, compare 5.5 Ménétra talks religion) and while craftsmen like Eckstein crossed paths with the “new” men of letters, the self-consciousness and agendas of their respective republics diverged more fundamentally in the mid-eighteenth century than they might have done in the more distant past. The Republic of Tools, similar to the old Republic of Letters, did not make the same orchestrated effort to shape intellectual and political life as the Habermassian, modern Republic of Letters, for most of the period under scrutiny.[48] Therefore, a comparison between the modern Republic of Letters and Republic of Tools is not the aim of this study and it will, as a consequence, neglect a rigorous juxtaposition in favour of maintaining the emphasis on the internal dynamics of the Republic of Tools.

The Republic of Letters, as has been cogently shown by Anne Goldgar in her book Impolite Learning, was tied together by a particular mode of conduct which was informed by a sense of mutual indebtedness (a scholar would happily lend or transcribe books and carry out research on others' behalf and, in the spirit of true honnête hommes, his colleagues were expected, in turn, to render these services to him should he require them).[49] While this type of civility, as Goldgar argues, was more important than matters of nation, religion and scholarship, the Republic of Tools which, by definition, could mistakenly be suspected of operating outside of the sphere of erudition, cohered precisely by means of learning. However, this learning, as has been shown, was not that of scholarly study and discourse, but learning derived from local, artisan, oral cultures. By listening to the

48 Goodman, *The Republic of Letters*, 1994, 48
49 Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning – Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters 1680-1750*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1995, 5-8, 15

stories of the Prague artisans, Ertinger was perusing an archive which contained the personalised recollections of his peers, rather than material composed, selected and processed for posterity by scholars. The history he reassembled from this archive was significant to him because it was one of extraordinary events which had occurred to the likes of him and had prompted extraordinary (re)actions on their part. These events and actions had taken place in a social and professional framework in which he and his fellow journeymen continued to live and work and think. Whatever the stories would have been, they were quintessentially artisan and, thus, shaped his sense of his past and of his reality. Therefore, what a micro-level approach can achieve for an epistemologically oriented historiography is to comprehend how the supposedly trivial (such as resistance to iconoclasm aimed at one single monastery by a group of artisans) was perpetuated by generations of local artisans, enabling them to create a historical continuity of their community and its registers of meaning. What is more, by sharing not just their work, their lives, but also their past with itinerant craftsmen allowed those to forge a deeper bond with their local community and also with the material culture of the respective place.

4.4 Johann Eckstein – forever a citizen of the Republic of Tools?

Just like Franz Ertinger, Johann and George Eckstein would have heard many more histories of this kind, certainly not identical ones, as the stories would have changed with the locals who told them, but they would have served the same purpose of binding the Republic of Tools tighter. But did the two brothers remain

citizens of this Continental and rather learned Republic throughout their lives, or did the stories they had heard and the sense of belonging they might have established fade over time, far away from “home”? If we consider the possibility that journeymen and itinerant master sculptors were able to historicise in multiple ways, rather than reducing their historical vision to a singular perspective “from below” (that is, to say, in relation to a strictly local and artisan tradition), many questions arise regarding the integrity of the Republic of Tools. What was to happen to one of its citizens if he would have been confronted with versions of history which constructed an alternative past, creating alternative continuities? Would these artisans have been inclined and able to align themselves with these traditions as genuinely as with those which were strictly artisan and which most of them had been brought up with? Would the Republic of Tools have been infiltrated with these alternative traditions and, thus, been rendered more porous, leading to a clash between the Republic of Tools and the Republic of Letters (its academic manifestation in particular)? Would a sculptor like Eckstein have held on to an epistemic order derived from an artisan history (both his own and those of the craftsmen of Europe) or would his thinking have been altered by an academic indoctrination which promised to elevate him to the status of an artist/intellectual for the sake of a better life? And, finally, how did the history of Eckstein the journeyman inform the present of Eckstein the court sculptor and academician?

From a point of view shaped by the hierarchy of knowledge outlined at the beginning of this chapter, Eckstein's biography seems to imply a social and epistemic mobility, in other words, a success story – the humble artisan rising out of the squalor of the workshop (and its vulgar and insipid oral culture) to the courts

and academies of Europe (and into their refined salons and libraries). However, if we take a closer look at Johann's biography, and in particular, at the letters he sent to his patron, we will see that this was not the case. He did not become a success in the sense that he did not have to worry about commissions anymore, nor did he turn from plain-thinking craftsman to intellectual (it has already been demonstrated that neither of these two categories really describe the artisans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but that they were learned men in different ways). When Johann first came to London during the late-1750s, he would have met with a community of artisans which was diverse not only in terms of nationality but also of professions. Not all of the sculptors alongside whom he exhibited in the Society of Artists were part of a dynasty of artists; their fathers had been clothmakers (John Bacon), stewards to royalty (Thomas Banks) or cabinetmakers like Johann's own father.[50] It is likely that a similar “historicising” went on in eighteenth-century London workshops and taverns as in Prague at the close of the seventeenth century. Once Johann had acquired a certain proficiency in the English language, he would have been able to share in the histories of local artisans whose own family histories were often stories of migration, especially from Holland and the Low Countries, where Eckstein had also spent a period of time.

However, he also had to adjust to a new market and its novel demands and opportunities. While touring the Continent during the 1750s, Johann would have encountered much the same structures of work as Franz Ertinger during the

50 Julius Bryant. "Banks, Thomas." In *Grove Art Online*. *Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T006167 (accessed June 8, 2011) Julius Bryant. "Bacon." In *Grove Art Online*. *Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T005589pg1 (accessed June 8, 2011)

1690s. In London, on the other hand, the culture of work was different; sculptors often produced souvenir busts and worked on chimney pieces for country estates, as opposed to the elaborate wooden church interiors or stone carvings he was likely to have carried out in Southern Germany.[51] In addition, journeyman sculptors often lived in private lodgings, rather than in the master's home and shop (as the criminal records mentioned in chapter 2 have revealed). It is unknown whether Johann stayed with the Carters or whether he rented lodgings of his own, as he did during his second stay in 1769-70. These different arrangements would have created different premises for the sharing of knowledge. Yet, they would not have interfered with artisan oral culture and the historio-”graphical” activity inherent in it – artisans of different walks of life would have shared lodgings or socialised in the coffee-houses and taverns which proliferated in London. But certain elements of the production of sculpture in London would have changed Eckstein's sensibilities regarding the conditions of his work. In England, he had the opportunity to exhibit the finest examples of his work to a more cosmopolitan and socially diverse audience than would have been possible in a Continental workshop. The circumstances under which his reliefs were appreciated, judged and, ultimately, rewarded must have appealed to Johann Eckstein and shown him the possibilities which an art world organised by artists themselves could offer, as opposed to one governed by guilds, royalty and the Church. It is likely that the Society of Artists gave him an inkling of how his career might develop under more liberal circumstances.

Moving in circles where an artisan's work was rewarded on its own merit,

51 Malcolm Baker, *Figured in Marble – The Making and Viewing of Eighteenth-Century Sculpture*, London, V&A Publications, 2000

rather than being tailored exclusively to the requirements of a ruler or archbishop, must have opened Eckstein's eyes to the freedom which was promised by an institution such as the Society of Artists and later the Academy. The Republic of Tools, everything considered, was not a republic at all, but strongly dependent on not only the Church, but also the ruling houses of Europe. Despite the comparative artistic and personal liberty promised by the Society, Eckstein was ultimately drawn back to the Continent, attracted by the large-scale building project of the *Neues Palais* in Sanssouci.[52] After his involvement with the project had come to an end, he entered the services of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin around 1769; the specifics of his contract were negotiated via correspondence from London.[53] In return for his services he demanded an annual payment of 400 *Taler*, a house with a garden and the wood for heating.[54] On paper, he was granted these things, but as the string of letters which followed during the 1770s shows, he did not receive a house for quite some time and, once he did, the housing did not meet his standards. In a letter, dated 6 April 1775, he complained about the substandard accommodation in which he and his family had been forced to spend a harsh winter.[55] Since his pleas for a better home had been ignored, Eckstein resigned. In subsequent letters he asked the Duke for employment and payment for past services rendered because his planned journey to Hamburg, from where he eventually sailed for America in 1792/3, had had to be delayed due to the weather

52 Sibylle Badstübner-Gröger, Horst Drescher, *Das Neue Palais in Potsdam: Beiträge zum Spätstil der Friederizianischen Architektur und Bauplastik*, Akademie Verlag, 1991
53 Letters from Johann Eckstein to the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 17 July 1769, [15 September 1769, 8 September 1770] Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, 2.26-1, Großherzogliches Kabinett I, 10162
54 Letter from Eckstein, 17 July 1769
55 Letter from Eckstein, 6 April 1775

and, presumably, lack of funds.[56] Whatever journey Johann had planned from Hamburg, it did not happen and he returned to Potsdam where he was able to move into the house inherited by his wife (see Introduction, p. 15). In Potsdam, he was briefly employed in the royal porcelain manufactory but soon complained to Frederick II that he found the methods of the *Modellmeister,* a kind of creative director, to be a hindrance to the artists' work.[57] His employment there only lasted from 22 September 1775 until 27 February 1776.[58] According to Sibylle Badstübner-Gröger, Eckstein, together with some of his colleagues, protested against newly introduced regulations by Frederick's *Baukomptoir*, the bureau which organised sculptural production in Potsdam and Berlin, which led to a redistribution of jobs that was to their disadvantage.[59] Although his demands were not always reasonable (such as the quote he sent to the Society of the Cincinnati as part of a proposal for an equestrian sculpture of George Washington, which came to 64.800 dollars and twenty cents; the Society eventually settled on a design quoted at 12.350 dollars),[60] the documentation available suggests a growing frustration with the – as he perceived them – inappropriate artistic and economic constraints imposed on his work by aristocratic patrons and their institutions.

Clerical and regal authorities held a firm place in the narratives which

56 Letter from Eckstein, 20 June 1775: he specifically asks for money to cover costs of the England trip he had made 5 years prior – to make up for "lost time" as he argues ("dass ich der in England versäumten Zeit völlig schadlos gemacht werde")
57 Erich Köllmann, *Berliner Porzellan 1763-1963*, Vol. I, Braunschweig, Klinkhardt&Biermann, 1966, 118
58 Köllmann, *Berliner Porzellan*, 1966, 119
59 Badstübner-Gröger, *Das Neue Palais*, 1991, 345
60 Minor Myers, *Liberty without Anarchy – A History of the Society of the Cincinnati*, Charlottesville and London, University of Virginia Press, 2004, 206

formed the basis and glue of the Republic of Tools. In Ertinger's journal, the ruling elites were benignly observed but not openly questioned or criticised (of course, its author would have been aware of the compromising nature of such remarks and might, for this reason, have refrained from them). Directly or indirectly, rulers would always have featured in artisans' past(s) as much as their present(s). Artisans everywhere would have been aware of the dynastic histories and, to some extent, they would have taken part in them, not least by virtue of their work. Yet, it is difficult to assess how artisans situated their own past(s) in relation to a history of their monarchs, a history “from above”. Access to this history was provided by the monuments to the glory of these ruling houses and their representatives but also by books. One such book which was very likely to have been read by and have made an impact on Johann Eckstein was Thomas Nugent's *History of Vandalia* (1766-1773).[61] Nugent had been a guest at the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin's court at Ludwigslust in 1766, which he described in detail in his *Travels through Germany* (1768). It is uncertain, whether Johann was already associated with Ludwigslust in the winter of 1766, when Nugent spent time there, but work on the Neues Palais had ceased and there is a chance that he had worked for the Duke before 1769, which is indicated by the letter of 17 July 1769 in which he writes that Frederick of Schwerin had “deigned to appoint me once more”.[62] Even if they did

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61 Thomas Nugent, *The History of Vandalia. Containing the ancient and present state of the country of Mecklenburg; Its revolutions under the Vandals, the Venedi and the Saxons; with the succession and memorable acts of its sovereigns*, Vol. I-III, London, 1766-1773
also: Thomas Nugent, *Travels through Germany. Containing Observations on customs, manners, religion, government, commerce, arts and antiquities. With a particular accounts of the courts of Mecklenburg. In a series of letters to a friend*, Vol I-II, Dublin, 1768
and: Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour, or a journey through the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and France,* London, Vol. I-IV, 1756

62 Letter from Eckstein, 17 July 1769, “Der durchlauchtigste Herzog, mein gnädigster Herr, Haben in gnaden geruhet mich **wieder** in dero Dienste zu nehmen”

not encounter each other in 1766, Nugent's *History of Vandalia* would have been available to Johann both at Ludwigslust and also in England during the 1770s. The *History* is that of the houses of Mecklenburg, from which queen Charlotte descended. Through her marriage with George III, Mecklenburg and its courts suddenly became a matter of interest in Britain, where this part of the world had so far occupied a blind spot on the European map – it just was not as glamorous as Dresden or formidable as Potsdam. Naturally, the *History* turned out to be flattering, highlighting the noble character of the ancient Vandals who distinguished themselves through a “constant love of liberty”, favouring democracy as a form of government.[63] The book concludes with the marriage of George and Charlotte whose reign is presented as perpetuating this spirit of liberty. Of course, this was likely to have met with approval in England, the “land of liberty”, as well as in Ludwigslust. As Nugent himself reports, his *History* was a point of conversation during his visit; one of the princesses even made the effort to translate the text into German.

In relation to Eckstein's concept of history, this probably meant that he had access to a perspective on the place where he worked and lived for many years which was different from the oral artisan histories to which he felt connected. But how did he accommodate this alternative historical narrative in his own word view? His responses to his patrons of the mid-1770s already betray a bitterness about having to continuously renegotiate his terms and about not being more in control of his work. Having experienced the comparative liberty and equality of the Society of Artists, Eckstein seems to have become increasingly frustrated with having to

63 Nugent, *History of Vandalia*, Vol. I, 1766-1773, 51, 56

grovel and beg for commissions. Although it could be suspected that he remained in the service of Frederick II for several decades out of loyalty and the sheer hope to secure a major commission, it seems more plausible that he endured the situation because he was dependent on the infrequent minor commissions and because he wished to hold on to the house which his wife had inherited in Potsdam, which finally had given him the space he desired (fig. 1). It was, in fact, the impending loss of this house, resulting from an inheritance dispute during the early 1790s, which resulted in the sale of the house in 1794, rather than the death of Frederick II in 1786, which must have been the final factor in Eckstein's family's decision to set sail for America - which he saw as the “land of freedom”.[64] With his vision of freedom shaped by the Society of Artists and, also, the Royal Academy to which he had, presumably, failed to gain entry, the promotion of liberty with reference to the ruling houses of Mecklenburg in Nugent's book must have seemed like a mockery to Johann who did not see his experiences paralleled by the story told by the English travel writer. Rather, the book's invented tradition might well have alienated the frustrated sculptor who appears to have longed for independence.

It seems that, although institutions such as the Society of Artists and the early Royal Academy did not interfere with the social structures of the Republic of Tools, they did have a seminal impact on the ways in which its citizens continued to map their careers and think about themselves in relation to patronage. In Ertinger's time, even though sculptors together with other artisans developed a

64 Contract/Dispute of Inheritance, 23 December 1794, Stadarchiv Potsdam, Grundbuchnummer 977
Georgiana Eckstein, *A few particulars respecting the Eckstein family*, London, Strangeways, 1908, 49

sense of belonging through a shared past, the regal and Church authorities always featured in these pasts as, literally, ordained by God. Johann Eckstein, in contrast, sought independence from these structures of patronage, having been encouraged by his experiences in England to think about conventional Continental patronage more critically. The old Republic of Tools, as has been argued, was volatile but not free because it was so fundamentally dependent on the status quo. In America, Eckstein would have seen a genuine republic that might have seemed like fertile soil for a new, truly self-governed Republic of Tools. However, Johann had underestimated the constraints and pitfalls of the new market. Despite his activity as an associate academician of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and founding member of the Columbian Society of Artists, he was unable to secure any major commissions and possibly moved on to seek employment in Cuba, at the age of 82.[65] Although Johann struggled to realise the big projects he had hoped for, he had managed to find a place where he was able to actively shape the structures in which sculptural production took place. For this task, he drew on his tacit abilities to find a common ground with others who shared his vision of a self-determined association of artisans who, by virtue of their own accomplishments and appreciation of their peers, could become gentlemen sculptors rather than having to remain the “most humble artificer”, to use the terms employed by Johann in his letters to his ducal patron.[66]

In Eckstein's case it is more obvious that the migration and learning which it facilitated could be a catalyst for social change. He probably never forgot how

65 Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon, Bd. 52, Leipzig, München, 2002, 112

66 Eckstein signed the letters which are kept at the Schwerin archive with “unterthänigster Kunst.” or a version of this very submissive expression

his work was received and rewarded in the Society of Artists, while his frustration grew with Duke Friedrich of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, with the porcelain factory, and with Friedrich II's *Baukomptoir* which managed the distribution of work to sculptors in Potsdam. Ertinger's *Wanderschaft* can be seen as more conservative in relation to the traditional Republic of Tools because his learning renewed the bonds between Continental artisans and because he continued to work in a system of guild regulations and Church patronage. As the remainder of the chapter will show, the making of religious sculptures had a particular significance for Ertinger and the existing structures enabled him to fulfil a task which he would have considered important, and it seems unlikely that he felt the same pressures and constraints as Eckstein in the 1770s and 1780s. Eckstein, on the other hand, did not forfeit his identity as a citizen of the Republic of Tools and the modes of transmitting knowledge through which this identity had come about, when he became an academician. However, his liberal orientations for which the Republic of Tools itself had been fertile soil due to its manifold exchanges and opportunities to observe the specific climate of artisan associations during the 1760s and 1770s, probably encouraged him to move to a new world where new institutions could be created for a freer Republic of Tools.

4.5 Semiotic libraries and their use

The kind of learning facilitated by the Wanderschaft provided artists with a vast semiotic “library” on which they drew to make sense of their world. The pairing of the terms semiotic and epistemic has been employed to address the nuances of

the singular mechanism of forming artisan-specific sets of opinions and ideas. Semiotic relates to aspects of interpretation and evaluation of cultural products and social events, in short, the process of meaning-making, whereas epistemic is intended to highlight the process of strategy-making (or cognitive tool-making) to cope with the challenges that arose from the Wanderschaft and to perpetuate what will be known as a Republic of Tools. Like the cognitive tools themselves, these processes should not be conceived of as different means to different ends. Instead, it is vital to comprehend them as fibres in the same thread whose interplay is the elementary nature of the cognitive tool-box which served the purpose of making life and work possible in the mobile world of early modern artisans. Examining them individually enables us to appreciate the dynamic nature of the production of knowledge by craftsmen populations of the past and to detect and understand symbioses of seemingly incompatible ideas. The contrast of semiotic library and artisan archives is to be understood in the same way. The archive, which has communal connotations and is situated in the interaction of individuals with each other and with objects, is structured by the semiotic libraries of individual craftsmen, composed of their specific experiences. In turn, the archive fed the semiotic library of someone like Ertinger by providing stories and images so that he was able to interpret what he was to see and experience later on. These unwritten archives and libraries can be seen at work in the syntheses of information made by craftsmen as evident in their writings and their social practices.

Jacques-Louis Ménétra's semiotic library led him to fuse visual experiences in order to convey to his readers the impact of an extraordinary event.The Parisian

glazier tells the story of an earthquake which occurred during his stay as compagnon in Bordeaux.[67] Since the earthquake took place during the night, Ménétra, who had run out of the house with his master's family to safety observed that “you saw nothing but men and women draped in sheets as in paintings of the last judgment”.[68] This passage shows that his vision of the ordinary (albeit in an extraordinary situation) was informed by the subject matter and visual representations of “high” art. In comparing the panic-stricken Bordelais men and women to depictions of the Last Judgment, the glazier certainly intended to convey the fear felt by those who witnessed the earthquake, including himself, but also the humour inherent in the situation (“I couldn't keep myself from laughing”).[69] However, the anecdote highlights how visual knowledge, about “high” religious art, shaped Ménétra's perception of a situation in his life; both the emotional and the visual impact of the earthquake would have prompted his comparison. Ménétra mostly fitted panes of glass during his tour, and so was often employed in churches and monasteries where he was exposed to art works. The imagery of the stained glass windows, the altar pieces, and possibly reliefs and sculptures were absorbed or, at least, noted by the glazier. In a Gascon cathedral, he observed that the glass paintings there “were more beautiful than any other” and wrote that they represented “the creation of Adam to the death of Christ”.[70] In the same breath, he recalls that these windows had “the best joints I ever worked on”, another example of how art was experienced and, consequently, described alongside professional and personal concerns, in this case, Ménétra's professional

67 Ménétra and Roche, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 49
68 Ménétra and Roche, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 49
69 Ménétra and Roche, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 49
70 Ménétra and Roche, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 55

verdict of the glazing joints and his bemused irritation at the canons who were so protective of their glass paintings that they watched his every move.[71]

Just like the Parisian glazier borrowing a visual formula from "high" art to frame emotions and impressions connected to a contemporary, "ordinary" event, journeymen had no scruples about adapting semiotic elements in order to create and structure social practices and symbolisms of their own, as has been persuasively argued by Cynthia Truant.[72] According to Truant, journeymen confraternities appropriated rituals and symbolisms of the Catholic Church in an attempt to legitimise their communities and to build "a social order for a class of workers traditionally regarded as rootless, dangerous and capable only of being ordered from above".[73] An example of this appropriation is baptism; a novice journeyman was "baptised" upon entering a confraternity and was given a new name at a ceremony which mimicked the Church ritual and its respective sacraments.[74] It is easy to suspect subversive intentions behind these appropriations, a kind of carnivalesque effort to drag the authorities through the mud, but Truant dismisses this idea. She argues instead that the Church rituals were a vehicle of certain values which the confraternities wished to instil amongst their members, such as love, brotherhood and humility.[75] In semiotic terms, it can be said that these journeymen wished to retain certain meanings connected with these practices, in this case a specific set of values that could be transferred from

71 Ménétra and Roche, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 55
72 Cynthia Truant, "Solidarity and Symbolism among Journeyman Artisans: The Case of Companonnage" in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 21, No. 2, April 1979, 214-226
73 Truant, "Solidarity and Symbolism", 1979, 220
74 Truant, "Solidarity and Symbolism", 1979, 220
75 Truant, "Solidarity and Symbolism", 1979, 222-223

the religious context onto their social lives, rather than alter them. This suggests that their appropriation of these signs was not meant or even perceived to be sacrilegious, but was a strategy to shape their own social practices by means of taking elements out of the semiotic registers available to them and adapting those. Again, this shows how objects, liturgies and histories from which these artisans are often assumed to be socially and intellectually detached had an intimate resonance among them and were sensitively adjusted to enable, in this instance, social bonding and committal to the trade and the brotherhood.

