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Arrival Cities:
Migrating Artists and
New Metropolitan Topographies
in the 20th Century

An Introduction

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Under the title "The World Becomes a City", Manuel Slupina's contribution to the *Atlas der Globalisierung* (Atlas of Globalisation) links migration, both internal and cross-border, with urbanisation:

> Worldwide, people flow into cities. In 2007, for the first time in human history, there were more urban than rural inhabitants. […] By 2050, the world's population is expected to grow by a further 2.1 billion to around 9.8 billion. Above all, it will be cities that will have to accommodate the extra human population. […] The cities are growing because the lack of prospects in the countryside is driving many people into the urban centres. (Slupina 2019, 120)

In its report, *Cities Welcoming Refugee and Migrants*, UNESCO describes migration primarily as an urban phenomenon: "[m]igration in the current era is markedly urban and falls increasingly under the responsibility of city authorities, encouraging cities to adopt new and hybrid approaches on urban governance" (Taran et al. 2016, 10). The close interdependence of migration and the city should be considered in both directions. Not only do cities constitute themselves through migration and are unthinkable without it, but migration itself is also visible in the present primarily as a movement into the cities. The sociologist and migration researcher Erol Yildiz summarises this in a simple formula: "city histories are always also migration histories" (Yildiz 2013, 9). Contemporary post-migrant research in particular emphasises the importance of cities as identity-forming,

just as it understands migration as a metropolitan movement (Yildiz/Mattausch 2009; see also Bukow 2018; Hill 2018). The understanding of urban development as migrant-led leads to questions about urban planning and architecture (Carstean 2011), life and everyday practices, community building and social networks, as well as cultural or artistic work processes. How can all this be conceived of in relation to a plural and diverse urban society?

This volume takes these current observations and questions as its starting point, but shifts the perspective. Assuming that the respective present leads to new perspectives on history, the relationship between historical migration, exile, flight and metropolises is examined. This is done through a focus on cross-border relocations of artists, architects and intellectuals in the first half of the 20th century.

During that period global metropolises including Bombay (now Mumbai), Buenos Aires, Istanbul, London, New York, and Shanghai were metropolitan destinations for refugee artists, photographers and architects. This era encompasses unprecedented mass migration movements as well as phases of return or remigration. For numerous artists who fled their native countries due to changes in political systems, dictatorships and wars, repression, persecution and violence, these cities were places of entrance, transition and creativity. The Balkan War (1912–1913), World War I and the Russian Revolution of 1917 resulted in the exile of numerous artists to Istanbul and Paris. In the 1920s the Hungarian dictatorship under Miklós Horthy forced many more artists into exile. The seizure of power by the National Socialists resulted in the exodus of many artists and architects from Germany after 1933 and from Austria after 1938. World War II led to the emigration of artists from occupied countries like Czechoslovakia, Belgium, the Netherlands and France. These political eruptions led to the following long-term paradigm shift: established European hubs of artistic innovation such as Paris, Berlin and Vienna gave way to a more decentralised network of cities, as diverse artistic movements and artists with different geographic backgrounds gathered in centres such as Bombay, Buenos Aires and New York. While some cities, such as London and Shanghai, were temporary places of refuge (indeed some artists left London because it was a bombing target during World War II), others provided a base for more long-term stays. Following the end of World War II some exiled artists and architects returned to their home countries although the majority chose to stay in their new homes. The period of artistic exile analysed in the book closes with a study of Latin American artistic exile in Central Europe in the late 1970s.

Cities were changed by the presence of exiled artists and – vice versa – the urban topographies shaped the actions and interactions of artists. The changes caused by migration are particularly visible in these cities; their urban topographies contain neighbourhoods, places and spaces that were populated, frequented and run by

migrants. In addition to providing the émigré artists with income, employment and exposure, urban institutions, academies, associations, museums and galleries were crucial settings for interaction and exchange between the local and migrant populations; in some cases they were founded and run by émigré artists. The numerous exhibitions curated by and including the work of these artists were also connected to specific sites and spaces in the urban fabric, as were the circulation of media and dissemination of discourse pertaining to them. In their stations of exile and their final destinations the émigré artists attempted to continue their artistic production, to build up new networks for their art, as well as collaborations and exhibitions between exiled and local artists and artist groups. But it should be considered that certain neighbourhoods not only often became home to large numbers of migrants, but also supported segregation and isolation. Thereby there were inspirational *and* conflict-laden encounters. En route and within these cities new theoretical concepts were developed and elaborated upon, pushing the boundaries of art theory and practice.

Focusing on the intersections of exile, artistic practice and urban space, this volume brings together researchers committed to revising the historiography of 'modern' art. It addresses metropolitan areas that were settled by migrant artists in the first half of the 20th century. The artists often settled in certain urban areas – due to low rental costs, because other immigrants lived there and/or because they were artists' quarters where new contacts could be established. These so-called "arrival cities" (Saunders 2011) were hubs of artistic activities and transcultural contact zones where ideas circulated, collaborations emerged and concepts developed. Taking cities as a starting point, this volume explores how urban topographies and artistic landscapes were modified by exiled artists re-establishing their practices in metropolises across the world. It addresses questions such as: how did the migration of artists to different urban spaces impact on their work and the historiography of art? How did the urban environments in which the artists moved and worked affect professional negotiations as well as cultural and linguistic exchange?

