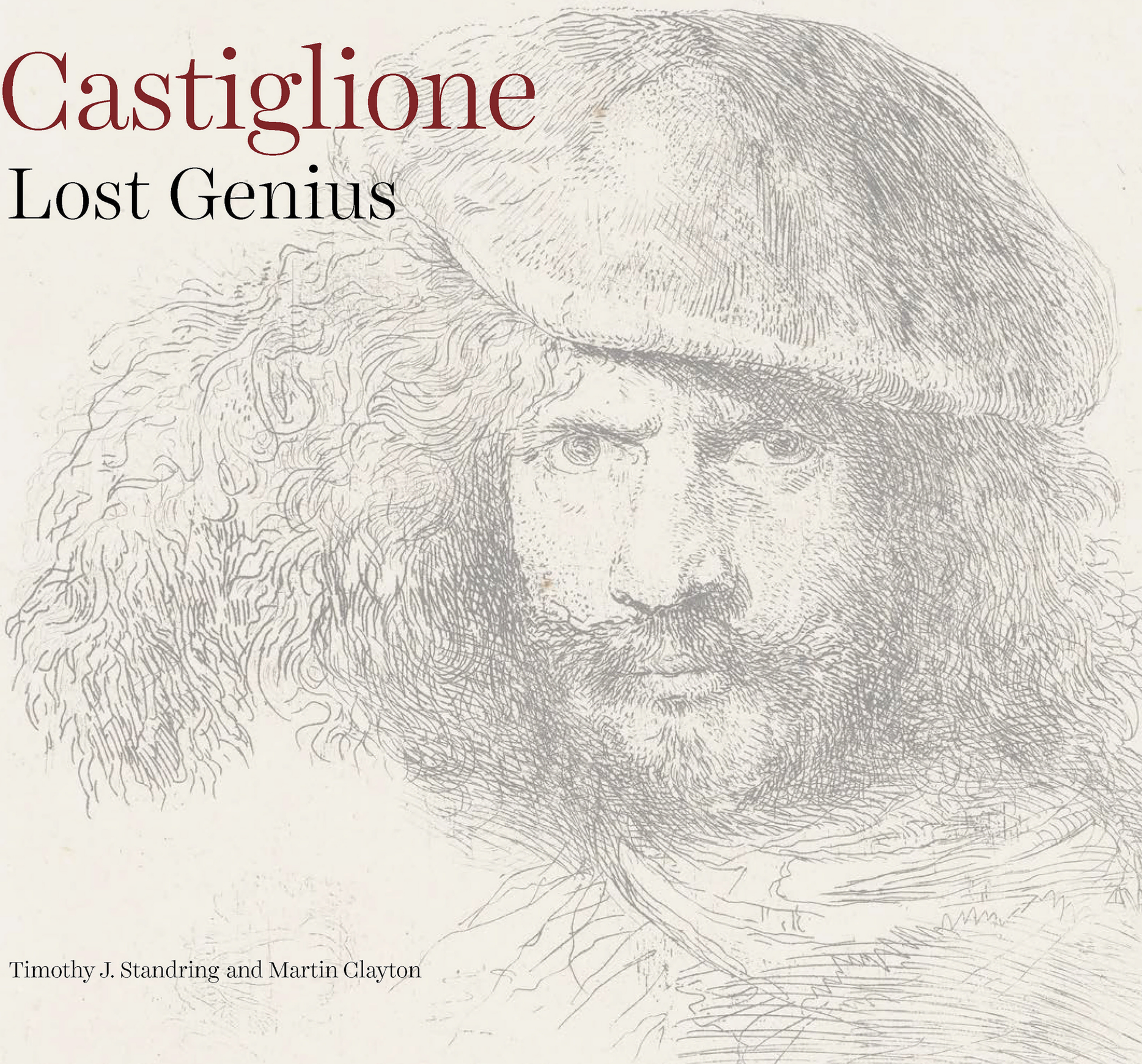
Castiglione

Lost Genius



Timothy J. Standring and Martin Clayton

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> 'Is this a moral person who would throw his sister off a rooftop? Who would accuse his brother of being a thief and an assassin and send him to jail? Who would flee Genoa with ill-gotten gains? Who would refuse to support the welfare of a niece or provide funds for her burial? And who would come close to killing his nephew by attacking him with seemingly unending punches?'

Such accusations were levelled against Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1609–64), perhaps the most innovative and technically accomplished Italian draughtsman of his time. Although he was skilled as a painter, it was his mastery as an etcher, his status as the inventor of the monotype, and above all his extraordinary oil sketches on paper that secured his critical acclaim. But even during his lifetime, his turbulent private life disrupted his career; and though highly esteemed for a century after his death, he fell from fame altogether in the modern era.

In this book, the first full study of Castiglione in over twenty years, leading Castiglione scholar Timothy J. Standring and Martin Clayton, Head of Prints and Drawings at Royal Collection Trust, restore to prominence this forgotten master of the Italian Baroque. Drawing from extensive new research into court records and other documents on the artist, their narrative brings to light a truly temperamental artistic personality, and focuses on Castiglione's working methods—a blurring of the boundaries of painting and drawing which appeals greatly to our modernist preference for the unfinished work and the creative act. Standring and Clayton position Castiglione as one of the most original artists of the entire seventeenth century. *Castiglione: Lost Genius* will take its place as the standard work on the artist.

WITH 138 COLOUR ILLUSTRATIONS

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Royal Collection Trust

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Foreword

Castiglione Lost Genius

'Genius' is a hackneyed word to use when discussing an artist. In the case of the Genoese painter, draughtsman and printmaker Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, there is some justification in that he himself produced an etching allegorically proclaiming his own genius—in the proper sense of 'guiding spirit'. But 'lost'?

This exhibition and catalogue arose out of a coincidence. In 2007 both the Royal Collection and the Denver Art Museum began, independently, to make plans towards exhibitions on Castiglione. It quickly became obvious that a collaboration was the way to proceed, selecting sheets from the unrivalled holdings of Castiglione's works in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle but utilising the resources of both organisations. Thus began, for the authors of this catalogue, a conversation lasting six years, on and off, sometimes arguing for days on end and then letting our ideas ferment for months. We now see Castiglione—his works, his life and his position within the art of the seventeenth century—in ways that would not have been possible if either one of us had been working on his own.

Our early research travelled along two strands: on the one hand, attempting to understand the stylistic development of Castiglione's drawings; on the other, the accumulation of documentary information. But as we worked, we had to reconsider the interaction of Castiglione's works and life and make sense not only of the material at hand (the traditional art historian's attribution-and-chronology) but also of the philosophical and ideological notions that underpinned it. Simply attempting to situate Castiglione within the general scheme of Italian artistic theory and practice in the seventeenth century, especially that in Rome in the 1630s, was like putting a round plug into a square hole. Instead, we tried to tell the story from his point of view: the direction of his internal imagination, his working habits and the way in which his artistic ambitions were frequently thwarted by his volatile personality, his talents dissipated—his genius lost.

The material demanded, in other words, that we rethink how Castiglione emerged and then survived (or failed) as an artist in an intensely competitive environment. We never doubted that he was remarkable for his stylistic complexity, his multiplicity of meanings and his ability to evoke emotional responses through poetic allusions. But it was his technical experimentation that made Castiglione truly unique. He developed a new graphic paradigm, making works of art that were neither drawing nor painting but a melange of the two and then combining that technique with printmaking in his invention of the monotype. The loose fluidity of his handling, at odds with the reigning rationalist/idealist artistic theories of his day, and his combination of naturalism with veins of Mannerism meant that his contemporaries found his style difficult to articulate.

Indeed, some of those difficulties remain. Though Castiglione is now well enough known among art historians, his reputation among the general public is almost non-existent—this is only the third book on Castiglione in the English language, and the first in over forty years. For the second time, his genius has been lost. Our desire to bring him to a wider audience through this exhibition was born of a conviction that he deserves to be recognised, finally, as one of the greatest draughtsmen of the Italian Baroque.

cat. 75 [detail]


All Sig: Nicolo Simonel
Li Mio Sig
Quel Diogene Cinico che con tanta glo ria serba pu
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le sue memorie baldan
dei Celebre Sig: Castiglioni, e perche so quante ella lune ti ne suoi virtuosi Costumi
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acoppiamento felicissimo e che in altro non discorderanno salvo che esso pote to
santa Seuerita
disprezzare i favori d un Alessandro e VS. per
sortesissimo animo gradira gli Ossequij della mia deuotione la quale viuera
la riuerisco
Di VS. Aff.mo Amico e Seruitore

Acknowledgments

We were assisted in many ways as we strove to make sense of the vast amounts of visual and written information we discovered along our scholarly journey on this project. At the outset, we received great encouragement from Jane Roberts and unstinting logistical assistance—including endless assembly and reassembly of hundreds of drawings and dozens of checklists—from Lauren Porter and Kate Heard, translation assistance from Rea Alexandratos and conservation advice from Alan Donnithorne. Reading archival documents can be a rocky ride, but this was smoothed over with the help of many, including Alfonso Assini, Roberto Santamaria, Giustina Olgiati, Valentina Ruzzin, Davide Gambino, Rodolfo Savelli and Cecilia Gallamini in Genoa; Michele Franceschini, Paola Pavan, Patrizia Cavazzini, Loredana Lorizzo, Laura Bartoni, Miriam di Penta and Riccardo Gandolfi in Rome; and Linda Borean in Venice. Along the way, we benefited from the incredible patience of many of our colleagues and scholars who came to our rescue with perhaps too many queries for comfort, including Peter Lukehart, Claire Farago, Sarah McPhee, Molli Kuenstner, Burton Fredericksen, David Tunick, Suzanne McCullagh, Jonathan Bober, Andaleeb Banta, Marco Riccomini, Letizia Treves, Patrick Matthiesen, Piero Boccardo, Anna Manziti, Anna Orlando, Patrizia Cavazzini, Miriam di Penta, Mario Bevilacqua, Gian Marino Delle Piane, Jaco Rutgers, John T. Spike, Marco Grassi, Michael Hoyle, Barbara Dossi, Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée, Alison Stoesser, Jorg Merz and Paul Holberton. Stateside, the project received timely support for Timothy at the Clark Art Institute and in particular from Michael Conforti, Michael Ann Holly and Richard Rand; at the Denver Art Museum, from Directors Lewis I. Sharp and Christoph Heinrich, colleagues Angelica Daneo and Kristin Bonk Fong, as well as from Michael Stretchberry, Leá Norcross, Stephanie McGuire and Sara Cook; from the library staff of the University of Denver, Nancy Allen and Peggy Keeran; and from Alisia Robin Coon, Bruce Ducker, Josiah Hatch, Nancy Benson, and Kevin and Ann Reidy. We are fortunate to have families who sustained and encouraged us with love and patience. Timothy wishes to dedicate his efforts on this project to Paola Calcagno Costa and Aldo Zerbone, and to the memory of Enzo Costantini.

Timothy J. Standring and Martin Clayton, April 2013

cat. 28 [detail]

Introduction

cat. 87 [detail]

Is this a moral person—'si possa chiamare un huomo da bene'—who would throw his sister off a rooftop? Who would accuse his brother of being a thief and an assassin and send him to jail? Who would flee Genoa with ill-gotten gains? Who would refuse to support the welfare of a niece or provide funds for her burial? And who would come close to killing his nephew by attacking him with seemingly unending punches?

These and other accusations were levelled against the artist Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione during a trial that began in Genoa on 12 April 1655, in which his attorney, Carlo Ratto, filed a suit against him and his brother Salvatore for insufficient payment.[1] Ratto had acted on their behalf in at least 12 legal transactions since October 1650, when the brothers had fled Rome so hastily that they arrived in Genoa with nothing (and Ratto's brother had had to furnish them with pots and pans, materials to make mattresses and bedding, and even underwear).[2] The attorney, who knew more about the Castiglione brothers than most, ended his deposition with the question, 'Do you really believe that this person is telling the truth?'[3]

Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione already had a reputation for violence. In Rome in the spring of 1635 he was accused of firing a weapon at the Roman artist Giovanni Battista Greppi, who had participated in a burlesque that, as an aside, ridiculed Castiglione.[4] Although he was exonerated, by Greppi no less, it nonetheless points to the unsavoury associations that Castiglione held in Rome at the time. Shortly after this incident Castiglione left Rome for Naples, most likely in pursuit of additional clients, but his stay there was short-lived. He probably returned to Rome before showing up in Genoa again in July 1637. He remained there for a decade and was on the verge of establishing himself as a leading painter in the city when his violent temper erupted in full force, and he destroyed one of his own paintings in front of the court of Giovanni Battista Lomellini, Doge of the Republic.[5] No wonder

CAT. 89 [DETAIL]

Niccolò Pio (the biographer who recounted this episode) claimed that Castiglione was more feared than loved.

Shortly after the Lomellini incident, which probably occurred in late 1646 or early 1647, Castiglione departed once again for Rome, reportedly dressed as 'an Armenian', with a black cassock and a brimless stovetop hat.[6] Castiglione's early biographers remarked upon his extravagant character. His nickname was *il Grechetto* (literally 'the little Greek', but alluding to an adjective meaning 'ornate and lavish showiness' in seventeenth-century lexicons). But his biographers were fascinated not solely by Castiglione's difficult and bizarre personality; they also praised his facility with the brush and his assimilation of the dauntingly broad choice of styles and iconographic sources available to an artist in seventeenth-century Italy.[7] Throughout his career he was to absorb these stylistic and iconographic influences like an insatiable magpie—he could easily be called the Picasso of his time. His early works, at least, display openly the vestiges of what he had borrowed or strived towards, but later in his career he fully internalised and digested the works of others to create an art that is utterly unique.

Castiglione's early reputation was based on his ability to paint animals and pastoral journeys. Like many artists of his generation, he then sought greater fortune by attempting to make more ambitious paintings for more discerning clients—he aspired to produce major works of mythological and religious subjects, and he was said to have been a busy portraitist,[8] but few portraits are known. He was also one of Italy's most significant printmakers around the middle of the seventeenth century (apparently inventing the technique of monotype) and may have used his prints to promote a reputation as a painter-philosopher, in the mould of his contemporaries Salvator Rosa, Pietro Testa and Nicolas Poussin.

In addition to his work as a painter and printmaker, Castiglione produced dry-brush drawings as independent works of art throughout his life, and a major portion of his posthumous fame rested on these sheets. Collectors and connoisseurs travelling to Venice—where the cache of his studio drawings ended up—marvelled at the brio and verve of execution of these sheets, even if the works did not conform to the idealising classicism favoured by many of Castiglione's contemporaries. Though they would have found the status of these works as both drawings and paintings challenging to describe, they sensed that his drawings were at their best when they juxtaposed highly descriptive elements with deliberately unfinished passages and when they blended the seemingly opposed aesthetic currents that sought either truth to nature or an intentional artificiality.

Few of Castiglione's fellow artists attempted to come to terms as he did with the breadth of artistic possibilities on offer. Few had travelled so widely over the Italian peninsula. His turbulent career took him from Genoa to Rome, Naples, Mantua and Venice, and he may have spent time in Parma, Modena, Florence and Bologna.[9] And most of all, few were as besotted with handling and execution in their works—in Castiglione's case ranging across paintings, drawings, prints and hybrids of these categories. As such, we are dealing with an artist whose life story and stylistic complexities challenge us to imagine what it was like to become, and then survive as, an artist in Italy during the seventeenth century.

NOTES

1. Unpublished trial documents exchanged between Carlo Ratto and Giovanni Benedetto and Salvatore Castiglione, 12 April 1655 *et seq.*: Archivio di Stato di Genova (henceforward ASG), NG1938/1 (Atti de' consoli della Raggione, notaio Francesco Bagnasco), section H, unnumbered.

2. ASG, NA6585, 30 August 1656, in the *testimonianza sommaria* (out-of-court deposition) given by Giovanni Battista Gattus:

> Sono molti anni che soglio pratticare con Pietro Maria e fratelli Ratti, essendo miei amicissimi, e dico che dell'anno 1650, nel tempo che vennero da Roma li signori Gio. Benedetto e Salvatore fratelli Castiglioni, essi non havevano utensili di casa di sorte alcuna, atteso che detti Castiglioni per quanto si disse se ne erano fugiti da Roma, et ho veduto più e più volte et in diversi tempi che detto Pier Maria faceva portare a detti Castiglioni biancherie, come lenzuoli, camise, tovaglie, tovaglioli, mutande, et altri utensili di casa, come tre padiglioni, dimitto per far straponte, tre coltre si seta, cosinetti, quattro pezzi di tapezarie da inverno, et altri utensili di casa, come anche li furnimenti per la cucina et ho veduto che in cambio di prender denari baratava con li detti Castiglioni in tanti quadri et disegni come sarebbe un quadretto di un palmo e mezo con sopra dipinto due gattini, due conigli et due porchetti d'India, un disegno di San Domenico di Soriano, un disegno d'un arca di Noé colorito, un disegno di una Cenna Domini sopra tela; item un altro disegno d'un' historia d'una Circe maga colorita; item un disegno di un Christo morto parimente in carta; item un altro disegno delli tre Maggi colorito e non fornito; item due tondini sopra tela di un palmo et sopra uno vi era dipinto una vachetta; item un quadretto abozato di Ecce Homo sopra ramo di mezo palmo o circa, et diversissimi altri quadri e disegni quali ho visto consignare dal detto Gio. Benedetto al signor Pietro Maria Ratto.
>
> (It has been many years that I worked with Pietro Maria and the brothers Ratti, being my friends, and I report that in the year 1650, in the period that the brothers Giovanni Benedetto and Salvatore Castiglione came from Rome, they did not have domestic utensils of any sort, given that, as was said, the said Castiglione had fled from Rome, and I saw frequently and on different times that the said Pietro Maria brought to the Castiglione brothers linens such as sheets, shirts, towels, napkins, underwear and other housewares, such as three canopies [sections of canvas] used for making mattresses, three bedcovers of silk, small pillows, four pieces of heavy tapestry [to be put on in winter], and other housewares, such as also furnishings of the kitchen and I saw that in exchange of taking cash he bartered with the said Castiglione in paintings and drawings such as a small painting measuring a *palmo* and a half [about 35 cm] upon which was painted two cats, two rabbits and two guinea pigs, a drawing of St Dominic of Soriano, a coloured drawing of Noah's Ark, a drawing of the Last Supper on canvas; item another coloured drawing of the three Magi and not framed; item two small circular works on canvas around ten inches in diameter and on top of one of them was a painting of a cow; item a small oil sketch of the *Ecce Homo* on a copper panel about a half *palmo* or thereabouts, and many other paintings and drawings which I saw consigned by the said Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione to Signor Pietro Maria Ratto.)

3. ASG, NG1938/1 (cited in note 1), section H, capitolo no. 71.

4. This accusation by the artist Tomaso Dovini was declared to be slanderous, because Castiglione was already in Naples when the shooting supposedly took place. In fact, Castiglione apologised to Greppi. The entire proceedings are recounted in Archivio di Stato di Roma (henceforward ASR), Tribunale criminale del governatore (TCG), Processi, b. 302, ff. 894–1009; cf. especially ff. 903r–v where Greppi reports on 22 March 1635:

> Sappia VS che in quell'istessa commedia fatta in casa del Soderino facetiosamente dissi anco che io havevo uno spolvero per fare li viaggi di Giacobbe et questo io lo dissi perchè vi era nella detta [903 v] commedia a sentir recitare un tal Benedetto genovese pittore che al presente si ritrova in Napoli da dieci giorni in qua il quale dipingeva spesso li viaggi di Giacobbe, et perchè detto Tomaso per mostrare che detta archibugiata non me l'habbia tirata lui, ha fatto fintione di detto cartello et messomelo alla porta di casa acciò io dia la colpa di detta archibugiata al detto Benedetto non sapendo . . . lui che si ritrova in Napoli, il qual Benedetto in modo alcuno non puo esser stato perchè si ritrova in Napoli prima che partisse mi parlò non ha mostrato mai disgusto alcuno di quella facetia che io dissi per lui nella suddetta commedia.
>
> (Your Lordship should know that in the comedy performed at Soderini's house I uttered among other things that I had got a dust coat for the 'Jacob's journeys'. I said that because a certain Benedetto, a painter from Genoa, who has been in Naples for ten days, was attending at the play, and was known for having repeatedly painted Jacob's journeys. The above said Tommaso, in order to prove that I wasn't shot by him with a blunderbuss, made out a placard and hung it to my door, so that I accused the above said Benedetto for having shot me, being myself unaware that he was then in Naples already. But there is no way that Benedetto could have done so, because at the time I was attacked he had already gone to Naples, and before his leaving he never showed any sign of annoyance while speaking to me and referring to the joke I played on him in the comedy.)

So Greppi exonerated Castiglione, placing him in Naples around 12 March 1635. Parts of this trial were published by Bertolotti 1884, pp. 177–86; see also Cavazzini 2008a and 2008b, p. 168.

5. Pio 1977, pp. 177–8. The clients of the destroyed work were reportedly Giovanni Battista Lomellini and his brother. Pio's story was retold by Mariette 1851–62, I, pp. 335–7, and by Chaumelin 1861, p. 4.

6. Pio 1977, p. 177.

7. Castiglione's early biographers include Soprani 1674, pp. 223–6; Félibien 1725 (edition cited; originally published between 1666 and 1688), III, p. 518; Baldinucci 1681–1728, V, pp. 534–5; Mariette 1744; Dezallier d'Argenville 1745–52, I, pp. 379–82; and Ratti 1768–9, I, pp. 308–15.

8. Soprani 1674, p. 224.

9. Baldinucci 1681–1728, V, p. 534, states that Castiglione worked in Parma and Modena; Ratti 1768–9, I, p. 310, that he spent time in Florence and Bologna.

Youth

Genoa, 1609–*c.*1630

Cat. 1 [detail]

Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (fig. 1)was born in Genoa in March 1609, and baptised in the church of Santi Nazario e Celso (also called Santa Maria delle Grazie) on the 23rd of that month.[1] By the early seventeenth century, Genoa (fig. 2), nicknamed *la Superba,* had grown to a city of some 60,000 inhabitants. Its international status may have declined since the late Middle Ages, when its navy and trading fleet made it one of the principal powers in Europe, but its fine natural harbour at the northernmost point of the western Mediterranean meant that Genoa was still an ideal centre for trade, and it is to this day the most important port in Italy. Like Venice, Genoa was thus home to many communities from elsewhere in Europe and even beyond—primarily Flemish and Dutch, but also Turkish, Armenian, Greek, Jewish and African.

This cosmopolitan populace, and the wealth accumulated over centuries by an array of mercantile and banking families, also attracted artists to Genoa from all over Europe. Its citizens sought out the best local and foreign artists to decorate their chapels, churches and private palaces with paintings that reflected the current stylistic trends. In a single day one could experience High Mannerism in the church of Santa Maria Assunta in Carignano with the *Virgin with Sts Francis and Charles* by Giulio Cesare Procaccini, and in Sant'Ambrogio (il Gesù) the elegant Bolognese classicism of Guido Reni's *Assumption* (fig. 3) alongside Caravaggist tenebrism in Simon Vouet's *Crucifixion* and the powerful visual rhetoric of *The Circumcision* (fig. 4) and *St Ignatius Curing a Person Possessed,* both by Rubens. Venetian naturalism could be found in the many works by the Bassano family, then in private Genoese collections. In addition to a number of Flemish artists working in the port, such as Anthony van Dyck, Jan Roos, Vincenzo Malò and the de Wael brothers Cornelis and Lucas,[2] there were many fine native Genoese artists. Castiglione would have learned most from his mentors Giovanni Battista Paggi and Sinibaldo Scorza,

FIG. 1
Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *Self-portrait.* Pen and ink with wash, 202 × 147 mm. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1602/1863

but also from other contemporaries such as Giovanni Andrea de Ferrari (fig. 5), Orazio de Ferrari and Valerio Castello (fig. 6), all of whom responded in their different ways to Genoa's rich artistic environment. This eclecticism provided a microcosm of the artistic universe that Castiglione was to experience on a much grander scale when he moved to Rome around the age of 20.

The little that we know about Castiglione's career stems initially from the early biographers of Genoese art. Virtually every school of Italian painting throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had a local biographer who championed the virtues of its own artists. In 1674 Raffaele Soprani assembled the biographies of artists working in Genoa, in his *Le Vite de Pittori, Scoltori, et Architetti Genovesi, e de' Forastieri, che in Genova operarono (The Lives of Genoese Painters, Sculptors and Architects, and Foreigners, Working in Genoa)*. Almost a century later, in 1768–9, Carlo Giuseppe Ratti expanded Soprani's work, and their combined effort became the first point of reference for information on the lives of artists born or working in the city. As Soprani's and Ratti's biographical intentions were nationalistic, they focused their narratives primarily on works of art in Genoa or elsewhere in Liguria, and less on unsavoury biographical details that might cloud their attempts to laud the Genoese school.

It takes some imagination to flesh out Soprani and Ratti's sketchy outline of Castiglione's formative years in Genoa. Soprani wrote that when the youth showed more interest in drawing than in his school's curriculum, his parents placed him, their third son to survive infancy out of nine offspring, under the tutelage of Giovanni Battista Paggi. This was an astute choice. Paggi had been instrumental in overhauling the education of artists in Genoa, allowing all classes of society the freedom to work as professional artists. This arrangement had not been possible under the law just a few decades earlier. As the son of a nobleman (if not of ancient lineage), the young Paggi had

FIG. 2
A view of Genoa, from *Descriptions des beautés des Génes et des ses environs: ornée de différentes vuës, de tailles douce, & de la carte topographique de la ville,* 1788. Engraving. Houghton Library, Harvard College Library

FIG. 3
Guido Reni (1575–1642), *The Assumption,* 1617. Oil on canvas, 442 × 287 cm. Church of Il Gesù, Genoa

FIG. 4
Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), *The Circumcision, c.*1605. Oil on canvas, 400 × 225 cm. Akademie der Bildenden Kunste, Vienna

FIG. 5
Jan Roos (1591–1638), *Cyrus Sacrificing to the Idol Bel*. Oil on canvas, 216 × 230 cm. Private collection

FIG. 6
Valerio Castello (1624–59), *Diana and Actaeon with Pan and Syrinx,* 1650/55. Oil on canvas, 165 × 251 cm. Norton Museum of Art, Palm Beach

been prohibited from becoming a member of the painters' guild and practising as a professional artist who could sell works of art. Self-taught, he circumvented this stricture by gifting his works to patrons in the expectation of a financial reward—a common ploy for well-bred aspiring artists. But in 1581, one such recipient failed to oblige, and in the resulting argument Paggi murdered him.

