Body Politics and Mythic Figures: Andrea Doria in the Mediterranean World

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Who will not wonder at this chameleon?
Pico della Mirandola[1]

Andrea Doria (1466–1560) is an extraordinary historical and mythic figure in the Italian Renaissance and the Mediterranean world.[2] Portraits played a key role in "self-fashioning" his many-faceted identity.[3] This paper traces the development of the Renaissance admiral's changing portraits and politics, launching new iconographies of the male body and the state in the early modern period.[4] Born to an impoverished and remote medieval "feudal" branch of the old noble family on the western riviera of Oneglia and adjacent inland fortress stronghold of Dolceacqua in Liguria, far removed from the main Doria urban line of distinguished naval *condottieri* on the

[1] Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Oratio de hominis dignitate* (1486), in *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man: Selections in Translation*, ed. Ernst Cassirer, Paul Oskar Kristeller, and John Herman Randall Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), pt. 4, 225; Ernst Cassirer, *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy*, trans. Mario Domandi (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), 73–122.

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[2] Shortly after Andrea Doria's death, two humanist biographies were commissioned by and dedicated to the admiral's great-nephew and heir, Giovanni Andrea Doria (1539–1606), son of Giannettino Doria (assassinated during the Fieschi conspiracy of 1547), "Conservator" of the Genoese republic after the "Revolt of the New Nobles" in 1575–1576, and sea captain of the right flank at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571. These two biographies built upon Doria's political iconography to establish him as "Augustan founder," *Pater Patriae et Liberator* of Genoa, a new Rome, based upon Suetonius' "Life of the Divine Augustus," i.e., from a remote branch of the imperial family, adopted heir to Julius Caesar, triumphator over Mark Anthony and Cleopatra, "savior" of the "Roman republic," and "unifier" of the Mediterranean, *mare nostrum*. See Lorenzo Capelloni, *Vita del Principe Andrea Doria* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari, 1565; 2nd ed., Genoa: Vincenzo Canepa, 1863); Carlo Sigonio, *De Vita, e rebus gestis Andreae Auriae Melphiae Principis, Libri duo* (Genoa: Girolamo Bartoli, 1586); Carlo Sigonio, *Della vita, et fatti di Andrea Doria Principe di Melfi. Libri Due*, trans. Pompeo Arnolfini (Genoa: Giuseppe Pavoni, 1598); William McCuaig, *Carlo Sigonio: The Changing World of the Late Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989). French and Italian views of Andrea Doria during the Risorgimento are reflected in Édouard Petit, *André Doria, un amiral condottiere au XVI^e siècle (1466–1560)* (Paris: Quantin, 1887); F. D. Guerrazzi, *Vita di Andrea Doria*, 2 vols. (Milan: M. Guigoni, 1864). For modern views of Andrea Doria, based on these sources and extensive documentation in the Archivo General de Simancas and elsewhere: Edoardo Grendi, "Andrea Doria, uomo del Rinascimento," in *La repubblica aristocratica dei genovesi: Politica, carità e commercio fra Cinque e Seicento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1987), 139–72; Edoardo Grendi, "Doria, Andrea," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992), 41:264–74; Arturo Pacini, *La Genova di Andrea Doria nell'Impero di Carlo V* (Florence: Olschki, 1999); and for an overview of Andrea Doria's artistic patronage, Piero Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le arti: committenza e mecenatismo a Genova nel Rinascimento* (Rome: Palombi, 1989).

[3] John Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 240–45; Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits: European Portrait-Painting in the 14th, 15th and 16th Centuries* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 137; and for terminology and approach, Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 1–9; Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (London: Reaktion, 1991). On the ability of art to reshape identity, space and time: Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010).