In this volume the term 'topography' is used not only to describe the surface characteristics of places or the physical features of urban areas. It is also employed to refer to modes of adapting to surroundings, of living and working in certain urban environments, of arriving in and leaving cities – it is not without reason that migration researchers Erol Yildiz and Birgit Mattausch refer to "migration as a metropolitan resource" (Yildiz/Mattausch 2009). Topography in the sense of our volume includes spatial and social relationships between émigré and local artists and architects, but also interrelations between institutions and actors, actors and objects in the context of urban matrixes. The conception of topography in this book is grounded on the definitions of the "Kunsttopografien globaler Migration"

(art topographies of global migration) special issue of the journal *kritische berichte* (Dogramaci et al. 2015, 3):

> Since migration is primarily defined as the experience of a change of location, whether it is the experience of losing one's homeland, of relocation and displacement, of borders (or boundlessness), of wandering through and crossing spaces, or of multilocality, the individual contributions [of the journal] seek to trace the processes of de-, re- and translocalization at those neuralgic art locations where migration movements are concentrated concentrically. It is only in the reference to a location, i.e. in the situating, bundling and selective immobilization of migratory movements, that it becomes manifest how migration phenomena generate meaning in the field of art.[1]

Following this understanding, the contributions to this volume consider mobilities and trajectories, neighbourhoods and networks, social spaces and artscapes, as well as infrastructures and artistic practices. Neighbourhoods like Galata in Istanbul, streets like Calle Florida in Buenos Aires or Finchley Road in London, which became home to or working places for a large number of exiles, are examined in relation to how they supported segregation, exchange and inclusion. How accessible were these areas in terms of public transit? What institutions and social spaces did they offer? Did the foreign artists create their own informal structures or rely on existing venues? How important are migration and flight for the self-perception of migrant actors in urban societies? And how important is it for research to distinguish between migration, exile and diaspora?

This leads to different notions of displacements and translocations: although a distinction is made in the literature between *exile* and *emigration*, with the former attesting to a desire to return, while the latter implies the intention of a final shift of residence, it is impossible to make a sharp separation between the terms. Motivations and decisions change too much in the temporal span between emigration, arrival and the point of a possible return; even those affected have often used the terms differently (Krohn 1998, XII). It is also important to be aware of the meaning of *immigrant* as "a person who comes to live permanently in a foreign country"[2] or *migrant* as someone moving from one place to another, within a nation or crossing borders, in order to find work, better educational opportunities or living conditions (Berking 2010, 293). Also, *displacements* and *diaspora* and their different meanings, etymologies and histories should be considered when rethinking the history of modern art as a history of global interconnections, spurred

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by trans-border movements of artists. The contributions in this book deal with these different dislocations from urban and global perspectives.

Groups and Networks

Every metropolis or urban hub has a structure of social networks in which human ties are forged and groups are created, fostering professional integration and everyday life. For migrant and exiled artists, networks enable faster integration into social and professional environments (galleries, magazines, associations, meeting places). Analysing networks allows light to be shed on mechanisms and strategies of integration and acculturation of exiled and migrant communities. The place the cities of arrival give to the networks and the internal evolution of social structures testifies to the capacity of metropolitan areas to accommodate the new population. In many cases newcomers increase the urban population density. This has often caused cities' physical and social physiognomies to change at a dizzying pace. Neighbourhoods are transformed and places of sociability are created, including clubs, associations, schools, hospitals and places of worship (Traversier 2009; Charpy 2009).

People may gather by national origin or common language and religion, but often it is rather the profession that brings them together (Heinich 2005). Depending on the city and the period, neighbourhoods were more or less delimited or exclusive. Different challenges and possibilities were offered by the metropolis to incoming artists and architects. But in any case, the cities change: social structures get richer, social networks develop, artistic production becomes more diverse. Modernity explodes in a thousand nuances.

