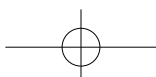


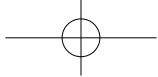
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The Jesuit Painter and His Emperor: Some Comments Regarding Giuseppe Castiglione and the Qianlong Emperor*

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To emphasise the military capacities of Qing government through propaganda art was central for the Qianlong Emperor's own image. Thus, after the annexation of Xinjiang and gaining control of Tibet, the intelligent monarch decided to consolidate his military celebrity by writing a *Report on the ten victories won* (1792), in which he called himself 'the Old Man of Ten Victories'¹. In celebration of his military successes the Emperor composed poems, devised new triumph rituals and commissioned paintings of his battles as well as portraits of the heroes who had fought for the new era of peace. A ceremony taking place in Beijing April 1760 celebrated the two generals Chao-hui and Fu-te, and their portraits along depictions of their battles decorated the residence of the Tzu-kuang-ko², where the Emperor received both the homage of all his subjects and of the European ambassadors³. In this way he followed historical precedents such as those of the Tang Taizong Emperor⁴. The Italian Jesuit Brother Giuseppe Castiglione (1688, Milano–1766, Beijing) was involved in this propaganda campaign as portraitist and as painter of battle scenes for the Tzu-kuang-ko. He was also the original designer (1765) of the engravings that replicated those painting to commemorate the expeditions against the Dzungars and the Muslims of eastern Turkestan⁵. He even trained about twenty Chinese

1. J.Waley-Cohen, "Commemorating War in Eighteenth-Century China", in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 30 Issue 4 (1996): 869; J.Waley-Cohen, "China and Western Technology in the Late Eighteenth Century", in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 98 Issue 4 (October 1993): 1542.

2. Ka Bo Tsang, "Portraits of Meritorious Officials: Eight Examples from the First Set Commissioned by the Qianlong Emperor", in *Arts Asiatiques* XLVII (1992):69-88; P.C. Perdue, *China marches West. The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2005), 441-442.

3. C Beurdeley and M. Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione. A Jesuit Painter at the Court of the Chinese Emperors* (Rutland, Vermont: Tuttle, 1971), 79.

4. J. Waley-Cohen (1996), 891-896.

5. G.R.Loehr, *Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766), pittore di corte di Ch'ien-Lung imperatore della Cina* (Roma: Ist. italiano per il medio ed estremo oriente, 1940), 34; C Beurdeley and M. Beurdeley, 79-89, 189; Ka Bo Tsang, 87; P.Torres, *Le batailles de l'empereur de Chine. La gloire de Qianlong célébrée par Louis XV, un commnde royale d'estampes* (Paris: Le Passage, 2009), 17-39.

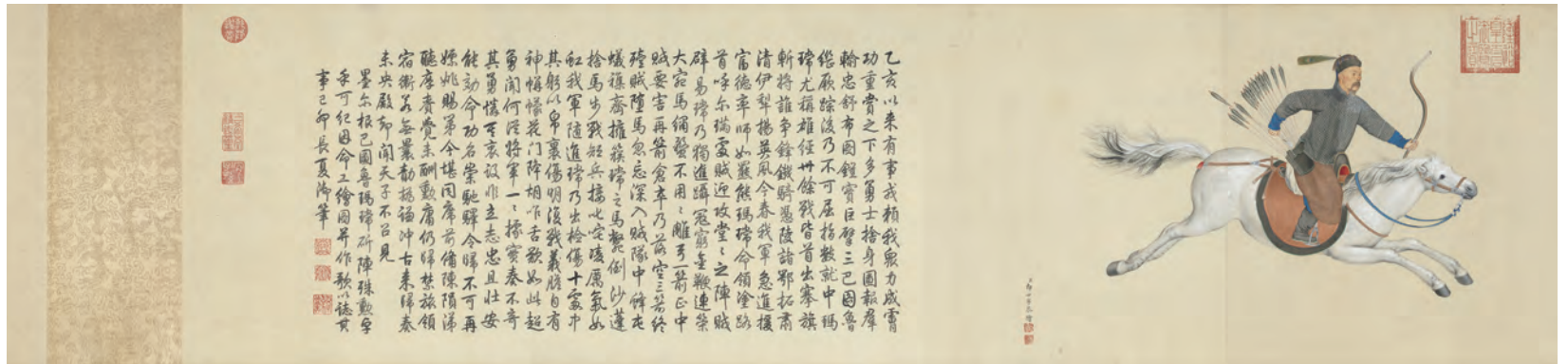


Fig. 1. Giuseppe Castiglione S.J., *Macang smites the enemy ranks*, 38.4 × 285.9 cm, color ink on silk, The National Palace Museum collection

assistants⁶, to work in that Western style that the Qianlong Emperor so much liked.

Then Giuseppe Castiglione's equestrian and military paintings or the engravings after his drawings function almost like snapshots of Manchu China wisely ruled by his patron and "friend": the Qianlong Emperor. In this respect they are comparable to the nineteenth-century "Chinese" photographs of John Thomson or of Felice Beato; they are visual testimonies copied directly from material reality of Qing China where the Italian Jesuit Castiglione operated. Let's compare his scroll⁷ entitled *Macang smites the enemy ranks* (Fig. 1) with the frontispiece illustration of Martino Martini's *Regni Sinensis a Tartaris devastati enarratio* of 1661. For this book about the conquest of China by Manchu warriors, the Trento Jesuit Martini has chosen the opening image of a horseman (Fig. 2), who looks not so much a Tartar but more of a Turk; as trophies he carries severed heads with Turkish-looking hairstyles⁸. Instead *Macang smites the enemy ranks* serves as a *bona fide*

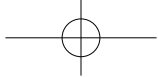


Fig. 2. Martino Martini S.J., Frontispiece illustration of *Regni Sinensis a Tartaris devastati enarratio*, Amsterdam 1661, private collection

6. Ka Bo Tsang, 88.

7. Wang Yao-ting, "New Visions at the Ch'ing Court: Giuseppe Castiglione and Western-Style Trends", in *New Visions at the Ch'ing Court: Giuseppe Castiglione and Western-Style Trends*, edited by Wang Yao-ting and Chen Yun Ru (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2007), 72-75 and 156.

8. F. Vossilla, "Il pittore venuto dall'Occidente del Mare e il suo imperatore", in *Giuseppe Castiglione Jesuit and Painter in the Celestial Empire*, edited by A. Andreini, F. Vossilla (Firenze: Comunità di San Leolino, 2015), 103 and 185.