Paggi's social position ensured that he was only banished from Genoa, and he settled in Florence, where he joined the Accademia del Disegno, which sporadically provided a forum for debate about the intellectual basis of painting. On his eventual pardon in 1599 and repatriation to Genoa in 1600, Paggi was allowed to establish a studio, since by that time all ranks of society had been granted the right to make paintings without penalty, provided they complied with the requirement to maintain a *casa aperta* (open house), a private studio space not accessible from the street like a traditional artisan's workshop.[3]

Paggi's was not a craftsman's workshop, which simply provided technical instruction on how to prepare canvases, paint frescoes and so on. Instead, it was one of the most active *casa aperta* studios in Genoa. It was effectively an academy of art, utilising Paggi's substantial collection of paintings, prints and books within its informal curriculum.[4] This provided the novice with a background in classical mythology, history and philosophy, and in current theoretical discussions on art.[5] Studio instruction would have stressed drawing from natural objects, sculptural reliefs and the nude in order to help students realise an idealised style that emphasised artifice at the expense of adherence to nature.[6]

Paggi's studio became a haven for young artists who were the sons of noble and bourgeois families, and Castiglione would also have met local and foreign artists who either visited or worked with the elder master. He certainly became acquainted with the likes of Sinibaldo Scorza[7] and Giovanni Andrea de Ferrari, and he surely encountered northern artists including Jan Roos and—most notably—Anthony van Dyck, who was in Genoa intermittently between 1621 and 1627 (fig. 7).[8] As a result of working in such an open studio, Castiglione would have become aware of both the rich diversity of stylistic options available to him and the theoretical foundations underpinning his stylistic preferences. By the time of Paggi's death in 1627, the young Castiglione, then turning 18, could have begun to learn how to manage his responses to a variety of impulses coming from all directions. This would prove to be a crucially important skill in the development of his career.

While Paggi's studio must have had a considerable impact on the impressionable young artist, no work by Castiglione emulating Paggi's style (see fig. 8, for example) has been securely identified. Castiglione appears to have had little interest in painting in an academic style, or, for that matter, in rendering the nude, one of the staples of academic studio training. Instead, Paggi's influence may have been theoretical rather than technical; Castiglione would have frequented Paggi's studio during the master's last years, and practical training may well have been delegated to assistants such as Sinibaldo Scorza. Like many young artists, he probably worked at first from pattern books, tracing and copying motifs and compositions, and

FIG. 7
Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), *The Holy Family with the infant St John and a donor*, after Titian, *c.*1621–7. Pen and ink, 190 × 156 mm. British Museum, London, 1957,1214.207.17

FIG. 8
Giovanni Battista Paggi (1554–1667), *The Virgin and Child with angels and saints*, 1592. Pen and ink with wash, 275 × 201 mm. British Museum, London, 1946,0713.553

FIG. 9
Sinibaldo Scorza (1589–1631), *Studies of a wolf and a dove*, 1604–31. Pen and ink, 247 × 177 mm. British Museum, London, 1926,1214.1

CAT. 1
Studies of dromedaries and goats, around 1630. Pen and ink, 183 × 206 mm. RL 3945, Blunt 1

thus following Scorza's example (fig. 9) rather than adhering to the academic methods favoured by Paggi.[9]

Castiglione seems to have employed such procedures in his *Studies of dromedaries and goats* (cat. 1), surely the earliest sheet among the 250 or so by the artist and his associates now at Windsor. This drawing indicates that Castiglione was working from stock motifs, for dromedaries were not to be found in even as cosmopolitan a city as Genoa. While this carefully drawn sheet lacks the variety and lively assuredness of his mature pen drawings, his goal here was more verisimilitude than poetry, and he drew with a limited repertoire of tightly abbreviated lines and simple patches of cross-hatching that suggest the bone and musculature of the animals underneath their coats. This sheet is one of the few surviving indications of Castiglione's graphic style during his youthful period in Genoa. At around the age of 20, he moved to Rome, and it is only there that we begin to form a clear picture of his artistic personality.

NOTES

1. From vol. I of the baptismal records of Santi Nazario e Celso, now housed in the Archivio di San Cosimo, Genoa (Alfonso 1972, p. 41).

2. Stoesser 2008 (to be published in 2014) has done much to establish the whereabouts in Genoa and Rome of the de Wael brothers, whose presence often coincided with that of Castiglione. Lucas was documented in Genoa by 1619 and remained there until 1625. He spent part of 1625 and 1626 in Rome and returned to Genoa in 1626, but then went to Antwerp before 28 May 1627, where he remained until his death in 1661. Cornelis was also in Genoa by 1621 and followed a similar pattern by going to Rome in 1625 to 1626. He returned to Genoa in 1626 and remained there until July 1656, save for a possible trip to Rome in 1647. In 1657 he was in Rome again and remained there until his death, except for a possible trip to Genoa in 1660. On Flemish artists working in Genoa during the first half of the seventeenth century, see Di Fabio 1997 and Orlando 2012.

3. See Lukehart 1987, pp. 112–326.

4. Paggi's theoretical treatise *Definitione, e divisione della pittura (Definitions and Various Components of Painting),* published in 1607, is now lost, and was so rare that even Ratti did not see a copy of it—Peter Lukehart informs us that it was a single folded quarto. As a result, we are forced to rely on the artist's observations on art from his letters, which reveal the breadth of his knowledge on the practice and theory of art. For Paggi's impact on artistic training in Genoa, see Lukehart 1993.

5. A number of documents confirm that Castiglione participated in Paggi's studio: ASG, NA6161, 13 March 1627; ASG, NA6162, 3 September 1627, in which Castiglione and Andrea Podestà claimed that another member of the Paggi workshop, G.B. Constabile, had executed *The Flagellation of Christ,* a painting that remained in Paggi's studio but which Constabile wished to have released before the settlement of Paggi's estate. An auction of Paggi's effects was held around the same time, at which Castiglione purchased a table. These documents were kindly pointed out to us by Peter Lukehart.

6. Castiglione might also have benefited from another venue of artistic instruction in the city, Giovan Carlo Doria's Accademia del disegno (drawing school), which was active even after Doria's death in 1625. See Boccardo 2004, pp. 43–4, and Farina 2002.

7. On Scorza, see Wootton 1998.

8. Evidence of Castiglione's acquaintance with van Dyck's works is also found later in his life. He sold a picture of a Madonna and Child to Gian Luca Durazzo, who in turn offered it by bequest to his sister Tommasina, as cited in a document of 29 July 1679 listing his effects:

> Lascia alla sorella Tommasina un quadro di van Dyck da scegliere tra: Nostra Signora col putto in braccio compra da Gio Benedetto Castiglione, l'altra pure della Vergine col Putto che sta dormendo avuta dalla callega da fu Sig. Gio Battista Raggio.
>
> (Leave to [my] sister Tommasina a painting by van Dyck to select from: a Madonna Embracing the Child purchased from Gio. Benedetto Castiglone, the other also by van Dyck of the Virgin with the Christ Child Sleeping, that was purchased from the Giovanni Battista Raggi auction.)(Puncuh 1984, p. 213).

Durazzo's purchase of the second van Dyck picture cited here from the Raggi auction took place on 22 January 1659 (ASG, NA8334). An inventory of Raggi's collection was taken in Genoa at Palazzo Raggi, near the church of San Pietro in Banchi, on 4 November 1658 (ASG, NA8333, as discussed by Belloni 1988, pp. 149–51). There were also many paintings in the inventory attributed to Castiglione, listed close to works by the Bassano family, suggesting perhaps that these paintings were hung near each other in the Palazzo Raggi—for example, a picture by one of the Bassano described as *Animali diversi (Various animals)* was listed immediately before 'Un simile del Grechetto con huomo a cavallo e utensili diversi' ('A similar work by Grechetto [Castiglione] with a man on a horse and various implements') and 'Un simile del Grechetto, con pecore et utensili diversi' ('A similar [work] by Grechetto, with sheep and various implements').

9. On Castiglione's formative years in Genoa, see Newcome 1985a, Newcome 1996 and Lukehart 1987, pp. 426–33. The latter draws attention to Scorza, who painted a horse from life in the courtyard of Paggi's house in 1612—an artistic preference for painting out-of-doors would surely have left an impression on the young Castiglione when he joined Paggi's studio.

Development

Rome, *c.*1630–*c.*1637

CAT. 14 [DETAIL]

We don't know when Castiglione left Genoa—the only firm date is that he had settled in Rome by Easter 1632—nor what his immediate reasons were, though his move may have been prompted by the deaths of one or other of his mentors Paggi and Scorza, in 1627 and 1631 respectively. Although Rome's population (around 100,000) in the early seventeenth century was less than that of Naples, Venice or Palermo, its status as the seat of the papacy and the heart of the classical world made Romans *think* that it was the most important city on the Italian peninsula. It was the most conspicuously ancient city in Europe, awash with evidence of its imperial glory—countless reliefs and statues, roads still called by their Latin names, intact buildings and mounds of ruins. And when Castiglione arrived there, the city was in the throes of creating yet another layer of magnificence, that of the Counter-Reformation. Pope Urban VIII (Maffeo Barberini reg. 1623–44), an energetic and progressive patron, and his nephews Cardinals Francesco and Antonio Barberini were at the heart of a resurgence of artistic ambition that spread far beyond the Vatican court. Ambassadors, courtiers and clergy competed for the best painters to provide altarpieces and other church embellishments, to decorate acres of walls in their palaces and to fill their domestic picture galleries.

Artists flocked to Rome from all over Europe to satisfy this burgeoning demand. The number and scale of commissions throughout the Barberini papacy raised the stakes for artists, and the standard of works produced during the second quarter of the century was extraordinarily high. But to gain patronage, artists had to command attention, and Castiglione struggled to distinguish himself in a crowded field. He had stepped into the midst of an intensely competitive environment, with an international cohort of artists seeking patronage from an equally diverse cadre of clients. Rome was a collection of ethnic neighbourhoods populated with individuals

FIG. 10
Jan Sadeler, *The Calling of Abraham*, after Jacopo Bassano, 1575–1600. Engraving, 209 × 261 mm. British Museum, London, W,9.116

all vying for recognition and prestige in their respective fields. The French took to the area around the Via Babuino, the Flemish and Germans around the Via di Santa Maria delle Anime, and the Genoese along the Via della Purificazione to the northeast of the city centre. At Easter 1632, Castiglione was recorded in the *stati delle anime* (literally, 'registers of souls') of the church of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, a little to the west of the Via della Purificazione.[1]

Castiglione was probably both intoxicated and daunted by the city's thriving artistic community. Despite (or maybe because of) the range of stylistic choices on offer in Rome, his earliest known works still conform to a genre that was a speciality of minor Genoese artists—animals and objects in a landscape, either heaped up as a still life or arranged as a pastoral journey, with figures accompanying flocks and pack animals laden with goods. Such scenes, at the same time both humble and exotic, had been made popular in the Veneto by the Bassano family, whose canvases (and prints after them; fig. 10) were collected in Genoa (including a number recorded in Paggi's collection), and had been brought up-to-date in Genoa with flourishes of colour and naturalism by the likes of Scorza and Roos.[2] But no artist displayed more flair for the genre than Castiglione, nor did any explore its potential so assiduously.[3] Was he drawn to the genre because of a fascination with the eastern Mediterranean, whose citizens he would have encountered among the traders in Genoa? Was it a preference that grew naturally from his skill as an animal painter? Or was it simply a popular subject among his clients? Perhaps it was a little of all these elements.

Many of Castiglione's first identifiable works are in this vein, and such scenes remained his most popular subject for the rest of his life. The compositions vary little throughout his career: a farrago of animals and attendant figures with a receding landscape to one side, simple assemblages of motifs taken from his or others' pattern books and distributed across the composition—a laden horse or ass, a herdsman and plodding ox, a flock of sheep, perhaps some silver or golden vessels spilling out of the baggage. Though a specific subject is rarely evident, they were often conceived of as depictions of episodes from the Old Testament, the 'patriarchal journeys' such as Jacob returning to Canaan with the flocks that he had tricked out of Laban. One such canvas is Castiglione's first known signed and dated work, of 1633, when he was 24 years old (fig. 11). Following a formula he had probably already used many times, he set the shepherd and his flock at a pool of water framed on the left by a screen of trees, with a view across plains and fields towards a mountain range on the right. Castiglione probably sold such canvases through Roman *bottegari*—dealers who specialised in marketing inexpensive still-life and genre paintings to modest collectors as 'off the peg' works rather than bespoke commissions.[4]

FIG. 11
Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *Jacob's Journey,* 1633. Oil on canvas, 98 × 134 cm. Private collection

Unsurprisingly, Castiglione also treated this subject matter in many of his early drawings. In the study of shepherds with animals (cat. 2), probably of the mid-1630s, the pungent pen-work is strongly reminiscent of van Dyck's Italian-period drawings, and indeed Castiglione's concern with the effects of the abbreviated and spontaneous pen marks took precedence over differentiating each element clearly. With these marks self-consciously and rapidly scribbled, particularly in the area below the cow's belly where the objects are deliberately ill-defined, he achieved brilliant results. Castiglione took up the same theme in one of his first etchings, *A young shepherd on horseback* (cat. 3), a print whose effects of light and atmosphere reveal knowledge of Claude's early experiments in the same medium.[5] All known impressions of this print show damage to the plate in the form of scratches and corrosion and are probably later pulls; it thus seems probable that the etching was a private experiment and that no sizeable edition

CAT. 2
Shepherds with animals,
probably mid-1630s. Pen and ink, 186 × 361 mm. RL 3905, Blunt 27

CAT. 3 (OPPOSITE)
A young shepherd on horseback,
mid-1630s. Etching, platemark 192 × 253 mm. RCIN 830470, Bartsch 28


GIO:BENEDETO
CASTILIONVS GENO:FEC.

CAT. 4
Shepherds with a flock, early to mid-1630s. Brown oil, 201 × 254 mm. RL 3892, Blunt 83

was taken from the plate at the time.[6] The similarities between the physiognomies, stances and groupings of the animals in this print and the equivalent motifs in Castiglione's early painting *Jacob's Journey* (fig. 11) suggest that he was arranging his compositions from a repertoire of stock motifs.

But most of Castiglione's early studies of animals and figures, and indeed most of his drawings throughout his life, were painted (or drawn—it is hard to know how best to describe this technique) in oil pigments directly on untreated paper (cats. 4–8).[7] He would have first been exposed to this distinctive technique in Paggi's studio, and it eventually became his hallmark.[8]

The technique of applying pigments mixed with a liquid medium of thinned oil to unprimed paper was tricky. Too wet and the medium would soak into the paper, bleeding beyond the boundaries of the intended lines; too dry and the lines would lack the smoothness and fluency that was the whole point of drawing in this manner. By experimenting on sheet after sheet, Castiglione learned about the medium's capabilities and limitations. By filling his sheets with his virtuoso brushwork, he gradually discovered the mesmerising properties of 'painting on paper'. He learned how to vary the pressure of his brush on the surface, how to modulate the transparency or opacity of his pigments, how to control the extent to which the oil stains bled into the paper as he drew, either by reducing the oil content of the medium or by adding small amounts of lead white in order to lessen the time the pigments took to dry. All of these factors would determine whether he would be left with a field of extensive oil stains on the paper or more solid forms made up of lines of semi-dry pigments. This gave a deliberate contrast between broader, paler, more diffuse background areas of pigment and darker, sharper passages to pick out details and increase the illusion of volume (echoing the practice of drawing with a quill or reed pen and then adding patches of wash).[9]

By restricting his palette usually to a narrow range of earth pigments, Castiglione was able to concentrate on tonal effects without having to take account of colour (although the resulting drawings never appear monochromatic). But he also discovered that the right touches of colour could elevate a good drawing into a great one. His brush drawings become more complicated when he introduces additional colours, for this enabled him to create a greater pictorial sense but conversely reduced the tonal clarity of the composition. *The Animals Leaving the Ark* (cat. 7), for example, with its tightly composed heap of animals, is one of the earliest works in which he added touches of green, lavender and pale blue to counterbalance and even accentuate the dominant earth colours of the sheet.

What makes these drawings so special is that they were conceived as finished works of art, despite their deliberately *non finito* (unfinished) appearance. Some may have been made for sale, others for personal use in the studio, perhaps as models for a growing repertoire of subjects or to instruct his assistants. The fact that so many of Castiglione's drawings survive demonstrates that he (and others) cherished them. But the absence of drawings as preliminary sketches for documented paintings—and there are barely eight signed and dated paintings currently known—makes it difficult to follow the development of his works on paper. Tracing the evolution of Castiglione's style during this early period is particularly hard (though it never becomes easy), for several factors are at work: his inherent vacillation between his own personal urges and a more dispassionate adherence to nature, the range of his responses to other artists that he was looking at and the changes in style that resulted from varying his technique.

The best way to understand the chronology of Castiglione's drawings is to imagine how individual sheets might reflect the evolution of his efforts to paint in oils with boar-bristle brushes directly onto paper. The challenge was to distinguish every individual figure, to make

CAT. 5
A shepherd driving a flock, early to mid-1630s. Yellowish-brown oil, 231 × 336 mm. RL 3891, Blunt 85

CAT. 6
A young shepherd with a flock,
early to mid-1630s. Yellowish-brown oil, 245 × 386 mm.
RL 4016, Blunt 84

CAT. 7
The Animals Leaving the Ark, early to mid-1630s. Brown and blue oils, 233 × 376 mm. RL 4014, Blunt 59

its actions and emotional states defined and believable, without the draughtsmanship becoming laboured—or to look at it another way, to cultivate an elegant style of draughtsmanship without the emotional and formal content of the drawing becoming vapid. The order of Castiglione's oil drawings might be suggested by his degree of success at balancing dry and wet contours, at conveying a sense of volume and spatial differentiation between his figures, and at arranging his individual figures and motifs into multi-figure compositions.

By the early or mid-1630s, Castiglione's draughtsmanship had already evolved a personal syntax and vocabulary combining Mannerist elements, naturalism and decorative elegance drawn from his responses to the works of Paggi, Scorza and van Dyck in Genoa. His early paintings of patriarchal journeys may demonstrate his ambition, but essentially they were landscapes, and thus they sat low in the hierarchy of subjects, below narrative scenes from the Old or New Testaments or from Greek and Roman history, portraits, even still lifes. He did not lack important clients altogether—the Maréchal Charles II de Créquy purchased Castiglione's painting *The Departure of Tobit,* most likely when Crequy lived in Rome between June 1633 and July 1634.[10] But Castiglione would have far to go to compete with his Roman contemporaries, for he was already being pigeonholed as a painter of patriarchal journey scenes—in 1635 he was referred to in a document as 'he who frequently paints Jacob's journeys'.[11] To survive in the city's competitive environment, he needed to break out of his comfort zone.

In his quest to reinvent himself as an artist, Castiglione attended sessions of the artists' academy in Rome, the Accademia di San Luca.[12] There he would have found himself exposed, as he had been in Genoa, to some of the issues of artistic theory and practice facing painters at the time, including an awareness of painting in modes (using a style appropriate for the subject matter) and concern to use the *effetti* (emotional expressions and gestures) of individual figures honestly. Additionally, artists were expected to convey emotional states through gestures and facial expressions, in order to persuade viewers of the veracity of the subject and narrative in a work's composition. The solemnity of a subject such as the Crucifixion, for example, called for decorum as well as appropriate emotional states—principles that constituted the foundation of visual persuasion. Artists were expected to base the conception of their figures on exemplars from classical sculpture or the High Renaissance, especially the works of Raphael; mere Nature ranked low as a model. With such underlying principles, the formal means of painting had a bearing on the work's content; the more serious the subject, the greater the need for careful consideration of the artistic means used. With his background in Paggi's studio, we can imagine Castiglione aspiring to align himself with artists whose works manifested a classical-idealist aesthetic, such as Domenichino, Andrea Sacchi, Pietro Testa and Nicolas Poussin (who was nominated for the post of First Rector of the Accademia on 6 January and 20 November 1633).[13]

There is evidence that Castiglione was sensitive about his status as an artist. In a trial concerning an attempt on the life of the Roman artist Giovanni Battista Greppi by another Roman artist named Tomaso Dovini,[14] witnesses stated that Castiglione was present during a number of improvised comedies performed in the home of Conte Nicola Soderini. On one such evening, four artists performed the roles of stock figures of the *commedia italiana* in two skits, *Li accidenti notturni (Nocturnal Surprises),* the (presumably) bawdy plot of which is unknown, and *La pittura esaltata (Painting Exalted),* about a nobleman wishing to wed his daughter to a painter. The four artists were Greppi, a sculptor named Francesco de Grassis, an individual known as Modanino (Giovanni Battista Magni)[15] and one Antonio Chiusano. Roasting one another with

coarse language and innuendo in improvisational farces was a cherished form of entertainment in Rome, but Chiusano reported that the ensemble's humour struck a raw nerve with Castiglione because it raised questions about his artistic abilities: 'I understood that Greppi's verses insulted many, among whom was the Genoese Benedetto Castiglione, which touched on the profession of painting and a certain Giovanni Antonio, also a Genoese painter.'

The key words here—'which touched on the profession of painting'—explain the reason for Castiglione's sensitivity. The actors mocked how he had to draw 'with the assistance of powder', referring to the use of 'cartoons' with holes pricked through the paper, such that one could blow chalk dust through to transfer the outlines of an image (though no such cartoons by Castiglione are known today). In effect, he was accused of being such an inept draughtsman that he could draw only by copying mechanically with the assistance of a template. The ribbing about Castiglione's artistic merits, whether good-natured fun or mean-spirited, hit a raw nerve, since his production of drawings differed greatly from that of his classically trained contemporaries.

How or even if Castiglione used drawings of any kind to prepare for his paintings is uncertain, not only during this early period but also for the rest of his career. There is no evidence from his large surviving corpus of drawings to suggest that he worked out the compositions and details of his paintings with systematic sequences of preliminary studies, in the manner of Domenichino, for example. Few if any of Castiglione's drawings served as specific studies for a painting. He never squared his drawings for transfer or added notes to any apparently preparatory drawings that would aid in his execution of the final composition (and the fact that Castiglione never studied to produce frescoes or other large decorative programmes may have been a factor in this).[16] Infra-red photographs taken of a number of his paintings confirm that he executed them in large part *alla prima* (literally, 'at once'), without careful preparatory underdrawing. In this respect, Castiglione was not far from Caravaggio and his followers, who tended to eschew preparatory drawings, showing their brilliance by painting directly onto the canvas.

Only one large sheet now in Oslo (fig. 12) provides some evidence of how Castiglione might devise subjects and compositions. In a series of rapid pen sketches, mythological and allegorical subjects—including *Et in Arcadia Ego* and *An allegory of poetry*—vie for attention with pastoral journey scenes, vignettes of castles and ruins, landscapes, shepherds and their herds and even a shopping list in the upper right-hand corner. One can imagine the sheet pinned to the wall of his studio, and although it was drawn in the 1650s it may reflect a working pattern established early in Castiglione's career.[17]

Shortly after the Rome carnival of 1635, Castiglione is reported by more than one source to have gone to Naples.[18] Again, we don't know the immediate reasons for his decision to relocate. He may have wished to further his artistic education, or he may simply have been seeking a less competitive atmosphere than Rome's in which to find patronage. Although the nature of Castiglione's stay in Naples remains largely a mystery, his works seem to have had a considerable impact on Neapolitan artists. Both Andrea de Leone[19] and Nicolò de Simone, among others, produced patriarchal journeys very much in his manner during these years and later.[20]

Conversely, Castiglione responded to Neapolitan painting, and in particular to the naturalism of Jusepe de Ribera. He must already have been aware of Ribera, for he based both a painting (private collection) and an oil drawing on Ribera's print *St Peter crying in the wilderness.* In 1634 Ottavio Tronsarelli, one of the leading literary figures in the Barberini circle, dedicated his poem of the same name—*S. Pietro che piange nel deserto (St Peter Crying in the Wilderness)*—to such a work by Castiglione.[21] This was

CAT. 8
Jacob Moving the Stone from the Well to Water Rachel's Flock, mid-1630s. Brown oil, 228 × 345 mm. RL 3900, Blunt 86

FIG. 12
Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *A sheet of sketches, c.*1650. Pen and ink, 287 × 408 mm. National Gallery, Oslo, KH.B.15056

the first published comment on the artist, and he found himself in illustrious company, for the poem sat alongside others in Tronsarelli's collection *L'Apollo,* dedicated to individuals such as Cesare d'Este, Louis XIII of France, cardinals Bacchetti and Guido Bentivoglio, the Principe Savelli and the ambassador of Savoy, Conte Lodovico d'Agilié.[22] Castiglione was to have other literary connections, including Anton Maria Brignole Sale, whose portrait the artist etched for the volume *Le Glorie degli Incogniti (The Glories of the Unknowns),* published in Venice in 1647, and who was closely involved with the literary Accademia degli addormentati in Genoa[23] In 1655, Luca Assarino, born in Potosì, Bolivia, but of Genoese descent, wrote of Castiglione as one of 'five of the most celebrated Genoese painters' in his novel *I Giuochi di Fortuna (The Games of Fortune).*[24]

In March 1637 Castiglione sold a painting, *Christ Washing the Apostles' Feet,* to the Neapolitan collector Pietro Giacomo d'Amore through an agent, Giacomo de Castro.[25] But he need not have been in Naples for such a transaction

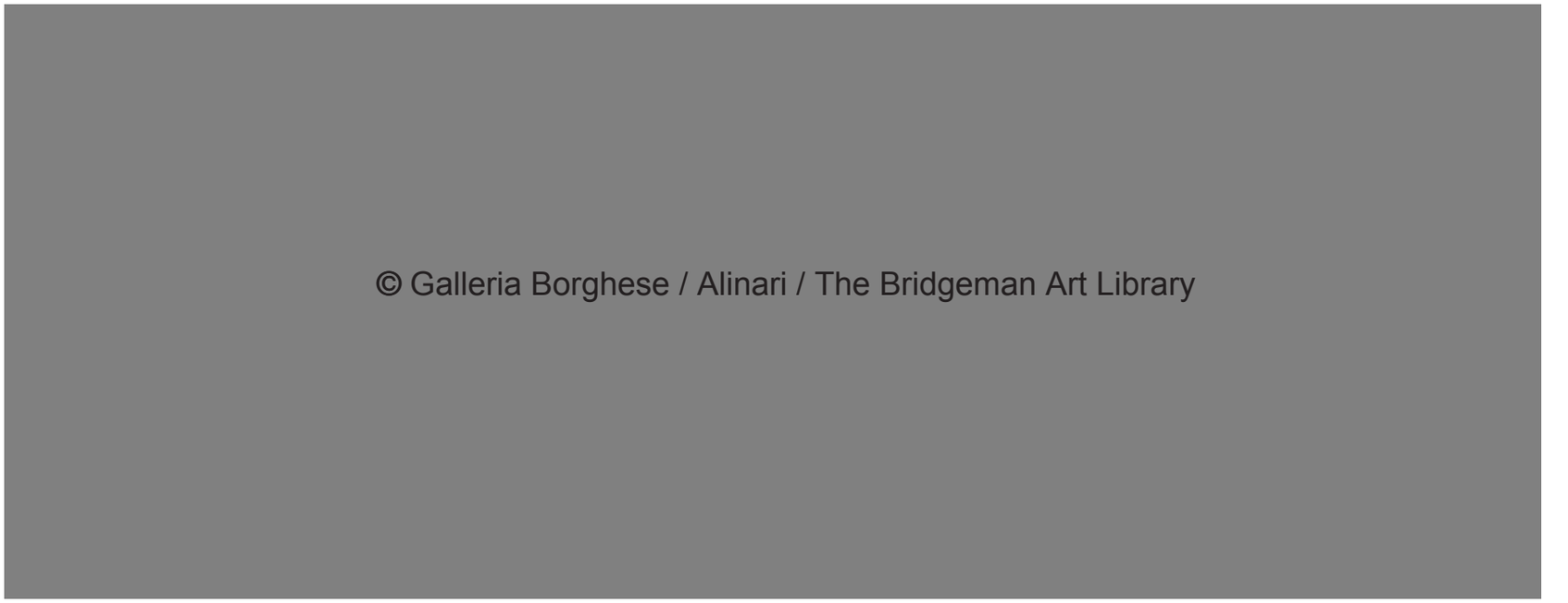
to take place; indeed it is likely that his sojourn in that city was short-lived, and he may have returned to Rome as early as 1636. There followed a period of looking intensely at the works of his contemporaries in Rome. We can see his direct responses in paintings, drawings and prints. More than at any other point in his career, he attempted very consciously to work in the manner of specific fellow artists, or borrowed motifs or even entire compositions. His quickly drawn pen sketch *Women and children praying before a tomb* (cat. 9), for example, is compositionally reliant on the *Tomb of Countess Matilda* by Bernini, begun under Barberini patronage in St Peter's in 1633 but not fully realised until 1644.[26] Castiglione adopted Bernini's arrangement of the sarcophagus and the figure of the countess, but turned the ensemble into something completely different. By including the energetic women and children looking up in adoration at the regal statue, flanked by a pair of chubby cherubs atop a garlanded sarcophagus, a monumental urn and a grinning herm (the male figured column), he imbued the static and solemn character of Bernini's monument with a gripping sense of mystery.