In addition to “archives” of artisan history, Ménétra, Ertinger and Eckstein built up visual “libraries” on their Wanderschaft and (especially the latter two), consequently, developed a sense of a history of art, although this history was unlikely to have been divided into clearly defined periods, styles, or schools. This art history, like the “other” histories with which these artisans became familiar, also had a personal and professional relevance and can be described as resembling a *Wunderkammer.* Ertinger, especially, was just as intrigued by what now would be referred to as “curiosities” and natural objects as he was by sculptures, altarpieces and architecture. In his conceptual framework there appear to have been no divisions between the bones of “giants” he saw in a cabinet of curiosities,[76] the exotic turtle which had arrived at the court of a local prince and whose shell measured over “seven of [Ertinger's] workshoes”,[77] the paintings of Raphael,[78] the ruins which marked the Taborite iconoclasm,[79] and the tightrope-walking monkey

76 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 42
77 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 38
78 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 20
79 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 83

which amused him at a fair.[80] Ertinger enjoyed the beauty of a human skeleton in the same way he appreciated a sculpture of Christ; “art” was not enjoyed or studied through a different epistemic lense, albeit with potentially varying expectations.

A closer look at the language of the journal reveals more about Ertinger's concept of art and art production. It seems that the terms used for the description of artists whose works are described in the journal have a repetitive, formulaic character. The most frequently used adjective is “beriembt” or “kunstberiembt (famous, famed for his art)”, occasionally he refers to them as “kunsterfahren (experienced in his art)”.[81] There are no nuances whatsoever in these descriptions and the only time Ertinger has something unflattering to say about other artists, it has to do with character not with artistic ability. For example, an artist whom Ertinger reprimands for his immoral life which forced him to “seek his food as a beggar until he eventually died behind a hedge (...welcher durch sein liederliches leben so Ellent wohrten, das Er sein narung alß Ein bettler gesucht, biß er entlich Hinder Einer Heckhen seinen gaist auffgeben)” is still seen as “famed for his art”.[82] Neither does Ertinger produce a verdict regarding the quality of art works beyond an equally formulaic “beautiful” and “artful”.[83] It is easy to assume that the sculptor had no sense of the semiotic and aesthetic complexity of the works he saw. However, considering his comments on sculpture and painting in the light of the idea that his experiences could not be adequately expressed in a textual format because of their composite, partially tacit, nature, it makes more sense to believe

80 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 19
81 For example Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 51-53
82 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 25
83 For example Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 11

that Ertinger, in fact, did command complex sign systems in relation to these works, but he did so largely on a tacit level. Since “art” was tied up with his profession, with history, religion (for example, his frequent pilgrimages) and the work's location, it is improbable that Ertinger viewed a work of art as an autonomous object which was worthy of contemplation on a purely aesthetic level. “High Art” did not occupy a separate category in his conceptual framework, with a specific catalogue of jargon and “methods” to interpret it which are typical of art historical evaluations. In order to explicitly discuss art works, Ertinger had to resort to a limited set of conventional formulations like “highly esteemed”.[84] With a tacit understanding of sculpture on which his craftsmanship depended he would have been able to discern artistic quality in probably quite a sophisticated manner, but he had no extensive verbal framework through which he could have articulated aesthetic judgements. What is more, Ertinger's concept of “beautiful”, his epithet for almost all of the art works he cared to mention in his journal, was likely to have been informed by religious sentiments as much as by his appreciation of craftsmanship.

For his book *Visual Piety* (1998), David Morgan gathered and examined a large number of written responses to depictions of Jesus, such as the *Head of Christ* (1941) by Warner Sallman, which were immensely popular, even iconic, among North American Protestants when he conducted his study in the late 1990s.[85] In the letters he received, these images which, according to Morgan, are perceived as kitsch and devoid of aesthetic value by connoisseurs of art and many

84 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 13, 51
85 David Morgan, *Visual Piety – A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, Univeristy of California Press, 1998

art historians were often described as “beautiful”.[86] Morgan argues that the people who saw beauty in the images by Sallman did so because their expectations of Jesus and the values he embodied were matched by the pictures.[87] He came to the conclusion that looking at these images was not an aesthetic experience to his respondents, but a religious one, comprised of one or several operations which Morgan has called “visual piety”.[88]

Religious people can react to images of Christ or saints, for example, by *recognition* (of their ideal of Jesus or the saint in the image).[89] When Franz Ertinger saw beauty in a seated figure of Christ, it might have been not only because of fine craftsmanship but also because the statue represented to Ertinger the qualities he associated with his Saviour.[90] The description in the journal leaves no doubt that the statue in question must be Hans Leinberger's *Christ Resting (Christus in der Rast)* of c. 1521 (ref. fig. 16) in St Martin's at Landshut. Ertinger did not know Leinberger's name but acknowledged that the statue was “highly esteemed” and appreciated its beauty and “artfulness”.[91] His verdict possibly suggests that he looked at the sculpture as a craftsman but also as a devout Catholic who was touched by Leinberger's emaciated, hunched-over figure which invited contemplation of Christ's suffering and sacrifice and was likely to inspire compassion in the beholder. Thus, it can be argued that Ertinger employed several strategies, some of which were related to visual piety, others to his trade, in order to visually, emotionally and professionally decode and comprehend the paintings

86 Morgan, *Visual Piety*, 1998, 30
87 Morgan, *Visual Piety*, 1998, 30
88 Morgan, *Visual Piety*, 1998, 31
89 Morgan, *Visual Piety*, 1998, 31
90 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 13
91 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 13

and sculptures he encountered in the churches and monasteries he visited on his *Wanderschaft*. In the presence of a work like Leinberger's *Christ Resting*, Ertinger had the opportunity to meditate on an aspect of his faith, however, this possible exercise in piety should not be seen as isolated from studying the work as a sculptor. Empathising with the tortured, weary figure of Christ and thinking about how to evoke these feelings through form and composition took place simultaneously, in the process of looking. This exploration of religious sentiments while looking at Leinberger's sculpture can only be understood as a tacit learning experience. As the glazier Ménétra had seen the distraught men and women fleeing from an earthquake through the lense of a “high art” depiction of the Last Judgement, the experience of Leinberger's sculpture fed into Ertinger's visual library and enabled him to compare his own sculptures of saints (figs. 13,14) to not only the visual traits of Leinberger's *Christ* which might have faded in his memory, but also to the emotional impact it had made on him.

It is likely that the devout sculptor assessed his own work and that of his father Hans Ertinger in terms of the religious feelings they inspired, which means that his activity as a sculptor cannot be described as focused purely on practical aspects of craftsmanship. Ertinger would not just have thought about the properties of wood or paint when he made his *St Gallus* (fig. 13) and *St Magnus* (fig. 14) for the parish church at Sonthofen. His work was probably motivated by a complex set of ideas related to the theological and social purpose of the statues. In the case of *St Gallus* and *St Magnus* whose formal simplicity could be mistaken as indicative of naïve ways of sculpting and thinking, he might have drawn on his tacit knowledge of the effects of religious statues he had seen on his

Wanderschaft, but also on his understanding of the regional significance of these saints. *St Gallus* had been a migrant from Ireland who had settled in the Lake Constance region where, according to the legend, he had built the foundations of the monastery at St Gallen. The wood for this original building had been gathered by a bear, subdued by Gallus, which Ertinger included at the feet of the saint.[92] Therefore, the story of *St Gallus* was intertwined with the history of the region but, what is more, he was also the patron saint of the feverstricken, which means that he had a personal relevance for Franz Ertinger who had frequently suffered from severe fevers, seeking relief through the intervention of saints, as the next paragraph will show.

David Morgan has examined statues of saints in relation to his concept of visual piety and identified a further operation of which these statues were the focus as early as the Middle Ages. Morgan referred to this operation as *interactivity*, the interaction with religious objects through prayer and practices such as decorating images and dressing up sculptures or leaving ex votos near them.[93] After Ertinger had been wrestling with a fever, he vowed to go on a pilgrimage:

> "Hab ih nach ge Entigtem fünff Vihrtel Jahr gehabten lang gehabten Ein, Zway, Drey und Vih)r dägigem Fübers eine kierchfahrt nacher Maria Zell in obersteirmarckh verlobt [all sic]."

92 Ecumenical Dictionary of Saints, entry St Gallus, http://www.heiligenlexikon.de/BiographienG/Gallus.html, last viewed 23/04/2011
93 Morgan, *Visual Piety*, 1998, 34

> "After a fever had ended which I had had for five quarters of a year, lasting one, two, three and four days, I vowed to go on a pilgrimage to Maria Zell in Upper Styria."[94]

Feeling that he had been cured, he kept his promise and carried out his pilgrimage. At the chapel in Maria Zell he did not only see a statue of the Virgin Mary and Christ Child "which stood in the middle of the big church" but he also happened to witness a "Hungarian procession with trumpets and drums (unnd ist eben weil ih darinen wahr eine hungarische procession under Trompeten und Pauckenschall, an dissem gnaden ohrt eingezogen)".[95] The procession was led by Count Esterhazy who, as Ertinger learnt, had donated the silver altar which was located in the chapel. The sculptor was also shown a number of relics from the passion of Christ ("viele Pardickel von dem Passion Christi") and a painted image of the Mother of God which he believed to be of Heavenly origin and which aided the "god-fearing Emperor" in attaining "a glorious victory against the Turks".[96] Moreover, Ertinger saw an image made by a painter who had made a pact with the Devil, for the "Erhaltung der Mahler Kunst (for the preservation of the art of painting)" and who had managed to redeem himself at Maria Zell where he subsequenty became a monk.[97]

According to Morgan, religious practices from the Middle Ages onwards can be explained from the position that "the material and spiritual realms existed on a single continuum" which can also be observed in Ertinger's description of the interior of the pilgrimage chapel. In this situation, Ertinger was confronted with

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94 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 34
95 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 36
96 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 36
97 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907, 37

much information, regarding both the supernatural and the mundane, surrounding the sculptures and paintings in this church which he had to absorb and process. In sites where Ertinger could see art works, such as the church at Maria Zell or the Charles Bridge in Prague, the spiritual, social and historical worlds of which these objects were part, and in which they were meaningful, were expressed and perpetuated by practices of devotion, celebration and commemoration. Not just through observation of, but through participation in these practices, Ertinger acquired knowledge of the multiple functions and meanings of a sculpture, a process of learning which led him to form an idea of a canon that was informed by a variety of origins, functions and meanings of the objects of which it was comprised.

Possessing this largely tacit knowledge of a vast body of art works, their individual histories and how they had affected himself and others who had seen and “interacted” with these objects, whether in affirmation of their purpose and meaning through worship, or in opposition to it through iconoclasm, meant that Ertinger had a variety of specific cognitive tools at his disposal when it came to the production of his own sculptures. Ertinger's *St Gallus* and *St Magnus* might be seen as unsophisticated and undeserving of a place in a canonical history of art. Yet, in an epistemologically informed history of art his works can be interpreted to occupy a place in a tradition which sprang from Ertinger's world of ideas, rather than from the premises of an academic discipline which conform to a modern epistemic order as formulated, for example, by Schenda. His *Wanderschaft* expanded Ertinger's knowledge of the devotional and historical significance of art objects, enabling him to situate his own works in relation to those of Leinberger

and others whom he admired. What is more, the works he saw set standards of quality, not just in terms of craftsmanship but in terms of their suitability for specific forms of worship. After all, his sculptures would have been a focus for the worship of saints and he knew that the local population would pray in front of his sculptures which probably had a reassuring effect at times when people needed solace and healing; Morgan argues that in the Middle Ages beholding a statue was thought to facilitate physical healing.[98] Similarly, the fever-stricken of Sonthofen were likely to have turned to *St Gallus* hoping for his intervention in keeping with the same beliefs that had led Ertinger to Maria Zell, which means that the sculpture had to be fashioned in a way that conveyed specific emotions so that it would be accepted by the locals as a vehicle of their visual piety. A sculptor like Ertinger needed to know, tacitly, how sculptures of saints could be rendered in ways that would evoke the desired response. The following example will demonstrate how sophisticated and multifarious this knowledge could have been.

A work by Hans Ludwig Ertinger (1638-1722), Franz's father, which is now preserved in the *Heimathaus* museum at Sonthofen highlights that these sculptors conceived of their works in terms of *Interactivity*.[99] The work in question (fig. 12) is a statue of Jesus which doubled as a donation box; Hans Ertinger furnished the figure with a crown of thorns and a prominent wound at the side, which is the slot through which churchgoers could insert their offerings into the statue-box. This object makes a cunning connection between charity and the ultimate sacrifice to redeem the Original Sin. The donation box would have reminded the beholder of

98 Morgan, *Visual Piety*, 1998, 60
99 Gunther le Maire, “Jesu Seitenwunde dient als Opferstock”, article in *Oberallgäuer Anzeiger*, No. 174, 30 July 2005, 42

Christ's suffering and enabled them to see their own humble gift in relation to the values associated with the sacrifice of Jesus. Moreover, the action of inserting a coin through the “wound” in the figure's side is reminiscent of the story of Doubting Thomas touching the wounds of Christ. The giver does the same, which means that the statue, in combination with the action of giving/touching, provides a visceral reminder of the resurrection and divinity of Christ. Franz Ertinger's affinity with stories of gore and the physical nature of the operations and associations prompted by his father's statue-box could be interpreted as manifestations of a culture of blood and flesh through which they imagined historical/biblical events as well as their sculptural production. Many of the works seen by Franz during his *Wanderschaft* were engrained within this culture, such as an altarpiece produced by the baroque painter J. Willmann which graphically depicts the flaying of St Bartholomew (figs. 17 and 18).[100] Hans Ertinger's statue had the potential to load the trivial gesture of putting a coin into a box with multiple meanings. It is likely that sculptors like Franz Ertinger were aware of these effects, which means that their work possibly involved a (probably tacit) interpretative activity, leading to the production of objects that could elicit complex responses in those who interacted with them.

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100 Tietze-Conrad, Ertinger, *Reisebeschreibung*, 1907; Ertinger mentions that the altarpiece, located at “Cremniz” in Silesia, near the Polish border, was painted by “J. Wüllmann” at the monastery at Leubus/Lubiaź. The painter Michael Willmann (1630-1706) setlled at this monastery in 1662 and produced a series of paintings depicting the martyrdom of saints among them a painting of St Bartholomew for which an oil sketch has been preserved (fig.). There is also a St Bartholomew altarpieceat the church of Pardubice near Prague, made by Willmann in 1705. Although “Cremniz” could not be identified, due to its described location it is not identical with Pardubice. It is possible that the image seen by Franz Ertinger was a copy of these altarpieces, probably made by a son (J.?) of Michael Willmann. On 16 July 2011 an image of the martyrdom of the apostle St Bartholomew went up for auction at the Dorotheum which has been attributed to the circle of Michael Willmann and could also be a version of the image seen by Ertinger.
Hannes Etzlstorfer. "Willmann, Michael." In *Grove Art Online*. *Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T091712 (accessed June 18, 2011)

In contrast to Ertinger's understanding of sculpture, Johann Eckstein had the chance to assemble a broader knowledge of sculptural traditions. Franz Ertinger's concept of sculpture was informed by a world view which was deeply rooted in Catholicism and its system of values and rituals from which he seemingly never wavered. Johann grew up in Bavaria, too, and would have seen baroque churches in the region, replete with polychrome wood sculptures, which attracted the visual piety of the local community. Having been raised as a Protestant in the 1730s and 1740s, however, his perception of sculpture would probably have differed from Ertinger's intense investment in the veneration of saints and their statues and would have been changed further by the monumental works of Roubiliac and the subject matters derived from classical antiquity which dominated in the Society of Artists', and later, the Royal Academy exhibitions. Unlike Ertinger, whose work as a sculptor appears to have been very much informed by his identity as a Catholic, Eckstein had to produce objects which served a variety of purposes.

Eckstein, too, carried out religiously themed works while under the patronage of the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, although the archival sources at Schwerin do not suggest that works such as the wax reliefs of the *Good Samaritan* (1773) (fig. 19) and *Christ and the Canaanite Woman* (1773) (figs. 20-22) were commissions. However, Eckstein did produce an identical copy of the *Resurrection of Lazarus* (fig. 31-37) when he worked in Philadelphia which maybe indicates a personal interest in the subject matter.[101] While Ertinger appears to have been enthralled by depictions of Christ as Man of Sorrows and believed in healing through the intervention of saints via statues, Eckstein's reliefs seem to indicate a

101 This copy is now kept at the Cincinnati Art Museum

different kind of visual piety. The reliefs have a narrative rather than an iconic character and promote values of charity without soliciting the same kind of interactivity as Hans Ertinger's wounded Christ. Eckstein did not dye the wax for the *Good Samaritan* and the *Caananite Woman*, unlike for the other reliefs in the Schwerin collection. The properties of coloured wax, as the next chapter will discuss in detail, could have created a flesh-like appearance. But Eckstein chose not to explore this effect, creating a distance from the visceral through which the Ertingers de- and encoded religious sentiments. In the light of his journey to England during which Eckstein was most likely introduced to the teachings of Emanuel Swedenborg for the first time, the *Canaanite Woman* takes on a particular significance. The relief depicts the story of a woman from Canaan who implores Jesus to work a miracle on her possessed daughter. Jesus responds by remarking that “I was sent only to the lost sheep of Israel; It is not right to take the children's bread and toss it to their dogs” (Matthew 15:21-28). Yet, the woman persists, saying that “even the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from their masters' table” and Jesus grants her his help. This exchange is referenced in the relief by Jesus pointing at the kneeling woman who in turn points at a dog by her side (details figs. 21, 22). The composition indicates a hierarchy of states of religious “enlightenment” from Jesus who looks up at his heavenly father and the disciples which surround him to the woman who pleadingly reaches up towards the son of God. It is possible that Eckstein who was searching for alternatives to mainstream Protestantism chose the rather obscure subject because it implied the overcoming of difference through humility and submission to the Lord which characterise the woman's attitude. The story of the Canaanite woman might have enabled Eckstein

to reconcile his reformist ideas with his Christian identity because it highlights the importance of shared values over prejudice and differences. Although we do not know whether Eckstein clashed with his patron at Ludwigslust in matters of religion, the duke who had “read and meditated a great deal” and, according to Nugent, had been a “great master of the abstruser points of metaphysics” might have picked up on this subtext and read the relief as a theological statement rather than just a visualisation of a biblical narrative.[102]

The examples of both Ertinger and Eckstein show that image-makers of this period commanded sets of discourses and visual traditions which were derived from specific epistemic orders and value systems. However, these systems, or registers of thought and meaning, to return to the definition of “culture” used in the previous chapter, were not rigid and were negotiated and altered by the activity of those artisans who relied heavily on these semiotic libraries for their daily work. Investigating systems or archives of knowledge provides insights into how migrating sculptors situated their works in relation to wider theological, historical, social and also professional discourses. What is more, an investigation which looks at image-makers as tied up in a Republic of Tools with other artisans draws attention to how all citizens of this Republic contributed to the making of “culture” by using and interpreting sculptures and images. Such interpretations were absorbed by image-makers on both a tacit and explicit level and, as such, constituted feedback which had the potential to add further registers of meaning to semiotic libraries on which sculptors could draw to encode in their works what mattered and what was comprehensible to the other citizens in the Republic of

102 Thomas Nugent, *Travels through Germany*, 1768, 257

Tools. Thinking about systems of knowledge which sprang from living and working as migrating artisans enables informed speculation about what objects meant to artisans, including image-makers themselves, and about the position of these objects in the grand narratives of the history of the Republic of Tools.

4.6 Conclusion

The learning experiences which took place during the Wanderschaft did not foster a compartmentalisation of knowledge. When visiting a place, Ertinger would have had been confronted with a range of new experiences simultaneously; the visual and oral nature of most of his learning meant that he took in, all at once, knowledge about regional and artisanal histories, sculptures, altar pieces and buildings, as well as languages, folk music and customs, and more. This means that he had to incorporate these impressions, which can be understood as fragments of semiotic registers, into his existing repository of symbols, styles, rituals and practices. The knowledge which was available to Ertinger and his fellow journeymen-sculptors can, thus, be described as a composite of elements from visual, oral, popular and “high” culture. Processing this composite information would have required the application of a number of tacit strategies. Rather than deliberately analysing and categorising what was seen and experienced, the learning methods of the Bildhauergesellen should be understood as synthetic, relating what had been heard to what had been seen to what had been done.