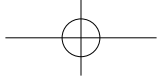


visual equivalent of the words of the Qianlong Emperor on the very same scroll painted by Castiglione. The Qing Emperor was praising a hero of the punitive expedition against the Dzungar tribes. Macang is shown galloping on a white steed, clutching a quiver as he prepares to strike down an enemy, who is already pierced with two arrows. The face of the heroic captain, and the weapons and costumes of the two antagonists, are efficacious elements in a genuine visual narrative. In this sense Castiglione's work marks a definitive break with earlier images even produced for Jesuit literature.

In the engraving made after Castiglione's drawing of *The taking of the field of Geden Ayula* (Fig. 3), we are struck by the details of the trees and the clothing of the combatants, by the freshness with which the Jesuit has delineated the features of the horses and the countenances of the soldiers, by the composition's illusion of breadth (stretching towards a horizon of hills and low mountains in the distance), and lastly by the brilliant narrating of



Fig. 3. Jean Phillippe Le Bas after a drawing of Giuseppe Castiglione S.J., *The taking of the field of Geden Ayula*, 1769, copper engraving, The National Palace Museum collection



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a scene that is not only of war, but possesses the quality of a testimony. This and the other illustrations of victories in the Turkistan have rightly been compared to the maps of the Celestial Kingdom which the Jesuits made, also to demonstrate the power of the Manchu rulers⁹.

However, very few people today- by looking at Castiglione's court paintings and designs for Qianlong- remember that he was a Jesuit missionary, and that he had been working also for the Kangxi and the Yongzheng Emperors. Yet, since Brother Coadjutor Giuseppe Castiglione spent half a century in far away China¹⁰, we can easily imagine the strength of his commitment to the Catholic faith. His religious paintings for China are now lost, including a Beijing chapel for the Manchurian prince Shuerchen decorated with oil paintings (a *Trinity*, a *Madonna*, a *Saint Joseph*), and a figure of *Christ* sent from Beijing to Mary-Anne, Queen of Portugal¹¹. Moreover, we know nothing precise about his artistic training in Italy before his departure for Portugal and Asia as a young Jesuit. Yet we can assume he was up-to-date about recent artistic trends sponsored by the Society of Jesus Curia Generalizia. In a letter from Beijing of 14th. October 1729, addressed to Father General Michelangelo Tamburini S.J. in Rome, Castiglione makes a specific reference to the painter Andrea Pozzo S.J., who died in 1709 but was still highly celebrated. Brother Coadjutor Pozzo was the artist and the theorist that Brother Coadjutor Castiglione had taken as a model for his own work as a missionary painter in Beijing, notwithstanding the typical modesty with which Giuseppe wrote, "Although I, poor and useless, as I am, cannot be a dignified disciple of that Brother"¹².

At the beginning of the XVIII century in the Celestial Empire there were almost 300,000 Christians, mostly merchants, artisans, farmers and fishermen, and yet the Society of Jesus missionaries had aimed mainly to convert the upper classes¹³. Nonetheless, the situation of the neophytes at court was not helped by the international conflict between the Jesuits and the missionaries of other religious orders (mostly Franciscan and Dominicans), the Vatican and the court of Beijing all involved as they were in what was known as

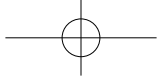
9. P.C. Perdue, 442.

10. G.R. Loehr, "Missionary Artists at the Manchu Court", *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* Vol. 34 (1962-1963): 51-67; Yang Boda, "Castiglione at the Qing Court -An important Artistic Contribution", *Orientalism*, vol. 19, n.11 (November 1988): 44-51. M. Musillo, "Reconciling Two Careers: The Jesuit Memoir of Giuseppe Castiglione Lay Brother and Qing Imperial Painter", *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 42 no. 1: 45-59; F.Vossilla and Zhang Zheng Ying, "Giuseppe Castiglione, painter in the Heavenly Kingdom", in *Nella lingua dell'altro. Lang Shining New media art exhibition Giuseppe Castiglione gesuita e pittore in Cina (1715-1766)* (Taipei: National Palace Museum, 2015), 124-153; J.Graham S.J., *Feeling like Giuseppe Castiglione S.J.*, in *Giuseppe Castiglione Jesuit and Painter in the Celestial Empire*, 93-98.

11. C. Beurdeley and M. Beurdeley, 94 and 105; E.Corsi, "Pozzo's Treatise as a Workshop for the Construction of a Sacred Catholic Space in Beijing", in *Mirabili disinganni: (Trento 1642--Vienna 1709), pittore e architetto gesuita*, edited by Richard Boesel and Lydia Salviucci Insolera (Roma: Artemide, 2010), 242.

12. Letter of G.Castiglione S.J. to the Preposito Generale M. Tamburini S.J. of 14th October 1729, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Jap. Sin.184, p.41 (published by G.R.Loehr, "Un artista fiorentino a Pechino nel Settecento", in *Antichità Viva*, 2 (marzo 1963): 48 and 49.

13. F.Bortone S.J., *I gesuiti alla corte di Pechino (1601-1813)* (Roma: Desclée & Co., Editori Pontifici, 1969), 242.



the “Chinese Rites Controversy”¹⁴. Such controversy paradoxically took place when the Jesuits’ letters and publications about the Celestial Empire (including its religions and philosophies) were nourishing an almost global phenomenon of Sinophilia even in the visual arts¹⁵: a trend, or a wide set of trends, that we generally called *Chinoiserie* and about which Castiglione was fully aware.

Interestingly Brother Castiglione’s first signature in Qing China is to be found at the end of the so called Red Manifest of October 1716 (nearly a year after his arrival in Beijing on 22nd. December 1715, and along that of other 16 missionaries including the famous Vincentian musician Teodorico Pedrini). The Red Manifest was a document sent by the Kangxi Emperor to the Holy See to help to solve the “Chinese Rites Controversy” by also identifying the Jesuit Giuseppe Provana as his rightful ambassador¹⁶.