Extremely broad, the concept of a network can refer to a family, a group of friends, an association, a school, a newspaper, a trade, a defined neighbourhood, etc. It does not have a precise border, the ties of its members are essentially informal and roles can be plural (Forsé 1991, 249). According to the sociologist Michel Forsé, "[s]ociability is considered as a 'total social phenomenon' that can constitute an autonomous and significant object, and can then be effective in explaining a wide variety of social problems" (ibid., 248). A network analysis studies the relationships between a single person (i.e. an artist or an architect) and a group (i.e. a society or a magazine). It reveals both direct and indirect relationships (a friend of a friend could become a friend) which should be considered since they have "a positive effect as long as the context allows them to be conceived as being able to be activated" (ibid., 251). Very often however the analysis becomes complex with multiple connections, which makes this approach extremely rich.
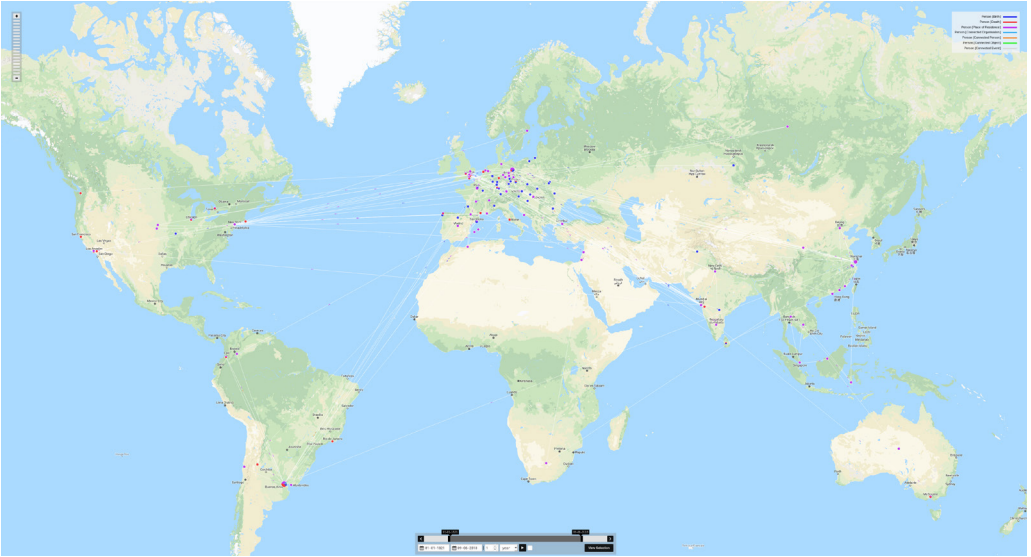
Fig. 1: Geographical visualisation of networks based on data of the METROMOD project entered into nodegoat, 2019 (Van Bree/Kessels).
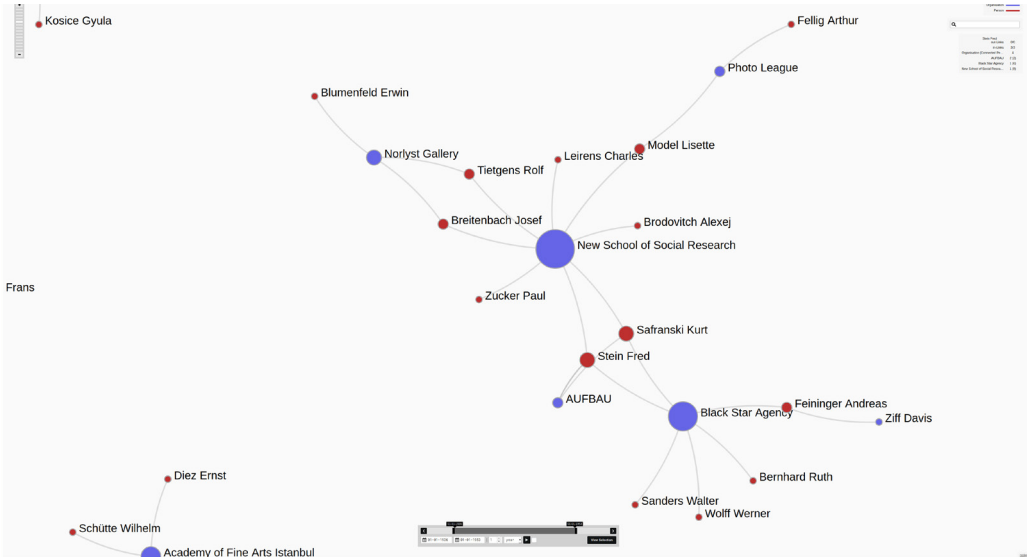

Fig. 2: Social visualisation of networks based on data of the METROMOD project entered into nodegoat, 2019 (Van Bree/Kessels).

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The Groups and Networks section echoes the increasing concern with these topics shown by researchers in the humanities in the past ten years. Sociologists and anthropologists have been working with networks for three decades (Lemercier/Zalc 2007) and their studies offer a useful methodology for new research fields in which networks constitute the context in which individuals evolve. Artists, writers and architects are no longer seen as geniuses moving alone through time and space, but as pieces in a huge puzzle where multiple individual histories are entangled. The context – socio-political, economic, cultural – facilitates the artists' trajectories, production, diffusion and circulation. In our work on exiled artists, network analysis helps us to understand the geographical and social situation in the cities. Social ties matter. In every city, in every neighborhood or contact zone, there was a world of connections that made the most possible of the exiled artists' trajectories (figs. 1 and 2).

Aiming to shed light on the historical meaning of relationships, we analyse documents that allow us to reconstruct a detailed social network. Of course, ties interact in different ways. Both individual and collective strategies of networking exist, mixing together all sorts of social relationships. Certainly, the point is not only to conclude that networks did exist, but to try to reconstruct interactions, qualify them, and quantify them when possible. How were these networks created, and how did they grow and persist? Can we detect patterns within them? How did networks in exilic situations affect the artists' practices? In the context of exile and flight, networks have a special meaning: displacements often lead to the break-up of old networks; new networks have to be created first. But there are examples in which old relationships were fundamental for an escape and a professional arrival in a foreign country (Dogramaci/Wimmer 2011).