Castiglione attempted to update the subtlety of Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love,* painted in 1514 (fig. 13, in Rome since 1608, when it was bought by Scipione Borghese), to convey the theatricalities of the seventeenth century (cat. 10). The figure of Profane Love is shown by Castiglione from behind, holding the pot with her right arm instead of her left, and the two women thus rotate around the central putto in a rather crude *contradanse,* adding a degree of depth that he may have thought wanting in the original. But the feebleness of Castiglione's attempt to

CAT. 9
Women and children praying before a tomb, mid- to late 1630s.
Pen and ink, 311 × 212 mm.
RL 3997, Blunt 24

FIG. 13
Titian (*c.*1488–1576), *Sacred and Profane Love,* 1514. Oil on canvas, 118 × 279 cm. Galleria Borghese, Rome

CAT. 10 (OPPOSITE)
Sacred and Profane Love, mid-1630s. Coloured oils, 216 × 295 mm. RL 3899, Blunt 104



CAT. 11
Studies of heads, mid- to late 1630s. Pen and ink, brush and ink, 143 × 199 mm. RL 3944, Blunt 17

draw the nude is striking and highlights the inadequacies of his training. Perhaps in this work more than in any other we can appreciate the sensitivities that were inflamed by Greppi a couple of years before, and in his later works Castiglione was often careful to disguise difficult aspects of the body, such as the joints, with drapery. In this drawing, he also seems to misunderstand profoundly the terms of the (ultimately rather sterile) contemporary debate about the relative merits of *disegno* and *colore*—he took Titian's *colore* to mean merely 'colourful', rather than the creation of form through the careful modulation of surface tones, and rendered the Venetian's elegance with almost random scribbles of colour.

Castiglione also studied Rembrandt's etchings at this time. Indeed, he is the first artist in Italy known to have borrowed directly from the Dutch master, having most likely learned about him through his contacts with the Flemish artist-dealers Lucas and Cornelis de Wael.[27] He was particularly attracted to Rembrandt's striking nocturnal scenes and his natural expressiveness, giving us reason to draw attention to Castiglione's response to the Dutch artist several times in this narrative. For example, in his small sheet *Studies of heads* (cat. 11) Castiglione adapted (rather than copied) the Moor at lower left and the gaping figures at upper centre from figures in Rembrandt's large *Ecce Homo* (fig. 14), dated 1636. Given the differences in handling and in the tonality of the ink across the sketch, it is possible that not all of the figures are by the hand of Giovanni Benedetto; some might instead be youthful works by his brother Salvatore, who was probably working alongside him by 1639 at the latest. On a sketch at Dijon and on the verso of a print in Minneapolis,[28] Castiglione copied heads from other Rembrandt prints with the same spontaneity and nervous, broken contour pen-work, probably intending to use these head studies as stock motifs for subsequent works.

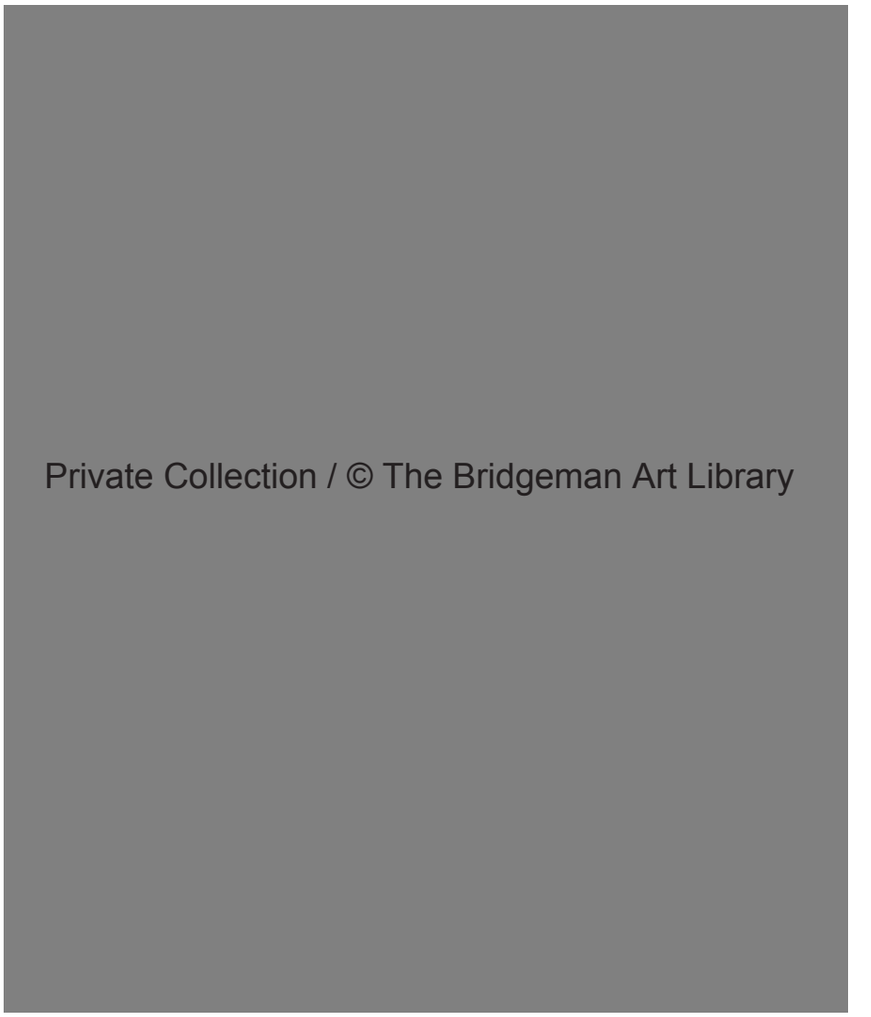


FIG. 14
Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–69), *Ecce Homo,* 1636.
Etching, 549 × 447 mm. Bartsch 77. Private Collection

CAT. 12
The Saving of the Infant Pyrrhus,
mid- to late 1630s. Brown oil,
260 × 378 mm. RL 4018, Blunt 76

By responding to such a diversity of artistic sensibilities as Bernini, Titian and Rembrandt, the young artist was testing the waters in search of his own language. At first, he didn't find it necessary or desirable to latch on to any one artist as a stylistic lodestar. But that changed dramatically at some point during the mid- to late 1630s when he began to focus almost exclusively on the works of Nicolas Poussin. Paintings by the French master such as *Moses Striking the Rock* (1633), *The Saving of the Infant Pyrrhus* (1634), *The Adoration of the Golden Calf* (*c.*1637–8), *The Crossing of the Red Sea* (1637), *Moses Showing the Tablets to the People* (1637) and *Pan and Syrinx* (*c.*1637–8) served as the basis of a number of drawings by Castiglione, and as a group they reveal much about his ambitions to move into a more elevated league of artists.[29]

Castiglione's responses to Poussin's paintings do not follow the same chronological sequence as the paintings themselves. Instead, he seems to have recast his own Poussin-inspired compositions and motifs sporadically throughout the later 1630s, and indeed for the rest of his life. In a couple of cases, Castiglione's borrowing is more or less direct. The most striking example is his oil drawing *The Saving of the Infant Pyrrhus* (cat. 12), a reworking of Poussin's painting of a few years earlier (fig. 15) rather than a straight copy. Castiglione's rendering of the composition is too conscious and not internalised—he was forced to slow down and look too much at his model, and his natural expression was therefore hampered. And his amendments are not easily explained. For example, by turning the slingshot thrower ninety degrees, he disrupted the strongly directional movement of Poussin's figures. A more interesting question is the source of the young artist's knowledge of Poussin's composition. Did he have access to the collection of the abbot Gian Maria Roscioli, who acquired the painting in 1634?[30] Or was he admitted to Poussin's studio, where he could have seen preparatory studies for the painting? In either case, Castiglione was by the mid- to late 1630s beginning to make important contacts in Rome.

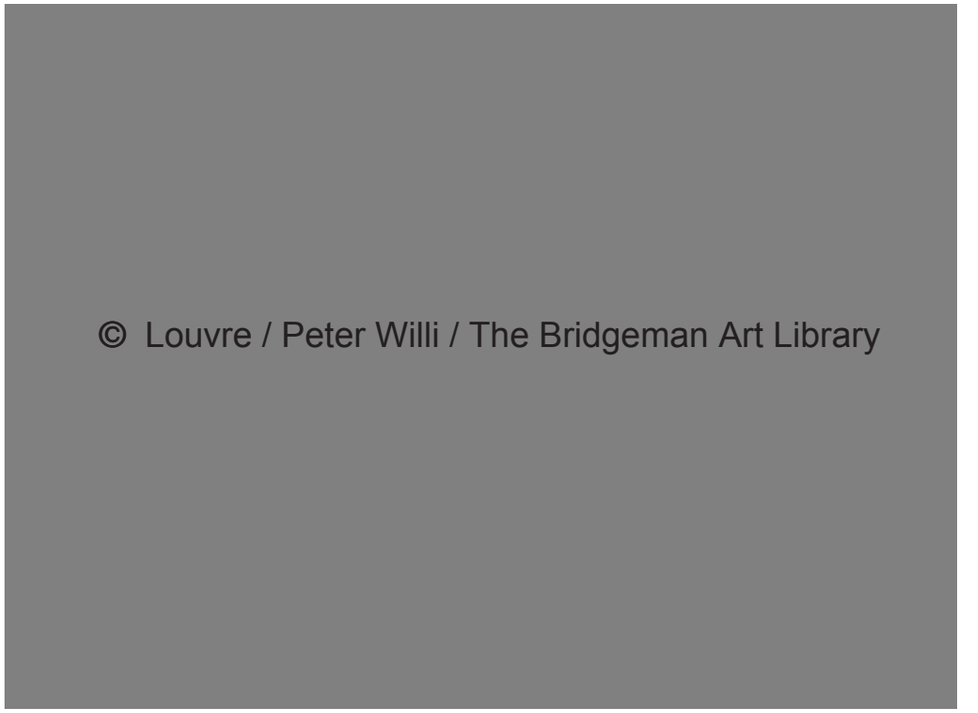


FIG. 15
Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), *The Saving of the Infant Pyrrhus, c.*1634. Oil on canvas, 116 × 160 cm. Louvre, Paris

Exposure to Poussin's paintings gave Castiglione the opportunity to learn how to work out the dynamics of multi-figure compositions, how to address the issue of the *effetti* of his figures as they relate to one another, and how to instil a sense of gravitas consistent with the elevated subject matter.[31] Castiglione's drawings *The Crossing of the Red Sea* (cat. 13) and *Moses Showing the Tablets to the People* (cat. 14), demonstrate this point. By reinforcing the individual forms with darker contours, he may have intended this, and a number of other sheets from this period, to read almost as reliefs, with little concern for spatial recession. As he had in earlier works, he began these drawings tentatively with a pale brown oil paint and then reinforced and focused those broad areas of tone with

CAT. 13
The Crossing of the Red Sea,
mid- to late 1630s. Red-brown oil,
276 × 445 mm. RL 4027, Blunt 63

CAT. 14 (OPPOSITE)
Moses Showing the Tablets to the People, mid- to late 1630s.
Red-brown oil, 323 × 476 mm.
RL 4086, Blunt 65

a darker reddish-brown pigment. But he clearly struggled to assimilate Poussin's manner of placing the figures successfully within dramatic compositions in which poses and expressions were all in accord. In these drawings, Castiglione was trying too hard to be someone else. He delineated his forms with repetitive undulating outlines, and the modelling is barely functional, just filling in the gaps between the outlines in a way that does nothing for the composition.

Measured in terms of what he was trying to achieve, these two drawings fail. But as exercises in trying to advance his status as an artist, they were not a waste of effort. They were followed by a group of drawings that exude greater confidence and more assured technical virtuosity, and that confirm his desire to attract wealthier clients in Rome beyond those willing to acquire his patriarchal journey paintings. He needed to demonstrate that he could interpret religious or mythological narratives while maintaining his brilliant handling and execution. Cat. 15 has been interpreted as depicting the finding of the cup in Benjamin's sack, but this cannot be right—the central figures are clearly unearthing (or burying) a large tripod instead of finding the silver cup in Benjamin's baggage (Genesis 44:12). But despite the uncertainty of the subject and the accidental oil stains that compromise the crispness of the drawing, we can see that Castiglione has understood the almost geometric clarity of Poussin's compositions. He has not overloaded the foreground with too many figures, and their gestures and expressions are varied and appropriate, with more than a hint of Raphael's seminal tapestry designs of a century before. This is one of the most satisfying works of Castiglione's early career and demonstrates that he had fully digested the lessons of his Roman years.

CAT. 15
Unidentified subject, late 1630s.
Red-brown oil, 281 × 405 mm.
RL 3840, Blunt 126

NOTES

1. Archivio storico del Vicariato di Roma (ASVR) par. Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, 1632, f. 201; 1633, f. 253; and 1634, f. 280; all published by Percy 1967.

2. In Paggi's inventory of 15 March 1627 (ASG, NA6661) there are a number of works attributed to the Bassano family, such as 'un quadro di due palmi in circa d'un pastore di mano del Bassano con sua cornice di noce' ('a painting around 14 inches wide of a shepherd by the hand of Bassano with its walnut frame'), as discussed by Lukehart 1987, p. 461.

3. Lanzi 1809, v, p. 474, positioned Castiglione as the most famous after the Bassano for the genre of landscape and animals:

> In questo genere di pittura egli, dopo il Bassano, è in Italia il principe; e fra essi due passa quella differenza che fra' due grandi buccolici Teocrito e Virgilio; il primo de' quali è più vero e più semplice, il secondo è più dotto e più ornato.
>
> (In this genre of painting, Castiglione, after the Bassano, is in Italy the prince; and from them emerge the two bucolic traditions stemming from Theocritus and Virgil; the first of whom is true and simple, the second is more learned and ornate.)

4. There are at least twelve examples of this genre listed in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century inventories (cf. Standring 1982, pp. 105–13, 303–10; Standring 2011b). On *bottegari* (small picture dealers) in Rome, see Cavazzini 2008b, pp. 119–52, and Lorizzo 2010.

5. On Claude's prints in this genre see, for example, Whiteley 1998 and Sonnabend 2011.

6. According to Soprani (1674, p. 133), since Scorza taught himself how produce etchings, it is logical to think that Castiglione may have learned printmaking from him; moreover, following Scorza's lead, Castiglione may have done so in order to attract additional clients; see Newcome 1982. Castiglione was also involved in the production of a print in 1633. He produced a drawing for an etching by Charles Audran representing the subject of Pentecost for a book of verse entitled *ORATIO / DE S. SPIRITVS / ADVENTV / AD SANCTISS. D. N. / VRBANVM VIII. / PONT. OPT. MAX. / HABITA / IN SACELLO PONTIFICVM / QVIRINALI / A. / D. ANTONIO PIGNATELLO / Neapolitano Sem. Rom. Conuict. / Romae, Francisci Corbelletti MDCXXXIII.* The print is signed 'Io. Bened Castilion Ienouen Inuentor C. Audran Fe' ('Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione Genoese invented[this composition] Charles Audran made [etched] it'). It conveys a figurative style that resembles a red chalk drawing at the Albertina, *The miracle of Cordoba during the plague of 1602* (Birke and Kertész 1995, no. 2912), but which bears little resemblance overall to the drawings securely by the mature Castiglione. On the Audran print, see Genoa 1990, no. 94.

7. Bernheimer 1951, p. 48, thought that Castiglione's technique was 'a combination of oil, of gouache, and of red chalk'. Blunt 1954, p. 8, states that 'the method seems to have been to take a fairly coarsely ground pigment without any binding medium, mixing it with linseed oil, and using a lesser or greater quantity of oil according as the paint was to be more or less opaque'. Birke and Kertész 1995, under no. 2842, identifies the medium as *gummitempera* (tempera painting) on the basis of technical analysis by Franz Mairinger. Recent experiments by Alan Donnithorne in the Paper Conservation Studio at Windsor have led him to conclude that Castiglione's medium in most cases was coarsely ground pigment mixed into linseed oil thinned with a little turpentine.

8. Lukehart 1987, pp. 460–84, lists the paintings in Paggi's collection, some of which were described as *quadro su carta* (painting on paper), including works attributed to Raphael, Titian, Correggio, Palma, Andrea del Sarto, Bassano, Dürer, Cambiaso and Paggi and several of his Genoese students. Strozzi, who certainly worked with oils on paper, has figured little in discussions of Castiglione's formative years, and his role is a topic awaiting further exploration. Blunt 1945, p. 166, discusses the differences between Castiglione's approach to brush drawings and those by van Dyck and Rubens. See also Wittkower 1967, Freeman Bauer 1978, Freeman Bauer 1987 and, for an excellent overview of the critical language and material character of drawing with oil paint, Woodall 2003.

9. Bambach and Orenstein 1996, pp. 33–52, provides sensitive observations on Castiglione's dry-brush technique.

10. This is the first known work by Castiglione to be cited in a seventeenth-century inventory—Créquy's post-mortem inventory taken in Paris in 1638. The picture was recorded in Cardinal Richelieu's collection in 1643 and was then in the collection of the Duchesse d'Aiguillon in 1675, but is no longer traceable. See Boyer and Volf 1988, p. 27.

11. '. . . il quale [che] dipingeva spesso le viaggi di Giaccobbe': ASR, TCG, *processi,* b 302, f. 902v (see note 4 above).

12. Jorg Merz has kindly furnished us with citations of Castiglione's presence at general congregations held on 10 October 1633 (along with Giovanni Battista Baglione, Andrea Camasei, Pier Francesco Mola, Alessandro Algardi and others) (ASR, 30 Not. Cap., Uff. 15, vol. 138, fol. 7); 1 January 1634 (ASR, 30 Not. Cap., Uff. 15, vol. 139, fol. 15); 24 July 1634 (Archivio dell'Accademia di San Luca [henceforward AASL], vol. 43, fol. 3v); and 26 November 1634 (AASL, vol. 43, fol. 6). See also Piacentini 1939, pp. 160, 163, which published Castiglione as listed among the artists contributing their dues between July 1634 and June 1635.

13. Desenfans 1802, I, pp. 51–3, records an anecdote on Castiglione that requires some attention. He states that Castiglione was

> . . . an excellent writer, and was still very young, when he published a most violent pamphlet against [François] Perrier, in defence of Domenichino . . . Soon after his arrival in Italy, Perrier became acquainted with [Giovanni] Lanfranc[o], who gave him some instructions, for which the French artist paid very dear, since it was at the expense of his own reputation. Domenichino at that time had just finished his famous picture called *The Communion*

of St Jerome, and it is well known that Agostino Carracci had painted before the same subject at Bologna. At the request of Lanfranc, who wished to run down Domenichino's merit, Perrier made an etching in which he introduced the best part of his picture, and had the baseness to publish it as being taken from that of Agostino, and it was on that occasion [that] Castiglione wrote against the French artist.

It is likely that Castiglione was aware of Perrier (1590–1650), whose Roman sojourn from 1635 to 1645 overlapped with that of the Genoese artist, and he may have had Perrier's engraving *Pan teaching Olympus to play the flute* in the back of his mind when he executed a print of *Marsyas teaching Olympus the various musical modes* (Percy 1971, E11). Perrier's print was for Bellori's *Icones et segmenta illustratrium e marmore tabularum quae Roma eadhuc extant a Francisco Perrier delineate incise et . . . restitute. Figuris omnibus supposita notas ad explicationem adjunxit Jo. Petrus Bellorius (Full reproductions and details of illustrations printed from marble plates outlined, engraved and fashioned by François Perrier in Rome. Giovanni Pietro Bellori added explicative notes under each figure),* Paris 1645 but published in an earlier edition in Rome in 1638 (Rome 1638, pl. 44 as *Pan and Syrinx*). If indeed Castiglione had expressed his opinions in a pamphlet, he would have been well aware of the sensitive issues regarding the nature of imitation and novelty confronting artists throughout the late 1620s and 1630s in Rome. For a review of the Lanfranco–Domenichino controversy, including a discussion of Perrier's print, see Cropper 1984, pp. 120–28. For a review of Perrier's career, see Thuillier 1979.

14. On Dovini, see Vannugli 2011.

15. For Magni, see Fumagalli 2007.

16. Instruction in fresco painting was not allowed in a *casa aperta* such as Paggi's (Lukehart 1993, pp. 37–57).

17. Newcome 1982, p. 34.

18. G. B. Greppi, in a deposition given in Rome on 22 March 1635 (cited in note 4), states that the artist was in Naples; even Mariette 1851–62, I, p. 335, mentions that Castiglione spent time in Naples.

19. For Andrea de Leone, see Di Penta 2010 and 2011.

20. Standring 1990.

21. On Tronsarelli, see Lafranconi 2003.

22. We would like to thank the late Franca Camiz for sharing this information with us.

23. Bellini 1982, no. 9. Brignole Sale could also have linked Castiglione to the libertarian free thinking of the *Incogniti* ('Unknowns') of Venice, whose members often wrote 'shockingly frank and frequently amoral' librettos for the early Italian operas. Cf. E. Rosand, *Opera in Seventeenth-century Venice: The creation of a genre,* Berkeley 1991, pp. 37–45.

24. Vazzoler 1991–4.

25. Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Banco della Pietà, giorn. 275, f. 258f, 18 March 1637:

A Pietro Jacono d'Amore [di] duc[ati] 48 et per lui a Jacono de Castro per lo prezzo di uno quadro di mano di Giovanni Castiglietti di Giesu Cristo che lava le piedi all'apostoli

(To Pietro Giacomo d'Amore 48 ducats from Giacomo de Castro for the price of a painting by the hand of Giovanni Castiglietti [sic] of Jesus who is washing the feet of the apostles) (Strazzullo 1954, p. 20). Cf. Standring in Genoa 1990, p. 16. Giacomo de Castro was an active agent in Naples from at least 1614 to 1667; cf. E. Nappi, *Documenti inediti per la storia dell'arte a Napoli per i secoli XVI–XVII dalle scritture dell'Archivio di Stato Fondo Banchieri Antichi (A.S.N.B.A.) e dell'Archivio Storico dell'Istituto Banco di Napoli Fondazione (A.S.B.N.), Quaderni dell'Archivio Storico* (2005/2006), pp. 307–4; we would like to thank Alison Stoesser for alerting us to this article.

26. Blunt 1945, p. 167, first called attention to the connection with Bernini's monument (which he claimed was erected in 1635, giving a *terminus post quem* for the drawing). Cf. Pollak 1931, pp. 204–15, and Scott 1985.

27. Castiglione's responses to Rembrandt have produced a number of recent studies, including Jeutter 2004; Rutgers 2003–4, pp. 11–12; Rutgers 2008; Standring 1987a.

28. Dijon drawing illus. Standring 1987a, p. 161; the verso of the print (formerly in St Louis), illus. Standring, 1987b, p. 70.

29. The works of Poussin and Castiglione have even occasionally been confused—for example, one painting, now lost, was cited as 'S. Dionisio con molte figure che si dice del Possino, altri del Grechetto, doppie 50' ('St Denis with many figures that some claim is by Poussin, others by Grechetto, 50 doubloons'). Meroni 1978, p. 46.

30. Barroero 1979.

31. At least one observer of early Roman seicento painting, Joachim von Sandrart, recognised that his contemporary Castiglione was more than a painter of 'Jacob's journeys' (see note 11). Writing some 40 years after his own Roman sojourn from 1627 to 1635 (which coincided very closely with that of Castiglione), the German artist–biographer observed that Castiglione began to assimilate a 'Poussinesque' manner and 'beflisse sich sehr der Antichen Manier und machte viel bilden Spannen Gross aus den alten Historien in Landschaften' ('he made many large format paintings with narratives of antique history placed in landscapes'): Sandrart 1925, p. 290. Since one senses little of 'die Antiche Manier' from the evidence of Castiglione's known works before 1635, such as the documented *Jacob's Journey* of 1633, Sandrart's statement calls for some further interpretation. He may have meant that Castiglione simply wished to evoke the spirit of the classical past by the inclusion of Poussinesque figures, classically inspired paraphernalia and an idealised Arcadian landscape.


Genium Io:
Benedicti
Castilionis
Ianuen ~
Inu. Fe.