This notion of learning calls into question the suitability of approaches, which focus exclusively on literacy to comprehend the epistemic universe of early

modern and eighteenth-century artisans. By restricting analysis to cultures of reading only, results are produced which reinforce the dichotomy between practical and theoretical knowledge. Abandoning the idea that “valid” knowledge can only be attained through the study of scholarly literature and discourse makes it possible to appreciate those elements of the journals by Ertinger and Ménétra as clues to the frameworks of reference of their authors which would be marginalised in analyses of these texts on academic premises. From the perspective articulated by Rudolf Schenda, the “flaws” of these texts (in particular, the incoherent narrative created by abrupt shifts in subject matter) make their authors appear like the simpletons which Schenda implicitly makes them out to be, unable to sustain a train of thought for more than a page. Instead, it can be argued that the pan-sensory learning experience and resulting multivalent knowledge of artisans on Wanderschaft could not be adequately expressed by conventional narrative means. Learning, which would have been acquired (and remembered?) simultaneously, and depended deeply on tacit skills, could not readily be made to form a textual, linear narrative.

The peculiar composite nature of how knowledge was organised and employed by Ertinger and his peers, however, adds more tools to the cognitive tool-box, refining the tool broadly referred to as “intercultural competence” which emerged in the previous chapter. Chapter 4 showed that the ability to adapt to distinct registers of thought and meaning rested on the capacity to organise diverse meanings and understand the motivations of the actions of others in relation to the shared experience of being a (migrating) craftsman. Co-dependent on this cognitive tool was another one which I described as the ability to create,

maintain, (re-)order and access unwritten archives of artisan histories, enabling craftsmen to establish an invented tradition of a Republic of Tools. In the case of imagemakers, sculptors specifically, the latter cognitive tool also would have assisted them in creating canons of sculpture which were ordered on the basis of value systems that structured the lives of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artisans.

It has been seen that the learning of artisans of this period was synthetic and characterised by an absence of compartmentalisation due to its often tacit strategies. Envisioning Ertinger's historical understanding has resulted in the discovery of how his sense of history was informed by local “invented” traditions and sentiments about the past which, ultimately, shaped his sense of belonging to a resident community of artisans that I have termed the *Republic of Tools*. In addition, it has been show how this synthetic, decompartmentalised learning was drawn on by sculptors and other artisans, like Ménétra, to make sense of and describe the world around them. Of course, the objection can be raised that visually and orally transmitted knowledge was open to greater misunderstandings and that, consequently, a history of artisan worlds of knowledge would perpetuate, even elevate, their fragmentary and apocryphal “scholarship”. Rudolf Schenda in *Eine sizilianische Straße* reports the (mis)interpretations made by an illiterate sacristan of the imagery in a provincial Sicilian church; the sacristan mistook images of St Agatha with the figure of Penelope, the wife of Odysseus.[103] Misinterpretations and misinformation were certainly likely in Ertinger's world of

103 Rudolf Schenda, “Eine sizilianische Straße” (1965), quoted in Wolfgang Harms, Alfred Messerli (eds.), *Wahrnehmungsgeschichte und Wissensdiskurs im illustrierten Flugblatt der Frühen Neuzeit*, Basel, Schwabe&Co, 2002, 28

learning, but the knowledge acquired by artisans like Ertinger should not be evaluated in terms of “accuracy”. Instead, the interpretative strategies derived from the knowledge of these artisans reinforced identities and abilities which were highly relevant to them, individually and as a social and professional group. A study of artisanal learning with a focus on its non-literary elements acknowledges the registers through which the Ertingers, Ecksteins and Ménétras of this time constructed meanings from their surroundings. As long as the knowledge they held aided them in situating themselves in relation to the past, their profession, and the cultural registers of others, it should be perceived as “accurate”, rather than insisting on an absolute historical truth which does not exist. Moreover, the chapter has shown how the histories which forged the Republic of Tools could coexist but also clash with contemporary historical narratives constructed in order to legitimise the ruling houses of the Continent and England. Evaluating how Eckstein might have situated himself in relation to the texts of Thomas Nugent which dealt with the rulers of Mecklenburg has brought about an awareness of his capacities to critically approach his patrons and systems of patronage, in general. It has become clear that the Republic of Tools was, after all, not free - which Eckstein realised. Consequently, he struggled to escape the old Republic in search of a new one, based on institutions which had supported him and shown him more liberal systems of patronage.

In conclusion, the chapter has demonstrated that the oral exchanges of the *Wanderschaft* and its workshop and tavern life enabled artisans to access the unwritten chronicles or archives of local artisan populations. Through these archives, knowledge was preserved and ordered in a manner which was

comprehensible and relevant to artisans who came from other regions because they recognised their own ways of living and working in the histories contained in these archives. A micro-analysis of itineraries and travel journals written by artisans has been successful at opening up avenues for the informed speculation on the “invented traditions” of artisan populations which came from “below”, in contrast to the invented traditions of empires or nations, and qualify as grand narratives because they include artisan responses to large-scale historical events. As a result, the concept of a Republic of Tools has emerged which cohered by specific modes of learning and exchange; the following chapter will further inquire into identities which were played out in the Republic of Tools. Chapter 5 will also test the applicability of the methods of cultural transfer and acculturation in relation to the knowledge exchanges which took place between groups within the culturally diverse Republic of Tools and the implications of composite knowledge for the formation of identities. The composite learning experiences of artisans led to the formation of “semiotic libraries” which shaped their interpretative capacities, affecting both the reception and the production of sculpture. A consideration of sculpture in relation to the epistemic worlds of artisans who saw and made sculpted objects offers opportunities to understand art in relation to its position in the grand narratives of artisan histories, leading to insights of alternative meanings and functions of sculpture in addition (or opposition?) to its significance in the visual rhetoric of empires and nations.

5. COMPOSITE IDENTITIES AND KNOWLEDGE EXCHANGE

5.1 Introduction

"A vase is a vase is a vase – no matter how far it has travelled".[1] This statement once expressed its author's disenchantment with studies of (inter-)cultural exchange. In Ulrich Gotter's opinion, research on cultural exchange was supposed to investigate how intercultural encounters could function as a catalyst for cultural change, instead of merely following around a material object. In other words, cultural exchange studies should be driven by epistemological objectives, rather than observe the movement of objects across cultural boundaries without exploring the cognitive impact of their arrival in the environment into which they had been introduced. Although it has to be pointed out that objects function as vehicles for, or material expressions of, ideas, the statement underlines the significance of this thesis's writing of a history of ideas in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sculptors' workshops. Especially in the history of art, a discipline where the vase (or sculpture or painting or print) is normally at the centre of attention, it is necessary to shift the inquiry away from the object when the object can no longer provide clues as to the nature of the transfer. One needs, instead, to pursue an alternative train of thought. Hence, this chapter will carry on with the exploration of the way knowledge was acquired, processed and ordered by the likes of Ertinger, Eckstein and Ménétra. Yet, the examination of how knowledge was shared will be driven by questions of identity and how composite

1 Ulrich Gotter, "*Akkulturation* als methodisches Problem der historischen Wissenschaften" in Wolfang Eßbach (ed.), *Wir/Ihr/Sie – Identität und Alterität in Theorie und Methode*, Würzburg, Ergon Verlag, 2000

identities corresponded to composite knowledge. The discussion of the cognitive tool-box will not be as prominent in chapter 5 as in the previous chapter because the tool of exchange is structural to the toolbox itself, as the chapter's conclusion will discuss. Due to the crucial role of exchange in building archives of artisan knowledge as addressed in the previous chapter, an inquiry into the methodological and historical intricacies of exchange processes is merited in a thesis which discusses the cognitive structures of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artisans.

Rather than tracing specific exchanges of technical know-how of which there are many indications in Ménétra's journal (such as his knowledge of how to make “Bohemian” glass, an apparently rare skill which he most likely learnt from a Bohemian journeyman),[2] this chapter will demonstrate that the exchange, or rather, sharing of knowledge could reinforce, as well as destabilise identities and lead to shifts in the composite identity of an individual. Moreover, it will be shown how exchanges on an individual level indicate how men who shaped official religious, historical and political discourses were confronted with the views of those who are presented by certain branches of historiography as receivers of appropriated fragments of these discourses. By exploring how the opinions of men of tools influenced the perception of men of letters (and vice versa) in exchange situations which were highly complex and volatile in terms of identity, the argument departs from Hans Naumann's affirmation that “the [common] people do not produce, they only reproduce” (“das Volk produziert nicht, es reproduziert”).[3] They produce no knowledge, no art, no history of their own but only reproduce the

2 See 1. Introduction, 38
3 Hans Naumann, *Primitive Gemeinschaftskultur – Beiträge zur Volkskunde und Mythologie*, Jena, Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1921, 5

culture of the elites. Although this sentiment is not articulated as crassly in more recent scholarship on “popular” culture, it still underlies the argumentation of authors such as Rudolf Schenda, Andreas Grießinger, Alain Corbin, and others who approach the epistemic and semiotic systems of “lower” artisans from the observatory of academia. The previous chapter has apprehended the traditions of migrating and local artisan populations as part of the grand narratives of history, developing an understanding of how the sharing of knowledge led to a sense of community between people of different trades, regions/countries and even religions. Building on these insights, this chapter will enlarge upon the correlations of shared knowledge and the composite identities of eighteenth-century artisans, as well as the relevance of exchange for the formation of new ways of knowing and understanding.

Before providing an overview of transfer research so far, it should be noted that the term “transfer”, as used in much of the German and French literature on the subject, could often be read interchangeably with “exchange”. The Franco-German “school” of cultural transfer studies is first and foremost concerned with how the transfer object is modified by the “recipient” culture and has introduced notions of bi- and tri-lateral transfers to acknowledge the active role of the “recipient” in the absorption of cultural elements and the multiple directions of transfer processes. The scholars whose work will be discussed in this chapter took pains to distance their efforts from research focused on “influence” which, in their view, was tarnished with a bias towards the assumedly superior culture of “origin”. In order to avoid the negative connotations of “transfer” (one-way, from a superior

to an inferior culture), the term has increasingly been replaced with “exchange”.[4] In this chapter, the term “transfer” will be used in keeping with its original appearance in the transfer literature for the sake of accuracy. “Cultural exchange” and “acculturation” will also be used where appropriate, but it should be noted in advance that the chapter will employ the term “exchange” more liberally as the argument unfolds, in the sense of sharing of knowledge, unless indicated otherwise.

The previous chapters have already touched on the issue of the transmission of knowledge among a cosmopolitan community of artisans who were used to negotiating cultural differences and nuances at every career stage. The exploration of the subject of journeymen's cognitive structures, including their perception of cultural differences, has led to the conclusion that the young sculptors' upbringing in a workshop/household environment where the presence of journeymen from culturally distinct regions was commonplace brought forth a readiness to engage with potential obstacles resulting from the cultural diversity of the work force. It has been speculated that the workshop's cultural diversity encouraged the development of competences which facilitated adaptation to different mentalities, languages and professional orientations which characterised the ever-shifting cosmopolitan sphere of sculptural production. It might strike modern minds, in which the antagonising qualities of nationalism have taken hold, as paradoxical that this readiness to accommodate and adjust to cultural differences is not at all naturally congruous with a perception of cultural difference in terms of “us” and “them” (Self-Other). Cultural plurality was accepted as a given

4 For a critique of the terminology refer to Herman Roodenburg (ed.), *Cultural Exchange in early modern Europe*, Vol. IV, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, 3-4

in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artisan's workshop and only in isolated instances has it been documented to provoke mutual alienation or even animosity. During the course of exploring the implications of the cosmopolitan mode of sociability in and outside of the sculptors' workshop, it has surfaced that the modes of learning which characterised the Wanderschaft gave rise to certain cognitive patterns which equipped young men embarking on their journeys with competences to cope with the instability and diversity of new environments and encounters. The underlying misconception that the oral and visual transmission of knowledge rendered the workshop population incapable of complex reasoning and inept at historicizing has been contested, showing that rather than hindering knowledge acquisition the oral and visual traditions of the workshop fostered vital cognitive strategies.

As has been shown previously, complex cognitive strategies are concealed behind the interactions of a supposedly simple-minded professional group. Setting the assumption of their intellectual naiveté aside and exploring their cognitive tools without a logocentric bias is expected to alter the view of (interim) non-academic sculptors, and artisans generally, as being as plain-thinking and mentally inflexible as they appear from the writings of Corbin, Grießinger and Schenda. Rather than thinking of them as a kind of intellectual plebs and fabricating an account of a quaint, encapsulated artisanal culture, it is more appropriate to seriously explore the role of these socially and physically highly mobile individuals in constructing and perpetuating discourses surrounding social, professional and religious discourses which bore on artisan history and self-awareness. Prior to thinking about what these discourses were in relation to Eckstein and Ménétra, and

examining how the sharing of knowledge affected them, it is necessary to provide a brief synopsis of research trends in the field of cultural exchange. Consecutively, the fittingness and applicability of currently fashionable concepts of intercultural/knowledge exchange and acculturation will be put to the test in relation to the specific situation of the two case studies of Ertinger and Eckstein. In this inquiry, the emphasis will be placed on the individual journeymen as agents who engage with and modify a range of ideas, with an emphasis on their professional and intellectual development, rather than on particular cultural entities (referred to as Kulturgut in the literature surrounding conventional concepts of cultural transfer) which are to be exchanged between two or more contexts. It will be seen that the parameters of the core hypotheses proposed in recent cultural exchange studies are incompatible with the situation of itinerant sculptors in the seventeenth and eighteenth century and will need to undergo revision. These parameters, although thoughtfully debated and developed, clash fundamentally with the ideas outlined in chapters 2 and 3. Principally, transfer and acculturation studies are fixated on an anticipated outcome of exchange (bringing measurable "cultural" change on a societal level), stipulating a relevant perception of alterity as essential for the established formula and excluding historical situations in which exchange was "endemic".[5] It will be seen that these conditions need not apply in order to consider the sharing of ideas and how it affected the ways in which seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artisans interpreted theological, political, social and trade-related matters and how they situated themselves in their world by virtue of exchanges of ideas.

5 Eßbach, Wir/Ihr/Sie, 2000, 387

5.2 "The alien within" - the good intentions of intercultural transfer studies

Originally, the notion of cultural transfer came to prominence during the late-1980s mainly through the work of Michel Espagne whose seminal text Transferts was published in 1988. In *Transferts* which Espagne edited in collaboration with Michael Werner, another exponent of cultural transfer studies, cultural relations between France and Germany in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were subjected to scrutiny.[6] The basic premise of cultural transfer as formulated by Espagne/Werner derives from a critique of the methods employed by the German branch of cultural studies called *Komparatistik* (comparative studies) in which, as the name suggests, a cultural phenomenon which occurs in two or more contexts, usually nations, is compared. *Komparatistik*, thus, highlights similarities and differences between cultures. According to Espagne and Werner, the methodology of comparative studies structurally reinforces, even defends, a sense of national demarcation because of its tendency to juxtapose the selected research objects in two separate contexts.[7] These national contexts are seen as autonomous cultural fields in comparative studies. *Komparatistik* does not explore, or even acknowledge, the possibilities of interrelations or exchanges between these units.[8] Scholars who subscribe to the original (Espagne and Werner) concept of cultural transfer view this methodology as rigid and even pernicious due to its underlying assumption that (national) cultures are monolithic and autonomous entities. While

6 Michel Espagne, Michael Werner (eds.), *Transferts – les relations interculturelles dans l'espace Franco-Allemand*, Paris, Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1988

7 Maria Katarzyna Lasatowicz, Jürgen Joachimsthaler (eds.), *Assimilation, Abgrenzung, Austausch – Interkulturalität in Sprache und Literatur*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang Verlag, 1999

8 Lasatowicz, Joachimsthaler, *Assimilation, Abgrenzung, Austausch*, 1999, 147-148

Komparatistik was seen as a divisive model because it promoted the integrity of national cultures, cultural transfer studies (*Transferforschung*) looked towards instances of encounters, the existence and activities of so-called mediators (*Vermittler*) between cultures and the import, export and subsequent modification of cultural products (i.e. literature, art objects, technology, etc.).[9]

Intercultural encounters have been researched previously by the Swiss historian Urs Bitterli whose writing on forms of European-Transatlantic cultural contact served as a stimulus for scholars interested in cultural transfer mechanisms. Urs Bitterli refined the then vague concept of intercultural encounters, dividing them into several categories which reflected their particular configuration and outcome.[10] He introduced three basic forms of cultural contact: *Kulturberührung* (lit. culture "touch"), *Kulturzusammenstoß* (culture clash) and *Kulturbeziehung* (culture relation), mentioning a fourth, which he does not discuss further (*Kulturverflechtung* or culture linkage).[11] Considering the radical novelty of the often unprecedented transatlantic encounters described by Bitterli, these terms hold a limited relevance for the ideas developed in this thesis but deserve a mention, nevertheless, due to their underlying significance for the evolving concept of cultural transfer and exchange. Bitterli's categorisation is inferred from historical case studies in which the original confrontation with completely (and collectively) unfamiliar forms of culture and the formation of relations takes centre stage. Subsequent transfer research grew out of Bitterli's work and, as will be shown, neglected to adjust parameters derived from a study of first-hand encounters

9 Lasatowicz, Joachimsthaler, *Assimilation, Abgrenzung, Austausch*, 1999, 148
10 Urs Bitterli, *Alte Welt – Neue Welt. Formen des europäisch-überseeischen Kulturkontakts vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Munich, C.H. Beck, 1986
11 "Grundformen des Kulturkontakts: Kulturberührung, Kulturzusammenstoß, Kulturbeziehung" in Bitterli, *Alte Welt – Neue Welt*, 1986, 17-54

between European and transatlantic peoples to research which focused (initially) on Anglo-German transfer processes.

Bitterli's ideas on different kinds or stages of cultural contacts provided impulses for scholars working in the field of cultural transfer studies (their contributions will be discussed shortly), prompting thoughts on other possible outcomes of intercultural encounters. Abandoning Bitterli's anthropological-sociological orientation, scholars such as Michel Espagne, Johannes Paulmann, Joseph Jurt and others pursued an epistemological-sociological line of inquiry. These authors directed their attention to the transformations of ideas upon their introduction into a cultural context different from the one in which they had (supposedly) originated. These authors, however, took pains to distance their work from the notion of influence, referred to in the German literature as Einflussforschung, suggesting a separate branch of historical inquiry dedicated to tracing influences. In the introduction to Günther Berger's and Franziska Sick's book on Franco-German cultural transfer in the Ancien Régime, Joseph Jurt summed up this position towards previous work driven by the concept of influence.[12] According to Jurt, the principal objection to influence studies had been its disregard of the processes at work in the recipient system, which means, the manifold ways in which the transfer “objects” are selected or rejected for transfer and, subsequently, modified.[13] Implicitly, influence studies privilege the culture out of which the transfer object, that is the tangible object or abstract idea, is taken.[14] In contrast, transfer studies attempt to undermine the assumed primacy of the

12 Günther Berger and Franziska Sick (eds.), *Französisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer im Ancien Régime*, Tübingen, Stauffenburg Verlag, 2002, 15-38
13 Berger and Sick, *Kulturtransfer*, 2002, 22
14 Berger and Sick, *Kulturtransfer*, 2002, 22

"culture of origin". To achieve this, the idea of "contamination" was introduced.[15] "Contamination of culture" was supposed to acquire positive connotations of a mixing or hybridisation of forms of culture, and work against the notion that culture is "pure" or "homogeneous".[16] The objective of the research strategy of cultural transfer studies as coined by Espagne and Werner has repeatedly been paraphrased as the desire to discover *Das Fremde im Eigenen* (The alien/other in one's own culture).[17] The exposure of the "hidden heterogeneity behind the imagined homogeneity" is the central, laudable goal of this school of cultural transfer studies.[18] Emphasising the introduction of "foreign" cultural elements, their subsequent "storage", modification and dilution, until their "foreign" origins were forgotten or nor longer recognisable was clearly conceived with the aim of discrediting studies which took the homogeneity of (national) cultures as a natural given. This identification of apparently foreign cultural material or ideas among what was assumed to be one's own autonomous and consistent culture is without doubt a key achievement of cultural transfer studies.

In the light of the previous arguments of this thesis, however, the objective to unearth the "alien" culture within becomes problematic. In their efforts to counteract the nationalising tendencies of older methodologies, cultural transfer studies were driven by an agenda which fostered the retrospective identification of cultural elements as "other". Declaring cultural transfer as a process which "opened up" distinctive cultures to each other, implies the existence of "closed"

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15 Berger and Sick, *Kulturtransfer*, 2002, 31
16 Berger and Sick, *Kulturtransfer*, 2002, 31
17 Berger and Sick, *Kulturtransfer*, 2002 30-33
18 Mathias Middell, "Von der Wechselseitigkeit der Kulturen im Austausch: Das Konzept des Kulturtransfers in verschiedenen Forschungskontexten" in Andrea Langer and Georg Michels (eds.), *Metropolen und Kulturtransfer im 15./16. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2001, 17

entities. As a result, the methodology in its early formula, while deconstructing the preconception of (national) culture as homogeneous, introduced new misconceptions about the objects of cultural transfer which, as will be seen shortly, can be interpreted as destructive rather than supportive of the agenda of early cultural transfer theorists. The methodology of cultural transfer, as outlined above, had been conceived to undermine the supposed cultural homogeneity of the nation state and, in producing case studies built upon this methodology, the field constitutes a challenge to the constructed cultural/traditional foundations which provide the justification for the modern nation. Yet, it has to be argued that while cultural transfer studies successfully contested the order implicit in concepts of national-cultural homogeneity and continuity, they were developed from premises which were not necessarily meaningful in relation to the historical situation.