[4] Jacob Burckhardt, "The State as a Work of Art," in *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S. G. C. Middlemore (London: Phaidon, 1965), 1–80.

family Piazza of San Matteo in Genoa, Andrea Doria's itinerant "soldier of fortune" military career began on land at the Renaissance humanist courts of Genoese Pope Innocent VIII Cibo (1484–1492) in Rome, Duke Guidobaldo da Montefeltro at Urbino (c.1492–1493), later site of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (c.1508),[5] and Aragon Kings Ferrante I (d. 1494) and Alfonso II of Naples, before Valois King Charles VIII's capture of Naples in 1495.[6] Piety led to pilgrimage to Jerusalem (c.1495–1496), where Doria became a "Cavaliere" member of the crusading order of the Poor Knights of the Temple of Solomon (Templars), protectors of the Holy Sepulchre and other holy sites.[7] He returned to Italy in the military service of the Ligurian Rovere family against the Borgia and Spanish at Roccaguglielma (Espéria) in southern Lazio and Senigallia in the Marche near Ancona, before his repatriation to Genoa in 1503, as military captain for the Bank of St. George to quell a revolt in Corsica. He finally became "Prefect of the Sea" in 1512 in association with the Fregoso noble family party and Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere (Pope Julius II, 1503–1513).[8]

Like so many military captains, Doria's fortune rose as part of the "Italian wars" between rival Valois France and Hapsburg Spain for the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, which after 1494 engulfed Genoa, strategic gateway to northern Italy and Milan. His service culminated in naval contracts (*condotte*) with Valois King Francis I (after the Sack of Genoa by the Spanish in 1522) and Medici Pope Clement VII (1523–1534) in the League of Cognac against the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in 1526–1528.[9] At the same time, Doria began to make a naval reputation against Barbary pirates of north Africa and Ottoman fleets in the eastern Mediterranean.[10] His role in Genoa and the Mediterranean as a whole took on larger dimensions with the representation of his portrait images.

In May 1526, as "admiral of the papal fleet" in the "Sacred League of Cognac" against Charles V, Doria landed his galleys in Civitavecchia and proceeded to Rome to negotiate an

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[5] Baldesar Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. Charles S. Singleton (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1959).

[6] Lauro Martines, *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Knopf, 1979), 277–96.

[7] Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Michael Haag, *The Templars: History and Myth from Solomon's Temple to the Freemasons* (London: Profile Books, 2009).

[8] On Andrea Doria's "early" military court career to age 60 in 1526, see Capelloni, *Vita del Principe Andrea Doria*, 13–40; Sigonio, *Della vita, et fatti di Andrea Doria*, 1–54. On the rivalry of the Adorno and Fregoso new noble families and the endemic problem of factionalism in Genoa, Niccolò Machiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine*, bk. 6. The close interrelation of land and sea fighting and strategy in the 16th century helps to understand Andrea Doria's change in military career, although this did require a substantial retraining and new experience in seafaring, emphasized in the biographies above. For the larger context: John Francis Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974); Thomas Allison Kirk, *Genoa and the Sea: Policy and Power in an Early Modern Maritime Republic*, *1559–1684* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005).

[9] On the "Italian wars," which Machiavelli called "la tragedia d'Italia," see Niccolò Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, chs. 24–26; Francesco Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, bks. 1–20; Felix Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini: Politics and History in Sixteenth-Century Florence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965); Cecilia M. Ady, "The Invasions of Italy," in *The New Cambridge Modern History I: The Renaissance 1498–1520* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 343–67; Frank C. Spooner, "The Hapsburg-Valois Struggle," in *The New Cambridge Modern History II: The Reformation, 1520–1559*, ed. Geoffrey Rudolph Elton (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 334–58.