There are of course many ways to study the historical dynamics involved in social relationships: analysing groups of friends (people, places, objects), communitarian associations or societies (memberships), schools (students, professors), magazines (editors, collaborators, subscribers) are some of them. Naturally, networking concerns people but also associations and objects. All forms of proximity are to be taken into account. For example, when there are many galleries located in the same street of a city, it may be that one person visits several of these galleries, sees the exhibited artworks, and meets different artists, gallerists and other visitors. Thus, gallery owners, artists, audience, artworks, institutions and places are entangled. With often fragmentary sources, investigating relationships at the city scale is not easy, even if the goal is not to describe a complete network but to reveal existing ties around one person, or between a group, a magazine, an association or an institution. However, even if a comprehensive study is out of reach, studying the

internal dynamics of exile networks serves to write the entangled history of these diverse populations.

The GROUPS AND NETWORKS section contains six essays which address questions related to the interaction between individuals, the establishment of collaborations, the organisation of events that create spaces for exiled artists to gather in several cities of arrival or hubs, including Bombay (now Mumbai), Buenos Aires, New York, Rio de Janeiro, Shanghai and Tianjin.

In the section's first essay, "Alone Together: Exile Sociability and Artistic Networks in Buenos Aires at the Beginning of the 20th Century", Laura Karp Lugo analyses migrant and exilic networks which were joined by people already living in Buenos Aires. The development of social entanglements made most exiled artists' trajectories possible. Laura Bohnenblust's contribution, "A Great Anti-Hero of Modern Art History: Juan Aebi in Buenos Aires", focuses on the Swiss artist Hans Aebi's position inside existing structures of the modern art scene in Buenos Aires.

Shifting the geographical focus to Asia, in "From Dinner Parties to Galleries: The Langhammer-Leyden-Schlesinger Circle in Bombay – 1940s through the 1950s", Margit Franz deals with alternative ways of presenting and supporting the new creations of avant-garde artists in Bombay. In "Austro-Hungarian Architect Networks in Tianjin and Shanghai (1918–1952)", Eduard Kögel surveys the architecture projects of exiled architects including Rolf Geyling and Ladislaus Edward Hudec, analysing how they contributed to producing modernism in Shanghai through designing Art Deco residential and commercial buildings.

Back in the Americas, Cristiana Tejo and Daniela Kern's essay, "Art and Exile in Rio de Janeiro: Artistic Networking during World War II", studies emigrant artists and art professionals in the Brazilian art scene in the 1940s. Gathered around hotels and other spaces of sociability, the exiled artists, architects and intellectuals wove networks that facilitated their integration. The section closes with "Kiesler's Imaging Exile in Guggenheim's Art of this Century Gallery and the New York Avant-garde Scene in the early 1940s" by Elana Shapira, studying an exile network with the gallery Art of this Century as its epicentre.

Mobility, Transfer and Circulation

Not least owing to new means of transport, since the end of the 19th century at the latest travel had become a matter of course and played a central role in the formation of modernity (Kaplan 2002, 32). Many artists led their lives between different artistic centres and thus made global cultural exchange possible. According to Caren Kaplan, the term *travel* also implies multiple aspects of an enlarged field

of different forms of transport, communication technologies, workspaces and also power relations. "Travel in this expanded sense leads to a theoretical practice, to theorizing subjects and meaning in relation to the varied histories of circulation of people, goods and ideas" (ibid.). In *Routes,* James Clifford writes that "*travel* emerged as an increasingly complex range of experiences: practices of crossing and interaction that troubled the localism of many common assumptions about culture" (Clifford 1997, 3).

Focusing on the first half of the 20th century, the times before, during and after the World Wars are characterised by political, religious, economic and cultural migration movements in which various aspects of mobility, transfer and circulation are inherent. If we look at cities and the metropolitan topographies where emigrated artists fled from or arrived in, these aspects are articulated via different forms of displacement. Mobility, transfer and circulation are terms which imply dynamic processes that cannot be interpreted as static, absolute and perfectly fulfilled, but rather as changeable, open-ended and often unpredictable states (Greenblatt 2010, 2). In Mobility, Transfer and Circulation the lives, artistic careers and production of the emigrated artists, architects and intellectuals point out various and different forms. One point here could be the different modes of transport with which these routes into exile were managed. The examples in this section clarify the passage between different continents, as well as illustrating that the departure, arrival and movement within the cities themselves marked important moments of mobility. In many cases the sea and ships played important roles for the modes of mobilities into exile. The image by the photographer Erich Salomon entitled *Überfahrt nach Ellis Island, New York* [Passage to Ellis Island, New York] (fig. 3) shows a ship's passage, here between Manhattan and Ellis Island, which served as a detention and immigration centre during the 20th century. After days at sea, all emigrants fleeing across the Atlantic to New York were met with the view of the harbour with Ellis Island and the skyscrapers of the metropolis. Therefore this photograph can also be interpreted as a picture reflecting terms of mobility, circulation and transfer.