Namely, in order for the transfer to work as an opening process according to the logic, and on the macroscopic level, prescribed by Espagne and Werner, the cultures subject to the transfer/exchange need to be clearly set apart with their principal points of intersection being the activity of the so-called mediators or Vermittler. The transfer object had to be perceived as foreign, not just by the transfer historian but also by the historical agents who initiate the exchange process themselves through deliberate selection (it follows that transfers can also be blocked or inhibited, resulting in a rejection of the foreign cultural element).[19] These requirements emerge from the cultural transfer's own logic. It transpires that the entire transfer process depends on a historical sense of mutual alienation. In order to overcome the contemporary national-cultural segregation, alien elements

19 Rudolf Muhs, Johannes Paulmann, Willibald Steinmetz (eds.), *Aneignung und Abwehr – Interkultureller Transfer zwischen Deutschland und Großbritannien im 19. Jahrhundert*, Bochum, Arbeitskries Deutsche England-Forschung, Philo, 1998, 18

need to be recovered from an assumedly homogeneous cultural framework to prove its actual heterogeneity, regardless of the actual nature of the relationship between the transfer agents, between the agents and the transfer object, and of the status of the transfer objects in the historical framework. In other words, the determination of transfer historians to undermine the misconception of cultural homogeneity acts as a prism, distorting the view of the historical conditions for the respective transfer by imposing a particular perception onto the transfer agents.

Of course, this thesis, like any attempt to ascertain in what way historical agents structured their thinking and made sense of their world, imposes perceptions on these agents, too. However, great pains are taken to base speculation about these perceptions on interpretations of source material and to keep reviewing them as the arguments unfold, especially, since the inquiry has taken an epistemological turn. So far, it has been determined that sculptors who travelled the Continent in search of work and maybe even a new life were, while acutely aware of cultural differences, rather unlikely to have perceived their peers and masters as foreign or “other”. Simultaneously, their sense of history, time and work cannot be subjected to the ordering principles which structure our historiography and our thinking today, as has been shown and will be explored further in this final chapter. Consequently, it will be seen that the sets of values and epistemic and semiotic registers which can be worked out on the basis of artisan journals create tremendously different premises for studies of knowledge exchange. If exchange is assumed to have taken place in a historical situation where the same national distinctions and ordering principles that matter to the historian did not, in all likelihood, matter a great deal at all, it becomes clear that

the existing methodology of cultural transfer which depends on these boundaries and paradigms needs to undergo fundamental re-structuring itself. If the historical contingency of the "foreignness" of the transfer object were to be acknowledged and would appear as less meaningful or even non-existent at the moment of the transfer, the method would lose its rhetorical force. A more ambiguous take on "foreignness" would destroy the clear outlines of the transfer elements and deprive the method of its clarity and focus. Transfer historians have failed to address this problem, instead skirting it by postulating the condition that "something [presumably the transfer object] needs to be perceived as alien, as not belonging to us."[20] Unfortunately, this means that the noble aim of bringing European cultures closer together by showing them the "alien" within is only partially met; if pursued further, transfer research in this form meets its limit and cannot be developed unless its self-imposed conditions are subjected to criticism and revision.

5.3 Identity groups vs composite identities

An insistence upon alterity is the key to preserving the logic and integrity of the transfer formula. Although the original formula has been refined, namely by the acculturationist Ulrich Gotter,[21] cultural difference is upheld as the essential

20 Muhs, Paulmann, Steinmetz (eds.), Aneignung und Abwehr, 1998

21 It is evident that Gotter views himself as an "acculturationist"(see Hans Medik, Peter Burke and others) only and discusses transfer research (Espagne/Werner) as a separate branch which was developed out of a "mainstream" of acculturation studies. Gotter refers to transfer research unfavourably as an "additive legitimisatory (legetimitatorisch, sic!) superstructure for individual Franco-German studies [= Ideengeschichte!]", rather than an approach which could "structure pragmatic research" (Eßbach, Wir/Ihr/Sie, 2000, 394). Since the different branches all attempt to comprehend cultural changes as a result of intercultural encounters, "acculturation" and "transfer" will be reconciled in this chapter – nit-picking into the inflections of the two branches

criterion for intercultural exchange. Gotter's revisionist contribution to Wolfgang Eßbach's volume on the role of alterity in processes of identity formation raises the point that it is not the existence of cultural differences upon which the exchange is conditional, but whether they were perceived as significant at the historical moment.[22] When cultural differences are noted but play no role in situating oneself with regards to the "other", they are to be seen as irrelevant to the formation of identity. This has implications for acculturation which is, for all intents and purposes, identical to the concept of transfer described previously. According to Gotter, differences which have no bearing on identity formation cannot be used as parameters for a study of acculturation/intercultural exchange because the resulting changes would no longer be the result of a conscious process.[23] In this case, acculturation takes place "below the level of reflection" which disqualifies it in the eyes of Gotter from being suitable for historical scrutiny. In order to ensure a valid case for acculturation, the author advocates a preliminary identification of groups which are eligible for an acculturation analysis. Rather than limiting these "identity groups" to an overarching and merely retrospectively valid concept such as nation, as in *Transferts*, Gotter advises to carry out research into groups of people who can be characterised by a sense of belonging to each other.[24] He argues that results of such a preliminary analysis are to serve as a basis which would validate any subsequent acculturation study. By paying attention to the issue of identities this strategy is supposed to bring forth more cogent premises for acculturation.

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would only complicate the already intricate argumentation of this chapter, without contributing any meaningful nuances to my argument

22 Eßbach, *Wir/Ihr/Sie*, 2000

23 Eßbach, *Wir/Ihr/Sie*, 2000, 396-397

24 Eßbach, *Wir/Ihr/Sie,* 2000, 395-396

Superficially, these revisions simplify finding an applicable transfer/acculturation situation among the complex epistemic and identity patterns of migrating artisans. After all, the preceding chapter has shown that it was possible for artisans of different trades and regions to become part of a community which has been named the Republic of Tools in relation to the Republic of Letters. One could readily assume that transfers took place between the two republics and that it is possible to construct a transfer study in keeping with the conventional format. However, while the heterogeneity of the Republic of Tools has been touched upon in the analysis of knowledge organisation, the internal dynamics of groups within the republic have not been addressed in full. While a shared archive of artisan histories, accessed through local oral and visual traditions, allowed itinerant artisans to bond with each other, the multiple identities of craftsmen like Eckstein and Ménétra need to be acknowledged and their interrelations explained. Instead of conflating a number of social, regional and professional identities into a monolithic “artisan” identity or culture, it is necessary to understand how the citizens of the Republic of Tools reconciled multiple identities. Through micro-level observations of Eckstein's and Ménétra's lives, it is possible to gain insights into the web of overlapping identities and its dynamics, which provides the opportunity to test whether the grounds of this derivative of the transfer model are solid.

The previous inquiry into modes of learning and “archiving” historical knowledge among craftsmen of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe has given rise to the concept of an artisan equivalent to the Republic of Letters. By sharing stories about unique “pasts” which were deeply rooted in trade and family traditions, artisans of different professions and from different regions were able to

envision grand or, geographically speaking, global narratives of history through the lense of craftsmanship. Even in cases when historical events and the ideological, theological and philosophical concepts which drove them were different from what people like Ertinger had previously encountered, these events and concepts were never “alien” because they were told from an artisan perspective. Thereby, migrating craftsmen were able to align themselves and their own backgrounds with the histories of their peers. Through this knowledge exchange which incorporated visual, oral and written components these craftsmen created a social sphere in which they were able to develop a sense of belonging which overruled their cultural differences without obliterating them. However, other identities also surface from Ertinger's and Ménétra's narratives which did not retreat behind the overarching identity that determined their membership in the Republic of Tools. Instead, the Republic of Tools has to be understood as an identity sphere where other identities (social, professional, regional and religious) were played out.

Ménétra's journal reveals that its author saw himself as a member of a specific trade which involved him in its particular forms of sociability. For example, he reports to have wanted a new suit for the glazier's feast day.[25] Through special occasions like these members of a trade would have been able to affirm professional and personal relationships. However, within the glazier's profession there were other identities which were contingent on the trade hierarchy; on the feast day of St Luke's it was the journeymen who organised particular festivities which acknowledged the status of the masters, for example, by “decorat[ing] with flowers the shops of masters who have companions” but which also required them

25 Jacques-Louis Ménétra and Daniel Roche (ed.), *Journal of My Life*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1986, 147

to take the day off, wear their companion liveries and to have a “superb feast” among comrades only.[26] This means that on trade-specific feast days not only the trade-related identity was reinforced but also the identities of companions, apprentices and masters and their respective place in the workshop hierarchy.

Throughout the journal, Ménétra refers to the people he encountered by their trade, although this information is often irrelevant to the events he narrates, suggesting the central importance of an artisan's line of work to his definition of personhood.[27] Simultaneously, Ménétra formed associations beyond his own profession some of which were temporary, while others were more long-lived. Often, the glazier enjoyed the company of his “countrymen”, that is, fellow Parisians, just as Ertinger had been delighted to find a man from his native region Lake Constance (ch. 3, p. 97). Ertinger's compatriot happened to be a sculptor who ran his own workshop, but Ménétra's Parisian friends worked in a variety of trades; he names, for example, a locksmith, a tapestry maker and a “brick-maker, that is, a sculptor-mason”.[28] In this case, the shared region of origin gave craftsmen who pursued different careers a common ground which consisted of local knowledge of Parisian neighbourhoods, a local dialect or past events in which all or some of them had participated. References to late-1740s and early-1750s Parisian lexica and sign systems would have been implicit in, and perpetuated by, their conversations.

Friendship and companionship did not solely depend on common regional or trade-related identities. Neither were forms of sociability strictly prescribed by the confraternities. Although Jacques-Louis Ménétra was a member of the Devoir,

26 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 99
27 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 170
28 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 74, 105

the compagnonage of glaziers, he frequently became involved with journeymen who were neither a compagnon du Devoir, nor Parisian or even French.[29] At one point during his tour, he found himself in Mâcon where the Devoir was not represented. This absence of the Devoir did not deter Ménétra from socialising with fellow journeymen and he decided, in jest, to form a confraternity of his own, appointing his friends “compagnions of the loaf”.[30] The glazier writes that “it was just a joke [and] the whole thing was just to drink and break bread together and laugh and have a good time.”[31] Yet, the joke continued and became so popular with journeymen from different trades, that it roused suspicions from the official Devoir. They were so worried about their unofficial counterpart that Ménétra received a “letter that had made its tour of France and was signed by the first companions of all the trades who begged me to give up the Devoir of the Loaf and not to accept any more members because the companions were neglecting the Devoir.”[32] The immense popularity of this alternative, informal association is indicative of an artisan sociability which transcended the obligations and rituals of individual confraternities. Craftsmen of all professions, countries and creeds were allowed in the confraternity of the loaf, and even though Ménétra assured his superiors that it was nothing but ”pure amusement”, a veiled criticism can be detected of the existing confraternities which did not admit non-Catholics. In his defense, the glazier stated that he had felt isolated, and with him had been “two companions […] who in their trade have no Devoir (and) several young Protestants of various trades who cannot belong to any Devoir because of their

29 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 287
30 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 105
31 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 105
32 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 105

religion".[33] He goes on to argue that he was doing the Devoir a favour by gathering these journeymen around him, rather than letting them join the "Gavots, Loups, Renards and Arpaillants [rival confraternities] and all those who abhor the Devoir".[34]

This situation is very complex in terms of identity and highlights the ambivalence of the identities involved on Ménétra's part alone. On the one hand, his trade-related and regional identities retreat behind the broad compagnon identity. At the same time, he argues because he had to talk himself out of the trouble the Devoir of the Loaf had gotten him into that he acted in the interest of the confraternity, defending the newly formed association with regards to the tensions which existed between confraternities. In order to prevent those for whom the regular Devoir had no space due to matters of belief and profession from "defecting" to these other confraternities, he saw it as being necessary to provide a community for them which was in line with the moral codex and symbolic origins of the Devoir. In his argument, identification with the confraternity is pointed out as more important than being a glazier or, indeed, a Catholic which suggests that in this case matters of labour and faith were overruled by the desire for social interaction. The discrimination against Protestants through the confraternities is likely to have been a genuine concern for Ménétra whose journal is often critical of the Church and its rigid hierarchies. Yet, the sense of belonging which explains the success of the Devoir of the Loaf seems to have derived simply from being a travelling artisan and their universal desire to find campanionship in an unfamiliar place where no institutions were in place to provide a minimum of professional and

33 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 106
34 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 106

social security.

In Mâcon, when constructing his defense to the confraternity, Ménétra would have identified less as a glazier, a Catholic, a Parisian and even a member of the Devoir. What mattered in this specific situation was being a Christian and a brother to his fellow journeymen and although he had to defend himself against the reprimands of the compagnons in charge, he held on to these convictions as is evident from his response. This example reveals the ambivalence of identities within the Republic of Tools and the ordering of specific situations through dynamic sets of values and expectations which were attached to these identities. At certain times of the year, Ménétra would have felt more like a glazier, for example on the glazier's feast day or when he was arguing with a competitor about a window design, while at other times and under different circumstances he would have seen himself more as a journeyman or a craftsman in general.[35]

Among the citizens of the Republic of Letters, the same principle can be detected; some of its members, such as Rousseau who had been an engraver's apprentice in his youth or the architect John Soane whose father had been a bricklayer and who, according to Joseph Farington, had “assisted his brother who was a journeyman bricklayer as hod-boy”,[36] came from the Republic of Tools and had been exposed to its identity-forming modes of living and learning for quite some time before they became men of letters. Similarly, Johann Eckstein who had spent many years on Wanderschaft and in workshops became an academician in

35 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 111

36 David Watkin, ‘Soane, Sir John (1753–1837)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25983, accessed 27 Feb 2011]
Jean-Jacques Rousseau, J.M. Cohen (ed.), *The Confessions of Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1954, 39

his later years but, as the previous chapter has shown, he did not leave behind the structures of thought which he had developed as a Wandergeselle. Instead, they kept informing his views and decisions and, although Rousseau and Soane became men of letters just like Roubiliac became a revered “artist”, there is no reason to assume that their ways of thinking were not in some way anchored in, or shaped by, their upbringing in artisan households. The realm of “letters” was as porous and fluid as the Republic of Tools itself and each of its members represented a number of ambivalent identities, each in their own unique constellation of experiences and expectations. Excising one of these identities and fixing it in the acculturation/transfer model as a stable unit of exchange drastically limits our understanding of the nature and results of exchange processes as they took place from the late-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century. By means of micro-level analysis, marginalised by transfer researchers as meaningless Ideengeschichte (history of ideas), the complexity of exchange situations in terms of identity becomes apparent and reveals how these identities informed the particular dynamic of specific micro-level transfers and how they were transformed in the process.

Isolating one particular identity for an acculturation/transfer study is reductive in a similar way to positing the nation as transfer unit. Each individual exchange of ideas and knowledge involved a dynamic web of shifting identities which only becomes apparent with a micro-level analysis. In other words, the artisan identities were composite, as was their knowledge. In this context, it is more fitting to think of a multi-dimensional Federation of Tools, rather than a Republic, whose members' histories and identities also branched into, and thereby

formed, the “elite” thought and identity structures of men of letters and their patrons.[37] As the previous chapter has shown, the sense of belonging which made this federation of artisans cohere across social strata and across cultures rested on multiple micro-exchanges of knowledge which, crucially, took place in a framework of labour, migration and tradition which was shared and, therefore, enabled artisans to relate back to themselves new knowledge which initially might not have fitted into their patterns of thought and interpretation. This ability to situate themselves in line with registers of thought and meaning which were very different from their own in certain ways can be seen as another facet of their intercultural competence. Knowledge exchange took place in structures which were recognisable to those between whom knowledge was shared, yet these social and epistemic structures depended upon, as much as they facilitated, the exchange. These findings are difficult to reconcile with both the original, as well as the revised formula of transfer/acculturation.

5.4 Sharing of knowledge – more than an exchange?

The exchanges which took place in and tied together the Republic of Tools were undeniably endemic and, as a result, cultural changes cannot be readily ascribed to specific instances of knowledge transfer. The question remains whether the existing methodologies are able to detect changes which are nuanced or even obscure in opposition to those which stand out or have been singled out as cataclysmic in the grand narratives of history. The fixation on alterity and on

37 In order to maintain the parallel to the established concept of the Republic of Letters, the following argumentation will resume the term Republic of Tools.

observable changes on a societal level upon which these methods depend hinders inquiries into a variety of epistemic tactics employed in each individual encounter between citizens of the Republics of Tools (and Letters, too) as well as into alternative outcomes of sharing knowledge. To demote a specific transfer situation to an example of Ideengeschichte (lit. history of ideas), the study of an ideas exchange between two individuals, usually authors or artists, which is seen as inferior by transfer historians,[38] establishes a polarity between two ways of comprehending knowledge transfers, making them appear as the only two conceivable approaches, rather than two ends of a spectrum. However, examining a situation of endemic exchange through the micro-level lense characteristic of Ideengeschichte can provide insights into the impact of ideas exchanges on the composite knowledge and identities of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artisans. Focusing on a period of endemic transfer, traditionally excluded from transfer studies, enables the generalisation of observations made on the micro-level. The ways in which Eckstein, Ménétra and also Ertinger shared and altered knowledge, while unique and highly specific to their respective circumstances, were of the same format across the social circles in which they moved. As a result, a compatibility of the research interests behind the two approaches becomes apparent, leading to the formation of a middle ground where the implications of multiple ambivalent identities for knowledge transfers can be explored and where the nature of knowledge exchange can be reconsidered.

In chapter 3 the idea of “attuning” to (fragments of) distinct semiotic and epistemic registers was introduced. In relation to the problem of knowledge

38 Middell in Langer and Michels (eds.), *Metropolen und Kulturtransfer im 15./16. Jahrhundert*, 2001, 49

exchange it is necessary to discern between attuning and the paired terms of assimilation and acculturation as employed by Daniel Statt in his book on the reception of “immigrants” in Britain between 1660 and 1760.[39] Statt argues that immigrants to Britain during this period underwent a process of acculturation, which he explains as assimilation to the resident culture and a simultaneous loss of their own “language, religion and cultural forms”.[40] This concept should not be confused with attuning because Statt's acculturation implies that people who settled in Britain became one of “them” at the expense of registers of thought and meaning which characterised their culture of origin. In contrast, artisans like Ertinger, Eckstein and Ménétra identified ways in which they were one of “them” in the process of sharing knowledge about their work, their lives and their pasts; this constituted their intercultural competence and formed the basis of the community described as the Republic of Tools. The idea of attuning to semiotic and epistemic registers highlights the fluidity of patterns of identity and meaning - these patterns are adjusted and altered in the encounter.[41] This means that despite an absence of a sense of alterity, encounters in workshops, artisan societies, taverns and on the road could lead to modifications of how an artisan perceived of himself and his surroundings, including those who inhabited these surroundings. In other words, exchanges led to a reorganisation of, or an addition to, the semiotic libraries which these artisans used to comprehend their world. Besides its stabilising function of

39 Daniel Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen – The Controversy over Immigration and Population 1660-1760*, Newark, University of Delaware Press, London and Toronto associated University Presses, 1995, 167

40 Statt, *Foreigners and Englishmen*, 1995, 167

41 While this nature of the exchange is readily recognised, the implications of the adjustments and alterations which are caused by an exchange are significant for the following analysis of the various identities which defined an individual craftsman and which were played out in the Republic of Tools

reinforcing an artisan sense of belonging,[42] the sharing of knowledge in ways which mutually informed each other and could reinforce and alter identities, new knowledge and mindsets could be developed.

When new journeymen entered a place this realignment or attuning to fragmentary, alternative registers of meaning had to begin anew, constantly opening up new possibilities for learning but also for producing knowledge. Realising that the encounter in and outside the workshop could be a potent catalyst for the production, or, as I will be referring to it, the building of knowledge, presents a departure from the course of transfers as described in traditional transfer and acculturation scholarship. The idea of a mutual “tuning” into each other's registers of thought, a process which in itself involves a readjustment of one's own framework of understanding to “make space” for the others and their ways of thinking, seeing, believing and speaking in one's own mental and physical world, suggests more than an “opening up” of channels for knowledge transfer. During this stage, aspects of registers of thought and meaning would have had to be reconfigured and altered by all workshop members and those who were to be in pro-longed contact with the newcomer. This happened not in isolation, but as a dialogue, enabling a mutual “building” of a new register of meaning in which all/some workshop members could participate to some extent. For the production of sculptures and the exchange/building of professional knowledge this meant that

42 The stabilising function of transfers has been remarked upon by Joseph Jurt who argues that the selection of cultural “material” to be transferred was part of a rhetoric of domestic discourses. In this context, the transfer material was employed to back up an argument (legitimising function), while it could also be used to undermine an argument (subversive function). The stabilising effect of exchanges in relation to the Republic of Tools differs from Jurt's notion because it is neither conscious, deliberate or rhetorical (ref. Joseph Jurt, “Das wissenschaftliche Paradigma des Kulturtransfers” in Berger and Sick (eds.), *Französisch-deutscher Kulturtransfer*, 2002, 24)

tapping into each other's' “professional” registers (technical knowledge, work experience in a variety of sites, e.g. monasteries, academies; visual vocabulary of art works previously studied) that enabled a sculptor's work to resound with a multitude of experiences and skill sets. Even when a sculptor had completed his formal education and mastered his trade, these varying resonances would have enabled him to situate his work in relation to the experience of others and see his own accomplishments re-worked in the learning of those who stayed in his workshop. Observing and discussing each other's drawings, models and contributions to sculptures would have generated a discursive loop of visual and verbal feedback. By means of this feedback, new knowledge, meanings and signs could be “built” by artists. Yet, if new knowledge is generated, can we still speak of intercultural transfer/exchange?