[10] In particular, Doria's victory and capture of Turkish corsair Gadolì and his galleys at Pianosa near the island of Elba in 1519, and early campaigns against Barbarossa, north African admiral to Ottoman Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, in 1516–1522: Capelloni, *Vita del Principe Andrea Doria*, 36–37; Sigonio, *Della vita, et fatti di Andrea Doria*, 41–46; Grendi, "Andrea Doria, uomo del Rinascimento," 146.

alliance with Pope Clement VII.[11] Francesco Gonzaga wrote from Rome to his father Duke Federico in Mantua: "Feci l'officio de visitatione cum M. Andrea Doria […] N.S. volse che prima chel partesse de qui si facesse retrare a Sebastiano che è pittore ex.mo et S. S.t ha voluto il retratto appresso sè, che è signo de lo amore che li porta." ["The Pope had an audience with Andrea Doria, and Our Father wishes that before he parts from here, he sit for a portrait by Sebastiano, who is a painter most excellent, and His Holiness wanted the portrait near him, as a sign of the love that he holds for him"].[12] In effect, the portrait sealed the relationship between pope and admiral. Sebastiano del Piombo was the court painter of Clement VII and his portrait of Andrea Doria (fig. 1) combines central and northern Italian court traditions based on ancient ideas of Mediterranean triumph and rule.[13]

Fig. 1. Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of Andrea Doria Pointing down to an Antique Naval Relief*, oil on wood panel, Villa Doria, Genoa, 1526.

Andrea Doria rises as a massive figure, dressed in Burgundian black with naval cap and gown, the "Spanish manner" recommended by Castiglione in Book 2 of *Il Cortegiano*.[14] He gazes at the viewer menacingly, cast in dramatic Leonardesque chiaroscuro with shadow at the left. His Saturnine gaze and pointing gesture were taken directly from Michelangelo's Laocoön-inspired "God Creating Adam" (fig. 2) on the Sistine Chapel Ceiling (1508–1512), Ligurian Pope Julius II's monumental narrative to universal papal power.[15] Sebastiano imitates Raphael's

[11] George L. Gorse, "Augustan Mediterranean Iconography and Renaissance Hieroglyphics at the Court of Clement VII: Sebastiano del Piombo's *Portrait of Andrea Doria*," in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*, ed. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 313–17.
[12] Alessandro Luzio, *Isabella d'Este e il Sacco di Roma* (Milan: Cogliati, 1908), 118. Translation by author.
[13] Michael Hirst, *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1981), 105–06.
[14] Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, 122.
[15] L. D. Ettlinger, *The Sistine Chapel before Michelangelo: Religious Imagery and Papal Primacy* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon, 1965); Fredrick Hartt, "Lignum vitae in medio paradisi: The Stanza d'Eliodoro and the Sistine Ceiling,"

Leonardesque Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione of 1515–1516 (fig. 3), as embodiment of "The Courtier," his *Maniera* "grazia" replaced by Michelangelesque expressive "terribilità."[16] Doria points down with commanding hand to an antique naval relief, quoted directly from *spolia* trophy remains displayed on the amboes (pulpit bases) of the early Christian Church of San Lorenzo fuori le mura. As proto-martyr and deacon saint of the Holy Roman Church, Lorenzo, who was also patron saint of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo in Genoa and Medici family church of San Lorenzo in Florence, the reference unites papal patron and admiral with ancient pagan to Christian triumph and naval dominion (fig. 4).[17]

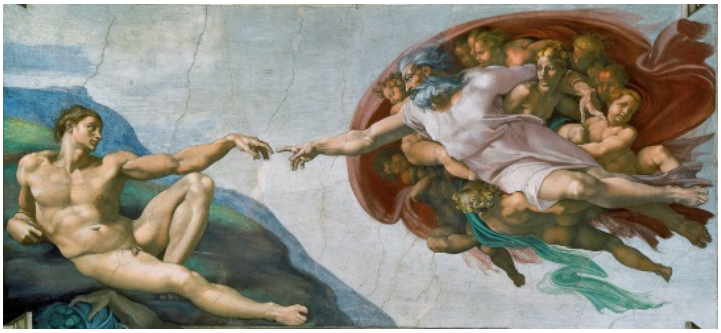

Fig. 2. Michelangelo, *God Creating Adam*, Sistine Chapel ceiling, fresco, Vatican, 1508–1512.
Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 3. Raphael, *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione*, oil on canvas, Louvre, 1515–1516.
Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

Art Bulletin 32 (1950): 115–45; Howard Hibbard, *Michelangelo* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 99–147, 239–66; Carlo Pietrangeli et al., *The Sistine Chapel: A Glorious Restoration* (New York: Abrams, 1992).