Through a multinational, global and also broad temporal perspective aspects of mobility, transfer and circulation are examined here in different and heterogenic ways that are often closely linked. As movements of emigration and exile depend on various factors, power relations and networks, these different forms of mobility, transfer and circulation can be accompanied by upheavals, detours and failures, but also coincidences. Often artists were not able to emigrate as desired or were also confronted with limited mobility factors in their destinations. Even if a path into exile was forced for political, economic or religious reasons these processes could provoke cultural and creative exchanges between the abandoned country/

city and the new country/city. Mobility can refer to profession, place of residence and social position and imply spatial, spiritual, creative as well as artistic (in-) flexibility. 'Circulation', which derives from the Latin *circu(m)latio*, is generally understood as the circulation and exchange of goods, knowledge or even art and cultural goods. The word 'transfer' is also based on a general meaning of dynamic processes and transmissions. In semiotic terms transfer involves generating a new sign by combining two existing ones. With regard to emigration and exile, not only is a change of residence understood, but the transfer of knowledge, artistic activities, language, values, symbols and cultures is also embedded in circulation and mobility (Eckmann 2013, 25).
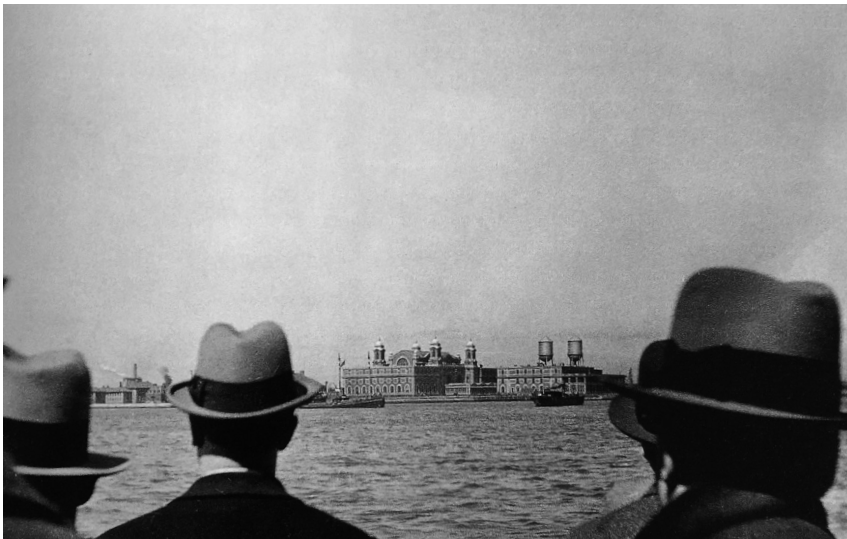
Fig. 3: Erich Salomon, *Überfahrt nach Ellis Island*, New York, 1932, 23 x 33,6 cm (Erich Salomon Archive, Berlin).

The essays in the Mobility, Transfer and Circulation section analyse these questions in the context of the urban artistic work and production of different global arrival cities such as Calcutta, Istanbul, Lisbon, Paris, Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Saint-Louis. In the essay entitled "Rabindranath Tagore and Okakura Tenshin in Calcutta: The Creation of a Regional Asian Avant-garde Art", Partha Mitter discusses the practices and networks of Pan-Asianism, a non-hegemonic, non-European avant-gardist artistic movement. The transfer and circulation of artistic and technical principles due to exilic mobility is the topic of Joseph L.

Underwood's essay, "Parisian Echoes: Iba N'Diaye and African Modernisms". He focuses on the transcultural exchange of the African artist Iba N'Diaye between Saint-Louis in Senegal and the French capital Paris, where N'Diaye first emigrated in the 1950s. He adapted modernist styles and themes upon his return to Senegal in 1958 and finally relocated to France around 1964.

Margarida Brito Alves and Giulia Lamoni focus their essay, "The Margin as a Space of Connection: The Artists Mira Schendel, Salette Tavares and Amélia Toledo in Lisbon", on the city – here Lisbon – as a cultural centre and transfer point for emigrated artists and writers, using the examples of Mira Schendel, Amélia Toledo and Salette Tavares in the 1960s. During this time Lisbon was shaped by the transfer and circulation of transcultural artistic practices and became an important urban space characterising 20th-century Portuguese art. Rafael Cardoso offers a useful connection by focusing on the Brazilian culture between 1937 and 1965. In his essay, "Exile and the Reinvention of Modernism in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, 1937–1964", he focuses on the transformation of Brazilian culture and art which was shaped by emigrants, many as exiles and refugees fleeing from World War II. Cardoso argues that the contribution of exilic movements played an important role in the (trans-)formation of modernity in Brazil's cultural and artistic landscape. Not only did culture and art imply factors of mobility, transfer and circulation but also the arrival city itself.