Comprehending exchange as an element of knowledge building reduces the segregative and rigid character of the original methodology and also its need for distinct transfer units, which are kept apart by a retrospectively assigned perception of otherness. The idea of knowledge being generated in the workshop, or other sites with a comparable dynamic, seems like a natural consequence of collaborative art production. The concept of knowledge being generated, not just modified, in an intercultural encounter is in keeping with the idea that sculptors were able to negotiate their differences and find a common ground where collaboration and mutual learning became possible. It can be said that exchanges did not happen between artisans, but among them, and that ideas were not just transmitted but grew from cycles of feedback generated by the collision and attuning of different “cultures”. The workshop and, by extension, other spheres of

artisan sociability can be seen as a kind of incubator for ideas which received input not only from within a profession itself but also from other discursive fields. This notion interferes with the art historical distinction between artists who conceive (and are, consequentially, worthy of canonisation) and those who receive ideas from their supposed superiors by means of copying. Instead, as the concept of attuning and building of registers of thought and meaning implies, the conception of ideas, “inspiration” even, derives from processes that involve several agents. Thus, it is the response created by the work of others (and, by extension, the registers of thought in which they operate) which can be described as seminal for art production, rather than merely the art works produced by an individual.

Some of the knowledge which came out of these multiple feedback loops was likely to have been explicit, leading to innovations in terms of material, technique or style, if patrons were willing to indulge these possible novelties. More often than not, journeymen had to obey the constraints imposed on their work by guilds and patrons, which means that in many cases explicit ideas could not be implemented. Rainer S. Elkar has argued this point in his assessment of the epistemological value of journeymen migrations in the eighteenth century.[43] It is the objective of Elkar's analysis to demonstrate that the migration of journeymen did not contribute “significantly, if at all, [to] an even diffusion of technology and progress”.[44] However, Elkar focuses on trade-specific, explicit knowledge, failing to take into account tacit forms of knowledge. An example which he uses to highlight the apparent redundancy of journeymen regarding knowledge transmission is

43 Rainer S. Elkar, “Lernen durch Wandern? Einige kritische Anmerkungen zum Thema Wissenstransfer durch Migration” in Knut Schulz, *Handwerk in Europa – Vom Spätmittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit*, Munich, R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1999

44 Elkar in Schulz, *Handwerk in Europa*, 1999, 224

starkly reminiscent of Gotter's vase. Elkar writes that foreign violins which had been imported were taken apart by violin builders to study and rebuild them.[45] Similarly, dyes for tin objects were “sold on, inherited and pawned”, whereby the knowledge behind them was disseminated.[46] This leads Elkar to the assertion that journeymen migration should not be “overestimated in an epistemological context”.[47] Yet, his emphasis of explicit and purely trade-related knowledge leads to an underestimation of journeymen/artisan migration in an epistemological context; tacit knowledge was built in practice and could not be extracted from looking at the pieces of a violin. What is more, exchanges which took place in artisan environments, including courts and academies, had the potential to foster new mentalities and states of awareness which, in turn, could impact on the way artisans conducted their trades.

The idea of knowledge building accommodates shifts in identities and concepts of work (art) held by artisans which were likely to result from reflections on their own profession and status or conduct as masters, journeymen, as makers of glass, sculptures and other objects, as members of society and devout men. Encounters with people who thought differently, among and beyond their own ranks and trades, could change how men like Ertinger and Eckstein situated themselves in relation to others and to institutions such as guilds, academies and, not least of all, Church and Crown. Rather than evaluating the implications of migration and exchange for a trade or technology, it is necessary to explore knowledge exchange in relation to how individuals interpreted and, ultimately,

45 Elkar in Schulz, *Handwerk in Europa*, 1999, 230
46 Elkar in Schulz, *Handwerk in Europa*, 1999, 231
47 Elkar in Schulz, *Handwerk in Europa*, 1999, 231

shaped their world. Considering a hypothetical, but very likely, encounter between the travel writer and historian Thomas Nugent (c 1700-1772) and Johann Eckstein, the sculptor,[48] presents the opportunity to speculate on how the attitudes of Nugent might have influenced Eckstein's thinking and vice versa. In his *Travels through Germany* (1768), Thomas Nugent expressed critical views on the Wanderschaft; he observed that after their tour Mecklenburgian artisans, or "artificers" as he refers to them, "have learnt nothing thoroughly, nor acquired any great skill or readiness by practice" which led to their products being "indifferent" and, yet, "very dear".[49] Nugent supported the views of an anonymous "very sensible man of this country" to impose regulations on the Wanderschaft and send journeymen to places where their respective trades flourished and where they could learn skills, rather than waste their time.[50]

Even if Eckstein only "encountered" Nugent as a reader, which is highly likely due to the presence of himself and his writings at Ludwigslust, the passages on Wanderschaft might have caused Eckstein to re-evaluate his own Wanderschaft and that of his assistants from the perspective of the Irish historian.[51] Whether he agreed with Nugent on the necessity of a regulated Wanderschaft or not is difficult to say. After all, both Johann and George had travelled widely and seized opportunities and projects in the Netherlands, England, Silesia, Mecklenburg and Prussia and were likely to have seen the downsides to

48 Nugent visited Ludwigslust in 1766 and while it is possible that Eckstein worked for the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin by then, it can be said with certainty that both Nugent and Eckstein resided in London in 1770-71 – Nugent died at his lodgings at Grey's Inn, a neighbourhood which became home to George and John Eckstein during the 1780s. Ref. Thomas Nugent, Dictionary of National Biography

49 Thomas Nugent, *Travels through Germany*, Dublin, 1768, 75

50 Thomas Nugent, *Travels through Germany*, Dublin, 1768, 75

51 Eckstein was given the right to employ assistants when he was appointed court sculptor at Ludwisglust, ref. "Bestallung für den Cabinetsbildhauer Eckstein", December 1770, Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, 2.26-1 Großherzogliches Kabinett I, 10162

the proposition of itineraries prescribed by the authorities. But Nugent's opinions on the journeymen and artisans of Mecklenburg generally would certainly have provoked Eckstein's interest and might have influenced the way he selected and interacted with apprentices and journeymen in his own workshop at Ludwigslust and, later on, at Potsdam. If Nugent had the chance to have a conversation with Eckstein, or any of the various “artificers” he met on his travels, not least in Ludwigslust where he was shown the lodgings of the resident artisan population,[52] he would have received a number of responses to his opinions. This might have altered his outlook, apparently heavily influenced by the views of the anonymous and probably genteel German gentleman on the subject, or at least given him alternative perspectives. Thus, the feedback he could have received from artisans might have shown him alternate value systems and mentalities which could have provided Nugent with a stimulus to think about artisan life and labour in a different way.

While Nugent might have been able to separate the majority of “artificers” from his own erudite, cosmopolitan class, Johann Eckstein did not readily fit this distinction. Before the two men met, Johann had spent years in London where he was likely to have participated in events witnessed by Nugent, such as the royal wedding of George III and Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz in 1761,[53] or indeed the Society of Artists' exhibitions. The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin (1717-1785) had also lived in London for a few months at some point during his tour of Western Europe between 1737 and 1739.[54] Even though, as is evident from both Eckstein's

52 Thomas Nugent, *Travels through Germany*, Dublin, 1768, 244
53 Thomas Nugent, *History of Vandalia*, 1766, 491
54 Everhard Korthals Altes, “The Art Tour of Friedrich of Mecklenburg-Schwerin” in *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, Vol. 31, No. 3, 2004-2005, 216-250

letters and Nugent's travel reports, strict class distinctions characterised the relationship between the Duke, his learned guest and his court sculptor (learned in a different way), it can be said that they shared what can be described as "residential" identity. Residential identity should be understood as a more flexible version of regional identity which is contingent on countries, towns and neighbourhoods where a person had spent enough time to become immersed in aspects of local community life. Eckstein and Nugent both would have been familiar with forms of sociability specific to London, such as participating in discussions in taverns and joining clubs, which means that they shared aspects of a residential identity. Thus, the opinions Eckstein might have held with regards to Nugent's argumentation concerning the state of artisan labour in Mecklenburg were likely to have been met with a different set of expectations than Nugent might have had in relation to "artificers" in general. Subsequently, the possible encounter with Eckstein might have altered Nugent's awareness of social boundaries, as much as it had the potential to inform the sculptor's behaviour and views on his modes of working.

A group of sculptures (c. 1787) which has been attributed to Johann Eckstein and the workshop of the Wohlers with which Eckstein appears to have been associated in some way is indicative of the status of "artificers" under Frederick the Great (fig. 23).[55] This group which adorns the entrance of the *Königlicher Kutschstall* at Potsdam, the stables where the horses which pulled the King's carriages were kept, consists of a quadriga which is driven not by the King

55 Sibylle Badstübner-Gröger, Horst Drescher, *Das Neue Palais in Potsdam – Beiträge zum Spätstil der Frederizianischen Architektur und Bauplastik*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1991, 220
Johann Eckstein and the Wohler brothers shared contracts p 338
Eckstein and the Wohlers also co-wrote letters to Frederick II regarding the preferential treatment of foreign-born sculptors p 345

but by the King's carter, Johann Georg Pfund.[56] At each side of the quadriga, peruqued servants attend to the tasks which would have been carried out in this building; one is brushing out uniforms, the other is seen taking care of a saddle, both in a stance of dignified composure. The commission of this work, as well as its execution, are remarkable because the image of the worker, if not strictly artisan, is given an elevated, public position and a portrayal which implies and commands respect. That the *Kutschstall* group came into being might suggest that both its makers and the patron who commissioned it, Frederick himself, had converging ideas of the social status of the artisan, and both acknowledged the value of their work. A nineteenth-century poem whose anecdotal contents were probably known in Eckstein's time tells us of the perceived relationship Frederick II had with the carter who is depicted above the *Kutschstall*. The poem begins with Pfund being demoted for his conversational and physical coarseness from being in charge of the royal horses to transporting goods by means of a cart pulled by donkeys; encountering Pfund a year later, the King asks him how things were to which he receives the reply:

> “I nun, wenn ich nur fahre“, sagte Pfund,
> indem er fest auf seinem Fahrzeug stund,
> „so ist mir's einerlei

56 I have been unable to verify this attribution by means of archival material. The attribution has been made in Christiane Petri, *Potsdam und Umgebung – Sinnbild von Preussen's Glanz und Gloria*, Ostfildern, Dumont, 2004, 87-88
Since 2001, the *Kutschstall* has been home of the *Haus der Brandenburgisch-Preussischen Geschichte*, a museum of the history of Brandenburg and Prussia: http://www.stk.brandenburg.de/cms/detail.php?id=10254&_siteid=15, last viewed 25/05/2011. This website of the Staastkanzlei Brandenburg affirms the attribution
The Wohler brothers also worked at the *Neues Palais* in Potsdam, ref. Sabine Badstübner-Gröger, *Das Neue Palais in Potsdam*, 1991

und weiter nichts dabei,
ob′s mit Pferden oder ob′s mit Eseln geht,
fahr′ ich Knüppel oder fahr′ ich Euer Majestät”.

Da nahm der alte Fritz Tabak gemach
und sah den groben Pfund sich an und sprach:
„Hüm, find′t Er nichts dabei
und ist ihm einerlei,
ob es Pferd, ob Esel, Knüppel oder ich,
lad Er ab und spann Er um, und fahr′ Er wieder mich.“

(Well, as long as I can cart, says Pfund
standing firmly on his vehicle,
then it is all the same to me
whether it's with horses or with donkeys
whether I take a rogue or Your Majesty

Old Fritz took some tobacco
looked upon coarse Pfund and said:
Well, if he does not mind
and it is all the same to him
whether horse, donkey, rogue, or me,
he may take off his load, switch carriages and drive me once again.)[57]

The sculpture which preceded the poem by several decades would have promoted

57 August Kopisch, *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol. 1, Berlin, 1856, 340

not only the relative autonomy of artisans/servants but also the ruler's indulgence of it who, or so it seems, rewarded personal and professional pride and free speech. However, this duality was unlikely to have been satisfactory for Eckstein who longed for more liberal and egalitarian structures in which he could carry out his work and through which he could become a gentleman sculptor, rather than remaining the most humble servant of an aristocratic patron, as chapter 4 showed. In a similar way, the portrait of the cabinetmaker Conrad Eckstein which was made by Johann's brother George Paul depicts their father as a proud gentleman-artisan (fig. 4) which suggests that Johann and George Paul might have shared attitudes about the status of their professional and social class. What this example demonstrates is that these sculptures were embedded with sets of opinions and ideas which were in flux, constantly being reshaped, contested and developed through multiple micro-exchanges. In this way, works such as the portrait of carter Pfund and his assistants were informed by the exchanges in which the sculptor was involved. Studying a broad spectrum of exchanges on the micro-level is, therefore, essential if one wants to understand not only how possible outcomes of these exchanges affected specific works but also what place the works of a sculptor occupied in relation to the opinions and ideas he developed from exchanges beyond the sphere of the strictly professional.

The ways in which a pair like Nugent and Eckstein (whether they met or not is irrelevant for the argument at this point) probably shared knowledge suggests that exchanges on an individual level would have had implications for both the (re-)formation of identities, including social identities. Through continuous exchanges, such as that between Eckstein and Nugent, identity groups as imagined by Gotter

would have been subjected to ongoing redefinition. Keeping identities fluid is, therefore, an outcome of exchange on the micro-level. Considering that these exchanges and, consequently, their outcomes were endemic, it seems that social boundaries might have been more porous than previously assumed. However, the extent to which these boundaries weakened or dissolved in the exchange is dependent upon the strength of other bonds which emerged from the webs of identities in which the exchange took place. As has already been explained, specific situations prompted complex and differentiated responses in terms of identity. To retrospectively establish whether Eckstein's residential identity was stronger or weaker than his identity as master artisan or former journeyman in the encounter with Nugent is difficult without a text comparable to the journals of Ertinger or Ménétra; personal sympathies on which it is impossible to speculate would also have played a role in their perception of each other. Whilst the exchange between Eckstein and Nugent remains speculative, Ménétra describes encounters which took place between himself, the artisan, and members of different social spheres, from which insights into the flexibility of social boundaries can be gained. What Ménétra can show us more reliably than the example of Eckstein is the volatility of knowledge exchanges. The following discussion of Ménétra's conflicting attitudes towards religion highlights the need for a method that can accommodate the contradictions arising from an artisan value system which preserved traditions and values rooted in social, political and religious structures which came increasingly under pressure as the eighteenth century progressed. Yet, new values and ideas did not simply replace the old ones but formed complex symbioses together whose contradictions micro-analytical

exchange studies can address and offer explanations for.

5.5 “We even worship a piece of dough” – Ménétra talks religion

After stopping at a monastery to work for quite some time, Ménétra decided to resume his tour. During his stay with the monks, he had also carried out work further afield. For these trips he had recruited a “poor man who carried all my glass when I went to work in towns and villages and who went to Toulouse to fetch whatever I needed”.[58] Upon Ménétra's departure, he left his tools and some of his other belongings to this pauper and Ménétra also taught this man to use the tools, turning him into “a wretched painter and a poor glazier”.[59] It is noteworthy that in the same paragraph the Parisian glazier also mentions that he had been able to persuade one of the monks, a “brother carpenter”, to leave the abbey. A suit was bought at Ménétra's expense and the monk “threw his habit in the nettles and we went off to have a good time in Toulouse”.[60] Both the monk and the pauper were turned (back) into artisans by Ménétra. While the poor man certainly would never have equalled the Parisian glazier in terms of social standing or professional expertise (it is also highly doubtful that Ménétra gave him the diamond which was needed to cut glass and which he frequently had to hide so that it would not be stolen),[61] he would have managed to eke out a living, taking basic glazing jobs as he could find them. Of course, this was illegal and far beyond the regulations of the guilds – another small act of defiance against the oppressive rules of the

58 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 58
59 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 58
60 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 58
61 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 295

authorities on Ménétra's part, but also an act of charity. In turn, the monk who is also a carpenter is talked into returning to the artisan sphere of the tavern to “have a good time” which is implicitly more honest and important than remaining with the monks whom Ménétra despised because he had “learned and even seen […] what these fathers were capable of doing”.[62] Both the monk and the pauper are elevated by Ménétra's intervention - one financially and socially to an extent, the other one morally, suggesting that Ménétra saw being an artisan as a righteous and honourable way of life. By converting his acquaintances to this path, Ménétra demonstrated that he was a good Christian once again and also confirmed that his virtue as a Christian and a person was closely linked with his trade.

The exchanges of skills, objects and sets of values and ideas which are evident in this passage of the journal led to changes in the circumstances of the monk and the pauper. While Ménétra did not have to appropriate any new knowledge, the exchange in this case had an affirmative function which stabilised his world view. For the others, it caused a shift in their composite identity as is indicated by the monk who discards his habit in favour of an artisan's suit, an unwitting (or deliberate?) symbol for prioritising one identity over another. These episodes support the observation made previously that membership in the Republic of Tools was vital for Ménétra and transcended social, regional and guild-imposed boundaries. The strength of this identity might be explained by the oral, visual, professional and social traditions through which it was perpetuated. It appears that the artisan identity, besides a Christian identity in Ménétra's and Ertinger's case, was the backbone on which other identities were hinged because

62 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 58

it reached far into the past (see chapter 4). Whether this was true for the Eckstein brothers is difficult to corroborate. While Ménétra's and Ertinger's lives, to our current knowledge, ran their courses in ways which did not threaten the stability of their sense of being citizens of the Republic of Tools, Eckstein worked in social circles for a prolonged period of time where he was exposed to ideas which were likely to alter his composite identity in a different way.

It is helpful to contrast Eckstein's and Ménétra's attitudes towards religion in order to explore how possible exchanges with the clergy and artisans of other faiths shaped their religious identities in different ways. In Ménétra's journal we find numerous examples of the glazier's critical stance towards the Church. On more than one occasion, he shared his views with his fellow men, not least with priests themselves. In Champigny, he had a conversation with the curate of the local parish about the meaning of the Eucharistic rite, during which Ménétra attacked the idea of transubstantiation:

> "We even worship a piece of dough which we eat in the firm belief that it Is God […]
> we were real man-eaters
> After praying to him and worshipping him in order to satisfy him we've got to eat him too"[63]

The priest responded with objections but also admitted that "it is necessary for the sake of government [that] nations live always in ignorance and credulity" and found Ménétra "enlightened", possibly because the glazier's opinion mirrored

63 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 130

Voltaire's stance on transubstantiation.[64] In several of Voltaire's works, such as the *Henriade* (1723) and the *Philosophical Dictionary* (1764), the idea of transubstantiation is mocked in increasingly vicious ways.[65] The Henriade, an epic poem about the life of Henry IV, includes a passage which describes how the King took communion as part of his conversion to Catholicism:

> "The Living Food of his Elect, descends,
> And on an Altar to his wond'ring eyes
> In Bread a God discovers, but 'tis Bread
> No more – The King's obedient Heart submits.
> And Faith receives what Reason cou'd not reach."[66]

In this verse, the expression "living food (nourriture vivante)" evokes the practices of cannibals,[67] an idea which Ménétra expressed in less veiled terms by referring to Catholics who take communion as "man-eaters". His journal does not betray whether Ménétra actually refrained from participating in this ritual when he went to church, but if he did he probably had mixed feelings about "eat[ing] and drink[ing] these gods and reduc[ing] them to the usual consequences of such an operation".[68] The glazier's opinions on these theological issues might have been further "enlightened" by the reading material supplied by his conversation partner. While Ménétra claimed that he only borrowed books from the priest as a pretext to

64 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 130
65 Voltaire *Henriade – An Epick Poem. In ten Canto's*, London, printed for C. Davis, 1732
Voltaire, "Transubstantiation" in *Philosophical Dictionary*, 1764, taken from: http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/v/voltaire/dictionary/ last viewed 6 April 2011
66 Voltaire, *Henriade*, 1732, 230
67 William H. Trapnell, *Voltaire and the Eucharist*, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, No. 198, Oxford, The Voltaire Foundation, 1981, 103
68 Voltaire, "Transubstantiation" in *Philosophical Dictionary*, 1764

see his pretty housekeeper again, he might still have read them and subsequently discussed them as the two men “conversed whenever we met”.[69]

It is possible that the priest merely humoured the glazier by approving of his views, but the priest's positive judgement of the glazier's opinions would have confirmed to Ménétra that his antipathy towards the majority of the clergy and the superstitions which they helped to spread was justified and indicative of an enlightened attitude. While it appears that Ménétra had already made up his mind about the corruption of the clergy before he met the curate, it is not unlikely that this exchange opened up a new context in which he could place the misdemeanours of monks and priests which affected him throughout his life. The curate pointed out to Ménétra that “it is necessary for the sake of government [that] nations live always in ignorance and credulity”. Possibly, if not necessarily, this statement enabled the glazier to realise how the corruption he witnessed was potentially systematic and had a political dimension.[70] The literature which he was given by the curate and the conversations they had might have honed Ménétra's critical awareness of the hypocrisies of the clergy into a social critique which he expressed in an anecdote about a confession certificate that occurred long after this exchange. After Ménétra had been denied this certificate by his local priest, a friend procured it by means of bribery upon which the glazier commented “that anybody who gives them [the friars of the Recollect monastery] enough silver be he the greatest criminal who ever was the gates of paradise are open for him and closed forever to the poor and the indigent”.[71]

The curate, on the other hand, learnt about the religious views of a

69 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 131
70 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 130
71 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 173

craftsman from Paris which furthered his knowledge about how doctrine and ritual were processed by some of his flock, potentially causing him to re-examine matters of faith from a perspective which was not derived from a position of power and scholarly theology. Instead, he was confronted with the theology of an artisan, informed by a different set of experiences and expectations of the priesthood and by Christian principles which were mirrored more in the symbolism and rites of the confraternities than in the sermons of priests.[72] For instance, he might have had little idea of how a migrating glazier felt about the clergy and bribery, but the talks with Ménétra might have enlightened the curate, in turn, about the bitterness and derision some members of the Third Estate had for the First and he might have re-read his Voltaire in a new light. The different semiotic/epistemic libraries and different motivations held by both conversants would have led them to evaluate the conversation in different ways, but also might have reassessed their own values and opinions in the process.