Maturity

Genoa and Rome, *c.* 1637–1652

Cat. 27 [detail]

Castiglione may have stayed in Rome until July 1637, at which point he is documented again in Genoa, signing a lease on the 29th of that month to rent a flat for a year from Ascanio Spinola (with an option to extend for an additional year) in the area of San Pancrazio.[1] On 25 February 1639, at not quite 30 years old, he notarised a will.[2] It was probably not his last, but it remains the only one that we know about. The language of the will suggests that Castiglione was quite ill. He expressed a wish to be buried in the chapel of Nostra Signora del Rosario in the nearby Dominican church of Santa Maria di Castello, close to the grave of his father. By naming his younger brother Salvatore (then aged 19)[3] as his heir, we may suppose that Giovanni Benedetto and Salvatore were by that date already working as an artistic team, as they were to do for the rest of Giovanni Benedetto's life.

As happens, Castiglione's health improved. A year later, on 15 March 1640, he married Maddalena, daughter of Genesio and Vittoria Gotuzzo,[4] with whom he was to produce three children. The first was Giovanni Francesco, baptised on 21 December 1641 in the church of Santa Maria Maddalena in Genoa, who later became another of Giovanni Benedetto's principal assistants.[5] There followed two daughters, Livia Maria, baptised on 15 February 1646 in San Giacomo di Carignano in Genoa,[6] and Ortensia, baptised on 20 January 1648 in the church of San Marcello in Rome.[7]

Maddalena's dowry was worth 4,400 lire (4,000 in cash and 400 in goods), together with a *forno* (bakery), the room above the bakery, and some *mezzanini* (storage areas) in a residence in the same building as her father, in the Portoria neighbourhood, valued at 3,500 lire. These apparently substantial sums may not however have provided Castiglione with the financial security that one would have imagined, since he also agreed to assume his father-in-law's obligation to cede 441 lire each year

CAT. 16
Moses Striking the Rock, around 1640. Red-brown oil, 403 × 565 mm. RL 4042, Blunt 124

for seven years (a total of 3,087 lire) to the fathers of the church of Santa Maria del Carmine.[8]

Castiglione may have had the opportunity to tap into additional funds when on 8 May 1641 he became the legal executor for his niece Giulia Maria. In 1633 his brother Giovanni Battista had inherited part of the estate of the Castiglione family from their father, Giovanni Francesco.[9] When Giovanni Battista died in 1639, his sole heir, Giulia Maria, thus became a potentially wealthy adolescent. But Castiglione managed to take legal control of his brother's share of the family inheritance, on condition that he would release 4,000 *scudi* (and other assets due to her) to Giulia Maria upon her marriage. Justices Giulio Sauli and Antonio Spinola granted the artist judicial approval to assume administration of these funds, and the Genoese Senate, which oversaw the management of the estates of minors, confirmed Castiglione's ability to administer these funds on 18 June 1641. In this case, at least, he proved to be a reliable guardian and, as promised, paid Giulia Maria's dowry on 11 August 1651 when she married Lorenzo Pomponius of Rocca Santo Stefano near Subiaco.[10]

On 15 May 1642, Castiglione was nominated by the Genoese Conte Palatino, Francesco Cicala Cazerius, to receive full privileges as a *cavaliere* of the Ordine Costantiniano di San Giorgio, a chivalric order dating back to the eleventh century.[11] Castiglione was not the only artist at this time to have received such a knighthood—Caravaggio, for example, was made a Knight of Obedience of the Order of St John in Malta, and Massimo Stanzione was created a *cavaliere* several times over in the 1620s. We don't know the background to Castiglione's nomination (no sponsor is mentioned in the document), and, perhaps oddly, this is the last we hear of his association with the order.

Such honours and the resulting connections could provide an artist with the opportunity to corral wealthy new clients. By the time Castiglione returned to Genoa from Rome (and Naples) in 1637, he had acquired a familiarity with a highly competitive art world and new strategies for promoting his own works. By replicating in his paintings, drawings and prints the vast repertoire of subjects, motifs and entire compositions garnered from his youthful experiences, he was drawing attention to himself and his works, just as many of his contemporaries did. But although Poussin's works (for example) were a constant point of reference for Castiglione, he felt no need to follow the French master slavishly. As may be expected, his return to Genoa saw him respond afresh to local contemporaries such as Andrea Podestà, Valerio Castello and Bartolommeo Biscaino.

In the early 1640s, Castiglione's painterly bravura, the overwhelmingly distinguishing feature of his art, began to mature and become the true expression of his artistic personality. While he had paid lip service to the broad notions of ideal selection theory that dominated 'official' painting in most of the regional schools across Italy—and particularly in Rome—it was a brief excursus during his career. Now he began to focus on virtuosity of handling and technical innovation. In size, style and technique the large drawings *Moses Striking the Rock* (cat. 16) and *Tobias Demanding the Moneys Owed to his Father* (cat. 17), for example, sit almost as companion pieces in the manner of Poussin, and indeed the serious nature of the subjects would have been worthy of the French master. But this is belied by the graceful rhythms of the compositions and the elongated figures with mannered poses, exuding an elegance more reminiscent of Castello's or Biscaino's works—these are operatic tableaux rather than dramas of life or death. Both sheets point to a new confidence in the variety of effects that Castiglione could marshal in a single drawing. In their rich combination of vibrant handling and Roman gravitas, they lead to the first studies that truly proclaim his unique graphic language.

The drawing that may depict the Israelites in the wilderness (cat. 18)—though it may equally be just another

'landscape with figures'—anticipates much of what was to follow in the 1640s. Castiglione deploys rhythmical contours within a composition that is restrained and clear overall, with exuberant yet strongly drawn lines. And his second version of *Women and children praying before a tomb* (cat. 19), recasting in oil the pen drawing of a few years earlier (cat. 9), displays the same confidence in its monumentality and the verve of its brushwork.

By thus tempering and enriching his responses to Roman art of the 1630s, Castiglione also allowed himself a freer hand in his pen and ink sketches. *A landscape with a pastoral journey* (cat. 20) captures the varied textures of a thicket of trees stocked with peacocks and a parrot, and of other animals including sheep, turkeys and a laden donkey below. This amalgam of dashes and dots, loops and parallel strokes may at first glance appear almost frenzied, but is in fact carefully controlled. Every mark has a purpose. Castiglione's more open landscapes of the same period—such as *A landscape with flocks* (cat. 21)—convey the same exuberance. And he was beginning to find a similar range in his oil drawings: *A landscape with shepherds and a flock* (cat. 22) displays a variety of touch that saves even the densest areas of brushwork from becoming congested.

Castiglione's controlled yet exciting mark-making in these bold drawings of the early 1640s was not merely the outburst of a young and ambitious artist that would soon die away. Indeed, he transferred the same dynamism from brush and pen to an etcher's needle in the mid- to late 1640s, the period during which he probably executed the majority of his prints. In these, he generated textures with patchworks of dense scribbly lines and delicate cross-hatches, fields of stipple, flicks and dashes, thus creating one of the most individual graphic styles among seventeenth-century Italian printmakers. He had dabbled in etching in his first years in Rome, as seen in the *Shepherd boy on a horse* (cat. 3), but that was just one facet of his immersion in the artistic possibilities on offer in the city. In that print he was primarily responding to a genre cherished by the *Bamboccianti* (genre painters of Northern European origin, active in Rome during the seventeenth century) and made popular by the pastoral etchings of Claude. But in the 1640s, in prints such as *A satyr seated beside a statue of Priapus* (cat. 23) and *Pan seated near a vase* (cat. 24), he began to populate his landscapes with mythical figures and the detritus of Rome's classical past.[12]

Castiglione's dazzling etchings served as advertisements for his art and began to form an integral part of his studio production. Their erudition allowed Castiglione to promote himself as a painter-philosopher, just as his contemporaries Pietro Testa, Stefano della Bella, Jusepe de Ribera and Salvator Rosa did. Like them, Castiglione wanted to use his prints to increase his visibility and enhance his reputation. And, of course, all artists needed to make money, and one way to do that was to cash in on the demand for esoteric images from the gentleman-scholars who visited Rome throughout the mid-seventeenth century. These men of the early Grand Tour, Catholic and Protestant alike, sought out images that would remind them of their discourses with their fellow literati during their visits.[13] They were served by publishers such as Gian Giacomo de Rossi, who sold prints at his shop on the Via della Pace in Rome. In 1647, when Castiglione took some of his plates to Rome, he engaged de Rossi (and perhaps others) to publish them.[14]

Castiglione's mature etchings contain everything that an erudite seventeenth-century client would want: abstruse subjects, mysterious settings and dramatic lighting, all rendered with technical finesse. The wide variety of themes and subjects in Castiglione's prints of the 1640s put a new public face on the artist who the previous decade had been known primarily as a painter of Jacob's journeys. Now he broadcast a new artistic persona, and his public began to take notice. He produced prints that proclaimed

CAT. 17
*Tobias Demanding the Moneys Owed to his Father, c.*1640.
Red-brown oil, 402 × 542 mm.
RL 4066, Blunt 149

CAT. 18
The Israelites in the Wilderness(?), early 1640s.
Red-brown oil, 294 × 412 mm.
RL 3856, Blunt 167

CAT. 19 (OPPOSITE)
Women and children praying before a tomb, early 1640s.
Red-brown oil, 552 × 400 mm.
RL 4081, Blunt 108

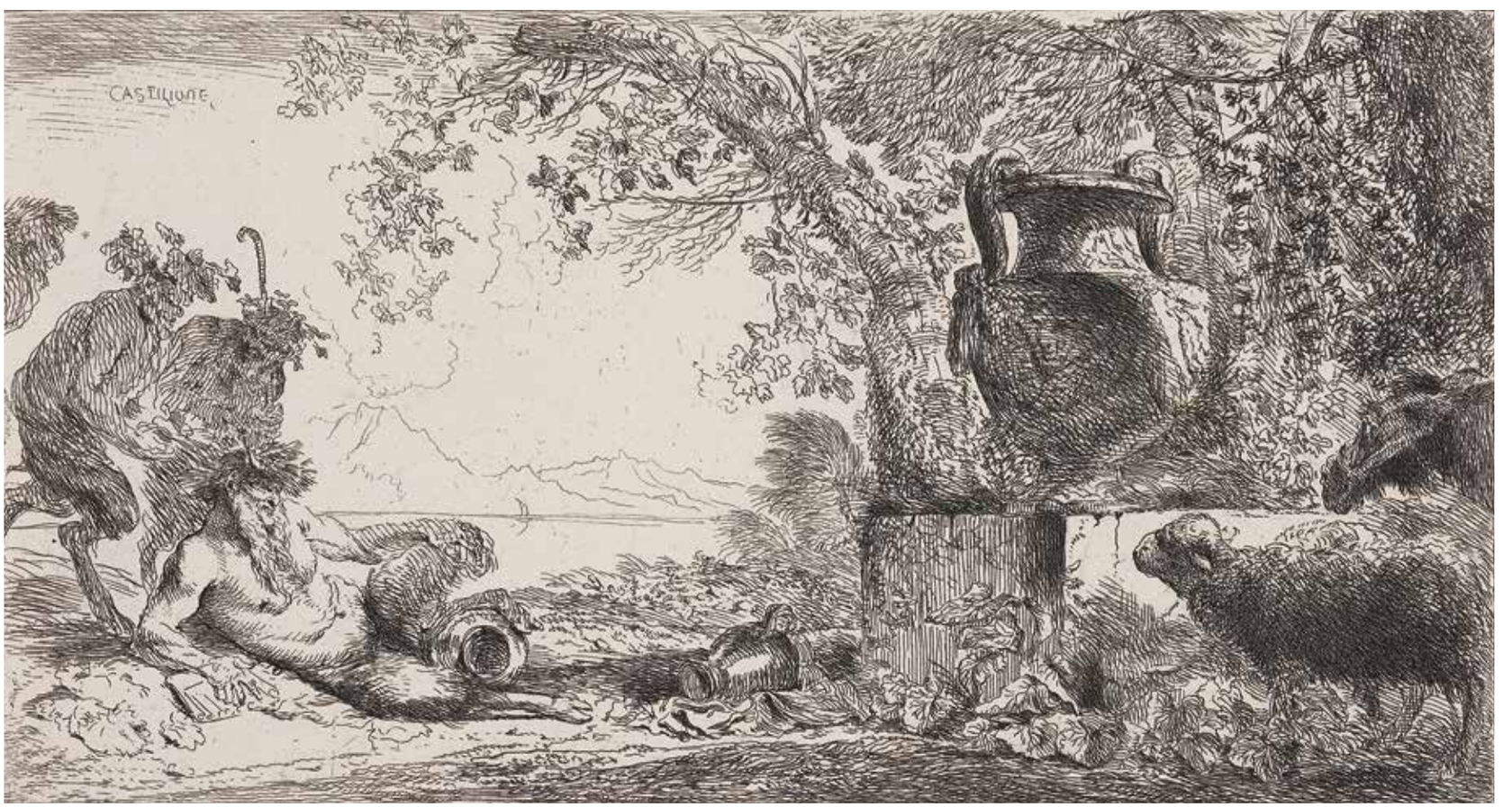
CAT. 20
A landscape with a pastoral journey, early 1640s. Pen and ink, 266 × 191 mm. RL 3998, Blunt 14

CAT. 21
A landscape with flocks,
early 1640s. Pen and ink,
165 × 219 mm. RL 3937,
Blunt 13

CAT. 22 (OPPOSITE)
A landscape with shepherds and a flock, early 1640s. Brown and red-brown oil, 338 × 478 mm.
RL 4089, Blunt 90

CAT. 23
A satyr seated beside a statue of Priapus, mid-1640s. Etching, platemark 117 × 213 mm.
RCIN 830461, Bartsch 17

CAT. 24
Pan seated near a vase, mid-1640s. Etching, platemark 115 × 214 mm. RCIN 830462, Bartsch 18



his own merits *(The Genius of Castiglione),* depicted philosophers *(Diogenes Seeking an Honest Man)* and made philosophical statements *(Temporalis Aeternitas)*. He treated scenes inspired by ancient legends *(Circe* and *Theseus Finding his Father's Arms),* and he rendered religious subjects not only from the Old and New Testaments *(Noah's Ark* and *The Raising of Lazarus)* but also from the Apocrypha *(Tobit Burying the Dead)* and the legends of the saints (*The Finding of the Bodies of Sts Peter and Paul*).

Castiglione incorporated the full breadth of his aesthetic experiences in his prints, including works from north of the Alps and primarily the etchings of Rembrandt.[15] One of Castiglione's most Rembrandtesque images is *A presumed self-portrait* (cat. 25). Although the identification of this print as a self-portrait has been questioned, the self-confident, even cocky defiance that issues from the face, staring directly at us, would seem to render such doubts redundant. But we forget the generic sources and see instead the confidence of the draughtsmanship. Castiglione drew himself without the slightest hesitation, and was relaxed enough to add a couple of small caricatures doodled at lower left. The floppy beret and plumed feather add a touch of theatrical exotica that would suggest to Castiglione's erudite viewers, familiar with iconologies or dictionaries of signs and symbols, that he possessed *furia* (intensely driven creative energies).[16]

The same *furia* informs the vigorous yet controlled mark-making in his red-chalk study of a youth in a turban (cat. 26), one of the few drawings in that medium attributable to Castiglione, yet which shows how readily he mastered its particular challenges. He learned quickly that drawing with chalk requires a variation in pressure, to increase or decrease the intensity of the lines, as one twists and turns the chalk, sometimes clasped in a holder, across the surface of the paper. Castiglione understood how much pressure to apply, when to introduce parallel hatchings under and over sinuous contours and when to leave passages of paper exposed. In its assured and delicate handling, the sheet is one of Castiglione's most artistically intelligent works.[17]

This handsome youth in the red-chalk study may also have served as the semi-nude model in Castiglione's most famous etching (cat. 27), the allegory inscribed with the title *Genium Io:/Benedicti/Castilionis/Ianuen/Inv. Fe.* (The genius of Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione of Genoa, [who] invented and made [this]). This print was published by Gian Giacomo de Rossi in 1648 and dedicated to Matthijs van der Merwede, Lord of Clootwyck (1613–64), a Dutch nobleman who was in Italy between 1647 and 1650. The male figure in the print is not a self-portrait, though he does sport the same velvet beret and fanciful plumes as in the self-portrait etching (cat. 25).[18] And while 'genius' is here to be understood in the ancient sense of 'guiding spirit', much of the iconography is concerned with the concept of (artistic) Fame, whose trumpet the reclining figure embraces. Behind is a huge palm of Victory; a child beats a drum whilst a winged putto toots on another trumpet and points to the arrival of the crown of Immortality. By casting the personification as a male with drapery gracing his languorous body instead of a winged female with a musical instrument (and replacing an olive branch with a book), Castiglione conflated two types of fame—*Fama Buona* and *Fama Chiara* (roughly connoting 'innate fame' and 'eminent fame')—discussed by Cesare Ripa in his *Iconologia (Iconology),* a compendium discussing the meaning of signs and symbols.[19] Fecundity and creativity are expressed by the basket of poultry and the rabbit, the artist's palette and brushes and the sheet of music. The female bust (said to be the goddess of painting) was modelled after the figure known as Madama Lucrezia, one of the five 'talking statues' of Rome, though why Castiglione included that sculpture in the print remains unclear.[20] Yet even if Castiglione proclaims allegorically that he possesses a temperament and spirit different from

CAT. 25
A presumed self-portrait,
late 1640s. Etching, platemark
188 × 138 mm. RCIN 830472.g,
Bartsch 31/53

those of other men, and that his art is the free and independent expression of his own creativity, this fertility of nature and the mind is subject to the inexorable ravages of Time, represented by the weeds beginning to grow over the ruins.

But so much for independence and originality! Castiglione took the principal figure from Palma Giovane's frontispiece for book II of Giacomo Franco's *De excellentia et nobilitate delineationis (On the Excellence and Nobility of Draughtsmanship)* of 1611 (fig. 16).[21] Franco's volume was an instruction manual in the tradition of the pattern book, and consisted almost exclusively of illustrations from which to copy. Some pages helped students learn how to draw faces and parts of the body; others featured entire motifs such as groups of flying cherubs. While Castiglione seems to be making a statement about his prolific creativity, he did so paradoxically by copying someone else's work. As if to underline the slippery nature of originality, fifteen years after *The Genius of Castiglione* was published Salvator Rosa cast his own version of the subject. Rosa viewed artistic endeavour and patronage in the same light as Castiglione, 'with his insistence that his creative production should be determined only by his inner workings and never by the dictates of a commission'.[22]

Many of Castiglione's prints similarly addressed the transience of earthly endeavours, death and decay. He repudiated the (admittedly equivocal) celebration of artistic endeavour implicit in *The Genius of Castiglione* in the etching *Diogenes Searching for an Honest Man* (cat. 28), in which the Cynic philosopher searches with his lighted lamp for honesty and integrity among humanity. Yet he discovers nothing more than embodiments of man's lower nature—wrecked ancient artefacts, the tortoise of Sloth, the ape of Lust—leading him (and implicitly the artist as well, because the light shines only on him) to pessimism and despair.[23]

FIG. 16
Giacomo Franco, *A personification of Rome*, after Palma Giovane, 1611. Engraving. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

CAT. 26
The head of a youth in a turban,
late 1640s. Red chalk, 165 ×
140 mm. RL 3947, Blunt 58

CAT. 27
The Genius of Castiglione, dated 1648. Etching, platemark 372 × 250 mm. RCIN 830465, Bartsch 23

FOLLOWING PAGES:
CAT. 28 (P. 70)
Diogenes Searching for an Honest Man, late 1640s. Etching, platemark 220 × 305 mm. RCIN 830463, Bartsch 21

CAT. 29 (P. 71)
Circe with the Companions of Odysseus Transformed into Animals, c. 1650. Etching, platemark 218 × 311 mm. RCIN 830464, Bartsch 22


Al Sig: Nicolo Simonetti Mio Sig
Quel Diogene Cinico che con tanta glo ria serba pu ue che nel o particolare
del Celebre Sig. Cardinal Sforza per cui io quanto ella lum o no rammaricarsi Ch
accompagnato felicissimo e che in altro non discordarassi Idea che sono pote
cortesissimo animo gradira gli Ossequij della mia divotione la quale mirando
Di V.S. Ill.ma Amico e Servitore
Mo suc memorie baldanzoso risorge al mondo co delineamenti
ente nel cercar con la lanterna gli huomini ho giudicato che il dedicarlo a lei sarà un
dispregiarsi, amori d'un Alessandro e V.S. per superarlo ne gli atti della benignità, supra con
la ritrovisco
G.D.R.D.D.D
Con licenza de Superiori.
Si stampa in Roma per Gio Domenico Rossi alla Pace al Trigone

A similar air of melancholy hangs over Castiglione's most brilliant (in both senses) etching, *Circe with the Companions of Odysseus Transformed into Animals* (cat. 29).[24] Like many of his contemporaries, Castiglione loved to treat themes of magical transformations inspired by Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* Apuleius's *Golden Ass* and other literary sources. Perhaps his favourite subject of this type was Circe, the sorceress who in Homer's *Odyssey* transformed the companions of Ulysses into animals. Circe was a popular subject during Castiglione's time, partly because of the continued fame of G.B. Gelli's essay *Circe* of 1549, a compendium of ancient and Renaissance notions on the nature of animals, humanity and the soul, among other topics. In Castiglione's print, framed by a decaying architectural niche and with a pile of magical or astrological volumes before her, Circe gazes at the gaggle of beasts, their discarded armour composing an informal still life in the foreground.[25] Castiglione used every mark-making technique in his arsenal to create this compelling image, and those marks were faithfully captured by the unusually successful acid-bite of the plate—most impressions of this print show strong contrasts and a remarkable effect of luminosity.

The Rembrandt-inspired tenebrism (from *tenebroso,* suggesting darkness or murkiness) found in many of these prints adds pictorial heft to their dark philosophical outlook, and Castiglione even sought out religious subjects that would be enhanced by a richly gloomy setting. *The Finding of the Bodies of Sts Peter and Paul* (cat. 30) depicts the vault on the Via Appia in which the bodies of the two martyred saints were hidden at the time of the third-century Valerian persecution, when the early Christian burial grounds were desecrated. In Castiglione's print, a group of men stumbles into the cavernous vault, almost clinging to one another in fear, the light from the single blazing torch playing across the draperies of the corpses—St Paul headless, St Peter still clutching his keys.[26]

The sole light source in *Tobit Burying the Dead* (cat. 31) is again a torch, so bright that a bystander has to cover his eyes. We see the pious Tobit watching over a corpse as it is prepared for burial, the effulgent light symbolising the sanctity of Tobit's act, the surrounding ruins foreshadowing the fate of the Assyrian empire. The light effects are even more complex, and more meaningful, in *The Raising of Lazarus* (cat. 32). The smoking torch of the group of bystanders is vastly outshone by the glory emanating from Christ, but the most effective light is the faintest—the dim aura that glows around the outstretched hands of Lazarus as life starts to suffuse his cold body.

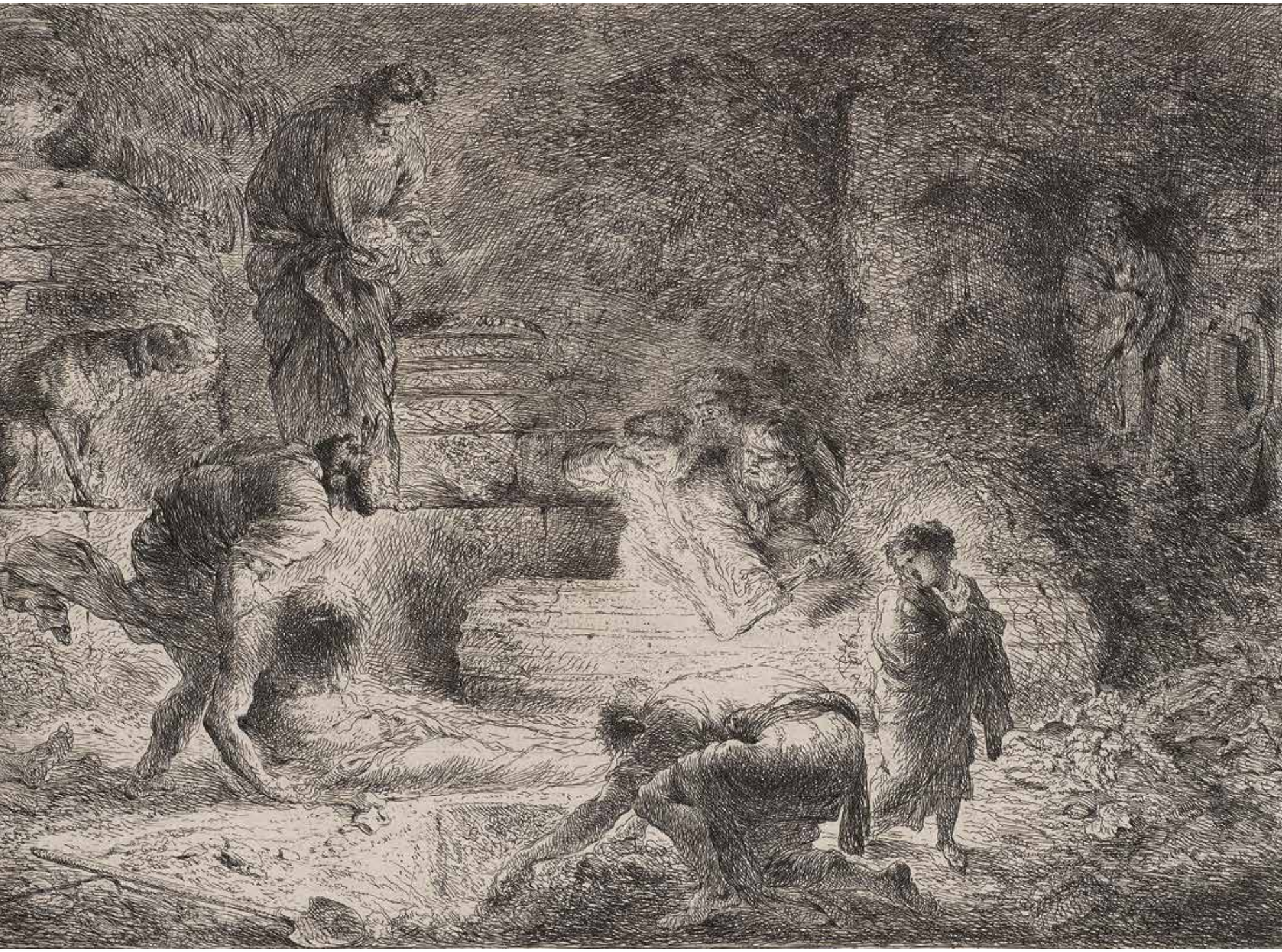
This concern for the importance of light and shade was just as evident when Castiglione treated a brightly lit open-air scene. *The Entry of the Animals into the Ark* (cat. 33) has his usual turbaned shepherds leading a laden ass and other familiar animals—deer, oxen, dogs, cats, rabbits and even a sheep relieving itself—in front of a thicket of lush vegetation. Oddly, he did not take the opportunity to include anything more exotic than a pair of guinea pigs. But his depiction of this menagerie is secondary to the light effects that he captured with black lines generated by an etcher's needle. The animals stream from their dark wood towards a bright horizon on which the Ark, Noah and his family are delicately outlined. Although the sunlit flank of the horse is essentially blank paper relieved with just a light stippling of dots, it remains the most compelling feature of the entire print.