Finally, Burcu Dogramaci's essay, "Arrival City Istanbul: Flight, Modernity and the Metropolis at the Bosporus. With an Excursus on the Island Exile of Leon Trotsky", analyses the specific and locally given urban mobility of an arrival city using the example of Istanbul. In this context, its location on the Bosporus between the two continents of Europe and Asia and also the offshore Princes' Islands plays a special role in the transfer of architectural and cultural knowledge as well as the circulation of information.

Sites, Spaces and Urban Representations

Cities tend to project permanence and stability. Despite destruction wrought by natural disasters or war, periods of demise and reconstruction, or erasures caused by redevelopment, they can endure through centuries, and in some cases even millennia. In contrast, migration is characterised by its transience and lack of fixity. It is then perhaps ironic that cities are invariably the product of the movement of people. Whether it be forced or voluntary, internal or international, circular, chain or step, cities would not exist without migration (World Economic Forum 2017).

Migrants leave their imprint on cities in various ways. One means is by contributing to the building of the city itself. Itinerant labour is often involved in the construction of a city's edifices, as Irish immigrants were in post-World War II London (Mulvey 2018) or as rural immigrants currently are in China (Bronner/Reikersdorfer 2016). At the other end of the social and economic spectrum, in some places migrant communities become part of the local elite and contribute to the developing urban landscape by commissioning and financing the construction of civic infrastructure, such as schools and hospitals, as the Parsis did in Bombay, for example (Chopra 2011). In addition, migrant and exiled architects contribute to the built environment by continuing their practice in their new surroundings, as Mies van der Rohe famously did in Chicago.

Migrants also make a very visible spatial impact on their target cities through their housing. While some workers live on building sites, more permanent if still precarious forms of urban migrant accommodation include self-built housing in 'informal' settlements. Although these are often associated with cities of Latin America, Africa and Asia, during the 1960s and 1970s several *bidonvilles* housed immigrants in Paris: a shanty town in Champigny-sur-Marne, an eastern suburb of Paris, accommodated around 15,000 Portuguese immigrants, many of whom worked in the building industry (Urban 2013) (fig. 4). In West Germany in the 1960s Turkish *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers) were often housed in cramped and regulated dormitory accommodation provided by their employers or in *Ausländerwohnheime* (foreigners' dormitories) constructed by the German state (Miller 2018, 81, 84).

This sort of social exclusion through spatial segregation is very much at odds with Henri Lefebvre's demand that all urban dwellers have the right to be an integral part of urban life; to be present in, to appropriate and to use places of encounter and interaction. Rather than operating from a marginalised position, he argued that urban dwellers should be central to the city's resources and circuits of communication, information and interchange and asked: "Would not specific urban needs be those of qualified places, place of simultaneity and encounters, places where exchange would not go through exchange value, commerce and profit?" (Lefebvre 1996, 148). Perhaps even more so than for the working class of Lefebvre's case, migrants find satisfying these urban needs particularly challenging due to the already mentioned spatial and economic exclusions, but also because of cultural, social and linguistic barriers. Thus, grasping where and how migrants make and appropriate urban places to facilitate exchange and cultural production could contribute to understanding urban processes of inclusion and exclusion. Do certain neighbourhoods enable transcultural communication? Are there particular spatial typologies that encourage interchange?

Fig. 4: During the 1960s thousands of migrant Portuguese labourers lived in the Champigny-sur-Marne *bidonville* in the east of Paris (Musée national de l'histoire de l'immigration, Paris).

Taking Lefebvre's argument forward, David Harvey has argued that the "right to the city" should involve not only access to the existing city, but an active right to make the city different (Harvey 2003). A passage in Harlem Renaissance writer Claude McKay's book *Banjo*, which follows a group of multicultural black drifters in the imperial French port city of Marseilles, illustrates how migrants can impact on urban space, making it different. Set in "the Ditch" (*la Fosse*), an area near the harbour whose bars, cafés, brothels and hotels were popular with migrants, McKay describes a scene of celebration, conviviality, solidarity and difference in a newly opened café:

> The opening of the Cafe African by a Senegalese had brought all the joy-lovers of the darkest color together to shake that thing. Never was there such a big black-throated guzzling of red wine, white wine, and close, indiscriminate jazzing of all the Negroes of Marseilles. […] It was a big café, the first that any Negro in the town had owned. […] All shades of Negroes came together there. Even the mulattoes took a step down from their perch to mix in. […] All the British West African blacks, Portuguese blacks, American blacks, all who had drifted into this port that the world goes through. (McKay 1929, 45f.)

As well as drinking with the revellers, the book's main character – the eponymous Banjo – provides the music to which they dance, making them "boisterously glad of a spacious place to spread joy in" (ibid., 46).

With examples like this in mind, the Sites, Spaces and Urban Representations section explores how exiled and migrant artists created and used spaces within cities to exchange and interact, to produce culture, and, indeed, how they made cities different. As well as addressing the meaning of architectural styles and building forms in relation to exile and migration, the essays collected here also explore social aspects of space. Mary Louis Pratt's concept of the 'contact zone' (Pratt 1991) is interpreted in new ways both through its embodiment in urban spaces, including bars and hotels, and in artworks.