The glazier's recollections of this conversation also betray his knowledge of the Camisard Wars which were sparked by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and the ensuing repression of Protestant worship across France.[73] Ménétra states that he “told [the priest] about the Protestants of the Cévennes. I spoke passionately about the sufferings that had been inflicted on men who worshipped the same God except for a few matters of opinion”.[74] It is likely that Ménétra acquired knowledge about a war which had taken place more than 30 years before

72 Cynthia Truant, “Solidarity and Symbolism among Journeyman Artisans: The Case of Companonnage” in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 21, No. 2, April 1979, 214-226

73 Georgia Cosmos, *Huguenot Prophecy and Clandestine Worship in the Eighteenth Century – The Sacred Theatre of the Cévennes*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2005 http://www.museeprotestant.org/Pages/Notices.php?scatid=138&noticeid=746&lev=0&Lget=EN, last accessed 18/03/2011

74 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 130

his birth in the same way Ertinger had learnt about the Hussite riots in fifteenth-century Prague. Both events, as different as they were, had had a cataclysmic effect on the local artisan population – 58 per cent of the Camisards, Protestant guerrilla fighters who battled 25 000 royal troops, had been local craftsmen; one of their leaders, Jean Cavalier, had been an apprentice baker.[75] His tour brought Ménétra to the Languedoc region on several occasions, and here, at the outskirts of the Cévennes mountains, he heard stories about (and probably from) those craftsmen who had fought the Camisards War and had since suffered harassment from the Crown to convert to Catholicism. Near Nîmes, Ménétra socialised with Protestants and reports that he attended their prayer meetings which he "found quite edifying even though they were forced to pray to God […] in secret out-of-the-way places because troops were sent out to stop them from meeting".[76] Personal stories of not only occasional victories over the royal troops, but also of their retaliation – villages were burnt down to destroy resources and resolve – must have had an emotional impact on the Parisian glazier, as is reflected in his "passionate" argument in favour of freedom of conscience for which he and the Protestants of France had to wait another twenty to thirty years until the Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789.[77] As a citizen of the Republic of Tools, Ménétra argued the case of the Protestant artisans of Languedoc to a curate in Champigny and in his journal, thereby instigating, or rather, perpetuating an exchange of ideas during which his own attitudes had been shaped by the

75 Musée virtuel du protestantisme français, "The Wars of the Camisards 1702-1710", http://www.museeprotestant.org/Pages/Notices.php?scatid=138&noticeid=746&lev=0&Lget=EN, last accessed 18/03/2011
76 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 93
77 Musée virtuel du protestantisme français, "The Wars of the Camisards 1702-1710", http://www.museeprotestant.org/Pages/Notices.php?scatid=138&noticeid=746&lev=0&Lget=EN, last accessed 18/03/2011

oppression experienced by his artisan brothers. This example demonstrates how the theology of the "men of letters" was informed by the theology of the "men of tools". However, it has to be noted that Ménétra's sympathy with Protestants was part of his polemic against the hypocrisy of the clergy by whom the glazier himself felt oppressed. When confronted with animosity by the son of a master he worked for ("a good Protestant who told me tales of the cruelties that the missionaries had perpetrated in this unfortunate region"), Ménétra reacted with hostility which led to a fierce argument about religion which escalated into violence:

> "They took me to an inn where as soon as I entered they said There is a papist I told them that if I was I would pride myself on it that there were decent men in both houses But one said to me You believe in your Saint Jerome and Saint Augustine they are good-for-nothings Without thinking what I was saying I answered that he didn't know what he was talking about"[78]

This conflict implies that Ménétra, despite his harsh criticism of Catholic doctrines, not least the worship of saints itself, still significantly identified with Catholic traditions and was quick to defend them almost instinctively ("without thinking") when pressured. The incident highlights further the complexity of composite identities and the impossibility to discriminate "separate" identity groups, but it also shows that exchange situations ("a good argument") were not always a matter of reflection and mutual acceptance. The examples of this section have demonstrated that exchange situations could be volatile and were driven by motivations which varied depending on how a situation was evaluated by the

78 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 95

exchange agents. When the glazier debated with the curate a consensual respect for Catholic faith might have been implicit in their shared critical stance towards certain rituals which resulted in a seemingly “enlightened” discourse. In contrast, the confrontation by Protestant journeymen provoked Ménétra and he resorted to defending aspects of a faith for which he at other times expressed disdain. Thus, his behaviour apparently followed “old” patterns and ingrained values, which shows that assessing a series of exchanges on the micro-level can reveal contradictions which provide insights into the nature of an artisan's epistemic fabric. Moreover, the latter example also led to the “application” of the cognitive tool of finding a common artisan denominator – the next day after the argument peace was restored among those who had participated in it and the glazier ended up walking together with the Protestant journeyman who had attacked him the previous day.[79] The following section will engage with possible exchanges regarding religious sentiments in relation to Eckstein, exploring further how the concept of liberty potentially formed in the sculptor's semiotic library through exchange.

5.6 Profaning the bible – Eckstein talks religion

Johann Eckstein's situation is different from Ménétra's and Ertinger's. Eckstein was brought up in a Protestant not a Catholic environment and dealt with different issues of faith. Touring the Netherlands and England, rather than France or the Hungarian Empire, Eckstein was not confronted with clashes between

79 Ménétra, *Journal of My Life*, 1986, 96

Catholics and Protestants on the same scale, enabling him to define his faith in ways other than as an opposition to Catholicism. Yet, the sculptor was just as provocative and, likely, critical of mainstream Protestantism as the glazier was of Catholicism, as is indicated by charges supposedly brought against Eckstein for blasphemy at some point during his time in Potsdam (either around 1765 immediately after his return from London, or between c1775-1792-4?). According to Grieb's dictionary of Nuremberg artists, Eckstein was accused of profaning the bible (“groben Profanierung des heiligen Bibel-buchs”) but he was later issued with an “Attestatium Innocentiae” which relieved him of the charges.[80] [81] Although this incident is anecdotal, it would fit with Eckstein's reformist stance which was reinforced or inspired by his study of Swedenborgian doctrine. Eckstein's obituary was published in a Swedenborgian publication in Philadelphia which stated the following:

> “Although, in his early years, his mind was somewhat poisoned with the philosophy of modern days, as is too frequently the case with the votaries of science, yet, by the divine providence of the Lord, the sacred remains, stored up in his youth by the instruction of pious and spiritual-minded parents, were protected from the assaults of the enemy.”[82]

While Swedenborg's reformist stance led to the confiscation of his books in parts

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80 Manfred Grieb (ed.), *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon: Bildende Künstler, Kunsthandwerker, Gelehrte, Sammler, Kunstschaffende und Mäzene vom 12. bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, München, Saur Verlag, 2007, 320

81 The archival holdings consulted for this thesis contained no record of this incident. Research into the archives of the Evangelical Church in the city of Brandenburg could yield further information.

82 *The New Jerusalem Church Repository for the years 1817 and 1818*, Philadelphia, 1818, 323-326

of Germany from 1766 onwards (Mecklenburg among them), in England Swedenborg's work was received favourably, especially by many artists during the 1780s, such as William Blake, Joseph Banks and Philippe de Loutherbourg. The latter was a founding member of the "Theosophical Society for the Purpose of Promoting the heavenly Doctrine of the New Jerusalem by translating, printing and publishing the Writings of Emmanuel Swedenborg" and painted a portrait of Swedenborg from life in 1772.[83] Eckstein's obituary explicitly speaks of his "affectionate and interior reception of the doctrines of the New Jerusalem" and also mentions that Eckstein's last work (untraced, around 1816?) was a marble bust of Swedenborg.[84] In 1760s and 1770s London, Eckstein would have found a place where religious debate was rife and, comparatively, free and where it was possible for him to pursue the study of non-normative branches of the Christian faith.

After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 had taken away the rights of French Protestants, which affected the situation of Protestant artisans in France when Ménétra toured the country, the Toleration Act of 1689 decriminalised the religious practices of non-conformist Protestants in England, giving rise to a period of relative religious freedom which characterised public debate in London which Johann Eckstein was able to experience.[85] Ideas on religion were likely to have made the rounds in taverns where he might have gone to eat and drink, read the papers and have conversations. By 1763, after about four years in London, his

83 Rüdiger Joppien, *Die Szenenbilder Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourgs – eine Untersuchung zu ihrer Stellung zwischen Malerei und Theater*, University of Cologne, unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1972, 8
Mark Schorer, "Swedenborg and Blake", in *Modern Philosophy*, Vol. 36, No. 2, November 1938, 157-178

84 *The New Jerusalem Church Repository*, 1818, 325

85 Leonard W. Levy, *Blasphemy – Verbal Offenses against the Sacred from Moses to Salman Rushdie,* London, The University of North Carolina Press, 1993, 326

language skills would have been sufficient to read about the trial of John Wilkes in one of the many newspapers available. Wilkes was faced with the, according to Leonard Levy, “most contrived blasphemy charge in English history” after he had been discovered as the author of the Essay on Woman, a licentious parody of Alexander Pope's Essay on Man through which he indirectly attacked the bishop of Gloucester.[86] The trial sparked public debate of freedom of opinion and the press and it is difficult to imagine that Eckstein, whose biographical traces betray his interest in religious discourse and reform, was left unaffected by these events. In epistemological terms, Johann's likely participation in these circuits of debate would have had an impact on his semiotic library because he was confronted with a more liberal flow of religious ideas than on the Continent.

While Johann worked at Sanssouci and Ludwigslust (1765-1769), the debate surrounding freedom of religious expression went on in England. His second stay in 1769/70 coincided with the publication of Philip Furneaux's text in which he challenged British blasphemy laws, stating that God could not be injured by the words of men and that everyone should be free to utter his opinions on religion.[87] Although Furneaux was advocating this freedom of expression in 1770, the laws he contested were not actually enforced until the revolutionary period, and then only in relation to the writings of Thomas Paine.[88] Whether Johann read Furneaux Letters or not, he de facto enjoyed the privileges this author advocated. He might have got used to conversing freely about scripture or unitarianism in its many forms without having to hold back with criticism about the clergy. Possibly,

86 Levy, *Blasphemy*, 1993, 322-324

87 Levy, *Blasphemy*, 1993, 330; Furneaux's “Letters to the Honourable Mr Justice Blackstone, Concerning his Exposition of the Act of Tolerance” was published in *Palladium of Conscience* in 1770

88 Levy, *Blasphemy*, 1993, 326

he sought a similarly free culture of religious debate in America where, as was reported in a published journal by a German emigrant (1747), a wealthy farmer could tell his Lutheran priest that “a manure pile was his God” without being punished. Eckstein probably would not have agreed with this crude statement but he was likely to have appreciated the fact that this farmer enjoyed the freedom to make a “proclamation that would have led to blasphemy charges in Germany”, as reputedly happened to Johann himself.[89] Unwittingly or deliberately, Eckstein might have spoken as openly about matters of faith in Potsdam as he had in the public houses of London and, although we do not know at the moment what precise incident or argument led to him being accused of “profaning the bible”, it likely happened in the spirit of Furneaux and English coffee-house culture.

While Eckstein might have anticipated working among fellow Protestants when he came to London around 1758, he instead ended up in a workshop led by Thomas Carter (d. 1795), who most likely was a Roman Catholic and a Jacobite.[90] The restorative principles of Jacobitism seem at odds with Eckstein's apparent search for an alternative to conventional Christianity which he eventually found in Swedenborg's New Church. It is impossible to assess in retrospect whether these religious differences caused conflict in the Carters' yard. However, if conflicts of this kind existed, they had to be put aside to an extent so that the workshop could run smoothly. According to the inscription on the drawing which attests to

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89 “The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg”, 1747 as quoted in Aaron Spencer-Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement and Political Culture 1717-1775*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996, 87

90 the unusual names of Carter's daughters, Clementia and Sobieski, hint at his Jacobite sympathies, as has been observed in an article on Carter's monument to Colonel Moore: they were likely to have been named after Maria Clementia Sobieska, the bride of James Francis Edward Stuart, Prince of Wales until his death in 1766. Maria Clementia died in 1735, when Thomas Carter was circa 30 years old. Ref. “The Monument by Thomas Carter to Colonel Moore in Great Bookham Church, Surrey”, *Country Life*, 18 January 1952, 163

Eckstein's presence in the Carters' workshop (fig. 5), he worked there in 1760, only about two years after he had first come to the city. This means that Eckstein was unlikely to have been fluent in English when he came to work for the Carters and conversations about theological intricacies probably did not take place. Being unable to have lengthy arguments about faith might not have prevented resentment towards each other's religious practices but having a religious discourse with a limited shared lexicon could also have produced a particular sensibility among both Eckstein and Carter. Both sculptors had in common an aversion against mainstream Protestantism and, while they looked towards different solutions in questions of faith, both were eager to see a change of circumstances. Eckstein was likely to have picked up on the reformist/restorative sentiments which were present in Carter's yard, which might have enhanced his own leaning towards more reformist and radical movements. Moreover, the Toleration Act of 1689 did not include Catholics, in theory excluding people like Carter from the religious freedom enjoyed by others. Although penal laws were lightly enforced, if at all, Catholics were often harassed and discriminated against in the work place as a result of paranoid suspicions of “Popery”.[91] The British press was filled with anti-Catholic sentiments, feeding anxieties about tyranny and a loss of liberty which was associated with Catholic regimes.[92] Pageants accompanying feast days such as the Fifth of November involved burning of the Pope's effigy, with participants dressing up as nuns and monks, carrying placards detailing the dangers and absurdities of the Catholic faith and putting on satirical

91 Colin Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in eighteenth-century England c. 1714-80 – A political and social study*, Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 1993, 14-15
92 Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in eighteenth-century England*, 1993, 38

plays.[93]

This discrimination might have caused Eckstein to become sympathetic to a cause he could not identify with otherwise, similarly to Ménétra who was a member of the mainstream religion in France but still deplored the situation of the French Protestants. Eckstein would have received feedback to anti-Catholic newspaper articles, prints and pageants from Thomas Carter. Maybe Carter got angry at prints which satirised Catholic practices (fig. 24, 25), was upset by people mocking his faith on Guy Fawkes Night, or employed Catholic journeymen who had been unable to find work elsewhere. Even if Eckstein had been unable to discuss religion at length, he would have understood Carter's responses to anti-Catholic propaganda. Colin Haydon acknowledged that Englishmen were able to distinguish between “abstract, terrifying Popery” and “a parish's flesh and blood Papists”, which indicates that composite identities and resulting conflicting attitudes unfolded on the streets of London as they did in French inns where Ménétra had fought with Protestant journeymen about the worship of saints.[94]

When during the Gordon Riots the crowd was instigated to harass Catholics in their homes, their response was: “What are Catholics to us? We are only against Popery!”[95] Eckstein's attitudes towards Carter and his religious beliefs might have been marked by the same ambiguity. While as a liberal Protestant he probably disagreed with Catholic doctrines and possibly harboured resentment against the Continental guild structures which discriminated against Protestants, in the Carters' workshop he was confronted with how anti-Catholic imagery and language affected his masters and colleagues. Like Ménétra in the Cévennes,

93 Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in eighteenth-century England*, 1993, 33
94 Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in eighteenth-century England*, 1993, 13
95 Haydon, *Anti-Catholicism in eighteenth-century England*, 1993, 13

Eckstein observed in London how religious discrimination shaped the lives of artisans like himself, a discrimination which he, in turn, might have experienced in Germany which was anti-Swedenborgianist in many areas.[96] Both the German sculptor and the French glazier saw the regional and religious differences of the "others" in the framework of the histories of the many artisan communities they had encountered and become a part of, as well as in relation to their own individual experiences. Both had gathered knowledge of artisans' past hardships in terms of war, religious persecution, labour disputes and more, which gave them a set of values and perspectives through which they could understand the present struggles of artisans, in Languedoc or in London. While Eckstein experienced a significant degree of freedom for the expression of religious opinions and for the practice of his craft in England, which might have led the foundation of a concept of liberty that possibly influenced works such as the group of sculptures on top of the Royal stables in Potsdam (fig. 23), he was also confronted with the oppression of other religious groups of which some of his peers were part. The section has shown that the culture of discourse and exchange in London had the potential to bring about changes in Eckstein's mentality, fostering ideas regarding a greater professional, political and religious freedom. Yet, it was also demonstrated that the ability to relate experiences back to a shared artisan experience continued to be vital, maybe more than ever, in an environment where formations of religious and professional power began to be reconfigured.

96 Marguerite Beck Block, *The New Church in the New World – A Study of Swedenborgianism in America*, New York, Octagon Books, 1968

5.7 The power of wax – wax sculptures as anchors of exchange

This final section of chapter 5 addresses the concerns of Ulrich Gotter regarding the role of objects in traditional transfer studies as quoted at the beginning of this chapter, and discusses how a group of wax sculptures functioned as anchors of exchange. Discussions akin to the one Ménétra had with the priest from Champigny would also certainly have been sparked by a group of art works which are usually not regarded as such. They were as mobile as the multitude of journeymen and also played a role in the dissemination and perpetuation of ideas. While Ménétra was likely to have been a consumer of these objects, Johann Eckstein was their producer. The works in question are polychrome wax sculptures which were exhibited in a variety of sites for a variety of purposes. Wax sculptures could be seen at funeral parades of kings and dignitaries, in churches as representations of saints and biblical figures, and also at secular sites as popular attractions, displayed by migrants who took their life-sized dolls from town to town and made ends meet by charging a fee to those who came to see the sight.[97] It will be argued in this section that these wax sculptures had the potential to foster a particular atmosphere for exchanges of ideas and opinions because their appearance simulated a human presence which was likely to have fostered exchanges that had a levelling, arguably, even seditious tendency. The section departs from the central argument of chapter 5 to some extent for the benefit of exploring an essential part of Johann Eckstein's work in greater detail. However, selected wax works will be situated within realms of discourse that were relevant

97 Max von Boehn, *Dolls and Puppets*, London, George G. Harrap&Company Ltd., 1932

to Eckstein or Ménétra.