Despite all efforts by the Jesuits stationed in China, tension between Rome and Beijing became extremely high especially during the reign of the following Yongzheng Emperor, the moment during which Castiglione met the young prince Hongli, later to become the Qianlong Emperor, and to whom Brother Giuseppe delivered the famous *One hundreds horses* scroll although painted for Yongzheng¹⁷. In an attempt to moderate Yongzheng’s negative opinion of the Christian apostolate among the Chinese, Castiglione was employed by Jesuit leaders almost with the role of an artist-diplomat. He was already working for the Neiwufu (the Imperial Household Department), where Chinese artisans and foreign missionaries were cooperating to expand the imperial collection of artifacts and foreign curiosities. Brother Coadjutor Giuseppe’s specific diplomacy – consisting of art and of respect for the powerful host culture – truly began with a tribute he made to the new emperor, when missionaries were in serious danger in the province of Fujian. In the spring of 1723 they had been accused of practices that seemed immoral to the local administrators, including men and women praying together, and doubts were entertained about their influence on children of both genders. They were therefore placed under the scrutiny of governor Man Bao, who was also suspicious of the substantial sums of money that these ‘barbarian priests’ collected and used to build religious edifices, which were quickly confiscated to be turned into public schools¹⁸.

With his mind weighed down by those dramatic issues but eager to help his confreres,

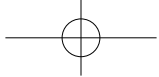
14. N. Standaert S.J., “Jesuit Corporate Culture as shaped by the Chinese” in *The Jesuits. Culture, Sciences and the Arts 1540-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press: 1999), 352-363.

15. J.O’Malley S.J., *Preface*, in K. Stumpf S.J., *The Acta Pekinensia or Historical Records of the Maillard de Tourmon Legation*, vol-I, December 1705-August 1706, edited by P. Raule and C. von Collani (Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu and Macau: Macau Ricci Institute, 2015), V.

16. G. Criveller PIME, “Giuseppe Castiglione and the Chinese Rites Controversy”, in *Giuseppe Castiglione Jesuit and Painter in the Celestial Empire*, 47-50.

17. F. Vossilla and Zhang Zheng Ying, “La “desiderata missione” Giuseppe Castiglione a Pechino”, in *Giuseppe Castiglione Jesuit and Painter in the Celestial Empire*, 73-76.

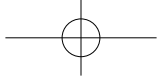
18. F. Bortone S.J., (1969), 190. *Yongzheng chao man wen zhu pi zou zhe quan yi* 雍正朝滿文朱批奏摺全譯, edited by X. L. Guan and L. S. Qui (Beijing: First Historical Archives of China, 1998), 257-258.



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Fig. 4. Giuseppe Castiglione S.J., *Gathering of Many Auspicious Signs*, 173 × 86.1 cm, 1723, color ink on silk, The of National Palace Museum collection



on September 15th 1723 Castiglione finished the silk scroll entitled *Gathering of many auspicious signs*¹⁹. (Fig. 4) Brother Giuseppe, adopting the Mandarin name of Lang Shining, had decided to paint some Chinese good luck symbols for the first year of Yongzheng's reign. Those were metaphors based on real things picked up from the imperial garden as he declared in the accompanying inscription: "In the first year of the reign of the Yongzheng Emperor every kind of good omen emerged: doubled grain stems grew in the fields and lotus flowers bloomed in the small lake of the Forbidden City. Your servant Lang Shining has respectfully painted these auspicious signs on a vase after careful observation, with the purpose of commemorating these events, September 15th.1723"²⁰.

The double lotus flower is here recognizable in three different states (bud, flower, and fruit); it has been painted by the Italian Jesuit as if it has just been picked and at the same time "after careful observation", as he himself underlined. Moreover, Giuseppe also imitated the real leaves of the lotus flower, sheaves of foxtail millet, flowers and leaves of other plants, all with Italian minute precision and shadowing, but employing Chinese painting techniques. In point of fact Castiglione had to work within the limits of his capacity to transpose graphically concepts and terms from a complicated and alien tradition of analogies.

It could be that the double lotus flower alludes to a happy marriage. We also detect a good luck wish for prosperity in the first year of Yongzheng's ruling because of the representation of grain sheaves. Those sheaves Giuseppe called *gu* (edible grain) in his Mandarin inscription, locals call simply *su*, or "small rice" *xiao mi*²¹. Furthermore the type of grain here depicted, foxtail millet, is common in Northern China²². The people of the North and Beijing used it in a popular soup, which the Yongzheng Emperor liked so much that in 1724 he tried to spread that hearty meal to other provinces, after a great shortage of local rice because of heavy flooding²³.

In China the term *su* is often associated with good food policy, moving from the meaning of an edible plant to the metaphor for national wealth based on well-organised agricultural policy. That was the responsibility and the traditional concern of the Chinese Emperors, and a sign of their so-called 'Mandate of Heaven.' When the Manchus were ruling one of the classical texts on good land management was still *Notes for the Emperor about the importance of growing grains*, written many centuries before by Chao Cuo for the Han dynasty. In his document Chao wrote the almost proverbial line: "Grain (*su*) is the greatest resource for an emperor, given that the practice of farming has political value for

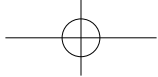
19. G.R. Loehr, *Missionary Artists at the Manchu Court*, 59-60; Wang Yao-ting, 50 and 154; Yang Boda, 44.

20. F. Vossilla and Zhang Zheng Ying, *La "desiderata missione" Giuseppe Castiglione a Pechino*, 66-71.

21. L. M. Li, *Fighting Famine in North China: State, Market, and Environmental Decline. 1690a-1990s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 93-94.

22. Pan Fu Jun, *Chen yu zhi wu tu jian 成語植物圖鑑* (Taipei: Maotouying, 2002), 97.

23. *Yongzheng chao han wen zhu pi zou zhe hui bian 雍正朝漢文朱批奏摺彙編*, edited by X. L. Guan and L. S. Qui (Beijing: First Historical Archives of China, 1998), 257-258.



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every ruler”²⁴. Those symbols-double lotus, su, and vase (ping)-also recall concepts expressed in the *Da Xue*, one of the Confucian classics: Qijia, Zhiguo, Ping tianxia (i.e. “regulated their families, rightly governed their States, the entire world would be at peace”).

In 1727, Castiglione sketched other sheaves of foxtail millet for drawings to be printed to accompany a communication from the Yongzheng Emperor attesting to the productivity of farming under his wise auspices in all the territories of the Empire²⁵.