While several of the essays deal with specific places in different cities around the world, others concentrate on the artworks created by exiled and migrant artists, interpreting how the artists' experiences of the cities are reflected within them.

Rachel Dickson and Sarah MacDougall's "Mapping *Finchleystrasse: Mitteleuropa* in North West London" explores the neighbourhood of Finchley Road in London that played a vital role as a place of sanctuary for refugees and as a locale for the social, cultural, religious and educational spaces and organisations initiated during and immediately after World War II.

A specific architectural typology – the hotel – is discussed in Rachel Lee's essay, "Hospitable Environments: The Taj Mahal Palace Hotel and Green's Hotel as Sites of Cultural Production in Bombay". Positing hotels as significant places for local cultural life, she analyses two hotels in colonial Bombay as contact zones and sites of artistic production.

In her contribution, "Tales of a City – Urban Encounters in the Travel Book *Shanghai* by Ellen Thorbecke and Friedrich Schiff", Mareike Hetschold focuses on the urban representation of Shanghai through her close study of an unusual book produced by an exiled photo-journalist and an illustrator. Exploring the

depictions of typologies such as hotels, as well as the portrayal of the city's urban dwellers, she argues that the book can be conceived of as a contact zone.

Shifting to New York's Bowery neighbourhood, in her essay, "The Bar Sammy's Bowery Follies as Microcosm and Photographic Milieu Study for Emigrated European Photographers in 1930s and 1940s New York", Helene Roth investigates the work of European émigré photographers who documented the social life of a bar, embedding her analysis within an urban history of the neighbourhood.

Changing Practices: Interventions in Artistic Landscapes

Besides transforming urban spaces, artistic migration also deeply affects the local artistic landscape of the new urban environment as well as artistic practices of the 'local' and the 'arriving' artists in multiple ways. Migratory processes oppose linear or one-dimensional narratives of any kind, challenging the 'western' history of modern art. Moreover, the manifold revisions in the artistic field triggered by those who 'come in between' fuel fruitful artistic discourses and prove to be constitutive to modern art. By offering different methodological approaches, the CHANGING PRACTICES: INTERVENTIONS IN ARTISTIC LANDSCAPES section emphasises changes and interventions in different urban contexts, including Buenos Aires, Dublin, New York and Plovdiv. These transformations are multidimensional, reciprocal and stimulated by the encounter of individual artistic practices and related discourses as well as by the migration of cultural knowledge, including scholarly knowledge, institutional forms, publishing and display strategies and forms of collaborative organisation or professional exchange (Deshmukh 2008; Dogramaci/Wimmer 2011). Thus, migratory changes and interventions can be studied and analysed in various forms throughout the artistic landscape, stimulating new ways of approaching the cultural production in modern cities. Furthermore, cultural processes offer significant traces referring to shifts in socio-political and economic conditions which strongly affect the careers of the (migrated or exiled) artists and thus to a large extent its impact: economic and social capital, participation, visibility and reception are fundamental to it. In addition, the conditions of flight, personal background (age, gender, race, education, class, and so on) as well as diverse and changing urban topographies must be considered. Donald Peterson Fleming pointed out in his 1953 publication on refugee intellectuals and their impact in the United States:

> Previous occupational training is significant, since all skills are not equally transferable. Those occupations having a body of knowledge internationally known and applicable […] or those arts having a medium of expression universally accepted, like music or painting, fare best in the transplanting (Deshmukh 2008, 474).

It is crucial to remember that the experience of alienation, displacement and exile as an existential experience of crisis also carries with it the potential of failure, stagnation and disability of artistic expression. However, Vilém Flusser's and Georg Simmel's evaluations of exile which underline the creative potential ascribed to the experience of displacement, alienation and exile must be equally considered (Simmel 1908, 764; Flusser 2007). Linda Nochlin states:

> For artists, on the whole, exile, at least insofar as the work is concerned, seems to be less traumatic [in comparison to writers]. While some art is, indeed, site specific, visual language, on the whole, is far more transportable than the verbal kind. Artists traditionally have been obliged to travel, to leave their native land, in order to learn their trade […] (Nochlin 2006, 317–320).

Quoting Janet Wolff, Nochlin continues:

> Displacement can be quite strikingly productive. First, the marginalization entailed in forms of migration can generate new perceptions of place and, in some cases, of the relationship between places. Second, the same dislocation can also facilitate personal transformation, which may take the form of "rewriting" the self, discarding the lifelong habits and practices of a constraining social education and discovering new forms of self-expression. (Nochlin 2006, 317–320).

The essays in this section exemplify how artistic interventions by exiled or migrated artists engaged fruitfully with the local art scene and affected it in multiple ways. Kathryn Milligan focuses on a specific part of a city – the area around Baggot Street in Dublin – in her essay, "Temporary Exile: The White Stag Group in Dublin, 1939–1946". By investigating the art works, exhibition venues and local reception of a group of exiled artists, she sheds light on the development of Dublin's art

scene in the mid-20th century. "Inner City Solidarity: Black Protest in the Eyes of the Jewish New York Photo League" by Ya'ara Gil–Glazer analyses the artistic practice of the New York Photo League and the use of photography as a tool of visual protest by black activists and Jewish photographers and as a major visual harbinger of the emergence of the Civil Rights Movement.