In 1611, François de Bechefer exhibited a wax sculpture of Henri IV in Paris whose features might have resembled the wax likeness preserved at the Collection of Applied Arts at Kassel (fig. 26).[98] This head is a much less sophisticated likeness than the official funeral image which survived (or was spared by?) revolutionary iconoclasts (fig. 27), but potentially had a much more powerful impact on the imagination of many French citizens who populated the provinces and never set foot in the cathedral of St Denis where the official funeral doll could be seen. Although there were more convincing portraits of Henri IV, these life-sized, wigged and costumed wax figures which travelled all over and maybe beyond France made the king "real" by representing him in a medium which could be made to look like flesh and blood. Anyone who could pay the token fee was able to meet the king face to face, encountering him on the same level, in contrast to the equestrian statue on the Pont Neuf which was high up on a pedestal and in far-away Paris. While the bronze monument in the capital continued to be revered and treated like an object of worship, as pointed out by Richard Clay in his forthcoming publication The Transformation of Signs, the moveable wax sculptures were likely to have prompted different responses.[99] The sculpture on the pedestal maintained the distance between subjects and king, as well as between past and present, whereas this distance was reduced by the wax doll, through what Uta Kornmeier has called "the waxwork moment" - the moment

98 Roberta Panzanelli mentions that there is a bust at Kassel, which has been attributed to Germain Jacquet and is "traditionally believed to have been the gift of Landgrave Moritz of Hessen, an ally of the French king". The bridgeman art library names Michel Bourdin as its sculptor. Both Jacquet and Bourdin competed with Guillaume Dupré for the commission of Henri IV's funeral image. The head at Chantilly is by Dupré. Ref. Roberta Panzanelli, *Ephemeral Bodies – Wax Sculpture and the Human Figure*, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2008, 213-216

99 Richard Clay, *The Transformation of Signs – Iconoclasm in Paris 1789-1795*, SVEC, 2012

it “takes the spectator to decide that a convincing human shape is […] an artefact and not the real thing”.[100]

Kornmeier argues that “a well-made wax figure can exude such a strong corporeal presence that we are convinced, against our better judgment, that we are in the company of a fellow human being”.[101] Even after realising that one is looking at a sculpture, an “incongruence between intellect and perception” persists, creating a “kind of dizziness” or a Freudian effect of the uncanny.[102] Of course, the figures which were carted across the country by itinerant showmen were likely to have been of a less exquisite quality than those of Curtius or Madame Tussaud (or, indeed, Johann Eckstein) and might not have been as deceptive. And, yet, on those in whose lives sculpture rarely featured outside of the church, these figures would have made an impact nonetheless. These life-sized dolls which were dressed in real clothes, had faces and hands which looked, more or less, like flesh and sat or stood among onlookers, brought the people they represented back from an abstract past to the present. In the words of a journalist writing in response to Madame Tussaud's sculptures, “a kind of acquaintance is at once formed with characters we never before saw, as if they had been every day crossing our path, and we are deceived into a personal knowledge of those on whom the grave has long closed”.[103] Deception or not, the illusory effect enabled viewers to perceive the good king whom they adored, as “one of them”. Through the wax proxy, the king had come to a place where their everyday lives played out,

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100 Uta Kornmeier, “Almost Alive – The Spectacle of Verisimilitude in Madame Tussaud's Waxworks” in Panzanelli, *Ephemeral Bodies*, 2008, 67
101 Kornmeier in Panzanelli, *Ephemeral Bodies*, 2008, 67
102 Kornmeier in Panzanelli, *Ephemeral Bodies*, 2008, 67-68
103 Quoted from the Rochester Gazette of 22 October 1833, by Uta Kornmeier in Panzanelli, *Ephemeral Bodies*, 2008, 74

allowing them to reflect on what they knew of his policies in relation to their own concerns, in their own space. These kinds of displays ensured that Henri and the ideas he stood for were not forgotten. What is more, the spectators could revive ideas such as religious freedom and the “chicken in the pot of every Frenchman” (which under the rule of the current monarch might have started to seem like pipe dreams) and project them onto a being of flesh and blood in their imagination. Had Ménétra seen one of these statues, he might have been reminded of the suffering of the Languedoc Protestants, making it seem all the more bitter that there had been a time in the past under this king, when they had been able to work and worship like Catholics. In keeping with the combination of oral and visual modes of learning and remembering which characterised artisan communities as explored in chapter 4, the wax sculptures can be understood as visual anchors of memories which continued to be woven into contemporary theological and political discourses. The public monuments in Paris functioned in a similar way. Yet, arguably, the wax figures had a greater capacity for an emotional reception and identification of the viewer with the subject due to their “human” appearance and modes of display.

But not only Henri IV came to life in wax, other prominent historical figures were also on display across Europe, not least the reformer Johann Hus with whose doctrines the sculptor Franz Ertinger had been made familiar during his time in Prague in the late seventeenth century. In early seventeenth-century Nuremberg, a Protestant stronghold in Catholic Bavaria, Ambrosius Müller attempted to show wax figures of Hus, Luther and Melanchton but was prevented

from doing so by the local authorities.[104] This incident hints at the potential of these sculptures to evoke subversive sentiments by reminding people of an alternative to the status quo. In a similar attempt to control discourse, a royal guard was placed near the statue of Henry IV on the Pont Neuf “to enforce normative behaviour, including the formation of opinion”.[105] However, the activities of itinerant owners of wax figures and their reception in village taverns and similar locations would have been more difficult to regulate, just like much of the work of journeymen was carried out beyond the control of guilds. If Ertinger saw sculptures such as those owned by Müller, he was possibly shared his knowledge with those present who cared to discuss or learn more about the Hussite teachings. About Madame Toussaud's sculpture of Voltaire it was said in 1818 that “the spectator fancies the lips are about to open and to address him”[106] - it was no problem that the waxen Hus, Henri, Voltaire and many others could not, in fact, speak, for there were plenty of people present who could utter their ideas on their behalf which rendered the exhibitions of wax works a breeding ground for seditious ideas as far as royal and religious authorities were concerned.

Johann Eckstein's most remarkable works are made of wax. He took up working in the medium during his second stay in London (1769-1770) where journeymen were paid more for working in wax and plaster, on average a guinea per week, than for working in stone, for which they could earn up to 50 shillings.[107] In a letter to the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Johann expresses the intention to show his patron several samples of his work in a “manner (Manier)” in which he

104 von Boehn, *Dolls and Puppets*, 1932, 93
105 Clay, *The Transformation of Signs*, 2012, Chapter 4
106 Kornmeier in Panzanelli, *Ephemeral Bodies*, 2008, 73
107 Anon., *The General Shop Book or Tradesman's Universal Director*, London, 1753

had not worked in before. The letter was fishing for commissions, advertising the novelty and popularity of these art works to the art lover and anglophile Friedrich:

> "Ich habe underschiedliche Herschafft von der gleigen gemacht. Und ist zum größten Vergnügen ausgefallen. Wan nun vergleigen arbeit hochdieselben beyfall erhalden wurde so könde man ein ganzes Cabinet damit fornieren. Von ferne siehet es aus als gemahlet. Und on der nähe ist es bossieret. [all sic]
>
> (I have made similar ones for several noble patrons. It was much to their delight. If similar works would receive the acclaim of his highness one could furnish a whole cabinet with them. From afar they look as if painted, close-up they are embossed)"[108]

Eckstein must have known well that the prince would be susceptible to this kind of advertising. After all, Friedrich had for many decades displayed a keen interest in all things English and had hosted English dignitaries with great pleasure.[109] To learn that English lords had enjoyed the novel art objects his court sculptor had produced might have raised Johann's profile in Friedrich's eyes and, indeed, caused him to follow their (supposed) example and commission several of the wax reliefs which are preserved at the Staatliches Museum Schwerin (figs. 19-22, 28-37). There is no doubt that what looked "as if painted" from a distance, but was, in fact, embossed, were the poly-chrome wax reliefs of which Johann grew fond

108 Letter from Johann Eckstein (London) to Friedrich of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, 8 September 1770, Landeshauptarchiv Schwerin, Großherzogliches Kabinett I, File no. 10162
109 Thomas Nugent, *Travels through Germany*, Dublin, 1768

enough to execute them for the remainder of his career.[110] Johann, who had gained recognition for his relief work at the Society of Artists' exhibitions in 1762 and 1764, would not have needed to learn a whole new skill set to work in wax, he might even previously have modelled in wax, an inexpensive and reusable material, but it appears to have not occurred to him to turn a wax relief into a marketable novelty item. So far, the structures of wax sculpture production in mid-eighteenth-century England have received little scholarly attention, despite the apparent contemporary popularity of these objects. Wax works were awarded premiums in a category of their own in the Society of Artists during the 1760s (Joseph Moser won the prize in 1762, when Johann Eckstein received a premium for a relief in marble). Also, Johann and George Paul exhibited reliefs, models and portraits in wax in the Royal Academy exhibition during the 1770s.[111] However, in the Academy polychrome wax works would have increasingly been rejected as academicians and art critics started to subscribe to the ideas articulated by Joshua Reynolds regarding the use of colour in sculpture which he deemed inappropriate because the art of sculpture was not meant to “administer pleasure to ignorance, or a mere entertainment to the senses”.[112]

Despite this prejudice towards polychrome sculpture, wax tableaux, figures and portraits continued to proliferate in England, which is attested to by the success of wax modeller Samuel Percy who had executed around 800 portraits by

110 Examples can be found at Schwerin, Potsdam (unverified) and the Cincinnati Art Museum (a copy of *The Resurrection of Lazarus*)

111 Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts – A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Works from its Foundation in 1768 to 1904*, London, Henry Graves and Co., 1905

112 Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses delivered to the Royal Academy,* London, Seeley & Co, 1905, 14-15

the time he exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1786.[113] When Eckstein returned from England, he produced wax portraits of the male and female heirs of the House of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. These portraits are now kept at the Schwerin Museum, alongside two monochrome wax reliefs depicting biblical scenes and polychrome reliefs of varying sizes. The most outstanding tableaux shows the Resurrection of Lazarus (fig. 31-37) whose figures range in age from children to old men, enabling Eckstein to show off his aptitude for representing ageing flesh (detail fig. 32), while the subject matter allowed him to explore the nuances of an emotion. Every witness of the event reacts with surprise, not least Lazarus himself whose shroud is pulled back by a bystander to reveal his shocked and awed expression (detail fig. 36). While this piece might have been intended for the private devotion of the Duke and his family at the court chapel at Ludwigslust and afforded Eckstein the opportunity to envision the emotional impact of a biblical miracle, he was also commissioned to create the death mask of Frederick II of Prussia (a rare wax version is preserved at the Neuruppin Museum fig. 38).

Von Boehn claims that these wax portraits were no longer used in funeral parades and there is no indication that they were.[114] However, Eckstein was permitted to make copies of the death mask and sell them as busts (fig. 39).[115] In contrast to this intimate portrait, he also conceived of an equestrian sculpture of Frederick II, a model of which was exhibited at the Berlin Academy in 1786 and of

113 von Boehn, *Dolls and Puppets*, 1932, 94
114 von Boehn, *Dolls and Puppets*, 1932, 94
115 Gerd-Helge Vogel (ed.), *Die Kunst als Spiegel des Lebens – Romantik und Realismus*, Greifswald, Stein Becker Verlag, 1999, 12

which he also produced an engraving (fig. 40).[116] This engraving depicts Frederick as a Roman Emperor on horseback as he subdues two allegorical figures, presumably of Deception whose mask has been torn off by Frederick's philosophical pursuit of truth. The other figure could be Discord which in a German dictionary that was published in the 1770s and 1780s is described as having snakes for hair. Discord, which in the dictionary entry is closely associated with war, is shown gnawing at what appears to be a human heart, the heart of the Prussian people. Thus, Frederick is represented as the bringer of peace and truth.[117] What is noteworthy about this design is that Frederick II is depicted as an old man; Eckstein had previously modelled ageing male bodies in the Good Samaritan and The Resurrection of Lazarus and might have wished to include the element of age in his design as an artistic challenge. However, this artistic choice could also be interpreted as a deliberate statement on the political system which Frederick had represented; a system which, while once powerful and necessary, was now beginning to fade as possibilities for new forms of government were taking hold in the minds of Eckstein and some of his contemporaries.

Eckstein continued to pursue his dream of producing a monumental sculpture and attempted to solicit a commission for an equestrian sculpture of George Washington in a letter to Thomas Jefferson, writing that “on the occasion of the prospect that a Mausoleum or Monument will be erected in commemoration of the illustrious Washington I feel the solicitude which is common with every artist,

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116 Helmut Börsch-Supan, *Die Kataloge der Berliner Akademie-Ausstellungen 1786-1850*, 2 Vols., Berlin, Bruno Hessling, 1971
The engraving is mentioned By Feist in Vogel, *Die Kunst als Spiegel des Lebens*, 1999, 21

117 Johann Christoph Adelung, *Grammatikalisch-Kritisches Wörterbuch der Hochdeutschen Mundart*, 1774-1786, entry on “Eumeniden”: “der Krieg und die Zwietracht mit dem Schlangenhaar hausten hier”

when an occasion so important presents himself".[118] Although this project never materialised, his proposals and models indicate that Eckstein was preoccupied with the challenges and possibilities of monumental sculpture.[119] As we have seen, wax and monumental sculptures functioned in different ways; as their producer, Eckstein had to consider their respective purposes and challenges. While the production of the wax reliefs and Frederick's death masks involved a more intimate, even introspective way of studying and interpreting the subject, the designs for public monuments would have given Eckstein the possibility to situate himself with the ideas which the patron/subject stood for, both personally and as an artist. While commissions for a large monument were lucrative, the Washington memorial would also have held an intellectual and political appeal for Eckstein, who had been attracted to America because he had seen it as the "land of Freedom, of whose exalted position as an independent, high-spirited nation, he had the highest possible idea".[120] In summary, 5.7 has demonstrated that works such as the ones discussed in this section could renew or instigate discourses by encouraging and directing the exchange of ideas which were represented by their subject matter.

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118 Letter from Johann Eckstein to Thomas Jefferson, 27th February 1801, taken from Barbara B. Oberg and J. Jefferson Looney (eds.), *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition,* Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008 http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN-01-33-02-0079 [accessed 24 Mar 2011]

119 In the same letter he informed Jefferson that he had shown a model in Congress

120 Georgiana Eckstein, *A few particulars respecting the Eckstein family*, London, Strangeways, 1908, 49

5.8 Conclusion

What this chapter has done is to seek how the previous cognitive tools (the ability to adapt, to relate a range of fragments of registers of thought and meaning to a shared artisan experience and to organise these registers in semiotic archives) were applied in situations where knowledge was shared. To an extent, this was done in chapter 4 but, due to the inter-dependence of the cognitive tools, a systematic examination of exchange processes had to be carried out in chapter 5. From deepening the understanding of intercultural competence and the organisation of knowledge in unwritten artisan chronicles or archives another cognitive tool has emerged which was already implicit in the argument of the previous chapter: the sharing of knowledge and its specific mechanisms and effects. It has become clear that these tools are interdependent and in the examination of exchange mechanisms this final chapter has brought all of them together. Comparing Eckstein's and Ménétra's attitudes towards religion has revealed that they were able to understand and participate in complex theological and political discourses by engaging with the struggles of members of different religions which, like other aspects of history, they viewed through the lense of artisan sociability and tradition. The cognitive tool-box which was conditional on the mobility and also the oral and visual modes of learning that characterised life in the workshop and during the Wanderschaft was the equipment through which artisans and image-makers, specifically, could construct interpretations of the past and the present which had an impact on their identities, their organisation and their professions. The sharing of knowledge occupies a special place in this tool-box

because it can simultaneously be perceived as a condition for and effect of the other tools, but its status as a strategy for restructuring epistemic archives also has to be acknowledged due to its connection with composite knowledge and composite identities.

It has been shown that the kind of knowledge exchange which took place among both members of the Republic of Tools and the Republic of Letters does not fit the prescribed formulae of acculturation and transfer studies. Rather than discarding the eighteenth-century artisan community for an exchange study due to its “endemic” knowledge exchange, it has been demonstrated that micro-level analyses are crucial in understanding the complex implications of the sharing of knowledge for the (re-)formation or reinforcement of identities, not least the identities which made the Republic of Tools cohere. By assessing the validity of Ulrich Gotter's concept of identity groups in relation to examples from Jacques-Louis Ménétra's journal, it has emerged that the identity of an eighteenth-century artisan was a composite of multiple identities, which were played out in relevant constellations depending on the demands of specific situations. Regarding Gotter's concept, this meant that isolating two separate identity groups creates the illusion of a precisely outlined exchange situation on the macro-level which serves his principal concern of preserving the conciseness of original transfer methods. However, the micro-level analysis of the glazier Ménétra and his multiple identities has shown that every particular situation in which knowledge would have been shared mobilised a number of these identities which creates a unique dynamic for each exchange situation. Thus, exchange studies have to operate on the micro-level in order to accommodate the nuances of the instant of knowledge sharing in

terms of identity so that the outcomes of the exchange can be more adequately assessed. Applying the insights gained from the analysis of Ménétra's journal to a hypothetical but very likely encounter between Johann Eckstein and Thomas Nugent it has been seen that a possible exchange between them could have led to the development of new sensibilities on either part; in this case an exchange of ideas could have achieved an altered perception of the status of the artisan. In addition, it has been seen that the intention of traditional transfer approaches to reveal the “alien within”, in order to undermine the notion of the autonomy of national cultures, would result in a fallacy if applied to the case of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century migrating artisans. While my argument throughout the thesis has been equally critical of the assumption that nations are autonomous cultural constructs, I abandoned the concept of nation as a useful explanatory category, or indicator of relevant cultural differences, in chapter 3. Chapter 4 argued in favour of a grand narrative or invented tradition of the Republic of Tools whose citizens were equipped with the epistemic tools outlined in 3 and 4 to accommodate cultural otherness. Chapter 5 has considered these tools in relation to processes of exchange, coming to the conclusion that exchanges among the Republic of Tools and between artisans and members of the Republic of Letters were highly volatile and shaped by shifting identities which were built around the traditions of the Republic of Tools as much as around new ideas and concepts which, in turn, sprang from exchanges and had an impact on the semiotic libraries of individuals like Eckstein and Ménétra.

We have also seen how, in the light of knowledge exchanges, and possible attitudes and opinions developed from them, art works can be evaluated both for

their relevance in relation to the artist's biography and for their resonance with broader discourses which are, crucially, not presented as macroscopic occurrences that are universally valid and can, therefore, be unproblematically projected onto the artist. By employing the principles of the cognitive tools which have, by means of repeated close readings and re-evaluations, been identified from the writings of artisans whose professions meant that they probably had a stronger affiliation with visual modes of learning than other craftsmen, it was possible to create a momentum of interpretation which takes into account the individual perspective on larger cultural configurations. The attempt to imagine responses to the views expressed in Nugent's books or to Carter's religious otherness, on the basis of pointers to his attitudes which can be found in the scraps of primary material available on Eckstein produces an art historical account in which art objects can be understood in relation to their producer's position on a variety of relevant subjects. Through this approach, it is has been possible to assess the meaning of sculpture in relation to discourses which made sense to and were constructed by artisans themselves and which have so far gone unnoticed by historiography, not least due to biases against micro-level studies and against non-canonical artists and the cognitive sophistication of artisans, in general.

6. CONCLUSION

As this thesis has shown, up until now the cognitive tool-box with which eighteenth-century artisan image-makers were equipped has remained closed to the scrutiny of historians due to their assumption that nothing was contained within it that could be of historical significance. Yet, close analysis of the journals by the sculptor Franz Ferdinand Ertinger and the glazier Jacques-Louis Ménétra has unlocked the tool-box. In the process, this thesis has shown that the knowledge acquisition, organisation and application of these artisans was structured according to a logic which was contingent on the mobility, diversity and modes of training of their formative years and, potentially, their entire lives and careers. My argument diverges from the view of scholars like Grießinger and Corbin that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artisan image-makers were trapped in a tedious world of repetitive menial tasks which barred them from reflection upon, and meaningful participation in, a range of contemporary discourses. It has been shown that itinerant image-makers of this period were able to develop an understanding of the complexities of their world and their shifting place within it by means of historically contingent cognitive and interpretative frameworks which rested on the modes of learning that shaped the contemporary workshop. This thesis introduced some of the cognitive tools which artisans had at their disposal to comprehend and negotiate their dynamic and multi-faceted epistemic and social worlds. Few attempts have been made to understand the strategies which artisans employed to structure, share and develop knowledge. Usually, these attempts, like Corbin's, have been obstructed by the authors' specific ambitions and pre-

conceptions which are firmly rooted in the epistemic orders of today. Therefore, it was imperative to consider a set of “tools” which were designed to function in accordance with epistemic orders of the past. From the traces which these tools left in the writings of artisan image-makers it was possible to envision how they might have been shaped and how they helped migrating craftsmen to make sense of the people they met and the objects that they saw.

This thesis’s examination of artisans required digging deeper into the social worlds which were inhabited by Ertinger and, later, Johann Eckstein and Jacques-Louis Ménétra, in order to convey a sense of the “external” conditions which enabled particular ways of training and thinking. Hence, chapter 2 provided the reader with an overview of situations pertaining to life as a *Geselle*, with a specific focus on Ertinger and Eckstein, but it also made possible some original observations on the nature of the conditions under which journeymen worked and travelled. In effect, the chapter explained why artisans needed the kinds of cognitive tools explored in chapters 3 through 5. Biographical research regarding the Ecksteins showed that family networks were maintained and utilised for professional advantage in a highly mobile and volatile environment. In addition, Ertinger's and Ménétra's journals provided insights into the support networks which journeymen created for each other. It was determined that the workshop was not the only focal point for these networks, but that the tavern was also a crucial nucleus for itinerant artisans. What is more, the analysis of Ertinger's journal has revealed that towards the close of the seventeenth century a journeyman sculptor worked in several sites which were populated by a dynamic and multi-regional population. In comparison, the workshops of London during the

second half of the eighteenth-century also accommodated a great number of sculptors from the Continent, as consideration of the example of Nollekens's workshop showed. Outlining the cosmopolitan composition of representative workshops (1690-1765) was one of the first research requirements of the thesis's argument.

Having addressed the need of artisans for a cognitive toolbox which helped them prevail in highly dynamic worlds of work and enabled them to navigate complex worlds of knowledge, the thesis moved on to establishing the first tool in chapter 3. That tool was the facility to adapt to alternative epistemic and social structures which I have referred to with the broad term “intercultural competence” - a term coined by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner in their work on intercultural transfer. The realisation that membership of a workshop implied confrontation with alternative registers of thought and meaning (i. e. “cultures”) prompted a number of research questions regarding the ways in which cultural differences were perceived and negotiated in manners that ensured that workshop production was disrupted as little as possible by the constant influx and departure of journeymen. Rather than assuming that national and regional distinctions were a naturalised designation of difference, as they often are today, an in-depth analysis of Ertinger's journal showed that his perception of difference was diffuse and contradictory as far as regions and countries were concerned. Strong feelings of cultural demarcation seem to have been evoked by other forms of alterity which provoked antagonistic feelings in Ertinger, such as certain religious and ethnic groups (Jews and Turks) and people which had featured as enemies in past wars from which seventeenth-century Europe was still recovering (Swedes and Turks). None of

these groups, however, are reported in the journal to have featured significantly in the circuits of Ertinger's *Wanderschaft*. Although the cultural differences within a workshop were noted by Ertinger, they failed to evoke similar sentiments of hostility. This raised the suspicion that cultural differences, although noted by Ertinger and his peers, were not necessarily a divisive factor, or stirred up feelings of “foreignness”.