The companion print *The Nativity with God the Father and Angels* (cat. 34)—the same size as *The Entry of the Animals into the Ark*—is just as compelling. Although none of the gospels describe this event, that didn't matter to those who acquired such a print. They would have been thrilled by the image of The Divine above a scattering of classical ruins (and those with an antiquarian bent would have appreciated the inclusion of a battle of the centaurs in relief on the toppled urn). Light streams from God the

CAT. 30
The finding of the bodies of Sts Peter and Paul, mid- to late 1640s. Etching, platemark 302 × 207 mm. RCIN 830457, Bartsch 14

FOLLOWING PAGES:
CAT. 31 (P. 74)
Tobit Burying the Dead, mid- to late 1640s. Etching, platemark 206 × 300 mm. RCIN 830450, Bartsch 5

CAT. 32 (P. 75)
The Raising of Lazarus, mid- to late 1640s. Etching, platemark 227 × 318 mm. RCIN 830451, Bartsch 6




CASTIGLIONE. GENOVESE _P

CAT. 33
The Entry of the Animals into the Ark, around 1650. Etching, platemark 207 × 402 mm.
RCIN 830449, Bartsch 1

CAT. 34
*The Nativity with God the Father and Angels, c.*1650. Etching, platemark 207 × 402 mm. RCIN 830452, Bartsch 7

FIG. 17
Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *Temporalis Aeternitas,* 1645. Etching, 300 × 203 mm. Bartsch 25. Harvard Art Museums / Fogg Museum

Father to illuminate the Madonna and Child and four beautifully clothed angels, one of whom swings an elegant censer, all made remarkably vivid by Castiglione's expressive lines. While his residual struggles with the technical aspects of etching are evident in the blank areas where the acid failed to bite the plate—at centre right (filled in with drypoint) and upper left—this is just the sort of captivating image that could have encouraged a client to order a version of the subject in oils. And indeed Castiglione produced an exquisite version on copper, signed and dated 1659, that closely mirrors the print.[27]

This intimate relationship of Castiglione's etchings with his other studio productions most likely led to his first monotypes, which produced the finished effect of a print much more quickly than an etching.[28] To create an etching, the artist must coat a metal plate (usually of copper) with a resinous ground. The design is scratched through the ground, and the plate is then immersed in acid, which by chemical reaction etches furrows into the surface of the metal where it has been exposed. The ground is removed, and printer's ink is dabbed or rolled all over the plate. The plate is then wiped clean, but ink remains within the etched furrows. A dampened sheet of paper is placed against the plate, and the two are passed together through a roller press so that the paper is forced into the etched lines, where it picks up the residual ink to form the printed image. A monotype, however, eliminates most of these laborious steps. Instead, Castiglione simply took a metal plate, coated one face more or less uniformly in sticky printer's ink, and then instead of an etcher's needle used a relatively broad tool—perhaps a reed pen or the blunt tip of a brush—to dredge out the lines. Varying pressure while removing the ink resulted in varying tonal values, so he could create greyish lines by using less pressure and removing less ink. Once the image was finished on the inky plate, a piece of dampened paper would be placed over it, and the two run together through the press. This would give a single strong impression, hence the term 'monotype', but some ink would remain on the plate, and the artist could take a weaker second pull, as a few examples by Castiglione attest (cat. 77).[29]

Castiglione seems to have been the first artist to use this technique (although he may be challenged for this distinction by the Brussels artist Anthonis Sallaert, who produced a number of much less accomplished monotypes about the same time as Castiglione's earliest examples).[30] Castiglione discovered that monotypes were well suited to capturing the strong effects of light and dark that he was

CAT. 35
Temporalis Aeternitas, dated 1645. Monotype, 296 × 201 mm. RL 3946e, Blunt 215

exploring in his etchings. In 1645, for example, he created the monotype known by the title *Temporalis Aeternitas* (cat. 35), the oxymoronic words inscribed on an etching of the same composition produced the same year (fig. 17), though here replaced by Castiglione's signature and date, *Gio Benedetto Castiglione/1645*. The composition alludes to the transience of earthly endeavours and reflects Poussin's earlier paintings on the same theme, *Et in Arcadia Ego*. The inevitably strong, even overpowering chiaroscuro that resulted from the technique of scraping white lines out of the black inky ground was ideally suited to nocturnal or sepulchral subjects; the composition is in its structure a recasting of the earlier *Women and children praying before a tomb* (cats 9, 19), transformed from a daylight scene into a nocturnal event illuminated by a smoking torch held by a child. This allows one man to read the inscription on the base of the trophy while another, seated, writes in a book, watched over by a further two men. As well as the etching, Castiglione produced a painting of the composition a decade later (Getty Museum, Los Angeles). His compositions for *The Finding of the Bodies of Sts Peter and Paul* and *Theseus Finding his Father's Arms* were similarly rendered as both etchings and monotypes. As Castiglione recycled compositions in this manner, he gradually created a repertoire of models that he and his studio could recast in many other works.

An alternative method of making a monotype, rather than scraping out the highlights as in *Temporalis Aeternitas* (what might be termed the 'negative' method), was by working up the darks in ink on the plate (a 'positive' method). This was the principal means by which Castiglione created *The head of an oriental* (cat. 36), in which he formed most of the image by dabbing or dragging the sticky ink onto the surface of the plate with a stiff brush or perhaps even with a cloth wrapped over a finger. Some highlights were then created in the beard and fur collar by scraping them away with a pointed implement, but after the pull was taken, the image was further worked up on the sheet with oil paint and wash. The paper itself was given an overall buff wash, either after or (more likely) before the image was printed.

This monotype was just one of a large number of 'oriental' heads that Castiglione depicted during the 1640s (including his self-portrait etching, fig. 25, discussed above). In these, he was perhaps partly inspired by the foreign traders he would have seen around Genoa's port, but his principal cue was the well-established genre of northern art generally referred to as *tronies*—not portraits of individuals but 'character heads', often showing exaggerated facial expressions, and perhaps best seen in the etchings of Rembrandt (figs 18, 19) and Jan Lievens. Castiglione himself produced two series of etchings of these exotic types, both large and small (cats 37–40 and 41–49).[31] His visages cover a wide range of cultural, physiognomic and psychological types—crooked and aquiline noses, excessive head jewellery, reading a scroll here, blowing a horn there. While we may see these prints as amusing, Castiglione was not merely entertaining the viewer; he was also demonstrating his inventiveness and resourcefulness, his ability to produce a rich chiaroscuro of dramatic lighting with nothing more than an etcher's needle.[32]

While Castiglione was establishing himself as one of the most original printmakers in Italy during the mid-1640s, he was also beginning to make a name as a painter by obtaining a number of commissions through intermediaries. These figures were not just dealers in paintings but what we might now call art brokers or advisors who mediated between artists and prospective clients. During his early days in Genoa, the artistic affairs of Castiglione's mentor Sinibaldo Scorza were handled mostly by the Torinese artist Carlo Battaglia.[33] Bernardo Strozzi appears to have had similar agents,[34] and there were probably other agents who operated in the city for other artists.[35]

CAT. 36
The head of an oriental, late 1640s. Monotype with black oil and brown wash on brown-toned paper, 317 × 236 mm. RL 3946a, Blunt 217

CAT. 37
A man in an oriental headdress,
late 1640s. Etching, platemark
184 × 137 mm. RCIN 830472.a,
Bartsch 48

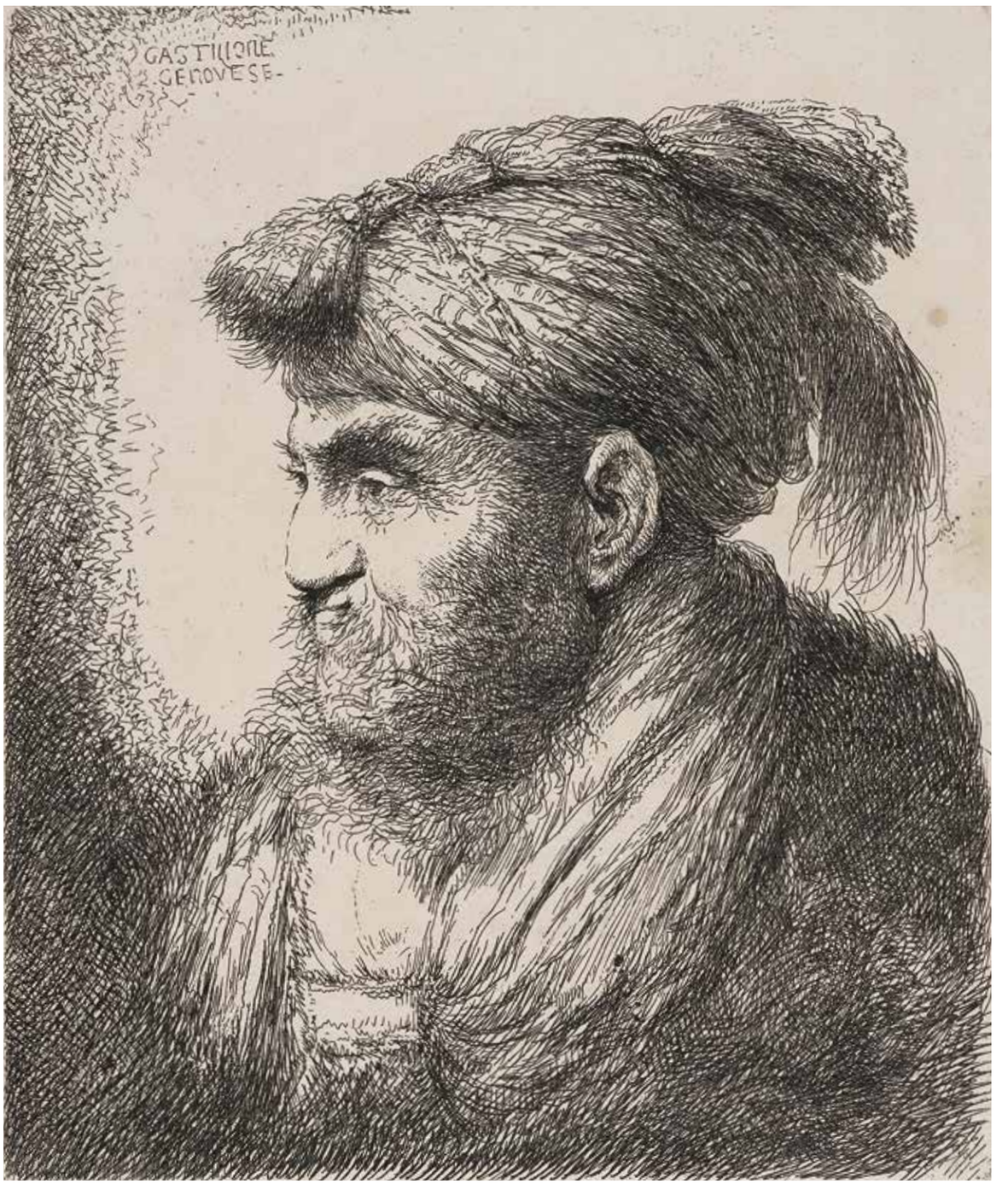
FIG. 18
Rembrandt van Rijn,
Oriental head, 1635. Etching,
155 × 134 mm. Bartsch 288.
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

FIG. 19
Rembrandt van Rijn,
Oriental head, 1633–7. Etching,
151 × 125 mm. Bartsch 287.
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

CAT. 38
A bearded man looking down,
late 1640s. Etching, platemark
180 × 151 mm. RCIN 830472.d,
Bartsch 50

CAT. 39
A man in a plumed hat and scarf, his face in shadow, late 1640s. Etching, platemark 180 × 149 mm. RCIN 830472.f, Bartsch 52

CAT. 40
A man in an oriental headdress,
late 1640s. Etching, platemark
178 × 148 mm. RCIN 830472.e,
Bartsch 51



CAT. 41
A man in a plumed headdress,
late 1640s. Etching, platemark
108 × 80 mm. RCIN 830471.h,
Bartsch 39

CAT. 42
A youth blowing a trumpet,
late 1640s. Etching, platemark
108 × 80 mm. RCIN 830471.m,
Bartsch 44

CAT. 43
A man in an oriental headdress, with other studies, late 1640s.
Etching, platemark 99 × 80 mm.
RCIN 830471.n, Bartsch 45

CAT. 44
A man holding a scroll,
late 1640s. Etching, platemark
108 × 81 mm. RCIN 830471.o,
Bartsch 46

CAT. 45
A man looking downwards,
late 1640s. Etching, platemark
108 × 80 mm. RCIN 830471.g,
Bartsch 38

CAT. 46
An old man wearing a turban,
late 1640s. Etching, platemark
109 × 82 mm. RCIN 830471.c,
Bartsch 34

CAT. 47
A young woman wearing a turban, late 1640s. Etching, platemark 105 × 80 mm.
RCIN 830471.p, Bartsch 47

CAT. 48
A young man with his head lowered, late 1640s. Etching, platemark 110 × 80 mm.
RCIN 830471.k, Bartsch 42

CAT. 49
A young man in a turban, his mouth open, late 1640s.
Etching, platemark 102 × 80 mm. RCIN 830471.j, Bartsch 41

Castiglione's first documented association with such an individual occurred in 1643 when he contracted with Giacomo Filippo Feliciani to provide a painting for Giacomo Filippo Durazzo, whose account ledgers refer to Castiglione as *Greghetto*, the first time this moniker appears in a document.[36] But the contract that Castiglione signed on 21 June 1644 with Desiderio de Ferrari, a Genoese trader, is of greater interest. Castiglione was to provide de Ferrari with a painting every month for four years, from September 1644, the subject to be chosen 'according to the taste of Sig. Giovanni Benedetto and Sig. Desiderio'. De Ferrari would determine the size of each work, but he was obliged to accept each picture furnished by the artist, the value of which would be determined by de Ferrari and the artist. Castiglione would receive an advance of 570 *moneta corrente in Genova,* meaning 570 lire (to give an idea of the value, 20 lire would purchase a pound of beef). If he failed to deliver a picture he was to be fined 50 *scudi*. And according to the contract, de Ferrari was to hold the rights to all of Castiglione's output during this period—this may be the first exclusive artistic contract known in Italy during the seventeenth century.[37]

Castiglione's contract with Desiderio de Ferrari may bear on a number of the large brush drawings that he produced during the mid- to late 1640s (cats 50–57). At around 400 × 550 mm they were larger than he had been in the habit of drawing, and yet there can seem to be a perfunctory nature to some of them, as if he were simply going through the motions of executing a large self-contained composition. Could it be that he was trying to cheat de Ferrari, attempting to comply with the letter of the contract but furnishing him with large drawings instead of paintings on canvas? These sheets suggest that his interest in technique, in mastering the difficulties of painting with oils on unprimed paper, took precedence over a concern with devising novel figures and compositions appropriate to a particular subject matter. Why reinvent the wheel, when he could draw on the vast repertoire of figures, compositions and subject matter that he had assimilated over the previous decade, from Raphael's frescoes and tapestries of a century before to Poussin's contemporary canvases? These provided Castiglione with a stock of motifs—compositional formulae for architectural settings and ruins, basic landscape schemes and figures in all sorts of poses. His work preparatory to executing a painting consisted simply of re-casting motifs, either self-generated or borrowed from others, into a conventionally designed composition that served as a framework for many different themes. In the case of *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (cat. 56), for example, he adapted the basic structure from Poussin's *Adoration of the Magi* (now in Dresden) and the main figurative components from the same artist's *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the National Gallery, London—both paintings of 1633–34.[38]

In this extraordinary series of sheets, Castiglione focused on the subtleties of draughtsmanship—on the different effects obtainable by drawing with a wet or a drier mark, on the relationship between contour and modelling, on what palette would enhance the subjects he was treating. As each drawing emerged before his eyes with the build-up of contour after contour, he began to pay attention to what sort of chromatic range would work best for modelling and how much pigment on the brush would enable him to produce the sort of lines and contours he intended to place on the paper. For most of these sheets, he combined fluid pale orange-red initial contours with a drier and darker red to accent and model, applied with slender stubby brushes that would have allowed the thinned paint to leach into the bristles and hold their value constant when the contour was made on the surface of the paper. When his brush lacked sufficient fluidity, he either added more medium or—increasingly—allowed the medium to run out in a semi-dry mark, giving a suggestiveness of touch that solid contours could not impart.

CAT. 50
A shepherd carrying an urn, with his flock, mid-1640s. Red and yellow oils, 402 × 555 mm. RL 4065, Blunt 117

FOLLOWING PAGES:
CAT. 51 (P. 94)
A woman with children and animals resting in a landscape, mid-1640s. Red-brown oil, 401 × 512 mm. RL 4072, Blunt 116

CAT. 52 (P. 95)
A shepherd and flock in a landscape, mid-1640s. Red-brown oil, 391 × 558 mm. RL 4046, Blunt 118

CAT. 53 (OPPOSITE)
The Search of Joseph's Brothers' Baggage, mid-1640s. Red-brown oil, 394 × 557 mm. RL 4063, Blunt 100

CAT. 54
The Exposition of Moses, mid-1640s. Red-brown oil, 392 × 561 mm. RL 4061, Blunt 98

CAT. 55
The Exposition of Moses,
mid-1640s. Red-brown oil,
395 × 558 mm. RL 4078,
Blunt 99

CAT. 56 (OPPOSITE)
The Adoration of the Shepherds,
mid-1640s. Red-brown oil,
394 × 556 mm. RL 4080,
Blunt 101

This innovative approach can be seen at its best in one of his two versions of *The Exposition of Moses* (cat. 55), in which the fantastic river god of the Nile (with his emerging crocodile) is built up from a wider range of mark types than Castiglione had attempted before. The end result appears almost sculpted out of the surface of the paper, with his brush as the chisel or modelling tool. But in sheets such as *Figures in a landscape with a satyr playing the pipes* (cat. 57), his brio appears to have got the better of him, and it is in places difficult to delineate clearly the boundaries between figures, accessories and landscape.

The many altarpieces and other paintings that Castiglione executed for Genoese clients during the mid-1640s would suggest that he ignored the restrictions placed on him by the contract (unless de Ferrari also acted as his agent and brokered contracts for those works too). Indeed, this was one of the busiest and most successful periods of Castiglione's career. For the Spinola family church of San Luca, he painted one of his most celebrated altarpieces, *The Adoration of the Shepherds,* signed and dated 1645 (fig. 20). Around the same time, he most likely finished *St James Defeating the Moors* for the Oratorio di San Giacomo,[39] the *Vision of St Bernard of Clairvaux* for Santa Maria della Cella in the nearby town of Sanpierdarena,[40] a *Vulcan and Venus* and a *Ceres* probably also for the Spinola,[41] A *Patriarchal Journey of Abraham* for Anton Maria Brignole Sale[42] and a number of works for Gerolamo Balbi.[43]

All these commissions should have propelled Castiglione to a position of artistic eminence in Genoa. But in late 1646 or early 1647, the dark undercurrent of his personality surfaced again. The biographer Niccolò Pio (who

CAT. 57 (OPPOSITE)
Figures in a landscape with a satyr playing the pipes, mid-1640s. Red-brown oil, 399 × 560 mm. RL 4057, Blunt 109

FIG. 20
Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *The Adoration of the Shepherds,* 1645. Oil on canvas, 398 × 218 cm. San Luca, Genoa

FIG. 21
Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *The Immaculate Conception with Sts Francis and Anthony,* 1650. Oil on canvas, 366 × 265 cm. Minneapolis Institute of Fine Arts

seems to have had reliable sources) recounts that Castiglione produced a painting for the Lomellini family, who intended to place it in one of the chapels of the church of the Annunciation in Genoa.[44] This was a highly prestigious commission, as Giovanni Battista Lomellini was then Doge of the Republic (reg. 1646–8). But on the advice of other artists, who were jealous of Castiglione, Giovanni Battista and his brother Giovanni Francesco Lomellini declined the commission, but agreed nevertheless to reimburse the artist for his efforts. Upon hearing of the decision, Castiglione shouted that the Lomellini would never again have a painting by him, drew his knife, and in front of everyone slashed the painting into 'minutissimi pezzi'.

Pio goes on to recount that the artist immediately set out for Rome, dressed as an Armenian—suggesting that Castiglione feared for his safety after his clash with the Lomellini. By Easter 1647, he and his family are indeed documented as living in Rome, in Via Rasella in the parish of San Nicola in Arcione.[45] The parish records list the members of his household and their ages: Giovanni Benedetto, 35 (though he was in fact 38); Maddalena, his wife, 25; Salvatore, his brother, 24 (actually 26 or 27); and Giovanni Francesco, his son, 5. Castiglione's daughter Livia Maria, born in Genoa the year before, is not cited. At the baptism of his third child, Ortensia, on 20 January 1648 in the nearby church of San Marcello, the godparents included Cardinal Lorenzo Raggi and his aunt, the Marchesa Ortensia Raggi (neé Spinola), wife of the Marchese Tommaso Raggi.[46] This illustrious choice indicates that, despite his erratic behaviour, Castiglione remained in favour with powerful patrons of Genoese extraction.

This was probably the period in which Castiglione began to work in the shop of Pellegrino Peri, a picture dealer in Piazza Navona, as his biographer Pio records.[47] Having seen Castiglione's 'beautiful way of painting', Peri invited him to use his upstairs apartment as a studio, but the artist preferred to paint publicly, where he would be

seen and his artistic merits recognised. Indeed, Castiglione's intentions came to fruition (according to Pio), because it was during the artist's tenure with Peri that the Duke of Mantua, who was then in Rome, requested that Castiglione become one of his *virtuosi* at the Mantuan court.[48] Pio's account reinforces our impression that the artist possessed an incredible sense of self-esteem and self-assurance about his own artistic directions. Moreover, the story underscores Castiglione's burgeoning studio activity.

Shortly before 22 September 1649, Cardinal Girolamo Verospi commissioned the artist to paint *The Immaculate Conception with Sts Francis and Anthony* (now in the Minneapolis Institute of Fine Arts; fig. 21) for the family chapel of Pier Filippo Fiorenzi, archdeacon of the new Capuchin church in Osimo.[49] The commission was originally given to Pietro da Cortona, a fellow parishioner of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, but since he was already overcommitted with other commissions, he wrote to Cardinal Verospi (by 5 June 1649) and returned his advance payment. Castiglione had finished the altarpiece by 5 October 1650, when Verospi wrote to Fiorenzi to say that he had decided to display it in his palace before shipping it to Osimo.[50] Three days later, Castiglione signed a receipt for a final payment of 150 *scudi* from Verospi via a certain Giovanni Battista Dionisi.

By Easter 1649, Castiglione and his family had moved again, to the Via della Purificazione at the heart of the Genoese quarter in Rome, and they continued to reside there until at least late October 1650.[51] But before the end of that year, he fled Rome abruptly with his younger brother Salvatore, leaving everything they possessed, and returned to Genoa.[52] This is a mysterious episode, known only from the court deposition referred to at the start of this book, and one can only assume that Castiglione felt that his life or his liberty was in immediate danger. But the crisis must soon have passed, since he was back in Rome the following year, participating in one of the meetings of artists held under the auspices of the august Compagnia di San Giuseppe di Terra Santa (the Virtuosi al Pantheon), on 16 June 1651.[53]

Castiglione's affiliation with that body, however informal, must demonstrate that he felt some degree of comfort with the 'artistic establishment', and in that context we may consider one last comment by Pio regarding the artist's years in Rome. Pio states that the Duke of Mantua (Carlo II Gonzaga Nevers, 9th Duke of Mantua, reg. 1637–65) met Castiglione in Rome and offered to provide him with a 'large and honourable stipend'. Written documentation of Castiglione's work for the Gonzaga court is not known prior to 1659, but Pio's note and (as we shall see) some of the paintings produced by Castiglione in the early 1650s seem to demonstrate a longer association and show once again that—in some circles at least—Castiglione was regarded as a major artist in mid-century Italy.