The symbolism of the lotus, a strong, robust plant that grows from the muddy base of ponds, also plays a Buddhist reference. This element, along with the medicinal purpose of the lotus as well as the presence of the double sheaths of foxtail millet as a sign of prosperity for all the population, supports the idea that Castiglione had been guided by a member of the Qing court. Maybe the Jesuit painter had been made knowledgeable of such things by Prince Yin Xiang, well aware of the specific interests of the Yongzheng Emperor for medicine and botany. Prince Yin Xiang, the half-brother of the Emperor, became Minister of Finance in 1723, as well as superintendent of the state stocks, including that for the pigments Castiglione needed. Further Yin Xiang was in charge of looking after the new ruler’s foreign artists, and that was surely the start of a close familiarity with “maestro” Lang Shining, from whom Yin Xiang ordered various art works, including a scroll depicting a Chinese fable and forty painted fans²⁶.

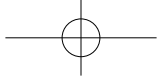
Intelligently Brother Giuseppe painted his bouquet after having arranged it with care in a Song dynasty vase. He painted it with such realism that to this day we feel that we are almost in the presence of a delicate 13th-century ceramic masterpiece with its elegant blue and green neck. In the era of Yuan and Ming, it was common to paint such depictions of plants as good luck symbols arranged in beautiful vases. For the Manchu court, the novelty of this very painting of Brother Giuseppe lay in the creative depiction devised by one of the foreign missionaries who had entered into a moment of tension of international scope. In other words, Castiglione had devised his gift for the Emperor as both a technical and “diplomatic” surprise, thence his own inscription and the antique symbols bore testament to his capacity of cultural accommodation. The inscription imitates the printed style known as Song, and he also copied a *celadon* ceramic- an expression of the Song decorative culture- which seems an intentional choice. Castiglione here demonstrated his familiarity with the collections of the Manchu emperors who- despite their not being Han- collected iconic Song artefacts to show their adherence to the highest of Chinese aesthetic ideals.

Song dynasty China reached high levels of material and economic progress primarily

24. G. Bertuccioli, *La letteratura cinese*, a cura di F. Casalin, (Roma: L’Asino d’Oro, 2013), 118-119.

25. F. Vossilla and Zhang Zheng Ying, *La “desiderata missione” Giuseppe Castiglione a Pechino*, 68 and 182.

26. Ju De Yuan, “Qing Gong Hua Jia Lang Shi Ning Nian Pu- Jian Zai Hua Ye Su Hui Shi Ji Nian 清宮畫家郎世寧年譜- 兼在華耶穌會士史事稽年”, *Gu Gong Bo Wu Yuan Yuan kan* 故宮博物院院刊 No.2 (1988): 27-71; F. Vossilla and Zhang Zheng Ying, *La “desiderata missione” Giuseppe Castiglione a Pechino*, 65.



due to prosperous farming (as a result of the revolutionary introduction of early-ripening Vietnamese rice) and heavy urbanization; these factors had fostered the development of arts and culture, including private and public patronage with the Academy of Imperial Painting at the forefront. In the difficult year of 1723 Brother Castiglione somehow understood all of this; he might have learned to understand the labile line both separating and joining arts and craftsmanship in China. This element of refinement extolled poets and painters, while at the same time Chinese intellectuals were excited by innovations in ceramics as demonstrated by pieces by Song ceramists. Those ceramists had perfected *celadon* with its rich undertones in grey-blue-green and with the fascinating spider web crazing. Moreover, Castiglione's use of a *celadon* vase created a figurative, harmonious and coherent solution to match the pale undertones of the flowers he collected and displayed in that rare vase²⁷.

In *Gathering of many auspicious signs*, one might find an echo of the Italian painting tradition particularly that of Milan, Brother Giuseppe's hometown. We grasp this factor both in the controlled rhetoric and in the pictorial presence emanating from his scroll. As a matter of fact those are native elements that go back to the rigorous ideas of the Catholic Reformation in Lombardia, inspired as they were by the sober taste of Cardinal Federico Borromeo, himself close to the Jesuits. Thus this very work by Castiglione "ideologically" ties to the late sixteenth century, more than to the arabesques of the late seventeenth century. As examples we can cite Caravaggio's *Basket of Fruit* at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, or the realistic elements seen in the works of Simone Peterzano, Caravaggio's teacher, and in Giovan Battista Crespi, known as Cerano, that we can admire in Milan's Cathedral (*Charles Borromeo brings the Jesuits and Theatins to Milan*) and in the Jesuit church San Fedele (*Vision of Saint Ignatius*)²⁸.

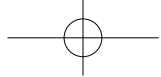
To further clarify which kind of Jesuit art Brother Giuseppe may have absorbed, one should again mention Andrea Pozzo, particularly some flowers placed in sumptuous baroque vases seen in 1680s frescoes for the Stanze di Ignazio in Rome²⁹. (Fig. 5) An interesting analogy can be drawn also with the paintings of flowers in vases and frames painted by the Flemish Jesuit Daniel Seghers (1590-1661), a student of Jan Brueghel, who often worked for Borromeo's Milanese commission³⁰. It is impossible to say now if Castiglione had had a chance to see those Flemish compositions of his confrere Seghers. Yet we rest assured Giuseppe was familiar with the emblematic value of flowers and plants in Christian iconography, such as the symbol of Mary used among the Jesuits to foster their

27. Castiglione painted another vase with flowers, and again during the reign of the Yongzheng Emperor. This vase is a blue and white Ming style ceramic. See Wang Yao-ting, 68 and 156.

28. F. Vossilla and Zhang Zheng Ying, "La "desiderata missione" Giuseppe Castiglione a Pechino", in *Giuseppe Castiglione. Jesuit and Painter in the Celestial Empire*, 70.

29. G.A.Bailey, "Italian Renaissance and Baroque Painting under the Jesuits and its legacy throughout Catholic Europe" in *The Jesuits and the Arts 1540-1773*, edited by J.W.O'Malley and G.A.Bailey, (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2005), 189-195.

30. F. Vossilla and Zhang Zheng Ying, "La "desiderata missione" Giuseppe Castiglione a Pechino", in *Giuseppe Castiglione. Jesuit and Painter in the Celestial Empire*, 70 and 180.