In order to understand how cultural differences were incorporated in the social and epistemic fabric of artisan life, the inquiry then turned to the concept of tacit knowledge as described by Polanyi in 3.5. Tacit knowledge describes an intuitive form of knowledge that cannot be codified like explicit knowledge (knowledge which can be turned into formulas, text, charts, etc.). Artisans of the seventeenth and eighteenth century developed a mindset in which the negotiation of cultural differences was part of the familiar because they had been exposed to a variety of cultural registers from childhood. Consequently, they might have learnt to deal with the “otherness” of some members of the workshop population in intuitive ways that can best be understood as tacit knowledge. To a large extent, tacit knowledge rests on non-linguistic faculties and is developed as a result of long-term observation and practice; the ability to accommodate the difference of others and to adjust one's own registers of thought and meaning based on observation and practice. These capacities have been disparaged by authors like Andreas Grießinger and Rudolf Schenda. A crucial achievement of chapter 3 was that its argument put the spotlight on opportunities for building knowledge and communities which artisans derived from the tacit knowledge they developed. Thus, Grießinger's verdict of the oral and visual culture of the workshop as an

obstacle to introspection and sophisticated understanding of complex matters was beginning to be challenged. I argued that the adaptability which was fostered by the workshop environment and the tradition of the *Wanderschaft* was an excellent example of intercultural competence. That concept's use in chapter 3 signalled the discussion of transfer studies which followed in chapter 5, showing in both cases that aspects of exchange studies helped shape the development of my notion of an epistemological history of art. This new way of writing a history of art will be revisited towards the end of this conclusion where I ask how informed speculation on the epistemic and semiotic registers of artisan image-makers can take thinking about their works in new directions.

When moving further afield, Johann Eckstein very probably benefitted from the intercultural competence he had developed in the workshops of Continental sculptors. In England and America he might have found it relatively easy to adjust, but it is crucial to point out that he did so without becoming “assimilated” culturally or socially. Instead, it has been speculated that he was likely to have retained, and even to have perpetuated, an artisan identity which was described in chapters 4 and 5 as citizenship in the Republic of Tools. In chapter 3, it was argued that the arrival of new journeymen in a workshop, association of artisans, or local community was accompanied by a period during which the members of that group had to become “attuned” to fragments of epistemic and semiotic registers. On the one hand, this stage was crucial in maintaining a functioning environment for work, but it was also likely to have created opportunities for knowledge acquisition, sharing and development. This stage probably also entailed its share of conflicts and failures to find a common ground, but more often than not a shared

denominator was likely to have been found (as chapter 4 demonstrated). On the grounds of the analysis of intercultural competence carried out in chapter 3, chapter 4 explored another cognitive tool, namely, the ability to approach diverse aspects of potentially complex knowledge from a common artisan denominator, which also contributed to the intercultural competence of *Wandergesellen*.

From the inquiry of chapter 3 into perceptions of cultural difference, and the realisation that alterity was evaluated and dealt with differently in a mobile, pre-national society, further research questions were raised regarding the nature of knowledge organisation implicit in Ertinger's writing. While concerns about alternative epistemic orders underlie the argumentation of chapter 3 and, marginally, chapter 2, it was the objective of chapter 4 to fully engage with the question asked by Alain Corbin with regards to the clog-maker Pinagot of nineteenth-century Bellême: “With what mental equipment did he perceive and experience processes that would have been easier for him to see because they had a direct impact on him and the people around him?” In contrast to Pinagot whose mental equipment Corbin believes to be rather simplistic and informed by only the most temporally and spatially immediate events, the cognitive tool-box of migrating image-makers like Franz Ertinger, Johann Eckstein and even Jacques-Louis Ménétra has been proven to contain a set of strategies to create epistemic and semiotic “archives”. These resources were anchored in centuries of trade traditions and histories and were the epistemic and social “glue” of a cosmopolitan and highly mobile group which I have named the Republic of Tools.

Preserved in these unwritten archives was not just trade-specific knowledge, such as procedures to make Bohemian glass as described by

Ménétra, or sculptural traditions which evoked particular religious sentiments, but also elements of historical, philosophical, artistic and political discourses, filtered through a lens of specifically artisan sentiments and mentalities. Due to the relative stability of the Continental Wanderschaft over centuries, the structures of artisan lives and labour remained a constant feature in the experiences of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century image-makers. As a result, diverse knowledge of past and present events had an underlying continuity of artisan sociability to which all could relate, regardless of differences in other areas, enabling them to incorporate knowledge of the pasts of artisan populations in other countries into a narrative which was delineated by sets of values and habits that had characterised their own lives and careers.

Other artisans were an important source of learning because they could provide practical information (for example, which masters had been supportive and which places were worth visiting). What is more, these fellow artisans were likely to have added to each other's semiotic registers by explaining how certain objects and sites had featured in the past of the local, regional or residential communities they had become part of, at least for a period of time. Seeing these sites and objects from the perspective of other craftsmen, whose identities were involved with these sites and objects, meant that itinerant artisans were able to construct notions of the pasts of these sites which were of a specifically artisan relevance. As such, they were likely to have been able to interpret their own presence and activities within these sites in relation to past events which continued to be meaningful for resident populations of craftsmen of which journeymen became a part. Through the sharing of stories several past moments from local artisan

histories as remembered and passed on by the local artisan population converged on the present moment of exchange and visual observation. The pasts of unfamiliar places and communities became linked to the present of visiting journeymen who worked and lived in the same social structures and with similar values - as the example of Ertinger's account of Hussitism in fifteenth-century Prague showed.

Chapter 4 demonstrated that an itinerant image-maker, like Ertinger, would have been capable of forming multi-faceted opinions about past events which, retrospectively, appear to have had no bearing whatsoever on his reality because they were not only temporally remote but also involved members of a different trade who commanded different semiotic registers. Yet, these opinions were developed from within a framework of artisan experience and values which continued to be relevant to European artisans across several centuries and whose perpetuation was a consequence of the exchanges of the *Wanderschaft*. The idea that distant historical, philosophical, political and theological trends had a resonance among artisan populations whose ancestors had participated in them prompted a reconsideration of the dichotomy between grand and petit narratives, concepts which underlie the argument between micro- and macrohistorians. What this thesis's study of Ertinger's and Ménétra's journals has shown is that events which are retrospectively described and treated as grand narratives by historians had ramifications on the micro-level of artisan experience and were, in turn, shaped by the actions and responses of craftsmen, making the histories of local artisan populations grand narratives in their own right. Yet, the latter point has been overlooked due to a seeming historiographical bias against the capacities of

workshop populations to historicise and create meaningful contexts for their own ways of thinking. The analysis of semiotic and epistemic registers evident in the journals under discussion has been shown to have had resonance with many aspects of artisan life that, despite being previously deemed trivial by historians, can provide insights into how artisans structured the knowledge which they acquired by sharing stories, reading and observation.

It has been seen that the ordinary and familiar shaped an image-maker's vision of the extraordinary (and vice versa) because disparate elements of knowledge, tacit and explicit, gained from a variety of sources combined to form an artisan's semiotic archive which could be drawn on to interpret situations and images. Within these semiotic libraries, knowledge that had been acquired during an artisan's travels was “stored” and underwent reorganisation with the addition of fragments from different cultural registers. What is remarkable about, and also a strength of, the organisation of these semiotic libraries is an absence of compartmentalisation. Instead of ordering knowledge into distinct categories, the modes of acquiring knowledge on the Wanderschaft relied on strategies, such as imitation and observation which built tacit knowledge, thus, fostering what has been described as composite knowledge. It became apparent that chapter 4, which set out to deal with the tool broadly approached as “knowledge organisation”, really revealed two cognitive tools which are co-dependent on each other. Namely, developing and accessing sophisticated semiotic archives on an individual and communal level, and secondly, the ability to organise, apply and pass on the knowledge “contained” within these unwritten archives so that artisans from diverse backgrounds were able to relate their present(s) to a grand narrative

of artisan experience.

Assembling knowledge on the Wanderschaft or Tour equipped seventeenth- and eighteenth-century image-makers, like the Ertingers and the Ecksteins, with a stock of concepts and “visuals”, such as the depiction of historical and biblical events, upon which they could draw to interpret and situate themselves in relation to histories of sculpture, histories of artisans and contemporary discourses which only on the surface appear to be have been irrelevant to their lives. While possibilities for the epistemic organisation of artisan knowledge have been proposed in this thesis, I have also emphasised the extent to which the Wanderschaft (which never ended for some) could be an incubator of ideas which were to shape the course of the lives of those who encountered them. For example, in relation to the case study of Johann Eckstein, it has been speculated that he could have developed a sense of liberty which, according to biographical fragments, shaped the later stages of his career.

Chapter 4 also asked whether Johann Eckstein, who went on to become an academician in Philadelphia, remained part of the Republic of Tools of the Old World. This question should probably be answered positively, considering that his likely idea of the status of craftsmen as gentlemen-artisans (rather than the humble servant which he was to his aristocratic patrons) would have been rooted in the cognitive framework shaped by his *Wanderschaft*. The interpretations which were enabled by this cognitive framework can be seen as a perpetuation of an overarching artisan identity which continued to develop from its Continental roots. The learning which took place in the taverns and workshops of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe reinforced a system of values and forms of

interpretation based on artisan modes of sociability and labour which, as a fundamental framework, remained with artisan imagemakers who went on to become academicians in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Although Franz Ertinger's outlook on matters such as religion was different from that of Eckstein or Ménétra, it has been shown that all of these image-makers worked in a culture of mobility and exchange which fostered ways of learning and the resulting epistemic organising principles. The argument that the events and impressions of “ordinary” everyday life accumulated as semiotic libraries by means of which both ordinary and extraordinary events were interpreted undermines the distinction between supposedly meaningful grand narratives and trivial petit narratives. It was also demonstrated in chapter 4 that hierarchies of knowledge, in particular the dichotomy of practical and theoretical or intellectual knowledge and the value judgements inherent in this dichotomy, are not evident in the material which has been examined. Instead, readings of the journals by Ertinger and Ménétra have produced a sense of an epistemic order in which visual and applied (i.e. tacit) elements are integral to processes of interpretation and reflection which furthered an artisan's understanding of the world in which he lived in far-reaching and sophisticated ways.

As the migrating artisans of eighteenth-century Europe constructed for themselves a past that was meaningful to them, they also learnt about and situated themselves with the traditions and histories of their specific trades. For sculptors, and image-makers in general, this meant that they sought out not only workshops of eminent masters but also visited sites where sculptures and paintings could be seen. It was argued in 4.5 that image-makers developed a tacit

knowledge of the objects which they saw and that sculptures can be considered as having been embedded in the semiotic libraries formed during the course of the *Wanderschaft* and beyond. The visual culture of churches, palaces and public spaces provided artisans with images which they could draw upon to envision and describe what was going on around them. In other words, these objects were integral to interpretative frameworks and artisans' comprehension of imagery in the widest sense was part and parcel of the ways in which they made sense of the past and the present.

The tacit knowledge of the effects of sculpture, both in sacred and in secular spaces, which artisans gained on their journeys enabled seventeenth- and eighteenth-century image-makers to construct specific contexts and canons for their works. They probably developed canons of objects on the basis of criteria derived from sets of values which shaped their own lives and with which certain qualities of a sculpture were associated. To some extent, this appreciation of sculpture was tacit and can easily be missed in the monotony of Ertinger's formulaic judgements. However, if we think about his engagement with sculpture in terms of tacit knowledge and visual piety, it becomes clear that Ertinger was likely to have linked religious responses to certain works with specific forms which set a standard of quality for the works of others, but also his own. The identification of concepts and ideas which are likely to have been meaningful to individual sculptors allows art historians to situate a sculptor’s own works and those which he might have seen in relation to a narrative which is structured by the interpretation and value systems of these image-makers. I referred to this approach as an epistemological history of art in the introduction of this thesis

because the cognitive tools, and resulting semiotic libraries, create a context for the works Ertinger produced and saw. In contrast to reception theory, which takes into account discourses on a macro-level to establish a semiotic ground against which interpretations can be made, the image-maker and his own learning and interpretative activity on the micro-level are drawn on to make sense of the images he saw and produced.

Chapter 4 suggested that an epistemological history of art aims at "restoring" interpretative categories which were in keeping with discourses in which image-makers' participated and with their ways of appreciating objects and of telling stories. One such category which was identified as intensely meaningful to Ertinger and, presumably, his contemporaries was what has been referred to as a culture of flesh and blood in 4.5. The analysis of Ertinger's journal showed that he was drawn to stories and depictions of gore. Through these stories and images Ertinger understood the pasts of particular places (the alley which had been flooded with the blood of Hussite rebels) and concepts of justice (the master who was executed for murdering his apprentice). But the visceral also created emotional and spiritual responses to sculptures such as Leinberger's *Christ Resting* whose brow is caked with blood. In comparison, I argued in chapter 5 that the group of figures which adorn the entrance of Frederick II's stables in Potsdam to which Johann Eckstein contributed should be situated in relation to the concept of liberty which Eckstein might have developed as a result of his experiences in London. By synthesising concepts which might have been meaningful to artisans with the works they produced and saw, it is possible to develop non-mainstream canons which were of significance to artisans, as part of the project of an

epistemological history of art. While it seems that this avenue of inquiry has been exhausted with regards to Johann Eckstein, it would be possible to carry out further research on the works by Franz Ertinger and also his father and obscure brother who were beyond the scope of this thesis. These works could be placed in the contexts outlined in this thesis and discussed in relation to the works Franz had seen on his journey. This could convey a more complete sense of the visual library that Ertinger had at his disposal for the production of his own work. Examining how Ertinger might have interpreted or interacted with a variety of objects is likely to lead to further insights into his semiotic library, thus, creating a more in-depth understanding of how several interpretative categories, both tacit and explicit, interrelated in a canon shaped by the thinking of contemporary sculptors.

Chapter 5 follows up on two avenues of inquiry which were implicit in the argument of chapter 4, focusing on aspects of knowledge exchange and identity formation. While chapter 4 had already demonstrated ways in which artisans shared knowledge, thus arriving at the idea of semiotic archives, and how these ongoing exchanges were vital in maintaining the Republic of Tools, chapter 5 set out to examine more systematically how the sharing of knowledge among artisans worked. Consequently, the chapter had to deal with the methodological baggage which accompanied the concept of knowledge exchange, and assess the suitability of established approaches. Unlike chapter 3 and 4, chapter 5 produced a cognitive tool in less straightfoward terms – after all, the exchange of knowledge appears as a process which just happens under a variety of circumstances, unlike a historically contingent epistemic strategy which might have developed as a result

of the mobile worlds and oral and visual traditions of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artisans. The concept of knowledge sharing is difficult to grasp by means of the analogy of the cognitive toolbox because it can readily be understood as a condition for the previous tools (through exchanges artisans' archives are built) and as their effect (intercultural competence heightens the facility of intercultural exchange). It has to be acknowledged that knowledge exchanges were conducted in specific ways because they took place within particular epistemic orders but they also had the potential to alter these orders and lead to a reorganisation of semiotic archives. Consequently, the sharing of knowledge constitutes a cognitive tool which is also a valid component of an epistemological history of art. What is more, artisans were able to shape exchanges by means of adjusting their composite identities to the particular moment of exchange, thereby creating situations which had the potential to “unlock” the archives of others, not least members of the Republic of Letters, and to develop new insights. It has been seen that micro-exchanges could have a stabilising function to artisans' identities but also cause shifts in interpretative systems by introducing new concepts, as has been explored in relation to the notion of liberty as potentially developed by Johann Eckstein. For an epistemological history of art, which aims at deepening the understanding of how image-makers of the past organised knowledge and how their production of images was part of these epistemic orders, it is, therefore, essential to consider the role of the sharing of knowledge and its ramifications for communities such as the Republic of Tools.

Chapter 5 continued the examination of literature, art works and discourses which featured in the biographies and writings by the image-makers on whom this

thesis is focused and evaluated these works and discourses with the objective of identifying epistemic orders. Thus, it has been possible to gain insights into opinions and attitudes which might have been formed by artisans who worked in professions that required knowledge of visual traditions and narratives. Concepts which sprang from learned or “enlightened” discourse, such as the idea of liberty in Johann Eckstein's case, or Voltaire's criticism of Catholic rituals for Jacques-Louis Ménétra, were appropriated from within this framework of values and opinions which was contingent on artisan ways of learning and understanding - a large part of which was visual and tacit in nature. Hence, both chapters 4 and 5 made an effort at meta-cognition by considering how Eckstein would have thought about liberty and religion in relation to the world of the workshop in England, Germany and America.

Moreover, chapter 5 dealt at great length with the intricacies of cultural transfer and acculturation theories and came to the conclusion that micro-level studies need to supplement studies of macro-exchange situations in a critical fashion. Approaching the matter of knowledge transfer with the idea that knowledge was shared, rather than exchanged, established critical grounds for questioning the assumptions and methods of this branch of epistemological history. The chapter also made subtle changes to the terminology of traditional transfer and acculturation studies, using terms such as knowledge sharing and abandoning the model of macro-units of transfer, such as nations or identity groups, to explore the subtle nuances of exchange situations on the micro-level. Reviewing the methods proposed by Espagne and Werner, as well as the revisions to transfer methods by acculturationist Ulrich Gotter, prompted an

evaluation of the identities which were played out in the Republic of Tools. An analysis of Ménétra's journal has resulted in the observation that individual exchange situations involved an equally individual dynamic of different identities which have to be taken into account, if the exchange study is to gain insights into the ways in which exchanges affected epistemic registers or brought about changes in mentalities. It has been shown that the identities of artisan image-makers can be understood as a composite. Ménétra, for example, saw himself as a glazier but also a journeyman, a Catholic and a Parisian, each being of greater or lesser relevance depending on the situation, as several examples have shown. As such, the Republic of Tools can be understood as an overarching identity plane on which other identities were performed.

By means of an imaginary, but very likely, encounter between Eckstein, a representative of the Republic of Tools, and the travel writer and lexicographer Thomas Nugent, a probable citizen of the Republic of Letters, it has been demonstrated that such meetings had the potential to alter and adjust the perception of both parties, supplying them with alternative ways of thinking about a subject. In this way, artisan views were not part of a segregated artisan culture but were part of a dialogue in which they had the power to subvert, reinforce or develop ideas which were formative of enlightened discourse. Therefore, the Republic of Tools should not be seen as divorced from, or even antagonistic to, the Republic of Letters. Instead, they can be understood as worlds of sociability and learning which provoked different identities but which also informed and overlapped each other; an encounter between Jacques-Louis Ménétra and Jean-Jacques Rousseau highlights this dynamic. The glazier claimed to have socialised

with Rousseau for a brief period in his later life, but he did not see himself as an equal to the *philosophe*: “Both of us had the same clothes but not at all the same (breadth of) knowledge Between us (the difference) was like night and day”.[1] Yet, Rousseau had been an engraver's apprentice once and would have shared certain cultural registers with the glazier. Still, Ménétra's remarks suggest a significant social and intellectual divide which appears to have been perceived by both sides. While Eckstein, as has been argued, remained a citizen of the Republic of Tools, despite becoming an academician, Rousseau, who had no contact with his former trade anymore, seems to have changed citizenship at some point in his life. To determine this point and under what circumstances this change occurred should be the task of another study which could focus exclusively on relationships between members of the Republic of Letters and the Republic of Tools and assess the correlations between the epistemic orders which each of them fostered.

In summary, this thesis has highlighted that the *Wanderschaft* provided crucial learning experiences which were formative for how artisan image-makers appropriated and applied knowledge for the rest of their lives. This brings back into focus the song quoted at the beginning of chapter 2: “What master can he be who sat at home with the old women”. Such a master would have been deemed immature not just because he had not withstood the perils of the road and of the “foreign lands” which Ertinger travelled. He also would have failed to accumulate insights into the place of sculptures in practices which perpetuated historical narratives that were constructed by artisans themselves and tacit knowledge about how sculptures and paintings provoked certain responses. Neither would he have

1 Ménétra and Roche, *Journal of my Life*, 1986, 182

been able to form the same bonds with other artisans, not just image-makers, from other regions and countries which required him to become a “full” member of the Republic of Tools. What is more, he would have been unable to construct as far-reaching and sophisticated a context for his own works as artisans who had been able to situate themselves in relation to other artisan communities, approaching and appropriating their semiotic and epistemic registers. Those who had experienced alternative backgrounds of artisan life and labour were able to envision new possibilities for their work as image-makers.

One of the most significant contributions this thesis has made to the study of the itinerant image-makers of the eighteenth century is to point out historical, philosophical, theological and also political contexts which sculptors like Ertinger and Eckstein constructed for themselves in relation to their citizenship in the Republic of Tools. By pursuing a similar line of argument in relation to other image-makers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and working on a micro-level, it would be possible to discover more histories through which the Republic of Tools was made to cohere and create a more complete picture of individual “artists” and the ways in which they interpreted the interior and exterior worlds in which they worked and which they depicted. But, perhaps, the most original contribution of the thesis lies with the approach developed in order to unite analyses of the epistemic and semiotic registers of artisan image-makers with the history of art. The resulting “epistemological art history” has brought forth a new conception of canons which are in keeping with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century image-makers' interpretative structures that were largely the result of tacit learning and were invested with value systems which corresponded to the grand narrative of the

Republic of Tools.

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