Brian Bockelman's contribution entitled "Bohemians, Anarchists, and Arrabales: How Spanish Graphic Artists Reinvented the Visual Landscape of Buenos Aires, 1880–1920" focuses on the popular early 20th-century Argentine cultural magazine, *Caras y Caretas,* and the two draftsmen Manuel Mayol and José María Cao and a host of other Spanish illustrators. By encountering the marginal urban landscapes, the *arrabales* (outskirts), and the bohemian underground, it introduces a new, anti-establishment kind of humour and deepens the application of caricature to the many-sided Argentine metropolis.

Katarzyna Cytlak's "The City of Plovdiv as a New Latin American Metropolis: The Artistic Activity of Latin American Exiles in Communist Bulgaria" explores the example of Latin American refugees in Bulgaria as an exception in the history of East European migration and analyses cultural production and public interventions by two exiled artists: the Uruguayan Armando González and the Chilean Guillermo Deisler, whose artistic careers were interrupted in 1973 by the *coups d'état* and arrival of military dictatorships in their home countries.

The last essay in this section, Frauke Josenhans' "Hedda Sterne and the Lure of New York", explores how the exiled Romanian painter Hedda Sterne gradually came to terms with her new home in New York, outlining how the city became key to her aesthetic practice and expressed itself within her artworks.

Arrival Cities: A Roundtable, and a Conference

Arrival Cities: Migrating Artists and New Metropolitan Topographies in the 20th Century concludes with a discussion between Rafael Cardoso, Partha Mitter, Elana Shapira and Elvan Zabunyan moderated by Laura Karp Lugo and Rachel Lee. This conversation addresses some points raised in a number of the foregoing essays. These include the problematic of researching elites (as migrant artists often were), the significance of different generations of migrants, the relevance of an aesthetics of exile, as well as issues relating to translation and terminology.

The book *Arrival Cities: Migrating Artists and New Metropolitan Topographies in the 20th Century* is the outcome of an international conference of the same name held in November 2018 in Munich.[3] The conference and its proceedings are part of the "Relocating Modernism: Global Metropolises, Modern Art and Exile

(METROMOD)" research project which was established in 2017 at the Ludwig Maximilian University in Munich with support from an ERC Consolidator Grant. Six global metropolises, acting as arrival points for exiled modern artists, are the focus of the five-year-long undertaking.

Buenos Aires, New York, London, Istanbul, Bombay and Shanghai are closely examined as connection points for ever more globalised modern art. Those cities acted as destinations, transit points and places of artistic creation for numerous artists who left or fled their home countries, many of them in the aftermath of system transformations, to escape dictatorship and war or due to repressions, persecution or violence in the first half of the 20th century. The selection of six 'arrival cities' illustrates the global spread of migrant artists and takes into account various political systems – from the Turkish Republic to cities shaped by colonialism, like Bombay and Shanghai. The six cities also represent various climatic zones, topographies, different traditions, languages and artistic preferences. The key question concerns the challenges and possibilities that those cities offered to incoming artists and, vice versa, how the experience of displacement and new metropolitan environments shaped the work of émigré artists. The project examines forms of multilocality and pluralism, transfers and network formation, reflecting the concepts of polycentrism, contact zones and trans-cultural relationships. The methods of the research project combine urban studies with art history and exile studies: the aim is to build a conceptual triangle of migration, modernism and metropolis to investigate how modern art changed in interrelation with local metropolitan cultures and artists.

This volume includes contributions that expand the project's geographical reach and explore diverse urbanities from different methodological perspectives. The book aims to encourage exchange between scholars from different research fields, such as exile studies, art history, architectural history, architecture and urban studies. We are confident that this volume will contribute to the expansion of the historiography of modern art, urbanism and architecture by addressing topics that open new perspectives on the intersections of exile, metropolises and modern art and architecture.

Notes

1   "Da Migration primär als Erfahrung eines Ortswechsels definiert ist, sei es als Erfahrung des Heimatverlustes, der Ortsverschiebung und Deplatzierung, der Grenze (oder auch Grenzenlosigkeit), des Durchwanderns und Durchkreuzens von Räumen, oder aber der Multilokalität, suchen die einzelnen Beiträge die De-, Re- und Translokalisierungsprozesse an jenen neuralgischen Kunstorten

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aufzuspüren, an denen sich Migrationsbewegungen konzentrisch verdichten. Erst in der Ortsreferenz, das heißt in der Situierung, Bündelung und punktuellen Immobilisierung von Wanderbewegungen manifestiert sich, wie Migrationsphänomene im Feld der Kunst Bedeutung generieren." (Dogramaci et al. 2015, 3).

2   https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/immigrant. Accessed 27 November 2018.

3   The conference was held on 30 November and 1 December 2018 at the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte (ZI) Munich and the Internationales Begegnungszentrum (IBZ) Munich. For more information see https://metromod.net.

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