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Fig. 5. Andrea Pozzo S.J., *Saint Ignatius de Loyola performing an exorcism*, 1681-1686. fresco on wall, Stanze di Ignazio, Casa Professa, Roma

preachers' greater eloquence in sermons, as in the illustrated pages of *Partheneia Sacra or the Mysterious and Delicious Garden of the Sacred Parthenes* (1633) by Father Henry Hawkins S.J.³¹ This is to say how Castiglione had been equipped with a "toolbox" of Jesuit eloquence to take to heart every depiction of creation (in which Divine Design was seen), and how freely he was capable of comparing the symbols of his faith with those cherished in his new country by pursuing a laborious but genuine marriage of the two.

Later, during his activity for the Qianlong Emperor, I wonder if Giuseppe Castiglione did not consider himself to be of less apostolic and devotional stature than Andrea Pozzo, the Jesuit artist whose disciple he proclaimed himself to be. In the context of art in the service of the Society of Jesus, it is plausible that Giuseppe mentally compared

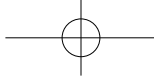
his own court portraits and his pictures of horses and pagan warriors, to the sacred inventions of Pozzo: works that in Rome or in Vienna celebrated the success of heroic Jesuits in converting so many non-European nations.

Brother Giuseppe surely made great mental efforts to ignore the Qianlong Emperor's non-Christian status, striving to discern in him moral gifts that were equivalent: these gifts he had long observed in the boy and in the young prince Hongli before his ascent to the throne³². So I think that this accommodation to the exterior qualities of Qing power reveals in Brother Coadjutor Castiglione the same state of mind as the Jesuit Fathers, for whom the exterior qualities of the Japanese or Chinese were to be regarded irrelevant and exterior as those mundane values which the Jesuits had rejected in Europe, including the formal signs of rank and status. Further more, Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* taught all Jesuits to adapt themselves in detached and disinterested fashion, and to alter their own minds as well as those of others, codifying a scrutiny that could be applied to different conditions of culture, state, gender and class.

In the gigantic (h.322.5, l.232 cm, Fig. 6) *tieluohua* painting *The Qianlong Emperor riding*

31. K.J.Höltgen, "Henry Hawkins: a Jesuit writer and emblemist in Stuart England", in *The Jesuits. Culture, Sciences and the Arts 1540-1773*, 609.

32. P.M. Cibot S.J., Letter of November 3rd. 1771, in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses...XXIV*, (Paris 1781), 238; G.R. Loehr, *Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766), pittore di corte di Ch'ien-Lung imperatore della Cina*, 12 and 53.



in ceremonial armour what astonishes us is the rhetorical strength of a Jesuit artist celebrating a non-Christian ruler. It shows the twenty-nine-year-old Emperor preparing to review his troops at the great military parade of 1739³³. In evaluating the heroic tone of this opulent work – paradoxically dedicated to one of the defenders of the isolationism of Manchu culture in relation to Westerners, including missionaries attempting to spread the word of Christ – we detect an echo of the European debate on the morality of political action supported by military force, as practised by heroic Christian sovereigns. This was a debate that in the artistic world had results such as the political portraits created by Gianlorenzo Bernini for various rulers, including the equestrian portraits of Francesco Duke of Modena, and more importantly of Louis XIV King of France³⁴. One of the most significant texts for this debate was one by the Jesuit Domenico Gamberti, entitled *L'idea di un principe et eroe cristiano* and dedicated in 1659 to the memory of Francesco d'Este, Duke of Modena³⁵. Comparing Castiglione's painting with these inventions by Bernini and with others derived from them, such as the medal by Antonio Travani (showing Louis XIV in armour, mounted on a rearing steed) which the French Jesuits in Beijing undoubtedly knew, we note a different kind of representation of royal power: of no less impact but more solid, since Castiglione seems to emphasise the control and the majesty of the Celestial Emperor, no doubt in response to precise instructions from the Qianlong Emperor himself.



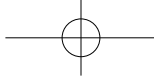
Fig. 6. Giuseppe Castiglione S.J., *The Qianlong Emperor riding in ceremonial armour*, 1739, 332.5 x 232cm, color ink on silk, The Palace Museum, Beijing

The large size, the photographic details, and the ability to represent the Emperor as supercilious and almost hieratic but with the accuracy characteristic of the Europeans, were new things in the context of Chinese art. In point of fact, by using slight shadowing on the visage of his patron, Castiglione departed from the Chinese style, infusing a particular flavour of introspection into all of his portraits depicting the Qianlong Emperor. In that

33. M. Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, *Giuseppe Castiglione 1688-1766: peintre et architecte à la cour de Chine* (Paris: Thalia, 2007), 97-98.

34. I. Lavin, "Bernini's image of the Ideal Christian Monarch", in *The Jesuits. Culture, Sciences and the Arts 1540-1773*, 442-479.

35. D. Gamberti S.J., *L'idea di un principe et eroe cristiano in Francesco I. d'Este di Modona e Reggio duca VIII., generalissimo dell'arme reali di Francia in Italia...*, Modena 1659. I. Lavin, 451-455.



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genre so risky for a Jesuit, he did not fall into excessive flattery but – as we see in this equestrian portrait – tried to interpret and describe the resolute character of the monarch, here intent on carrying out his ceremonial functions with intelligence and dignity. Castiglione relied on the charm his brush was so capable of generating in portraying with solemn truthfulness the countenance of his all-powerful friend and the regal and tranquil horse, and in re-creating with concentration the Emperor's armour, saddle and quiver. Mysteriously this huge painting does not bear Lang Shining's signature. However its style helps us to confirm the attribution to Castiglione. Moreover I notice here memories of Western portraitists who specialised in great lords and commanders, such as the Lombard Giovan Battista Moroni or the Fleming Rubens. I am thinking here of the efforts made to flood with light the faces of the personages and make them stand out, together with details of their rich clothing and splendid armour. Pieter Paul Rubens, much loved by the Jesuits, had left in Genoa – where Castiglione studied as a novice – a number of portraits of gentlemen on horseback, large as life. Among them is one showing Giovanni Carlo Doria, son of the Doge Agostino Doria³⁶, although Rubens's horse has a different movement from that of Castiglione and the whole is less firm. Both the patron and the artist well knew that such precise adherence to actual forms would have appeared strange to the Chinese public. The walking horse is shown as though cut out against a landscape that has been attributed to Chinese collaborators³⁷: I am not sure about this, as the plants in the foreground definitely look as though they were painted by Castiglione, who did in fact paint landscapes in a Chinese manner³⁸.