[16] For Raphael's portrait of Baldassare Castiglione: Luitpold Dussler, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Pictures, Wall-Paintings and Tapestries*, trans. Sebastian Cruft (London: Phaidon, 1971), 33–34; Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, 114–16; John Shearman, *Mannerism* (Harmondsworth and Baltimore, MD: Penguin, 1967); Kathleen Weil-Garris Posner, *Leonardo and Central Italian Art: 1515–1550* (New York: New York University Press, 1974); Loren W. Partridge and Randolph Starn, *A Renaissance Likeness: Art and Culture in Raphael's Julius II* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980); John Shearman, "Le Portrait de Baldassare Castiglione par Raphaël," *Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 29, no. 4 (1979): 261–72.

[17] Gorse, "Augustan Mediterranean Iconography," 318.

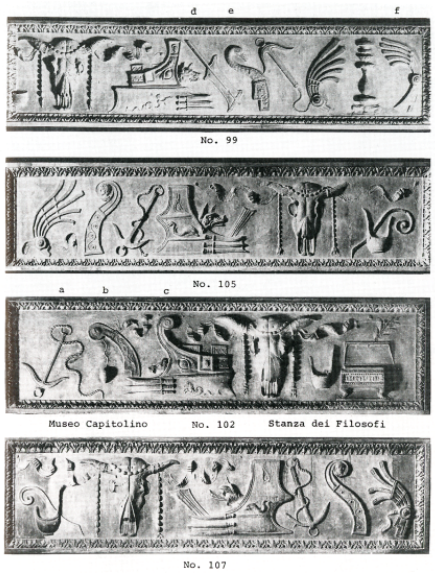

Fig. 4. *San Lorenzo Ritual Naval Reliefs*, second-century B.C., Rome, Museo Capitolino. Photo: Gorse, "Augustan Mediterranean Iconography," fig. 17.2.

The ledge-type portrait, an ancient Roman funerary convention, displayed solemn gesturing ancestral toga figures over identifying *Gens* inscriptions, to memorialize and celebrate social status. Its influence on Flemish and Venetian portraits formed a part of the Renaissance classical revival and celebration of the individual and family clan.[18] Here the portrait takes on complex symbolic connotations, as the selected reliefs suggest a triumphal naval display, a *tropaeum* of captured spoils, but also emblems such as the anchor (constancy), prow (reason), rudder (governance), swan (faith), and shell fan-tail ornament (salvation).[19] These "ancient religious implements" were part of the "hieroglyphic" world of the Renaissance from Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* through Paolo Giovio's emblem books and Piero Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*, known to Sebastiano and very much part of the humanist court patronage of Clement VII.[20] Specifically, the naval relief "sounds out" the admiral's name and

[18] Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini* (New York: Abrams, 1964), 31; Richard Brilliant, *Roman Art from the Republic to Constantine* (London: Phaidon, 1974), 94, 100, 173; Erwin Panofsky, "Who is Jan Van Eyck's 'Tymotheos'?," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 12 (1949): 80–90; Rona Goffen, *Giovanni Bellini* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989); N. Thomson De Grummond, "VV and Related Inscriptions in Giorgione, Titian and Dürer," *Art Bulletin* 57 (1975): 346–56.