NOTES

1. ASG, NA6653, no. 340.
2. Alfonso 1972, pp. 43–4. Standring's former statement (Standring 1987a, p. 156) that Castiglione had returned because of his brother Giovanni Battista's will is only half the story—both produced wills within about a month of each other. Giovanni Battista, a convict, gave his will on 28 January 1639 (while he was chained as an inmate on a ship anchored in the Genoese harbour) and wished to be buried in the church of the Annunziata. He appointed his daughter Giulia Maria as his heir, and Castiglione and a cousin, Pietro Francesco Dario, as her trustees (ASG, NA6335, n. 476). Castiglione recorded his will on 25 February 1639, leaving his estate to his brother Salvatore and their cousins Orazio Castiglione and Pietro Francesco Dario (ASG, NA6624–112). He also instructed Salvatore to act as guardian of his sister Paola Maria and his sister-in-law Antonia Maria (widow of Giovanni Battista) until they were married.
3. Salvatore was baptised 21 April 1620 (Alfonso 1972, p. 42).
4. A copy of the original wedding contract signed on 15 March 1640 is attached to a document dated 7 May 1653, formalising a donation to Maddalena by her mother Vittoria *fu* [daughter of] Pietro Vicino (ASG, NA7569). Maddalena is not present, and Castiglione is not mentioned at all—everything is given strictly to Maddalena.
5. Alfonso 1972, pp. 43–4.
6. Ibid.
7. Percy 1967.
8. ASG, NA7569.
9. ASG, NA5774.
10. Not. RCA (Archivio Capitoline di Roma), Ruffinus Plebanus, vol. 1562 (B), 11 August 1651, ff. 182r/v.201. We would like to thank Riccardo Gandolfi for helping us with the transcription of this document.
11. ASG, NA6972-82 (Standring 1997, p. 77). We owe thanks to Thomas Willette for his clarifications of such knighthoods, and to Gian Marino delle Piane, a member of the Ordine in Genoa, who confirmed its presence in the Ligurian port. See Crollalanza 1964, pp. 320–21.
12. Bernheimer 1951 suggested that the priapic herm and large vase alluded to Castiglione's interest in symbols of male and female fertility. The best overall review of the chronology and iconography of Castiglione's etchings and monotypes is Percy 1971, pp. 136–56. See also Welsh Reed 1980; Bellini 1982; Welsh Reed 1989; two forthcoming Ph.D. dissertations: Anita Viola Sganzerla, 'Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione and the Erudite Print', Courtauld Institute of Art, London, and Alexandra Blanc, 'Sculptor Ludens: L'appropriation de modèles par Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione et ses contemporains', Université de Neuchâtel.
13. See Krautheimer 1985, pp. 142–7, and Robinson 1981.
14. For the de Rossi family, see Consagra 1993. Gian Giacomo de Rossi published Castiglione's *Diogenes Searching for an Honest Man* (cat. 28) with the inscription *Con licenza de Superiori* (with official permission) —an indication that the image passed censorship and was given copyright protection by the Master of the Holy Apostolic Palace, who regulated the publication of books, prints, pamphlets and medals in the city (see Consagra 1988, outlining Castiglione's own methods of publishing his prints). Since the Abbé de Marolles in 1666 listed 47 prints by 'le Benedette' (as the artist became known in France) in his *Catalogue de Livres d'estampes*—and since Mariette mentions print publishers Le Blond and Chéreau as having published some of Castiglione's etchings—it would be interesting to know if he consigned plates to French publishers as he did with de Rossi. In fact, six (unidentified) plates by Castiglione are listed in Jean I Leblond's *après décès* (post mortem), which was taken on 28 May 1666 in Paris (Préaud 2002, pp. 33, 36); these may be the same plates found in the inventory of Guillaume Chasteau (Préaud 1990, esp. no. 57). We would like to thank Jaco Rutgers and Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée for pointing out Préaud's essays.
15. On Castiglione's responses to Rembrandt, see p. 51, note 27, above.
16. On the Renaissance concept of *furia,* see, for example, Summers 1981, pp. 60–70.
17. A number of red-chalk 'academies' (formal nudes) have been attributed to Castiglione, including two at Windsor (Blunt 1954, cats 218–19, p. 43, though these are much closer to Andrea Sacchi) and one in the Albertina (Birke and Kertész 1995, no. 14224).
18. The same feathered cap also features in self-portraits inserted into a number of paintings such as *Moses Striking the Rock* (*c.*1648) in the Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Virginia, and *Deucalion and Pyrrha* (1653, fig. 22) in the Denver Art Museum, in which Castiglione depicts himself in the act of signing his name and the date on a piece of Savonese pottery. The habit of including himself seems to have started early, since he probably makes an appearance in *Jacob's Journey,* his first dated painting (1633, fig. 11), as well as in a kindred picture of the same subject in the Prado. He even made his presence felt in a patriarchal journey in the Louvre (early 1640s) by including a red-feathered cap atop a heap of objects in the centre of its composition.
19. Ripa 1593 and many later editions.
20. See Chaumelin 1861, p. 4.
21. The 1611 edition was published in two volumes by Giacomo Franco. The 1636 edition, published by Marco Sadeler, was titled *Regole per imparar a disegnar i corpi humani (Rules for learning how to draw the human figure);* still later editions were published in 1659 and 1700. Cf. Rosand 1970, p. 21. A number of sketches of profiles attributed to Castiglione and his studio suggest that he was familiar with such

'drawing books'; for example, those on the verso of the impression of *Temporalis Aeternitas* in the British Museum (1985,0713.46v; see Standring 1987b, figs 65–6; Turner 1987) remind one of similar studies such as those found in Giovanni Luigi Valesio's *Primi elementi del disegno (First elements of drawing)* of 1606, which was reprinted in many editions (Birke 1987, p. 148). On artistic training in Rome during the early seicento, see Cavazzini 2008b, pp. 49–80.

22. Wallace 1965.

23. Castiglione repeated this subject in various media on a number of occasions. His print is signed G. BENED.S CASTGLIONUS / IN. P. and inscribed (not by Castiglione):

> Al Sig: Nicolo Simonelli Mio Sigre / Quel Diogene Cinico che con tanta gloria serba piu vive che mai le sue memorie baldanzoso risorge al mondo co delineamenti / del Celebre Sig: Castiglioni e perche so quanto ella limiti ne suoi virtuosi Costumi e particolarmente nel cercar con la lanterna gli huomini ho giudicato che il dedicarlo a lei sara un / accoppiamento felicissimo e che in altro non discordaranno salvo che esso pote con tanta Severita disprezzarei favori d un Alessandro e V. S. per superarlo ne gli atti della benignita sapra con / cortesissimo animo gradita gli Ossequij della mia devotioni la quale vivartite la riverisco / D. V. S. Aff.mo.Amico e Servitore.
>
> (To My Lord Sig. Nicolo Simonelli. That Diogenes the Cynic, whose cherished memory with so much glory lives on more than ever, is boldly brought to life again by the hand of the celebrated Sig. Castiglione. And because I know the discernment you exercise with such virtue, particularly in seeking out men with your lantern, I have considered that dedicating it to you will be a most felicitous pairing, discordant in nothing save that [Diogenes] could with such severity despise the favours of an Alexander and Your Lordship exceeding him in benignity will know with gracious spirit to receive my most devoted respects. Your Lordship's most devoted friend and servant.)
>
> (Translation by Rea Alexandratos)

24. Percy 1971, p. 145, dates this print to the early 1650s on the basis of the tighter and denser line work.

25. For discussions of the theme of Circe with reference to Castiglione, see Percy 1970; Percy 1971, nos 70, 71, 130, E23; Suida-Manning 1984; Newcome Schleier 1989, no. 53, discussing the numerous drawings connected with this composition; Wootton 1997; Standring 2011a.

26. Percy 1971, no. E21, suggests that the iconography may derive from Antonio Bosio's treatise on the Roman catacombs, *Roma Sotterranea* (Rome 1632), pp. 178–83; see also Bambach and Orenstein 1996, p. 49, which opines that the print contains insufficient detail to determine whether the men are finding or hiding the bodies of the two saints.

27. Standring 2001.

28. For a review of the literature on Castiglione's monotypes, see Percy 1971, pp. 150–56; Minozzi in Bellini 1982, pp. 204–30; Welsh Reed 1980; Welsh Reed 1989, pp. 262–3; Percy 1975; Dillon 1976; Meyer 1984; Dillon in Genoa 1990, pp. 179–82, 238–50.

29. For other second pulls, see *The Nativity* in Rome, *Allegory of the Eucharist* in Munich and *Resurrection of Lazarus* at Bassano del Grappa (Minozzi in Bellini 1982, mon. 12, 18, 23). Cf. Standring 2012.

30. For example, British Museum, *Alexander and Apelles(?),* 1988,0130.2; Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The consecration of Decius Mus,* 2011.490; and Cleveland Art Museum, *A scene of classical mythology,* 2002.19. See Royalton-Kisch 1988.

31. Rutgers 2004 points out that one of these small oriental heads (Bartsch 36) is signed by Salvatore and draws attention to the differences between the brothers' etched styles.

32. Such was Castiglione's love of this sort of head that he would on occasion impulsively add tiny caricatures to the margins of his etched *tronies* (cat. 50), to pen and ink sketches (Accademia, Venice, nos. 412, 415; Ambrosiana, Milan, no. F.268. inf. 64; Windsor, RL 3921), and even in the margins of some of his letters.

33. Wootton 1997, pp. 66ff.

34. Badiee Banta 2007, pp. 61–95.

35. Assini and Migliorini 1995.

36. Puncuh 1984, p. 182.

37. ASG, NA 6198:

> . . . dare e consignare al detto signore Desiderio ogni mese un quadro di pittura sua mano, di grandezza che l'istesso s. Desiderio li ordinera, e l'invent. e sara ingusto d'esso sign. Gio. Benedetto ed del S. Desidero, e che non possa fare altre pitture nè opere durante d.o tempo, solo le suddette e se pure ne farà o ne potrà fare di vantaglio debba darli e consignarli al detto signor Desiderio.
>
> (. . . to give and consign to the said Mr Desiderio [de Ferrari] every month a painting by his hand, the size of which the same Mr Desiderio will determine, and the subject will be chosen according to the needs of Mr Giovanni Benedetto and Mr Desiderio and that Castiglione shall not be allowed to do further paintings during that time, and if any, he ought in any case to deliver them to the above said Signor Desiderio.) (Standring 2000.)

Davide Gambino (written communication) suggests that this appears to be a private contract between the artist and de Ferrari in order to avoid taxes, since the sales would not have to be recorded by a notary. Moreover, it may also suggest Castiglione's bad attitude towards clients and people in general—by having an agent, he would avoid any direct contact with buyers.

38. Blunt 1945.

39. Genoa 1990, no. 15.

40. Ibid., no. 13, in which Laura Magnani makes a convincing argument to date this picture to the late 1640s.
41. Ibid., no. 11, 11bis.
42. Cochin 1758, p. 259.
43. Three paintings by Castiglione—'Un detto [quadro] sopra porta di Circe con ulisse, che parla a' diversi trasformati in pesci del Greghetto / Un quadro bislongo historia del Giacob del Greghetto / Un quadro di una capra con altri animali del Greghetto' ('One, a work [placed] above the entrance depicting Circe with Ulysses who speaks to the various men transformed into fish by Greghetto [Castiglione] / a long horizontal painting of Jacob by Greghetto / a painting of a sheep and other animals by Greghetto')—are listed in an inventory of Gerolamo Balbi's effects taken on 17 September 1649 (ASG, NA 7691): Boccardo and Magnani 1987, pp. 78–9.
44. Pio 1977, p. 177.
45. Percy 1967.
46. ASVR par. S. Marcello, Battesmi, XVI (1647–50), 1648, f.14v (Percy 1967). Ortensia was to die on 30 September 1674, reported in a letter by Salvatore Castiglione to Duke Ferdinando Carlo (Meroni 1971, pp. 100–101).
47. Pio's observations are supported by Loredana Lorizzo's study of Peri's activities in Rome (Lorizzo 2010).
48. Pio 1977, pp. 177–8:

> . . . e veduto dal Peri il suo bel fare, volle più volte portarlo a dipingere nella stanza di sopra, ma egli che haveva il suo arguto fine di esser publicamente veduto per incontrare qualche sorte própria del suo mérito, sempre rispondeva voler star in potteca et invero gli riuscì il suo disegno non pittorico ma astrológico, mentre saputo e veduto la virtù dal ser.mo duca di Mantova, che allora si trovava in Roma, lo volle appresso di se per suo virtuoso et assegnatogli un grosso et honorevole stipendio, se lo condusse in Mantova, dove stiede sempre operando e per sur altezza e per altri con far conoscere la sua virtù e quello sapeva produrre universalmente in tutti i generi il suo famoso pennello.
>
> (. . . Having seen Castiglione's beautiful way of painting, he invited him to go and paint upstairs; but the painter was cunningly keen on painting publicly, in order to be spotted by someone who could give him the chance that his skills deserved. And truly and indeed the path that Destiny drew for him went better than he could have sketched it himself, as the duke of Mantova, who was then in Rome, asked him to be one of his own virtuosos, granting him a salary; Castiglione then followed him to Mantova, where he served His Highness and other people, letting everybody know his worth and the versatile production of his well-famed brush.)

We would like to thank Davide Gambino and Loredana Lorizzo for their help with translating this passage of Pio's biography. On the importance of working at street level rather than upstairs, see Lorizzo 2010, pp. 25, 28.
49. Gabrielli 1955.
50. 'Il quadro di V.S. è già in casa, e io lo trattengo sul solaro per dare occasione di vederlo, siccome han fatto alcuni pittori, che tutti l'hanno lodate.' ('The painting [that you commissioned] is already here, but as I delayed its shipment, many artists have seen it and praised it.')
51. Percy 1967.
52. From the depositions given on 30 August 1656 by Giovanni Battista Gattus, Cesar Zerbi, Giovanni Battista Malater, Giovanni Laurentius Peleranus and Giovanni Battista Pinceteus after the trial proceedings cited in note 1 above (ASG, NA6585).
53. Along with Jan Miel, Carlo Rainaldi and Francesco Cozza, among others (AASL, busta 69, f. 240v, loose sheet); see Tiberia 2005, p. 252. Salvatore was also inducted as a member of the Compagnia, on 12 February 1651, and on 5 March 1651 he participated in that day's meeting (Tiberia 2005, p. 251).

Recognition
Genoa, 1652–1659

cat. 58 [detail]

Castiglione returned once more to Genoa in 1652, and over the next few years re-established himself as one of the busiest artists in the city. His workshop continued to turn out canvases depicting perennially favourite subjects such as Old Testament scenes and fables such as *Circe* and *Deucalion and Pyrrha* (fig. 22). He produced works for wealthy Genoese clients such as Ansaldo Pallavicini[1] and Giovanni Battista Raggi,[2] and for religious congregations such as the Compagnia di Lombardia, which commissioned an altarpiece, *The Vision of St Dominic at Soriano,* for its chapel in Santa Maria di Castello.[3] The beginnings of an association with the Gonzaga court can be seen in allegorical paintings such as *Omnia Vanitas* (fig. 24) and *An Allegory in Honour of the Duchess of Mantua* (fig. 23).

An Allegory in Honour of the Duchess of Mantua most likely alludes to Isabella Clara of Austria, the wife of Duke Carlo II, who had reportedly befriended the artist on a visit to Rome sometime between 1648 and 1652. The child sleeping on the woman's lap would then be Ferdinando Carlo Gonzaga, who was born on 31 August 1652. Mars and Father Time discuss, presumably, the transitory nature of human endeavours—a meaning that would have been understood by Castiglione's contemporaries as central to the education of a prince, teaching him the limits of temporal power and the importance of humility. Indeed this was a message that was to be prophetic, as Ferdinando Carlo was to be the last Duke of Mantua.[4]

It is quite possible that *Omnia Vanitas* (fig. 24) was conceived as a pendant to *An Allegory in Honour of the Duchess of Mantua,* for both address the theme that all human endeavours are ultimately rendered as nothing by the passage of time. *Omnia Vanitas* ('all is vanity'), appearing in lettering on the monument at the centre of the painting, is a quotation from the Old Testament Book of Ecclesiastes, with 'vanity' in its earlier sense of futility or meaninglessness. Many of the still-life elements in the

FIG. 22
Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *Deucalion and Pyrrha,* 1655. Oil on canvas, 153 × 120 cm. Denver Art Museum

painting allude to this idea. Eliot Rowlands demonstrated that these elements are all-encompassing, representing 'the three main activities of life: the *vita voluptuaria* [sensuous life] symbolised by the lute; the *vita contemplativa* [contemplative life] as epitomised by the paint brushes and palette, musical instruments, crumpled papers and books, and the armillary sphere (which is draped with a mourning cloth); and the *vita practica,* or active life, symbolised by the hunting horns and dead game'.[5]

To these still-life elements Castiglione added figures including a dancing maenad. Her rolled-up sleeves and exposed forearms allude to her libidinous nature, Castiglione's erudite clients would have understood that she was participating in a ceremony dedicated to a god of fertility such as Priapus (perhaps the god worshipped in the background of the painting, though the statue does not display an erection, as it had in an earlier print by Castiglione).[6] Castiglione thus suggests that a primitive or rustic way of life is preferable to a lifestyle encumbered by the civilised activity represented by the mathematical and artistic instruments—a theme that he had treated earlier in his etching *Diogenes Searching for an Honest Man* (cat. 28).

The paintings *An Allegory in Honour of the Duchess of Mantua* and *Omnia Vanitas* both have their equivalents in large oil drawings, and these perhaps constitute Castiglione's finest works in that medium (cats 58, 59). By drawing most of each composition with drier pigments, and restricting himself to a dark palette of burnt umber and burnt sienna with only slight additions of pale crimson, Castiglione was able to sustain a clarity of modelling that set these works apart from many of his other drawings. The functional relationship between painting and drawing in these cases is, as usual, difficult to determine. The drawings might have served as presentation sheets for the Mantuan court, either with the aim of soliciting commissions for equivalent paintings or as self-sufficient drawings aside from the paintings. (The presence of these

FIG. 23
Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *An Allegory in Honour of the Duchess of Mantua, c.* 1652–5. Oil on canvas, 217 × 304 cm. Private collection

sheets among the hundreds of other studies from Castiglione's workshop at Windsor need not argue against this provenance—as we shall see, it is possible that all these drawings were ultimately to pass through the Gonzaga collection.) Certainly it is hard to see drawings as accomplished as these as merely workshop exercises for the artist's own satisfaction.

The same is true of several other large sheets of the same period. *Circe with the Companions of Odysseus Transformed into Animals* (cat. 60) is executed with the same rich technique and limited palette of drier pigments, though Castiglione could not contain his exuberance in his handling of the animals and the heaps of clothing and armour in the foreground. In *A black page holding hounds in a landscape* (cat. 61), one of his loveliest and most innovative landscape compositions, Castiglione worked hard to contain his naturally exuberant brushwork, and one can sense the restraint in both modelling and colouring.

This combination of both lively and highly controlled brushwork became a common trait in Castiglione's oil drawings of the 1650s. The same creative tension between flashes of exuberance and passages of restraint is seen

FIG. 24
Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *Omnia Vanitas, c.*1652–5. Oil on canvas, 98 × 114 cm. Nelson-Atkins Museum, Kansas City

CAT. 58 (OPPOSITE)
An Allegory in Honour of the Duchess of Mantua, early to mid-1650s. Dark reddish-brown and dark red oil, 392 × 549 mm. RL 4052, Blunt 132

FOLLOWING PAGES:
CAT. 59 (P. 114)
Omnia Vanitas, early to mid-1650s. Dark reddish-brown oil, 392 × 544 mm. RL 4050, Blunt 134

CAT. 60 (P. 115)
Circe with the Companions of Odysseus Transformed into Animals, early to mid-1650s. Dark reddish-brown and dark red oil, 394 × 560 mm. RL 4067, Blunt 133

CAT. 61 (P. 116)
A black page holding hounds in a landscape, early 1650s. Red-brown oil, 412 × 557 mm. RL 4053, Blunt 136

CAT. 62 (P. 117)
The Adoration of the Magi, early 1650s. Red-brown oil, 417 × 573 mm. RL 4036, Blunt 178

in *The Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 62). *The Nativity with God the Father* (cat. 63) is a particularly good example of a drawing first sketched out with loose strokes of dilute pigment then gradually brought into focus through shorter, slower strokes with a drier brush, a technique that creates a vignette effect, concentrating attention on the infant Christ at the heart of the composition.

On the other hand, in other drawings from this period Castiglione's explosive brushwork takes the upper hand. *A family with a laden ass resting in a landscape* (cat. 64) is in some respects simply a continuation of his large monochrome oil drawings of the 1640s (cats 50–57), but it displays little of the rigorous structure seen in the best of those sheets. Here his calligraphic brushwork gets the better of his spatial control—the composition is haphazardly built up through an accretion of rapidly outlined motifs, with modelling and shadows added sporadically to the jumble of the laden donkey and the barely legible heap of still-life objects. *The Virgin and Child with Sts Catherine and Mary Magdalene* (cat. 65) is even broader in handling (and may be several years later). The composition has multiple focal points, and Castiglione seems to have been concerned primarily with establishing a rhythm of lights and darks across the surface of the paper,

quite independent of the spatial relationships between the figures.

Perhaps Castiglione's most remarkable sheets of the 1650s are his drawings of Franciscan saints in devotion (cats 66–70)—though 'drawing' is a misnomer here, as several of these sheets approach the status of a painting more closely than any other of Castiglione's works on paper. The Franciscan Order (properly the Order of Friars Minor) was one of the most prominent monastic orders in seventeenth-century Italy (Castiglione's brother Paolo was a friar in the order), and depictions of St Francis and other Franciscan saints were common throughout Italy and Spain. Castiglione had included Sts Francis and Anthony of Padua (also a Franciscan) in his magisterial *Immaculate Conception* of 1649–50 (fig. 21), and he treated Franciscan saints for a number of altarpieces, some of which are lost. In 1763 Giovanni Cadioli wrote that *St Anthony of Padua* by Castiglione stood in the church of San Francesco in Mantua;[7] in 1766 Ratti mentions a painting of the stigmatisation of St Francis on the high altar in the Capuchin church at Campi near Genoa (which may be a painting now in a private collection in London).[8] Compositionally close to these paintings on paper of Franciscan saints in devotion is *St Bartholomew* (cat. 71), a drawing that may be related to a painting by Castiglione reported by Pio in 1724 to be on the high altar of Santa Maria dei Servi in Genoa.[9]

The amount of work produced by Castiglione's studio in the 1650s suggests that brothers Giovanni Benedetto and Salvatore employed a significant number of workshop assistants. In 1656 Castiglione's son, Giovanni Francesco, reached the age of 15, making him old enough to play a role beyond that of mere dogsbody, and the little that we know about his mature career as an artist shows that he was not a negligible talent.[10] It is likely that the studio's teaching practice, such as it was, followed that experienced by Castiglione 30 years earlier in the studio of Giovanni Battista Paggi, which involved learning by making copies. Many of the drawings that may with confidence be attributed to Castiglione also exist in other versions, more or less identical in composition, by a variety of hands. At Windsor, for instance, there are two almost identical versions of *St Francis in Prayer*—Castiglione's autograph drawing (cat. 66) and a sensitively rendered copy (fig. 25). The close similarity between the two, once allowance is made for their different states of preservation, conveys how much effort was made by the second (unidentified) artist. He strove to replicate not merely the basic motif of the kneeling saint but also the original's overall palette and even its bravura brushwork, intelligently combining both wet and dry contours. Ultimately it fails as a drawing, for as a copy it cannot possess the instinctive freedom of Castiglione's mark-making, but this effort is not in vain. It provides us with a fine example of the subtle but clear difference between an autograph drawing by Castiglione and a copy or variant by one among what may have been an extended circle of skilful associates, who often managed to attain a superficially convincing simulacrum of Castiglione's handling. Indeed, many of the drawings catalogued as 'Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione' in collections around the world are in fact copies or variants by his associates.

The primary value of the Windsor collection lies in its extent, providing enough points of comparison to establish a solid core of autograph drawings and to begin to sort the remainder into groups (though it is by no means impossible that several distinct groups, in different modes, are by a single hand). The most coherent group is that which comes closest in style to the work of Castiglione himself, and the calligraphy and abbreviations appear at first sight to be his (fig. 26, for example). But patient comparison reveals that there are traits found in this group that are never seen in Castiglione's works. There is a tendency towards exaggeration in the facial features, with a characteristically jutting chin; a lack of concentration in

CAT. 65 (OPPOSITE)
The Virgin and Child with Sts Catherine and Mary Magdalene, mid- to late 1650s. Red-brown oil, 358 × 447 mm. RL 4035, Blunt 171

PRECEDING PAGES:
CAT. 63 (P. 118)
The Nativity with God the Father, early 1650s. Red-brown oil, 398 × 545 mm. RL 4058, Blunt 131

CAT. 64 (P. 119)
A family with a laden ass resting in a landscape, early to mid-1650s. Red-brown oil, 409 × 555 mm. RL 4044, Blunt 152

FIG. 25
Copy after Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *St Francis in prayer,* probably mid-1650s. Red-brown and blue-grey oils on discoloured paper, 376 × 222 mm. Royal Collection, RL 4005, Blunt 258

the peripheral details, often manifested as a nonsensical spatial arrangement of the limbs; a dryness of effect in the oil modelling—not a creative interplay between fluid and dry as seen in Castiglione's works, but a stolidity and flatness; and a fondness for touches of crimson to accent the features, disrupting the chromatic harmony of the earth colours.