Thence Brother Castiglione came up with a style half way between the conventions of Chinese painting and a typically Western courtly manner, in which we discern various references to Italian equestrian monuments. I am thinking of the fifteenth-century funerary monument to Sir John Hawkwood frescoed by Paolo Uccello in Florence Cathedral, or the bronze equestrian statue of the Grand Duke Ferdinand I, made in 1608 by Pietro Tacca after a model by Giambologna, in Piazza Santissima Annunziata of Florence³⁹. (Figs. 7-8) Even if Castiglione had not been in Florence, though I surmise that he had, his Florentine Jesuit Brother Ferdinando Bonaventura Moggi (1684 Florence – 1761 Beijing, Chinese name Li bou Ming⁴⁰) could easily have described these examples to him. Moggi had been a sculptor and an engraver, and cooperated with the celebrated Florentine sculptor and

36. S.Biavati, I.M.Botto, G.Doria, G.Frabetti, E.Poleggi and L.Tagliaferro, eds., *Rubens e Genova, Genova: Palazzo Ducale 18 dicembre-12 gennaio 1978, Genova 1978* (Genova: La stampa, 1977), 208.

37. Zhu Jiajin, "Castiglione's Tieluo Paintings", *Orientalism*, XIX, 11 (1988): 80-83; M. Musillo, *Mid-Qing Arts and Jesuit Visions: Encounters and Exchanges in Eighteenth-Century Beijing*, in S. Delson ed., *Ai Weiwei: Circle of Animals* (Munich-London-New York: Prestel Publishing, 2011), 157.

38. C Beurdeley, M. Beurdeley, 179.

39. C. Avery, *Giambologna. La scultura* (Firenze: Cantini, 1987), 228-229 and 258.

40. C. Cinelli and F. Vossilla, "Rileggendo due lettere: alcune precisazioni sull'attività di Giuseppe Castiglione e di Ferdinando Bonaventura Moggi a Pechino", in I. Doniselli Eramo, ed., *Giuseppe Castiglione un'artista milanese nel Celeste Impero* (Milano: Luni Editrice, 2016).

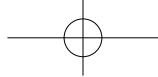


Fig. 7. Paolo Uccello, *John Hawkwood*, 1436 ca., fresco on wall, Santa Maria del Fiore, Firenze



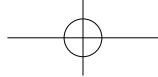
Fig. 8. Pietro Tacca after a model by Giambologna, *Ferdinand I Medici on horse*, 1608, bronze, Piazza della SS. Annunziata, Firenze (photo of the author).

architect Giovan Battista Foggini⁴¹. Interestingly, Foggini designed the tomb of Saint Francis Xavier S.J. (finished in 1698) for the famous altar in the Bom Jesus of Goa, and made use of Giambologna's old workshop in Florence often re-employing Tacca's designs for the appreciation of international patrons. This reference by Castiglione to Tacca's equestrian statue depicting Ferdinand Medici is then very intriguing, because that monument stands in front of a church well known to all Italian Jesuits. It was in fact during a visit to the church of the Annunziata in Florence that the young marquis of Castiglione, Luigi Gonzaga, made his vow of perpetual chastity; he became one of the best known Jesuits saints (canonised in 1726), and in Beijing both Castiglione and Moggi celebrated him in a chapel in the church of St. Joseph⁴². The outlook of St. Joseph is possibly shown in two drawings of the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino of Lisbon now attributed to Brother Moggi⁴³. In one of the drawings we see the altar dedicated to Luigi Gonzaga, and

41. I would like to express my gratitude for this reference to prof. Luigi Zangheri, President Emeritus of the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno di Firenze, with whom Carlo Cinelli and myself are now working on new researches about Moggi S.J.

42. F.B. Moggi S.J., Letter to the Preposito Generale M.Tamburini of November 8th. 1729, ARSI, Lus. 24, P. 109, in G.R. Loehr, "Un artista fiorentino a Pechino nel Settecento", *Antichità Viva*, 2 (marzo 1963): 48.

43. E. Corsi, 233-243; According to Zhang Fuhe (cfr. Zhang Fuhe, ed., *The Modern Architectural History Of Beijing From The End Of 19th Century to 1930s* (Beijing: Tsinghua University Press, 2004), 40 and 348) after 1721 Moggi designed and rebuilt contemporarily both the Nantang and the Dontang churches for the Chinese capital city. Zhang Fuhe dates the two drawings of Arquivo Historico Ultramarino to a later period. According to Wang Lian Ming, "Zheng hua tian xing: Lang Shining dui Beijing Tiangzhu tang de gongxian 正畫天形：郎世寧對北京天主堂的貢獻", *The National Palace Museum Monthly of Chinese Art 故宮文物月刊* No. 393 (Dec. 2015): 30-37, the drawings describe the Nantang Church of Beijing.



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for its design we notice references to the Feroni Chapel by Giovan Battista Foggini in the Annunziata of Florence. Furthermore Castiglione and Moggi drew on Florentine art, such as the post-Giambologna statue by Tacca, for their attempts at hybridising Western and Chinese art for the European-style pavilions and fountains (the Monkey Fountains derive from Tacca's *Fontana della Scimmia* in the Boboli Gardens in Florence) in the Yuan Ming Yuan of Beijing⁴⁴.

The Qianlong Emperor admired the military engravings of Georg Philipp Rugendas⁴⁵, which for him were interesting and exotic. Then we can compare the equestrian portrait of the Manchu emperor with a little work by the German: a print based on the famous *Knight, Death and the Devil* by Albrecht Dürer, which Castiglione would undoubtedly have appreciated. (Figs. 9-10) Another possible source for the imperial portrait is the illustration at the beginning of Andrea Pozzo's *Prospettiva*, a book Castiglione used constantly in Beijing. In the frontispiece by Brother Andrea, we notice, inside an extravagant architectural setting, an equestrian statue of a bewigged prince: the statue is being admired by some scholars or artists, while other figures in the foreground practise the three arts⁴⁶. (Fig. 11)



Fig. 9. Georg Philipp Rugendas, *Knight*, beginning of the XVIII century, engraving, private collection.



Fig. 10. Albrecht Dürer, *The Knight, Death and the Devil*, 1513, 24.5 x 19.1cm, engraving, private collection.

44. G.R. Loehr, *Un artista fiorentino a Pechino nel Settecento*, 53 and 57; V. Siu, "Castiglione and the Yuanming Yuan Collections", *Orientalism*, vol. 19, n. 11 (November 1988): 72-79; Hui Zou, *A Jesuit Garden in Beijing and Early Modern Chinese Culture* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2011), 8-12 and 139-144. F.Bortone S.J., 205-208.