[19] Gilbert Charles-Picard, *Les Trophées romains: Contribution à l'histoire de la religion et de l'art triomphal de Rome* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1957); Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*, trans. Alan Shapiro (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1990); Erik Iversen, *The Myth of Egypt and Its Hieroglyphs in European Tradition* (Copenhagen: Gad, 1961); Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Gorse, "Augustan Mediterranean Iconography," 318.

[20] Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1499); T. C. Price Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio: The Historian and the Crisis of Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 60–135; Julia Haig Gaisser, "Seeking Patronage under the Medici Popes: A Tale of Two Humanists," in *The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture*, ed. Kenneth Gouwens and Sheryl E. Reiss (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 293–309.

title as a phonetic rebus—Ancora (anchor), Acrostolium (terminal volute ornament tied to the) Prora, Temo (rudder), Cheniscus (swan), Aplustre (shell fan tail), or "Andrea Aurea Capitano [della] Chiesa Apostolica"—while suggesting a larger triumphal iconography of the "Ship of State" from ancient ship monuments (e.g., the Nike of Samothrace) to Christian *Navicella*, allegory of the Church, Christ summoning St. Peter, Rock of the Church, to walk on water and quell the storm (Fortuna) by Faith, seen throughout Rome from Old St. Peter's façade to monumental public fountain displays of papal patronage in the Eternal City (e.g., "La Barcaccia" on Piazza di Spagna).[21]

Sebastiano's "body politics" of the admiral's first portrait came at a key transformative moment. In 1527, Doria led his galleys to retake Genoa from the Spanish and Adorno family and reinstall the French with a garrison in this strategic port city under the governance of Milanese captain Teodoro Trivulvio.[22] Meanwhile, imperial troops of Charles V marched on Rome and sacked the Eternal City in May 1527, a death knell for the League of Cognac and French policies of Clement VII, holed up in Castel Sant'Angelo.[23] While Andrea remained in Genoa, his cousin and first-lieutenant Filippino Doria laid siege to Naples with French General Lautrec, entrapping the Spanish army in the pestilence-ridden city. A famous naval victory by Doria's galleys over the imperial fleet at Capo d'Orso in the Gulf of Salerno in April 1528 resulted in the spectacular capture of military captains Ascanio Colonna and the Spanish Marchese del Vasto. Friction with the French over ransom money for these valuable captives and salary arrears turned the tide as Andrea Doria began secret negotiations with Charles V to become Captain General of the Hapsburg fleet in the Mediterranean, his contract signed in July 1528. In the wake of the Sack of Rome and ultimate failure of the siege of Naples, French and papal fortunes collapsed and Doria became a key part of Spanish imperial control of the seas and resolution of the Italian wars in 1527–1528.

In September 9–13, 1528, Doria turned his galleys on Genoa and overthrew the French, truly a "Machiavellian" turn of events. His unique military contract with Charles V called for an independent aristocratic republic, free of foreign occupation, to be governed by a biennial doge on the Venetian model with major and minor councils dominated by old noble families in their 28 *alberghi* neighborhoods within the medieval port city and along the patchwork riviera *feudi*.[24] The Adorno and Fregoso were now excluded from power, ending the podestarial "perpetual doges for life," which had promised political stability but instead brought instability, family factionalism, and the first foreign domination since its institution by Simone Boccanegra in

[21] Karl Lehmann, "The Ship-Fountain from the Victory of Samothrace to the *Galera*," in *Samothracian Reflections: Aspects of the Revival of the Antique*, ed. Phyllis Lehmann (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973), 180–258.

[22] Capelloni, *Vita del Principe Andrea Doria*, 40; Sigonio, *Della vita, et fatti di Andrea Doria*, 54.

[23] André Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, trans. Beth Archer (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983); Kenneth Gouwens, *Remembering the Renaissance: Humanist Narratives of the Sack of Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); Anna Esposito and Manuel Vanquero Piñeiro, "Rome During the Sack: Chronicles and Testimonies from an Occupied City," in *The Pontificate of Clement VII*, 125–42, *et passim*.