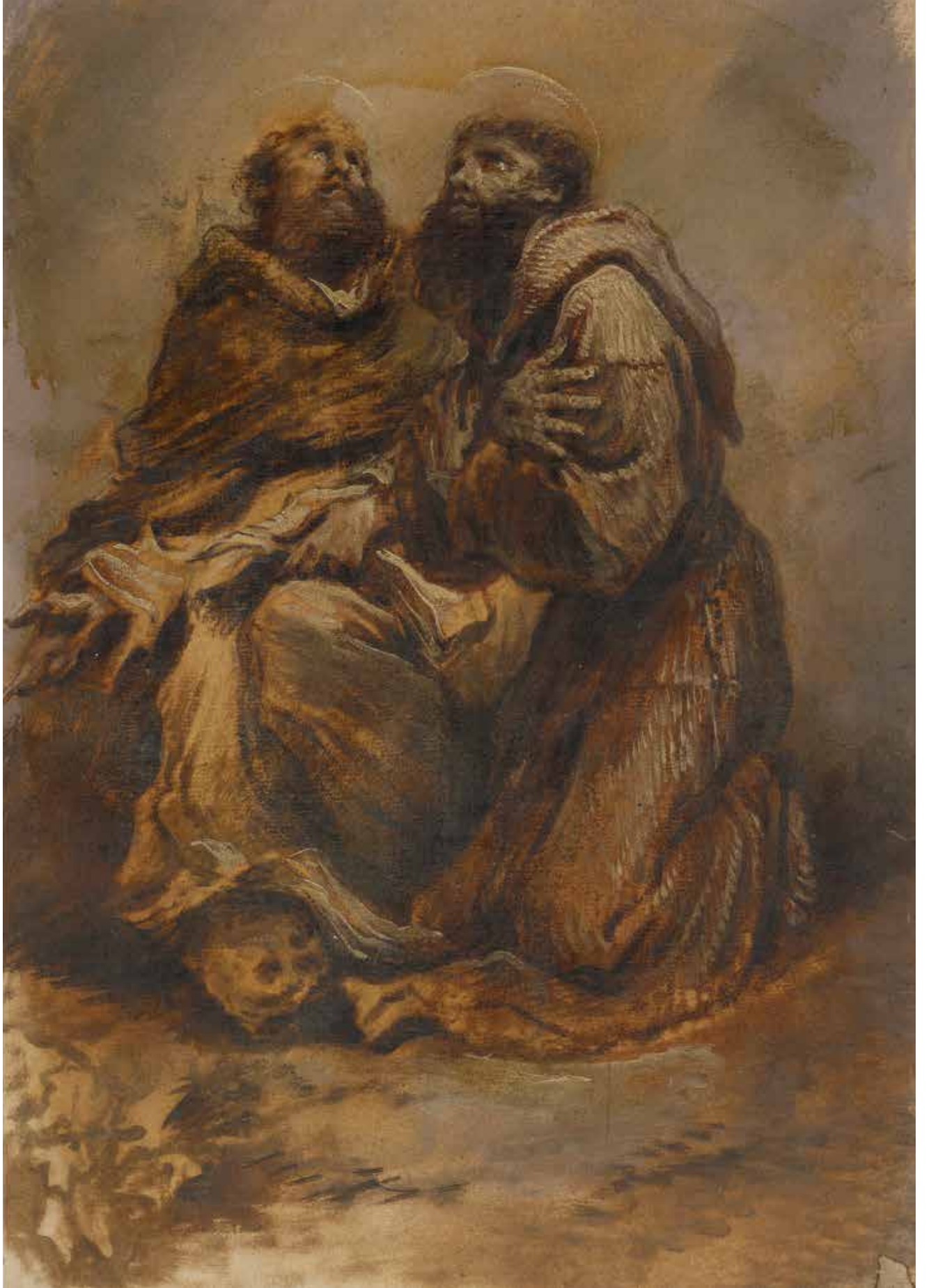
It seems highly probable that this large group of drawings, reflecting many stages of Castiglione's career, is in fact by his brother Salvatore, who probably worked alongside him from the late 1630s until Castiglione's death in 1664.[11] Despite the many (unidentified) works attributed to Salvatore cited in various seventeenth- and eighteenth-century inventories, there are only two securely attributed works known by him—an etching of the resurrection of Lazarus of 1645 (fig. 27) and a preparatory drawing for that print in a private collection.[12]

Salvatore may have briefly attempted to sustain an independent career during Castiglione's lifetime. He spent some time in Turin in 1656–7, but the sole document of payment for his work there discloses nothing more than '[405 lire to] the painter Salvatore Castiglione in consideration of diverse works made for Her Royal Highness [Principessa Ludovica, widow of the ex-cardinal Maurizio di Savoia]'. This payment could have been made for court duties rather than artistic efforts.[13]

During his spell in Turin, Salvatore wrote and published a short essay (dedicated to Giovan Filippo Spinola in Genoa) describing the pageantry surrounding the visit of the Queen of Sweden to the Savoy court. While relating the same event in his own book, the historian Valeriano Castiglione (no relation) mentioned 'the painter to the Royal Household, Salvatore Castiglione, a Genoese nobleman and a genius with the brush and the pen'.[14] The Genoese poet Luca Assarino dedicated a brief essay to Salvatore in 1655 in his novel *I Giuochi di Fortuna (The Games of Fortune)* along with one to his brother,[15] and in 1671 Salvatore was described as a 'lost philosopher' in Angelo Tarachia's *Il Carcere Illuminato (The Illuminated Prison)*.[16] But Salvatore received short shrift from his elder brother's biographers: Baldinucci thought that Salvatore was Giovanni Benedetto's son, noting only that he 'practised in the same art and manner';[17] while Soprani stated that

CAT. 66
St Francis in prayer, mid-1650s.
Red-brown and blue-grey oils,
345 × 212 mm. RL 3980,
Blunt 195

CAT. 67
St Francis in prayer, mid-1650s.
Dark brown, red-brown and
white oils, 352 × 237 mm.
RL 4007, Blunt 197



CAT. 68
Two Franciscan saints in devotion, mid-1650s. Dark brown, red-brown, grey and white oils, 404 × 280 mm.
RL 3961, Blunt 204

CAT. 69
St Francis embracing the Cross, mid-1650s. Dark brown, red-brown, grey and white oils, 398 × 283 mm. RL 3978, Blunt 199

CAT. 70
St Francis in prayer, mid-1650s. Dark brown, grey and white oils, 345 × 227 mm. RL 4006, Blunt 196

FIG. 26
Attributed to Salvatore Castiglione, *The Adoration of the Shepherds, c.*1650?
Brown oil paint with touches of crimson, 390 × 555 mm.
RL 3865, Blunt 154

'Of the disciples of Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, his brother Salvatore learned from him his know-how and style in colouring, but since he is still alive I will say nothing of his qualities and actions.'[18] Soprani's reticence may have been due more to fear than modesty—in 1653 Salvatore was sentenced to jail for violence against another Genoese citizen.[19]

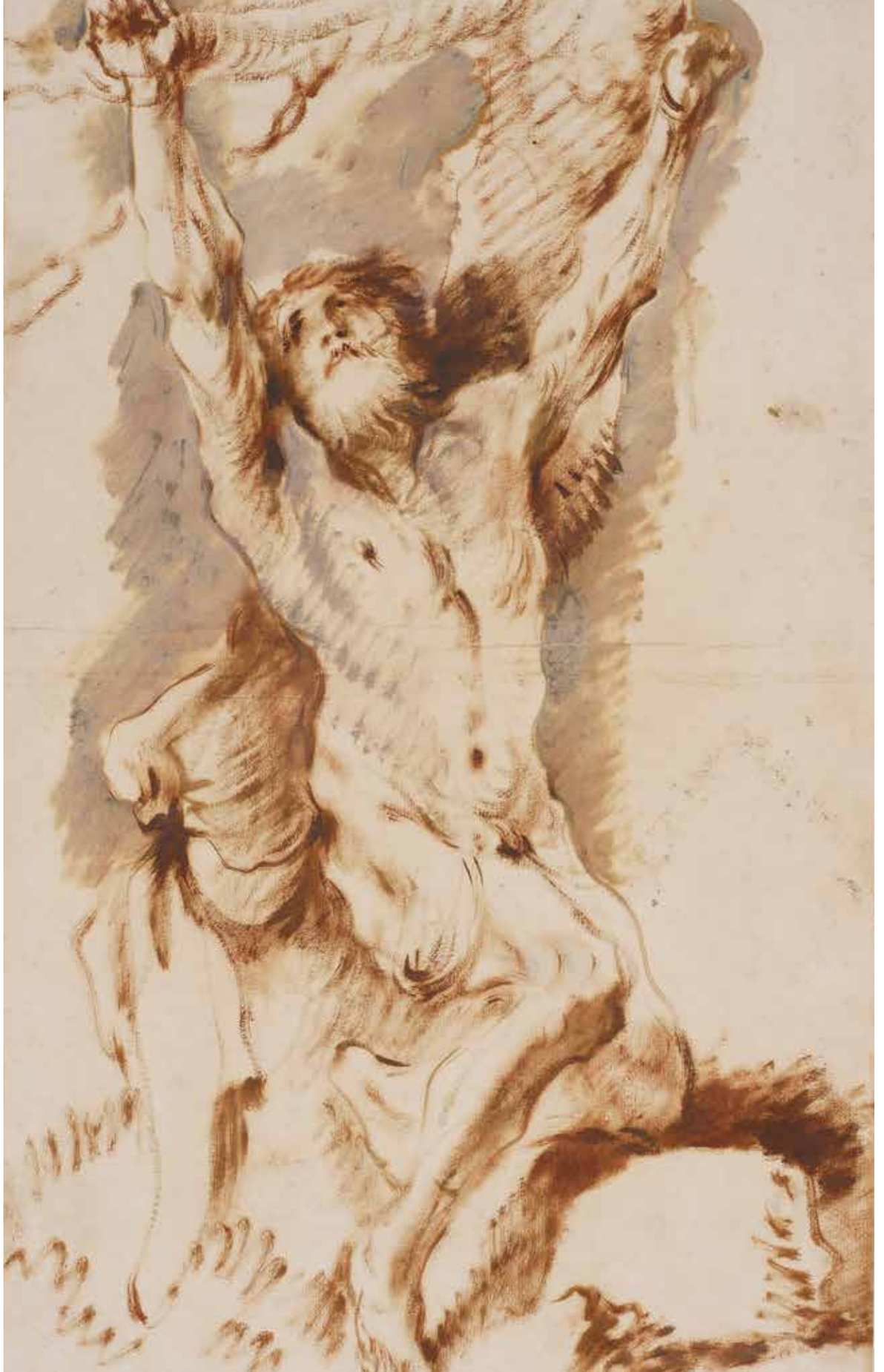
Further court documents from 1663 mention Salvatore's involvement with his and Giovanni Benedetto's sister, Paola Maria (baptised 20 January 1611 in Genoa); these might corroborate, to some degree, the accusations mentioned at the very start of this book regarding the brothers' ill-treatment of their sister. When their eldest brother, Giovanni Battista, died in 1639, Salvatore was named in his will as the financial guardian of Paola Maria.[20] At some unknown date she married a man from France, Matteo Barano (who was referred to by the brothers as a 'figone', a person who lived in Liguria between the village of Voltri and Monte Carlo and a term with derogatory undertones suggesting a country bumpkin), and the court proceedings

alleged that neither Salvatore nor Castiglione honoured his obligation to pay for Paola Maria's daughter's dowry.[21]

In another legal proceeding in 1663, witnesses called by Salvatore testify to the bad treatment endured by his sister at the hands of her husband and the expenses that Salvatore had to incur for her. They stated that she was beaten and made to live such a miserable life that she had to pawn one of her blouses to her own servant for 4 lire (the blouse was submitted to the courts by Salvatore, who paid the paltry sum to redeem it for her as evidence). One witness, Dorotea Bregante, related that Paola Maria, wearing only one shoe and dressed like a tramp, had tried to reach Castiglione at his house in the neighbourhood of La Maddalena, but finding the doors of his home closed (the artist was suffering from gout) and his maid still in bed, she had had to knock at a neighbour's door. While none of this states outright that Salvatore and Giovanni Benedetto were themselves violent to Paola Maria, it does seem to speak of at least an indifference to her welfare.

In many ways, Castiglione's oil drawings of the 1650s can be seen as simply an intensification of his more open and relaxed sheets of the 1640s (cats 50–57). But a major difference is the pronounced elongation of his figures in the early to mid-1650s. In part this was a re-engagement with Genoese late Mannerism, reprising a brief phase seen in the early 1640s (cats 16, 17) but now taking the elegance of Biscaino, Castello and, from a century earlier, Parmigianino to such extremes that the results appear tortured rather than graceful. His figures are often arranged in what seem to be deliberately uncomfortable poses, such

FIG. 27
Salvatore Castiglione,
The Raising of Lazarus, 1645.
Etching, 108 × 209 mm.
RCIN 830475, Bartsch 1



CAT. 71
St Bartholomew, mid-1650s. Red-brown and blue-grey oils, 375 × 232 mm. RL 3982, Blunt 180

as the angel and St Catherine at either side of cat. 65. But rather than depicting the drapery clinging to his figures' limbs and torsos to accentuate their poses, as his Mannerist forerunners would have done, Castiglione habitually clad them with abundant flowing drapery that gives them an earthy presence—a response perhaps to contemporary sculpture such as Bernini's *Ecstasy of St Theresa* in Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome, completed in 1651, and a fine instance of Castiglione taking two disparate stylistic influences and melding them into something personal and quite unique.

This new urge to create figures that combine elegant (if frequently awkward) poses with robust forms is best seen in Castiglione's pen drawings and monotypes of the period. The pen sketch *A group of figures in terror or adoration* (cat. 72) may well have no specific subject. The absence of any context and the unfinished state of the drawing suggest that it was simply an exercise in constructing figures in a variety of extreme attitudes. *Aeneas Carrying Anchises out of the Burning Troy* (cat. 74) is likewise most probably an exercise in drawing—no other treatment by Castiglione of this subject is known—and captures the same combination of exaggerated figures and rapid execution with brilliant flourishes of the pen lines across the surface.

The study *Venus and Adonis* (cat. 75), probably depicting the moment at which the beautiful youth departs on his fateful hunting trip, is a more sustained piece of pen drawing. The figures are as vigorously constructed and angular as in the two drawings just mentioned, but the setting has been worked up with scribbled parallel hatching that gives a surprisingly successful impression of silvery light, akin to the best of Castiglione's etchings.

During recent conservation work, further studies on the versos of cats 74 and 75 were uncovered. The mere presence of these studies indicates that Castiglione considered his pen drawings to be less 'formal' than his oil drawings, which rarely if ever have anything on their versos (and the staining through of the oil, compromising the legibility of the verso, can be only a partial explanation of this). On the verso of cat. 74 is a sequence of five rapid pen studies of figures in a range of complex attitudes; the style is very similar to that of cat. 2, suggesting that these studies date from the 1630s, some twenty years earlier than the larger drawing of Aeneas and Anchises on what is now the recto of the sheet, and showing that Castiglione kept and reused sheets of paper in his workshop over several decades.

The studies on the verso of cat. 75 are more interesting still. Around a quick sketch at centre left of a standing man in modern dress are a number of details of a tomb or temporary memorial structure. At the top is the profile bust of the deceased in a wreath; below is the figure of Fame blowing a trumpet, with a lion; at bottom right, two mourning figures; in the bottom left corner, a personification of Faith; and elsewhere on the sheet, decorative details of grotesques, cresting and so on. A project for which these studies might have been executed has not yet been identified, but they do seem to indicate that Castiglione provided a design for a tomb of some sort during the 1650s—an aspect of his activity that has never been suspected before.

The hatched shading of cats 74–5 was supplemented with wash in his drawing of a *Vanitas* (cat. 73). The subject has been identified as St Mary of Egypt, but the woman has none of that saint's attributes; the globe, book and trumpet are standard symbols of futile earthly achievement (cf. cat. 58), and the meditation of the woman and child on the skull is intensified by the cadaverous forms that loom in from the right.

Castiglione explored this same highly charged approach to figure design in several monotypes of the period, two of which, closely related in composition, are at Windsor. In *The Nativity with angels* (cat. 76), he dredged through the thick inky ground with a pointed stick to carve out two Berniniesque angels adoring the Madonna and Child, the mother kneeling and cradling her baby in her

CAT. 72
A group of figures in terror or adoration, mid-1650s. Pen and ink, 190 × 340 mm. RL 3913, Blunt 37

CAT. 73
Vanitas, mid-1650s. Pen and ink,
222 × 343 mm. RL 3924, Blunt 35

CAT. 74
Aeneas carrying Anchises out of the Burning Troy, mid-1650s.
Pen and ink, 212 × 168 mm.
RL 3991, Blunt 47

CAT. 74 VERSO

CAT. 75
Venus and Adonis, mid-1650s.
Pen and ink, 224 × 335 mm.
RL 3919, Blunt 44

CAT. 75 VERSO

CAT. 76
The Nativity with angels,
mid-1650s. Monotype,
247 × 373 mm. RL 3946c,
Blunt 214

arms as she places him on a heap of straw. The contrasts of light and dark are stark, but Castiglione has not simply conjured his image out of a uniformly black background. Wide variations in the density of the ground can be seen, and it is likely that he both dabbed the ink onto the plate selectively and in places removed some of the ink with a cloth to convey a range of mid-tones.

The first pull of the monotype *The Nativity with Angels and God the Father* (fig. 28), now in Paris, shows the same contrast between harsh dredged lines and a subtle range of background tones. But once the majority of the ink had been removed from the plate in taking that first pull, the variations in the background tone were exaggerated. The second pull, at Windsor (cat. 76), shows a reasonable density of ink in the darker areas but mere fogginess in the lighter parts. This stark range of light effects, both intended and accidental, causes the image to almost descend into incoherence. But what it loses in legibility it gains in mystery, and this startlingly Expressionistic monotype stands as one of the most original works of the entire seventeenth century.

As we have seen, the productivity of the Castiglione studio during the mid-1650s was considerable. But it was also a time when Castiglione was embroiled in legal affairs that must in part have distracted him from his artistic activity. On 30 July 1655, he petitioned a Genoese tribunal to order Ottavio Filiberto, a clockmaker located in Piazza Bianchi, to return his clock or pay equal compensation for it, since the latter had held it for some three years.[22] Much more significantly, on 12 April 1655 Carlo Ratto, who had been an agent for Giovanni Benedetto and his brother Salvatore, brought his suit against the two for insufficient payment.[23] The documentation surrounding this case is one of our most interesting sources of information on Castiglione's life and methods of working.

Ratto filed his suit in the court of the Consoli della Ragione, a judicial venue for collecting minor sums up to 500 *scudi*. For trial, both plaintiff and defendant would submit to the tribunal of three judges a list of prospective questions to be asked of witnesses. The judges would then select those questions deemed appropriate to the case. Ratto offered 78 questions; the Castiglione brothers submitted 55.[24] The combined answers would, in principle, give the tribunal enough information to determine their verdict.[25] Parts of each line of inquiry were disallowed since they had been written solely with the intention of impugning the opposing party regardless of the relevancy of the question.

Carlo Ratto's line of inquiry intended first to demonstrate how worthy an attorney he had been for the Castiglione brothers by mentioning that he had performed well for other clients named as Pietro Maria Gentile and Nicolò Schiaffino. Although much of his subsequent line of inquiry was dismissed as irrelevant, we learn from it how irascible the two brothers were; it paints a character sketch of them as evil, greedy, cunning and untrustworthy. The Castiglione brothers countered by portraying Ratto as unsuccessful on their behalf and listed the legal duties that he had performed for them. Their reasoning was that if Ratto had indeed been underpaid, it was because he underperformed. By tracing Ratto's representation in some nine transactions—selling or renting out property, evicting tenants and representing the brothers in various other legal suits—we learn that the brothers were involved in a wide range of financial activity. It may well be that the sorry outcome of these transactions constituted the basis for the dispute.

More important for the current text is that the two sides needed to agree on how much Ratto had already been compensated. This proved difficult because the Castiglione brothers paid him with a variety of assets: cash, forgiveness of debts and bartered works of art. Ratto thus asked his witnesses to specify the works given to him in payment since some of them were members of the Castiglione

CAT. 77
The Nativity with Angels and God the Father, mid-1650s. Monotype (second pull), 368 × 254 mm.
RL 3946b, Blunt 213

workshop, either students or assistants.[26] In one instance, in a deposition given on 30 August 1656, Cesare Zerbi states that Ratto received many paintings and drawings including a small painting depicting three pairs of animals; a drawing of St Dominic of Soriano;[27] a drawing of Noah's Ark in colour; a Last Supper on canvas; a coloured drawing of Circe; a drawing of the Crucifixion (*Christo Morto*) painted on paper; another drawing of the three Magi, also coloured and not finished; two small *tondi* (circular pictures), one of which was of a cow; a small sketch of an *Ecce Homo* on copper, around a half *palmo* (based on a hand-span, this measure was about 12 cm) and a large *St Francis.*[28] Zerbi also states that they passed on a work titled *Un testa di un satiro con una danza (A head of a satyr with a dance)* by the hand of Anthony van Dyck, which he claimed was in fact a copy instead of an original.[29]

The Castiglione brothers also tried to demonstrate the value of the works given to Ratto between 1650 and 1656, for their witnesses stated that the attorney, after receiving these works, immediately sold them to others (including the Flemish artist-dealer Cornelis de Wael) for more than their bartered value. For this reason, the Castiglione brothers wanted their witnesses to specify whether each work was a drawing or a painting, whether on paper, canvas or copper, and whether each work was by Giovanni Benedetto or by Salvatore—those by Giovanni Benedetto being more valuable. Given the number of assistants who apparently participated in the studio during the early 1650s, the brothers needed to demonstrate that Ratto had received originals by the two artists.[30] Though few of the works referred to in this trial can be identified today, their quantity and variety testify to the size of Castiglione's workshop—and presumably its status in Genoa in the mid-1650s.

FIG. 28
Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *The Nativity with Angels and God the Father,* mid-1650s. Monotype (first pull), 368 × 250 mm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

NOTES

1. On 28 April 1652 a number of paintings by Castigione were registered in the *Libro Mastro* (master ledger) of Ansaldo Pallavicini: 'doppie 36 prezzo del quadro del Viaggio d'Abramo' ('36 doubloons the price for a painting of the *Voyage of Abraham*')(Genoa 1990, no. 12); 'doppie 20 della Circe, e doppie 4 d'altri due quadri piccolo compri da Gio Benedetto Castiglione Lire 1304' ('20 doubloons for [a painting of] *Circe*, and 4 doubloons for another two small paintings purchased from Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, 1304 lire'); and on 30 April 1652, 'un'altro quadro ti Titio compr. dal Suddetto Castiglione, lire 62' ('another painting of Titus purchased from the abovementioned Castiglione, 62 lire'). Boccardo 1987, p. 67.

2. As evidenced by the inventory taken 4 November 1658 (ASG, NA8333) and the auction of Raggi's effects, 22 January 1659 (ASG, NA8334): Belloni 1988, pp. 149–51.

3. Commissioned shortly after 13 November 1654; see Genoa 1990, no. 24.

4. For the work's iconography, see Percy 1971, no. 73, and E. Gavazza in Genoa 1990, pp. 140–42, 148–52.

5. Rowlands 1996, p. 293, points out that a follower of Rubens, Jan van den Hoecke (1611–51), active in Rome for a number of years after 1637, had also painted a work (now known only through a print by H. Winstanley) with a strikingly similar composition depicting the three types of human activity. Although the date of that painting is not known, the close similarities between van den Hoecke's and Castiglione's compositions suggest a more than casual acquaintance between the two artists.

6. Bellini 1982, no. 11.

7. Cadioli 1763, p. 59. Cadioli couldn't resist adding, after describing the location of the painting, that it was 'fatto per mano del Castiglione; ma si conosce, che egli ha sofferte delle vicende disfavorevoli' ('painted by Castiglione, but you know, he suffered from inauspicious events').

8. Ratti 1766 (1780 edition cited), II, p. 11.

9. 'Nella chiesa de' Padri de Servi tre altri quadri, cioè due laterali e l'altar maggiore rappresentante il martirio di S. Bartolomeo' ('In the church of the Fathers of the Servite order, three other paintings, which is to say the *Martyrdom of Saint Bartolomew* on the main altar with two on either side of it'). Pio 1977, p. 177.

10. In a letter to the Mantuan court dated 30 July 1662, Salvatore writes on behalf of his nephew in his attempts to garner commissions for the young artist (Meroni 1971, pp. 73–7).

11. The drawings in this group may be studied by searching under 'Salvatore Castiglione' on the Royal Collection's website: www.royalcollection.org.uk. Fundamental studies on Salvatore Castiglone include Gabburri *c*.1730–42, vol. IV–S 299 r, v.; Baudi di Vesme 1963; Bellini 1977; Algeri 1979; and Newcome 1985b. Alfonso 1972 and Meroni 1971, 1973 and 1978 have published the principal documentary material on Salvatore.

12. Newcome 1972, no. 169.

13. 'Al pittore Salvatore Castiglione a consideratione di diversi lavori et oppere fatte per servitio di S.A.R.' (Baudi di Vesme 1963, p. 298).

14. Salvatore Castiglione, Copia di lettera scritta dal Signor Salvator Castiglione nobile Genovese all'Illustrissimo, & Eccellentissimo Signor Gio. Filippo Spinola prencipe di Molfetta, &c. circa l'entrata, & accoglienze fatte dall'AA.RR. di Savoia alla Regina di Svecia nell'augusta città di Torino (Copy of a letter written by Signor [Mr] Salvatore Castiglione, nobile Genoese, to the most Illustrious and the most Excellent Signor Giovanni Filippo Spinola, Prince of Molfetta, etc., Concerning the Entrance and Welcome by the Sabauda Court of the Queen of Sweden to the Formidable City of Turin), Turin: Gio. Giacomo Rustis, 1656 (19 folios); Valeriano Castiglione, La Maestà della Regina Svecia Christina Alessandra ricevuta negli Stati delle Altezze Reali di Savoia l'anno 1656 (Her Majesty, the Queen of Sweden, Christina Alexandra received by the Sabauda Court in 1656), Turin: Granielli, 1656, p. 44: 'Foriera della presente relationi è stata una lettera scritta dal pittore della Reale Casa [di Savoia] Salvatore Castiglione, Nobile Genovese, e ha genio di pennello a di penna.' ('Prior to the present contribution was a letter written by the painter to the Royal Household, Salvatore Castiglione, a Genoese nobleman and a genius with the brush and the pen.')

15. Vazzoler 1991–4.

16. See Grandi 1985 and Pissavino 1985.

17. ' . . . un altro [figliuolo] ancora, per nome Salvatore, che nell'istessa arte, e a sequela della maniera medesima si esercitava.' Baldinucci 1681–1728, V, p. 534.

18. 'Delle discepoli di Gio Benedetto Castiglione, Salvatore suo fratello apprese da esso il sapere et stile nel colorire ma le sue qualita et attioni me convien tacere per la cagione di sopra essendo vivo.' Soprani 1674, p. 225.

19. ASG, Sala Senarega 2215, 7 May 1653; the sentence was commuted, Sala Senarega 2216, 16, 20 and 29 May 1653.

20. ASG, NA6624-112, 25 Feb 1639. Giovanni Battista, in his will, places Salvatore as guardian for his sister Paola Maria.

21. ASG, NG1938/1, section H:

> Item dica se uno, che avesse una sua nepote, che era dotate in L 4,000, et poi l'avesse maritata con un figone di montagna con dote di ducatoni cinquanta per farsi poi dal detto figone fare ricevuta di dette L 4000 si possa chiamare huomo da bene.
> (Item, if one claims that he [GBC] has a niece, who was due a dowry of 4,000 lires, and then would have married a 'country bumpkin' and paid the two only 50 *ducatoni* [about 200 lire] instead of the full 4,000.)

22. ASG, Sala Senarega, 2247.
23. ASG, NG1938/1, cited in note 1.
24. Ibid., Section F for the Castiglione brothers; section H for Carlo Ratto.
25. A *compromesso* was attempted on 2 March 1656, which extended the proceedings for roughly another six months. ASG, NA7013–341.
26. No. 42, ‘ . . . dicano la qualita, e quantita delli detti quadri, o disegni donate’, and no. 45, ‘ . . . se esso testimonio si e mai trovato presente quali detti Castiglioni hanno donato quadri o disegni al detto Ratto’. Additional questions asked of the witnesses, such as 42, ‘ . . . [what is] the quantity, and the quality of the paintings or drawings given [to Ratto]’, and no. 45, ‘ . . . if the witnesses would verify if they ever saw Castiglione actually present when he gave [his] paintings or drawings to Ratto’, ASG AG 1938/1, section H, cited p. 14, note 1.
27. Possibly the drawing now at Worms, Stiftung Kunsthaus Heylshof, F20000I/6; illus. Newcome 1972, under no. 61.
28. Possibly the ex-Johnson painting, Genoa 1990, no. 29.
29. ASG, NA6585. The expression ‘tela da testa’ refers to a painting size, thought to be that of a life-sized portrait. See Cavazzini 2008b, p. xv.
30. Giovanni Battista Malater testified on 30 August 1656 that ‘ . . . dell’anno 1652 andava ad imparare l’arte dell pittore con li Sig. ri Gio Benedetto et Salvatore et vi sono stato per il spazio d’un anno coi detti’ (‘in 1652, he went to learn how to paint with Giovanni Benedetto and Salvatore Castiglione for about a year’) (ASG, NA6585). Others identified as *discepoli* (students) include Francesco Avanzino, Giovanni Battista Carrega, Domenico Segistia and Vincenzo Celascus (ASG, NA7014–171).

Last Years

Mainly Genoa and Mantua, 1659–1664

cat. 90 [detail]

While the mid-1650s was a period of relative stability and artistic achievement for Castiglione—despite the distractions of his legal affairs[1]—the last years of his life were increasingly peripatetic. Of course he had moved from city to city throughout his career: from Genoa to Rome to Naples and back to Genoa during the 1630s, and repeatedly between Rome and Genoa in the later 1640s and early 1650s. According to Pio, Castiglione had first made contact with the Gonzaga court at Mantua during his Roman years around 1650;[2] although our first archival document confirming Castiglione's links with the Mantuan court dates from 18 April 1659, paintings such as *An Allegory in Honour of the Duchess of Mantua* (fig. 23) demonstrate a developing association during the 1650s.