45. M.Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, 191; J. Waley-Cohen, *The Culture of War in China. Empire and the Military under the Qing Dynasty* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co, 2006), 42.

46. F. Vossilla, *Il pittore venuto dall'Occidente del Mare e il suo imperatore*, 118.

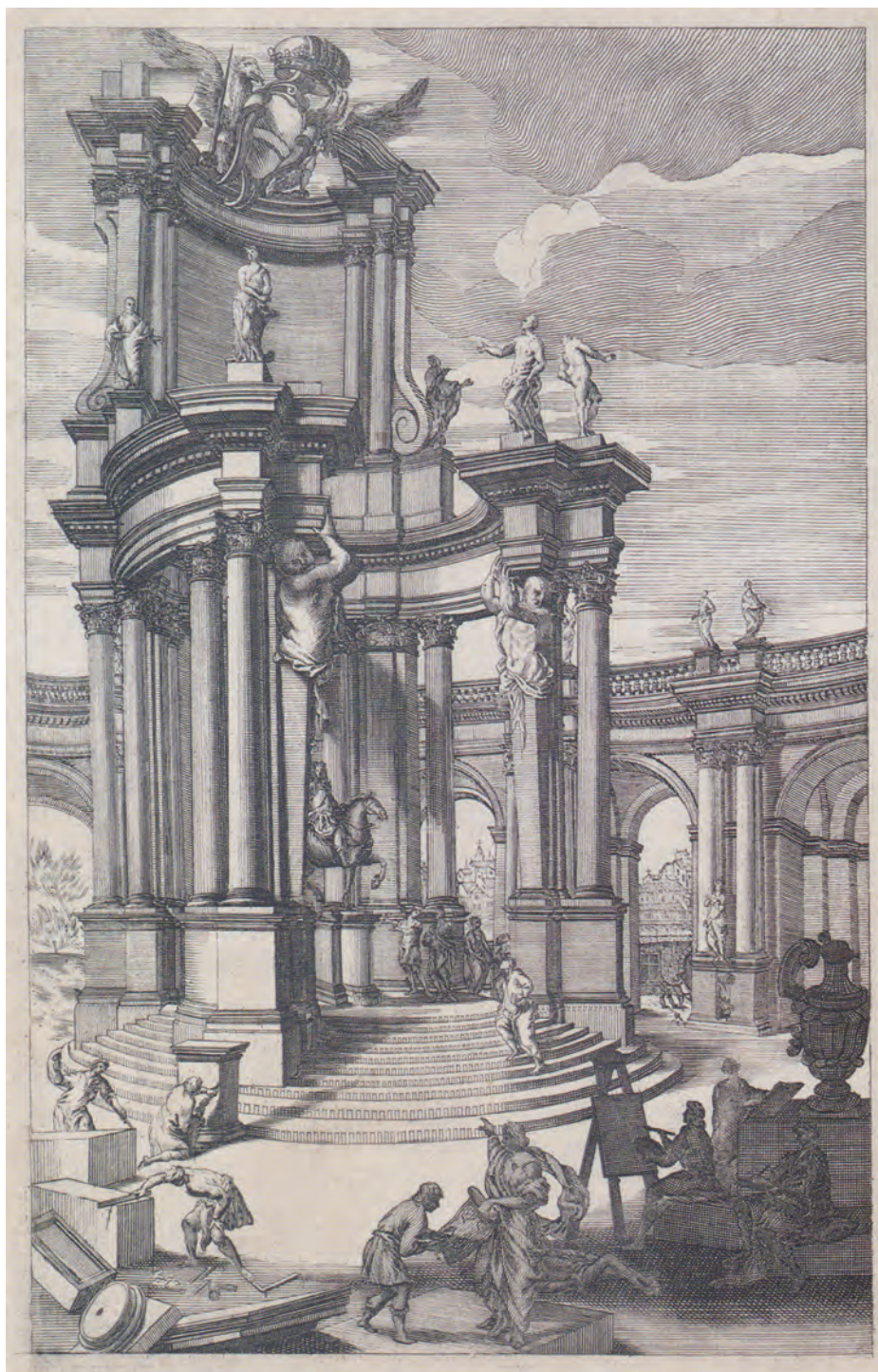
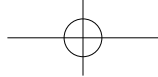
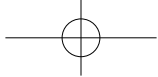


Fig. 11. Andrea Pozzo S.J., Frontispiece illustration of *Prospettiva de Pittori e Architetti...*, Roma 1693, vol. I, private collection



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In the West, among the critical problems of modernity, we find that of the relation between artists and political power. To believe in a man wielding supreme power and to place oneself in his service has been a commitment and a wager for many European artists. I find the case of Brother Castiglione particularly interesting, because he had to deal with this issue ahead of time and on the other side of the world. As a Jesuit he owed allegiance to the pope in Rome, yet to perform his role as a missionary artist he was induced to embrace the flag of a pagan prince: a sovereign who seemed to him to be just, and at whose court he might perform his task of service in authentic fashion. We know from contemporary Jesuit sources that the Qianlong Emperor had since his boyhood been an admirer of Castiglione, and that because of his respect for his old friend's moral and artistic qualities, the emperor awarded him important commissions, and even appointed him a mandarin of the third class. The close relationship between a low rank Jesuit and the Manchu emperor continues to exert a fascination in our own day, when cultural barriers and religious differences tend to circumscribe authentic relations between persons of different class and ethnic origin. Castiglione was well aware of those differences. He sought to overcome them through his faith in Christ, acting on that sparkle of spirituality that renders similar the men of every latitude.

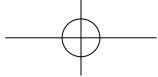
Thanks to their thorough humanistic training, the Jesuits had managed to carry beyond the bounds of Christendom not only Catholicism but the best of Western culture and professionalism. During the first phase of the mission to China, the creativity of the Jesuits and their writings had been of an essentially religious character. Then Matteo Ricci realised that, in order to attract the ruling classes and the imperial court, it was necessary to bring into play areas of knowledge not connected with religion: technical subjects such as mathematics, astronomy and geography, very much in response to the requests of the Chinese. The mission's objective came to play an active and dominant role in the dialogue between Jesuits and Chinese. As Nicholas Standaert wrote: "the Jesuits hoped to convert the emperor and his entourage, as they sometimes converted court women and eunuchs, but their presence in court circles was dictated largely by practical concerns (i.e. it enabled them to avoid being seen as heterodox on a local level) and was acquired only through compromise. Very often there was a subtle interplay between the missionaries and the emperor, in which each side took advantage of the other for its own purposes"⁴⁷.