[24] Edoardo Grendi, "Profilo storico degli Alberghi genovesi," in *La repubblica aristocratica dei genovesi: Politica, carità e commercio fra Cinque e Seicento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1987), 49–102; Jacques Heers, *Gênes au XV^e siècle: Activité économique et problémes sociaux* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1961), 509–611; Jacques Heers, *Le Clan familial au Moyen Âge: Étude sur les structures politiques et sociales des milieux urbains* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1974); Rodolfo Savelli, *La repubblica oligarchica: Legislazione, istituzioni e ceti a Genova nel Cinquecento* (Milan: A. Giuffré, 1981); Claudio Costantini, *La repubblica di Genova nell'etá moderna* (Turin: UTET, 1986); Arturo Pacini, *I presupposti politici del "secolo dei genovesi": La riforma del 1528* (Genoa: Società ligure di storia patria, 1990).

1339.[25] Genoese merchants and bankers gained special trading privileges in the Holy Roman Empire, a firm foundation for ascendancy in the Old and New Worlds during "Il Secolo d'Oro Genovese."[26] Andrea Doria was proclaimed "Pater Patriae et Liberator" by a grateful republic, in the Suetonian tradition of Emperor Augustus and Florence's posthumous honor to Cosimo de' Medici il Vecchio.[27] An "Augustan" Mediterranean image became the hallmark of Andrea Doria's portraiture and civic imperial image, the new "Roman imperial style" of the Genoese republic of 1528. This was in line with Charles V's Augustan iconography, represented in triumphal entries and permanent artistic commissions.[28] A play on Andrea Doria's old noble family name with his gradual ascendancy to *paterfamilias*, his native port city now became—in Augustan mythic refoundation—a "Golden Age."[29]

On August 12, 1529, Andrea Doria's galleys entered Genoa in Roman triumph with Emperor Charles V and his court (fig. 5), en route to Bologna for coronation in February 1530 as Holy Roman Emperor by a defeated Clement VII.[30] This sealed Hapsburg Italy, a royal possession. In preparation for the *entrata*, Doria and the republic commissioned temporary triumphal arches, designed by Perino del Vaga (fig. 6), a leading Florentine "Maniera" disciple in Raphael's workshop at the Vatican, who was brought to Genoa in 1528 after the "diaspora" of the Sack of Rome to decorate the admiral's monumental sea villa at the harbor entrance (fig. 9), then under construction.[31] This scenographic Roman triumphal arch sequence was placed on the Molo sea wall, where the Emperor was received ceremonially by the Signoria of the Republic, and on the Piazza of the Giustiniani family midway to the Cathedral of San Lorenzo and adjacent Communal Palace (Palazzo Ducale), the civic center (fig. 10). Charles V celebrated a solemn Mass, paying homage to the assembled medieval crusading holy relics, and received dignitaries of Italy and other leading nation-states in audience during his nineteen-day residence. This

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[25] Teofilo Ossian de Negri, *Storia di Genova* (Milan: Aldo Martello,1974), 451.

[26] Roberto Lopez, "Predominio economico dei Genovesi nella monarchia spagnola," *Giornale Storico e Letteratario della Liguria* 12 (1936): 65–74; Piero Boccardo and Clario Di Fabio, *El siglo de los genoveses e una lunga storia di arte e splendori nel Palazzo dei Dogi*, exh. cat. (Milan: Electa, 1997).

[27] *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, trans. Frederick W. Shipley (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1924), 34–35 (bk. 6); Suetonius, "Augustus, afterwards deified," in *The Twelve Caesars*, trans. Robert Graves (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 87 (pt. 58); Alison Brown, "The Humanist Portrait of Cosimo de' Medici, *Pater Patriae*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24 (1961): 186–215; John R. Hale, *Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1977), 35–42; Janet Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art: Pontormo, Leo X, and the Two Cosimos* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 41–59.