We know Castiglione's whereabouts from 1659 until the end of his life in detail from the voluminous correspondence that he and his brother kept with members of the Gonzaga court. Though there are some gaps in the record, these letters place him in Mantua during the first part of 1659; in Genoa from April to June 1659; in Venice from March to June 1660; in Mantua during the spring of 1661 (perhaps avoiding the plague that ravaged Genoa that year); in Genoa from May through to December 1661, and again during the first part of 1663; and then in Mantua from the spring of 1663 until his death on 5 May 1664.[3] It seems that he also had some dealings with the Farnese court in Parma, since his last-known signed and dated painting of 1663, *The Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fig. 29), now in Naples, has a Farnese provenance.

Given the many political, financial and artistic contacts that the Republic of Genoa and the Duchy of Mantua sustained throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, Castiglione's association with the Gonzaga court is not surprising—indeed his compatriot Domenico Fiasella preceded him by executing works for Duke Carlo I in 1635–6. But the exact nature of Castiglione's (and Salvatore's) relationships to the Mantuan court is unclear.

FIG. 29
Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, *The Annunciation to the Shepherds,* 1663. Oil on canvas, 192 × 289 cm. Capodimonte, Naples

CAT. 78 (OPPOSITE)
Pan and Syrinx, late 1650s. Red-brown oil, 284 × 437 mm. RL 3881, Blunt 105

It is possible that the artist may have held some semi-official position, but he never received, so far as we know, a *patente* appointing him as an official court painter to Duke Carlo II.

Naturally, much of the surviving correspondence concerns Castiglione's artistic production. For example, in March 1661, a sketch of Pan and Syrinx was sent to the Duke for approval before Castiglione began work on a canvas; this may relate to the drawing at Windsor (cat. 78), though the remarkably free and fluid handling of that sketch would probably place it a few years earlier than 1661.[4] In May 1660 and again in May 1661, Salvatore records that his brother is working on pictures for the so-called Galleria dei Libri (formerly called the Galleria della Mostra) in the Palazzo Ducale of Mantua,[5] which amounted to 'twenty paintings of mythological and historical subjects as well as landscapes'.[6] In May 1660, Salvatore also mentions 'a large painting that [Castiglione] painted for Her Most Serene Archduchess [Isabella Clara, wife of Duke Carlo II], my most merciful Patron', but what that painting might have been remains unknown.[7] From a letter sent by Salvatore from Genoa on 2 June 1661, we learn that he had written to Rome 'for two other paintings by Filippo delle Prospettive [Filippo Gagliardi] in which Giovanni Benedetto will add animals in the taste of Your Highness'.[8]

The brothers also negotiated on the Duke's behalf to acquire pictures from the Imperiale and Durazzo families in Genoa,[9] as well as for the purchase of exotic birds, vegetables, fruits and spices. But their personal relations with members of the court, including the Duke, were not easy—whether this was the result of Castiglione's acrid temperament, his worsening gout or his chronic jealousies is not easy to say. Evidence of Castiglione's uncertain status at the court is found in a rambling letter from Genoa of 29 April 1662 to an unidentified correspondent (perhaps the Marchese Ottavio Gonzaga), in which he states that he is willing to offer the Duke five pictures for 150 *doppie*, their subjects ranging from the familiar 'shepherds and animals' to 'the animals entering the Ark' and 'Abraham and Melchizedek'.[10] Even at this late stage in his career in 1662, perhaps because he was in dire need of money, Castiglione was still involved in making copies for the Duke, including one after a *Bacchanal of putti* by van Dyck.[11]

It is unfortunate that specific works by Castiglione can only rarely be identified from these letters, and thus datable drawings from his last years are few. By the late 1650s Castiglione's working procedure was entirely internalised, and increasingly his expressiveness outweighed the descriptive function of the drawings. Gone was the calculated balance seen in works from earlier in the decade, such as *An Allegory in Honour of the Duchess of Mantua* (cat. 58) and *A black page holding hounds in a landscape*

CAT. 79
Noah Leading the Animals into the Ark, late 1650s. Red-brown and blue-grey oils, 311 × 261 mm. RL 3951, Blunt 162

(cat. 61). Now, contours tumble and bounce irrespective of whether they were intended to suggest drapery or flesh, as seen in the main figures in *Noah Leading the Animals into the Ark* (cat. 79) and *The Choice of Hercules* (cat. 80). Castiglione cast his figures with more monumental stances, placed in relief close to the picture plane. Sparser drawings such as *Shepherds and flocks* (cat. 81) reveal his technique —he applied successive layers of drier and more opaque red-brown earth colours over initial markings of liquid yellowish-brown stains, then set off the composition with accents of pale blue-greys and off-whites, sometimes even violets, and a smattering of illegible stray lines to hint at additional unresolved components of the composition. In their unfinished painterly state, these drawings appeal strongly to our modernist sensibilities, revealing much of his creative process as he built up the image.

In other works, such as *The Sacrifice of Noah* (cat. 82), *The Finding of Cyrus* (cat. 83) and *The Exposition of Moses* (cat. 84), Castiglione shows less interest in sustaining a fine balance of tone, colour and line, or a play of wet against drier oil paint. In places, the opaque pigment simply overpowers the initial sketch drawn with fluid olive-yellow contours, and, in this increasingly discordant contrast between the various opacities of his oil paint, we sense a new final phase developing in his art.

In the drawings from the very last years of Castiglione's career, when he was perhaps handicapped by gout, we can see the disharmonies becoming more emphatic as he filled out his compositions with a range of pigments. The outlines become increasingly dry and broken, the figures blockier and more doll-like, the facial expressions formed out of four simple dabs of paint, as for example in *Laban Seeking his Idols* (cat. 85). But the diminished arsenal of expressive tools was nonetheless turned to strongly expressive purpose, showing that Castiglione's prodigious creative capacities remained undimmed even at the end of his artistic journey.

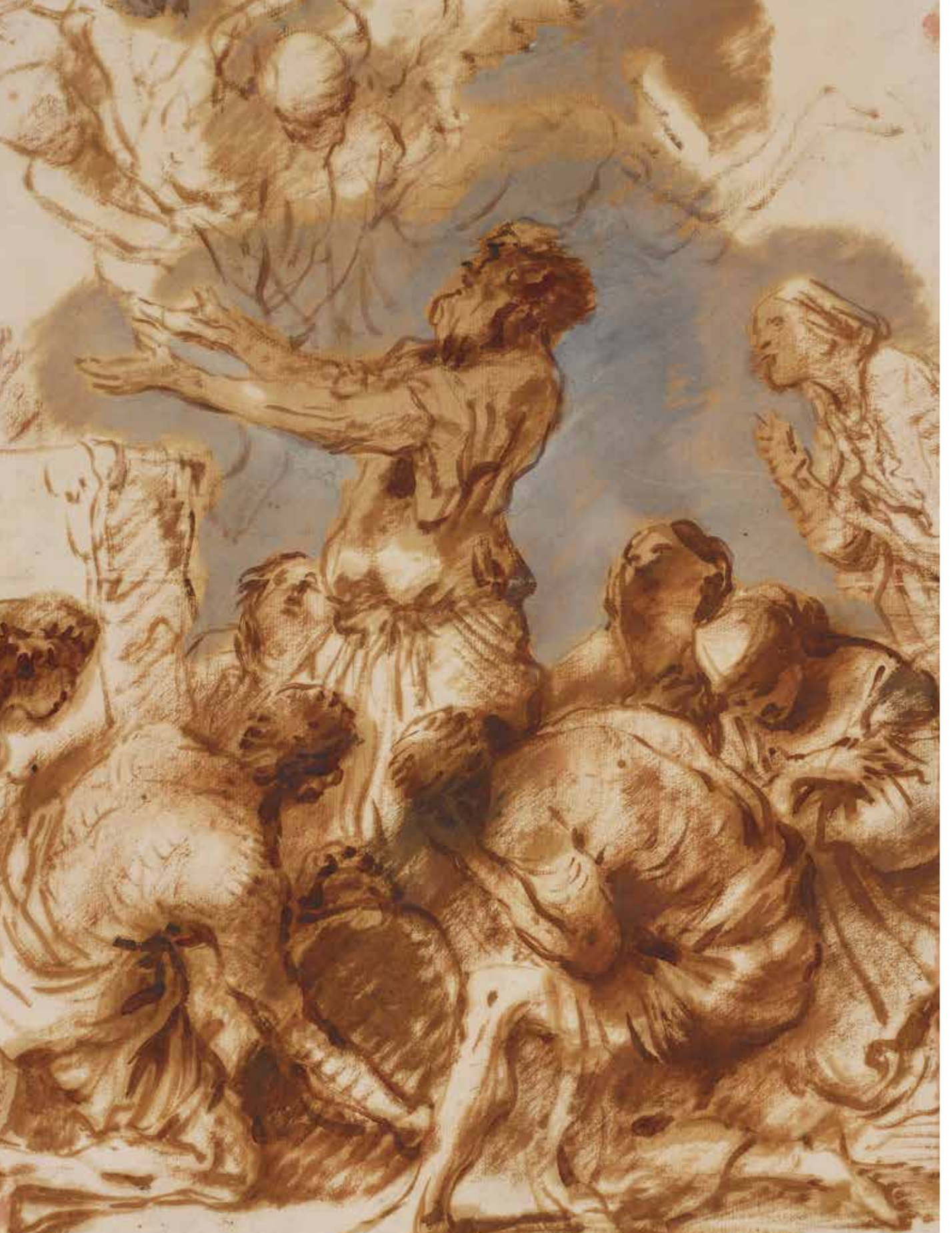
A family with animals in a landscape (cat. 86) is of course a familiar subject from throughout his career, but few of his compositions are so satisfyingly balanced, a rounded, inward-turned group that speaks of human warmth. *The Raising of Lazarus* (cat. 87) is more imperious, and we can even sense Castiglione pushing himself to try out a new style—although the touch is unquestionably his, the short zigzags of modelling are unfamiliar, and it may well be that limited mobility was forcing him to experiment with a new graphic vocabulary.

Castiglione continued to explore the potential of monotype into his last years. The latest of the five monotypes at Windsor (cat. 88), dated by the artist to 1660, shows two soldiers clad in ancient armour dragging a corpse back to his family. It may depict some episode from legend, but no literary source has been identified, and it is not impossible that Castiglione invented the scene. It is quite unlike the four other monotypes at Windsor, approaching the style of his oil drawings more closely than those discussed above; perhaps infirmity made it easier for him to dab the ink onto the plate in short strokes, rather than scraping out lines in sweeping motions as seen in his earlier monotypes.

At the end of Castiglione's life, the figures in his drawings seem almost to fall apart. This is incipient in the late *Shepherds and flocks* (cat. 89), though a lifetime's experience of drawing such subjects keeps the forms in check. But the very late *Adoration of the Magi* (cat. 90) almost bursts with the expressive handling of wet and dry brushwork. He knew that he could no longer draw with the verve that in former years had made him the most exciting draughtsman in Italy, but, concentrating furiously, Castiglione mustered his efforts to set down this regal, balanced composition as if it had never been drawn before.

CAT. 80
The Choice of Hercules, late 1650s. Red-brown and blue-grey oils, 338 × 258 mm. RL 3950, Blunt 182

CAT. 81 (OPPOSITE)
Shepherds and flocks, late 1650s. Red-brown and blue-grey oils, 302 × 249 mm. RL 3966, Blunt 111



CAT. 82
The Sacrifice of Noah, late 1650s.
Red-brown and blue-grey oils,
350 × 264 mm. RL 3952,
Blunt 163

CAT. 83
The Finding of Cyrus, late 1650s. Red-brown, coloured and white oils, 345 × 240 mm. RL 3953, Blunt 183

CAT. 84
The Exposition of Moses, late 1650s. Red-brown and blue-grey oils, 369 × 238 mm. RL 3949, Blunt 166

CAT. 85
Laban Seeking his Idols, around 1660. Red-brown and blue-grey oils, 227 × 345 mm. RL 3896, Blunt 206

CAT. 86 (OPPOSITE)
A family with animals in a landscape,
around 1660. Red-brown and blue-grey
oils, 293 × 398 mm. RL 3857, Blunt 212

CAT. 87
The Raising of Lazarus, around
1660. Red-brown and white oils,
295 × 404 mm. RL 3834, Blunt 209

CAT. 88 (OPPOSITE)
An unidentified legendary subject, dated 1660. Monotype, 258 × 377 mm. RL 3946d, Blunt 216

CAT. 89
Shepherds and flocks, early 1660s. Red-brown, blue-grey and crimson oils, 233 × 318 mm. RL 4017, Blunt 211

Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione died on 5 May 1664, as recorded in the *libro dei defunti* (book of the dead) of Mantua cathedral, although the inscription on a commemorative plaque with the artist's portrait in the cathedral states incorrectly that he died in 1665.[12] His legal battles continued even when he was in his grave. In 1666 Salvatore filed a suit on behalf of his brother against Carlo II Gonzaga seeking payment for the dowry of his niece Ortensia.[13] Salvatore was to outlive his older brother by at least 13 years, dying sometime after September 1677.[14] Castiglione's son, Giovanni Francesco, went on to forge a successful artistic career in Mantua by pastiching his father's works, and was made court painter to Duke Ferdinando Carlo Gonzaga in 1681. But the fall of the Duke, and with him of the Gonzaga dynasty, in 1708 ruined Giovanni Francesco; he died a pauper in Genoa two years later and was interred in the collective *ossarium* (burial pit for the penniless) of Santa Maria di Castello.

Given Castiglione's frequent movements throughout Italy and his difficult character, it is perhaps surprising that he possesses even the degree of fame that he does. His corpus of drawings did more to preserve his artistic fame than the more formal and public altarpieces, mythological paintings, portraits and prints. And while we have spent much of this narrative arguing for the uniqueness of Castiglione's art, it is nonetheless true that he spawned a small group of dedicated followers, not just his brother and son, but—from the evidence of the diverse range of drawings that survive aping Castiglione's manner—what must have been a number of other, nameless imitators.

Later connoisseurs and artists prized Castiglione's oil drawings for their brio and verve of execution; they reacted strongly to his technical bravura and responded to his predilection for the *non-finito.* It was perhaps among the French that he found the most receptive audience. By 1665 the French royal collection had in its possession one of the artist's works (though its identity remains unknown); the following year the Abbé de Marolles listed 47 prints by 'le Benedette'—as the artist became known in France—in his *Catalogue de Livres d'estampes (Catalogue of Prints),* and around the same time André Félibien remarked of Castiglione's works that 'there are many of them in Paris that you can see'.[15] The critic Antoine de La Roque, who owned a *Rape of Europa* attributed to the artist,[16] wrote about the Genoese in an essay for the literary gazette *Mercure de France,* with a familiarity that would have appealed to influential connoisseurs such as the Bailly de Breteuil, Jean-Pierre Mariette and Pierre Crozat, all of whom owned works by the artist. Castiglione was also the subject of a panegyric in Cornelius de Bie's *Het Gulden Cabinet van de Edel Vry Schilder-Const (The Golden Cabinet of the Noble Free Art of Painting),* written in 1661.[17]

CAT. 90 (OPPOSITE)
The Adoration of the Magi, early 1660s. Red-brown and blue-grey oils, 242 × 353 mm. RL 3869, Blunt 179

FIG. 30
Giambattista Tiepolo (1696–1770), *A woman and child with a goat, c.*1740. Etching, 142 × 176 mm. Royal Collection, RCIN 807043.e

FIG. 31
Giambattista Tiepolo, *A group of figures discovering a skeleton reading, c.*1740. Etching, 143 × 178 mm. Royal Collection, RCIN 807043.f

Castiglione was, above all, an artist's artist. During and after his lifetime, his works were the prized possessions of Domenichino, Carlo Maratta, Sebastiano Ricci, Joshua Reynolds, Ignazio Hugford, Thomas Lawrence and Benjamin West. Antoine Watteau and François Boucher studied Crozat's or Mariette's collection of Castiglione drawings. Many of the works of Giovanni Battista Tiepolo show a profound debt to Castiglione. His suite of etchings known as the *capricci* (figs 30, 31) are overt pastiches of Castiglione's style and subject matter. The staging of some of Marco and Sebastiano Ricci's works, and of the *Vedute di Roma* by Piranesi, owe something to the impact of Castiglione's drawings, such as the large *Women and children praying before a tomb* (cat. 19).

The large number of Venetian artists who were influenced by Castiglione's works reflects the fact that much of his surviving corpus of drawings was in Venice in the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1762 King George III purchased the collection of Joseph Smith, British Consul in Venice, which included—along with many paintings, an immense library and an unrivalled group of drawings by contemporary Venetian artists—'four volumes containing original drawings by Gio. Bendetto Castiglione great part whereof are the most capital of his Performance'.[18] The Castiglione drawings had been well known and accessible while in Smith's collection. Visiting Venice in 1760, Jean-Honoré Fragonard sought out the collection and made copies of Castiglione's sheets. Some of Fragonard's copies were in turn engraved by his travelling companion, the Abbé de Saint-Non.

Smith had apparently purchased his four volumes, containing some 260 drawings (and five monotypes) by Castiglione and his followers, between 1743 and 1755 from the Sagredo family collection. It had most likely been Zaccaria Sagredo (1653–1729) who had acquired them, but from where remains unknown. Either Salvatore or Giovanni Francesco could have inherited (and continued to add to) the works left in the studio at Castiglione's death, and they would no doubt have been happy to realise the value of these assets by selling them to such an ambitious collector as Sagredo. Alternatively, the Mantuan court may have confiscated the assets of Castiglione's studio on his death—such is the tenor of Salvatore's suit filed in 1666 on behalf of Giovanni Benedetto's daughter Ortensia, which was intended to garner a dowry from the court. The Duke's political machinations during the War of the Spanish Succession caused the House of Gonzaga to fall to Austria in 1708, and that same year he died in exile in Venice, having managed to salvage at least a part of his art collection. If Gonzaga had indeed acquired Castiglione's drawings, the dispersal of those drawings in Venice on Ferdinando

Carlo's death would explain the large numbers of Castiglione's drawings in Venetian collections.

By 1762, therefore, the British Royal Collection held (and continues to hold) the finest extant group of Castiglione's drawings. But the collective appreciation of these critics, connoisseurs and artists faded towards the end of the eighteenth century, as enthusiasm for his technical bravura gradually began to be overshadowed by disapproval of his lack of seemliness. The opinion of Sir William Ottley, writing in 1818, is typical:

> It is, perhaps, difficult to determine, whether the works of Castiglione are more the proofs of his talent, or of his caprice. They are always executed with a bold and spirited pencil, and abound in picturesque effect. For the attainment of this daring object, Castiglione too often sacrificed the higher requisites of his art, propriety of composition and truth of expression, as in the present instance, where the dignity of the patriarchal group seems to have been forgotten in the eagerness of the artist to display his ability in painting animals.[19]

Ottley's reaction echoes that of virtually every other observer who wrote on Castiglione's works at this time. Artists, collectors and writers stopped responding to his works until the mid-twentieth century, when his fame revived along with that of the art of the Italian Baroque in general. Anthony Blunt's catalogue of the artist's drawings from Windsor Castle, published in 1954, helped spread their reputation anew. But Blunt's framework of attributions to Castiglione and his chronology of the drawings—which became the standard for half a century—may in fact have hindered an understanding of Castiglione's artistic formation and subsequent career and the production of his workshop. Faced with only the sketchiest biographical information, Blunt was working almost in a vacuum; not unreasonably, he tried to paint as wide a picture as possible of the artist's career in an attempt to make sense of the holdings of Windsor. But in doing so, his story adhered perhaps too strongly to those secondary sources, and he was too inclusive and too forgiving of the quality of the many drawings by Castiglione's followers, some of which are woefully poor. Of the 259 drawings catalogued by Blunt, he accepted 214 as by Castiglione himself; we would today accept perhaps only half that number.

With the emergence of many archival documents in recent decades, we are now in a better position to understand the vicissitudes of Castiglione's career and to see how his unconventional stylistic inclinations were to some degree a result of his seemingly sporadic movements throughout the Italian peninsula. We are, after all, considering an artist whose career lines are anything but linear, whose artistic formation fails to fit the mould of artistic training throughout the early seventeenth century and whose personality we are only beginning to understand. Perhaps the force of his wild and irascible character, quick to take offence or pummel a man, plays to our desire for artists to be 'free spirits'. But few others have communicated their artistic urges with such immediacy as Castiglione, and that is perhaps why we find his mark-making with paint, ink and etcher's needle so appealing to our modern sensibilities and our preference for the creative act.

NOTES

1. On 23 September 1658, Castiglione granted full power of attorney to Antonio Maria Ratto, the brother of Carlo, in the palace of Stefano Lomellini in Pegli (ASG, NA7791). We would like to thank Davide Gambino for bringing this document to our attention.
2. Pio 1977, p. 177
3. Meroni 1971, *passim*.
4. Salvatore mentions both the painting and the drawing in a letter of 11 March 1661 (Meroni 1971, p. 32). On Castiglione's works in the Mantuan inventories, see Meroni 1973 and Eidelberg and Rowlands 1994.
5. On 22 May 1660, Salvatore reports that his brother:

   Detto me à pregato di attestare a Vostra Altezza che non trovando concetti adeguati per esprimerle quei sentimenti di humilissimo ossequio che sono dovuti all'impareggiabile sua Clemenza si risolve di manifestargliene palpabili segni con le pitture che farà nella bellissima galeria de libri in Mantova.

   (. . . begged me to assure Her Highness that since he is unable to convey the feelings of his most humble and obsequious praise with words, which may never suit to Her peerless Clemency, he resolved to display palpable proof of them through the pictures he shall paint in her beautiful library at Mantua.) (Meroni 1971, p. 29.)

   On 23 May 1661, in a letter again from Genoa, Salvatore states that his brother is still working on paintings for the room (Meroni 1971, p. 45).
6. 'Pezzi venti di quadro favolosi, paesi et historia sacra' ('Twenty works of fable, landscapes and sacred history'), as they were described in the posthumous inventory of the Duke's effects, taken on 10 December 1665 (Meroni 1973, p. 25).
7. 'il quadro grande che [Castiglione] dipinge per servitio della Serenissima Arciduchessa mia Clementissima Padrona' ('a large painting that [Castiglione] paints for the service to her most serene Archduchessa [Isabella Clara of Austria], my Most Clement Patron'). (Meroni 1971, p. 29.) This suggests that that painting might have been *An Allegory in Honour of the Duchess of Mantua*.
8. 'per due altri [quadri] di Filippo delle Prospetive ne quali poi Giovanni Benedetto dipingera le figurine di animaletti come sara in gusto di Vostra Altezza' ('for two other paintings by Filippo delle Prospetive in which Castiglione will paint the small figures of animals in the style preferred by Your Highness'). (Meroni 1971, p. 48.)
9. Ibid., p. 23.
10. Ibid., pp. 69–70.
11. Salvatore informed the Duke that 'L'originale di quel baccanaletto de putti che copiato da Gio. Bened. è nella stanza dove sono gli altri studii, che il Maialis inviò da Torino: pure del Vandich' ('The original of that Bacchanal of cherubs that was copied by Giovanni Benedetto is in the room where there are other studies, that Maialis sent from Torino, also by Van Dyck'). (Meroni 1971, p. 86.)
12. His death is recorded as 'Joannes Benedictus de Castilionis etatis suae Annorum 64 confessus, reflectus et exrema unctione monitus requievit in Dño, et sepultus est in Cathed.[li]' ('Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, his age 64, confessed, reflected and received the holy sacrament of Extreme Unction, and is buried in the Cathedral.') Archivio Storico Diocesano di Mantova, Anagrafe Parrocchiale Antica, Defunti I, 1651–96, 34v; first published in Genoa 1990, p. 256.

   The inscription on Castiglione's memorial plaque reads:

   IO. BENEDICTVS CASTILIONEVS IANVENSIS / FORTE RENASCETVR PINGENDI ARS MORTVA CUM TE / POST TE AT SEMPER ERIT CASTILIONE MINOR / 1665.

   (GIOVANNI BENEDETTO CASTIGLIONE, GENOESE / EVEN THOUGH THE ART OF PAINTING HAS UTTERLY DIED WITH YOUR DEATH / MAYBE IT WILL BE BORN AGAIN BECAUSE OF THE YOUNG CASTIGLIONE [GIOVANNI FRANCESCO] / 1665.)
13. Archivio di Stato di Mantova, NA1997, 6 June to 2 July 1666.
14. ASG, NA7863. On 4 and 6 September 1677 Salvatore is still issuing legal documents on his own behalf and that of his nephew Giovanni Francesco by assigning (4 September) and then revoking (6 September) special power of attorney to Agostino Malaspina, son of Giovanni, who would have the right to rent out their properties and collect the fees from the renters for the both of them. We would like to thank Davide Gambino for helping with this, and many other document translations throughout this text.
15. 'Il y en a plusieurs à Paris, que vous pouvez voir.' Félibien 1725, p. 518.
16. Blanc 1858, p. 40; possibly the version now at the Museum Wiesbaden, inv. M 33, which may in fact have been painted by Salvatore or Giovanni Francesco Castiglione.
17. De Bie 1661, p. 305, kindly pointed out to us by Jaco Rutgers.
18. Smith's will of 1761:

   In questa raccolta vi sono Quattro volume, contenenti disegni originali di Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, molti delli quali sono i pezzi più capitali delle sue opera, questi similmente appartenevano al detto Nobile Uomo Sagredo, da lui acquistati in due volte, e fu allora detto al prezzo di 1500 Zecchini.

   (In this collection there are four volumes consisting of original drawings by Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, many of which are the most significant of his work, these similarly came from the the Nobleman Segredo, and from him acquired in two parts, and was then said [to have been purchased] for a price of 1500 Venetian gold coins.) (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Notarile Lodovico Gabrieli, busta 500–184.) See Blunt 1954, pp. 24–5, and Vivian 1989, no. 56.
19. Ottley 1818, no. 66.

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Concordance

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Castiglione: Lost Genius

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TIMOTHY J. STANDRING is the Gates Foundation Curator of Painting and Sculpture at the Denver Art Museum and the leading authority on the works of Castiglione.

MARTIN CLAYTON is Head of Prints and Drawings, Royal Collection Trust. He has published extensively on the drawings in the Royal Collection.

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Castiglione Lost Genius

The Royal Library at Windsor Castle houses the largest extant group of drawings by Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, including his magnificent oil studies. This ground-breaking re-assessment of Castiglione's life, the first in over twenty years, showcases ninety of the finest of these works, and discusses them in the context of important new archival research on the artist's turbulent career and reputation.

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