In China Castiglione played the useful Jesuit role of 'Temporal Coadjutor' (from 8 December 1721⁴⁸). As demonstrated by researches of John O'Malley the role of Temporal Coadjutor Brothers in Jesuits missions was grand and most effective⁴⁹. Although not ordained priests, they served as special missionaries. To understand the old Italian expression "fratello laico" you are not to translate lay brother thinking that those men were

47. N. Standaert S.J., *Jesuit Corporate Culture as shaped by the Chinese*, in *The Jesuits. Culture, Sciences and the Arts 1540-1773*, 358.

48. G.R. Loehr (1940), 9.

49. J. O'Malley S.J., "The present state of Historiography on the Jesuits with special reference to Art, to China and to Brother Castiglione", in *Giuseppe Castiglione Jesuit and Painter in the Celestial Empire*, 39-43 and 41.



lay subjects and not part of the Jesuit order. On the contrary they were a large and relevant portion of the Society of Jesus, and they were to remain chaste and obedient to Rome as well as any Jesuit father. Being not priests they could not raise high in the hierarchy of the Jesuits, yet some of them had more time to glorify God through professional activities if talented with vocational gifts. With this very system the Jesuits created art schools in Japan, Manila, Macao and Rome.

The case of Castiglione as humble Jesuit Brother and yet prominent painter for elite patrons was no strange or too peculiar. I will mention here again only Temporal Coadjutor Daniel Seghers, Temporal Coadjutor Jacques Courtois, Temporal Coadjutor Andrea Pozzo, all possible models for Temporal Coadjutor Castiglione⁵⁰. Therefore Castiglione's artistic talents were employed by the Society of Jesus as the Father Generals in Rome thought fit, so that Brother Giuseppe's efforts might bear fruit in any missionary base. Like numerous other novices, he had asked his superiors that he might offer his existence to the Jesuits as a missionary in China.

Jerry Graham described Castiglione this way: "Castiglione cared about God, Jesus and the Society of Jesus. With certainty, he cared about art, beauty and painting. He obviously had to care daily about the hard work it took for him to achieve the highest reaches of artistic excellence. He had to have cared about his companions, the Jesuits and the mission he had been given in China. He had to have cared greatly about Chinese people, Chinese culture, values, customs and art—in order to become an inculturated Italian in the China of his time. He also had to care greatly about the emperor and his relationship with the emperor, for Castiglione served at his personal pleasure. If the emperor was not pleased with Castiglione's work, he would be dismissed. He clearly cared about his own virtue, holiness and humility—or he would have been replaced by the Jesuits for jeopardizing their mission"⁵¹.

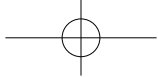
According to Victoria Su, Castiglione "mastered the time honoured Taoist tradition in which the artist so understands his subject that he can capture its essence", and in this connection she mentioned *Ayusi Sweeping Bandits with a Lance*⁵². (Fig. 12) I would say that the image of the mounted warrior interprets Qianlong's thoughts and poetical praises concerning this particular personage of that heroic scout, who in 1755 took part in a nocturnal attack on the encampment of the Dzungar rebels in the region of the Ili⁵³. Ayushi's courage in leading the vanguard of the Manchu army, his unusual status as a Dzungar who had embraced the Qing cause at the time of Yongzheng, and his loyalty to the Qianlong Emperor must have struck Castiglione as much as did the emperor's own

50. F. Vossilla, 120-122.

51. J.Graham S.J., 96.

52. V. Siu, 77-78.

53. Yang Boda, "Lang Shining zai Qing neiting de chuanguo huodong ji qi yishu chengjiu 郎世寧在清內廷的創作活動及其藝術成就", *Gugong Bowuyuan huan yuankan 故宮博物院院刊*, 2 (1988): 17; Ka Bo Tsang, 77-78.



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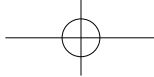


Fig. 12. Giuseppe Castiglione S.J., *Ayushi Sweeping Bandits with a Lance*, 27.1 x 104.4 cm, color ink on paper, The National Palace Museum collection

words. Qianlong ordered Ayushi to pose for Brother Giuseppe so that the Jesuit artist could portray him from the life: his face, his horse, his lance. To examine this scroll is to enter into the living world of the China pacified by the Qing; but Castiglione's invention and rhetorical ability goes further, given that he has painted Ayushi's horse not in a static pose but with all four feet off the ground, in the movement that Chinese scholars called the 'flying gallop'. For Europeans this would be a representational novelty, but in China it would be quite normal⁵⁴. It is a detail that conveys to us all of Giuseppe Castiglione's commitment to making of himself a bridge between two aesthetic concepts that are often alien to one another, thereby earning the unstinting respect of his patron Asin Gioro Hongli, the Qianlong Emperor.

* For this article I wish to thank many people. First of all my wife Zhang Zheng-Ying who is guiding me into looking at Castiglione from a Chinese angle. I am thankful to Mark Roberts to have assisted with the English translation of my text. I also would like to express my gratitude to Father John O'Malley S.J. and to Father Jerry Graham S.J. who have opened my eyes to Ignatian Spirituality and to Jesuit culture. My friendly thanks- for sharing their ideas and researches on Brother Ferdinando B. Moggi S.J.- go also to Dr. Luigi Zangheri the President Emeritus of the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno di Firenze, to Don Alessandro Andreini of the Opera di Santa Croce and Dr. Carlo Cinelli, all members of the Societa di Studi Giuseppe Castiglione S.J.-Lang Shining.

54. G.R. Loehr, *Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766), pittore di corte di Ch'ien-Lung imperatore della Cina*, 60; V. Siu, 77; M.Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, 173-176 and 185-186.



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Finally I would like to thank all the professionals of the National Palace Museum in Taipei, who helped with *Nella lingua dell'altro. Lang Shining New media art exhibition Giuseppe Castiglione gesuita e pittore in Cina (1715-1766)*, our common exhibiton of last Oct. 31st 2015-Jen. 31st 2016 in Santa Croce of Florence.