[28] Frances Yates, "Charles Quint et l'idée d'empire," in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance II: Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975), 57–97; André Chastel, "Les Entrées de Charles Quint en Italie," in id., 197–206; Bonner Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State: Triumphal Progresses of Foreign Sovereigns in Renaissance Italy (1494–1600)* (Florence: Olschki, 1986), 133–79.

[29] Ernst Gombrich, "Renaissance and Golden Age," in *Norm and Form: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon, 1966), 29–34; Ernst Gombrich, "The Early Medici as Patrons of Art," in id., 35–57; Cox-Rearick, *Dynasty and Destiny in Medici Art*, 15–31.

[30] George L. Gorse, "Between Empire and Republic: Triumphal Entries into Genoa during the Sixteenth Century," in *"All the world's a stage…": Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, ed. Barbara Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower, 2 vols. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 1:193–96.

[31] Giorgio Vasari, "Perino del Vaga," in *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti*, ed. Gaetano Milanese, 9 vols. (Florence: Sansoni, 1906) (henceforth *Le vite*), 5:611–17; Elena Parma Armani, "Il palazzo del principe Andrea Doria a Fassolo in Genova," *L'Arte* 3, no. 10 (1970): 12–58; Elena Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga: L'anello mancante* (Genoa: Sagep, 1986); Lauro Magnani, *Il Tempio di Venere: Giardino e Villa nella Cultura Genovese* (Genoa: Sagep, 1987), 23–58; Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le arti*, 25–87; Laura Stagno, *Palazzo del Principe: The Villa of Andrea Doria, Genoa* (Genoa: Sagep, 2005); Clara Altavista, *La residenza di Andrea Doria a Fassolo: Il cantiere di un* palazzo di villa *Genovese nel Rinascimento* (Milan: FrancoAngeli, 2003).

entrata introduced the Roman imperial style of Charles V and his admiral and republic, bringing a Renaissance perspective through the labyrinthine medieval port city, a key connection between Spain and Barcelona with Genoa, triumphal entry way to Italy and the Mediterranean.

Fig. 5. Anonymous, *Triumphal Sea Entry of Charles V into Genoa*, oil on canvas, 1529, Genoa, Eridania Collection. Photo: Ennio Poleggi, *Iconografia di Genova e delle riviere* (Genoa: Sagep Editrice, 1977), no. 30.

Fig. 6. Perino del Vaga, *Triumphal Arches during Charles V's Entry into Genoa*, pen and ink with wash, 1529, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kunstbibliothek. Photo by author.

Above the upper Molo triumphal arch (fig. 6), the Hapsburg eagle with spread wings hovers over the Plus Oultre imperial emblem of Charles V (fig. 7), the paired Columns of Hercules at the western limit of the Mediterranean, appropriate to the "Admiral of all the Seas of His Majesty"—Doria's coat-of-arms was also this imperial eagle.[32] Below, the triple triumphal arch

[32] Earl Rosenthal, "Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra, and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): 204–28; Marcel Bataillon, "Plus Oultre: La Cour Découvre Le

on the Piazza Giustiniani depicts Justice with raised sword and balanced scales above historical reliefs of imperial benefaction and rule with a central figure and imperial presentation loggia in the background. Together, the single Doric to triple Ionic triumphal arch recreates the Roman Forum (fig. 8) from the Arch of Titus to the Arch of Septimius Severus on the Sacred Way (Via Sacra) to the Capitoline Hill and ancient triune Temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

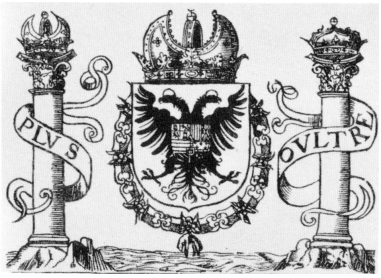

Fig. 7. *Plus Oultre imperial emblem of Charles V*. Photo: Jean Jacquot, ed., *Les F*êtes *de la Renaissance II: Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1960), plate IV. 1.

Fig. 8. View of Roman Forum with Arch of Septimius Severus (203 A.D.) in foreground and Arch of Titus (81 A.D.) in the background. Photo from Fototeca Berenson, Villa I Tatti, Florence.

Nouveau Monde," in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance II: Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975), 13–27; Earl Rosenthal, "The Invention of the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles V at the Court of Burgundy in Flanders in 1516," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973): 198–230.

Fig. 9. Alessandro Baratta, *La famossima e nobilissima città di Genova con le sue nuove fortificazioni*, engraving in 10 plates, ed. Giovanni Orlandi (Rome, 1637). Photo: Poleggi, *Iconografia di Genova*, no. 40.

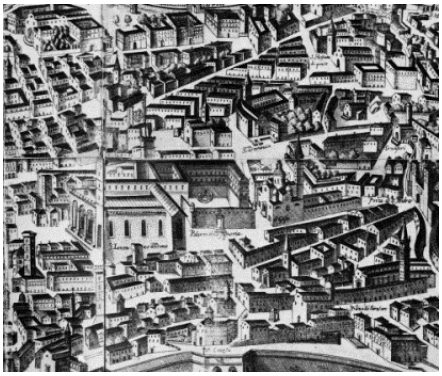

Fig. 10. Alessandro Baratta, detail of Communal Palace *(Palazzo Ducale)*.

Genoa became a symbolic Rome, identified with the Hapsburg Emperor and his Admiral, Pater Patriae et Liberator of the republic, being the Ligurian triumphal entry port into Italy. During the triumphal reception, as Giorgio Vasari says in his "Vita" of the Medici court sculptor, Baccio Bandinelli, "Ebbe ancora dal principe Doria molte cortesie; e dalla republica di Genova gli fu allogato una statua di braccia sei, di marmo, la quale doveva essere un Nettunno in forma del principe Doria, per porsi in su la piazza in memoria delle virtù di quel principe" ["after many courtesies by Prince Doria and by the republic of Genoa he was given a statue of six *braccia*, of marble, which was to be a Neptune in the form of Prince Doria, to place on the piazza [in the courtyard of the Palazzo Ducale] in memory of the virtue of that prince"].[33] Cloaked Doria with Roman triumphal relief became nude Doria Neptune, god of the seas, the first mythological portrait of the Italian Renaissance. The mythic male body was revealed. Bandinelli's finished presentation drawing for the commission (fig. 11) shows the 63-year-old Doria as a youthful virile nude figure, standing in striding classical *contrapposto* with fully displayed body, a trident, instrument of imperial command in his right hand, while he presents a dolphin, symbol of swiftness, peace, and clemency with his left—Augustan attributes of good government, "Festina

[33] Vasari, "Baccio Bandinelli," *Le vite*, 6:154; Herbert Keutner, "Über die Entstehung und die Formen des Standbildes im Cinquecento," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 7 (1956): 143–48; Detlef Heikamp, "In Margine alla 'Vita di Baccio Bandinelli' del Vasari," *Paragone* 191 (1966): 54–56; Virginia Bush, "The Colossal Sculpture of the Cinquecento" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1976), 184–89; Kathleen Weil-Garris, "On Pedestals: Michelangelo's *David*, Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* and the Sculpture of the Piazza della Signoria," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 20 (1983): 396; Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le arti*, 105–18.

Lente" ("Make Haste Slowly").[34] Doria Neptune wears a Herculean braided lion skin and imperial eagle-hilt sword, attributes of fortitude and strength, but also heroic deeds, labors, and immortal fame, a mythic embodiment of state by land and sea to be placed in the courtyard of the Palazzo Ducale (fig. 10). In pose, classical proportions, and intended presentation, Bandinelli imitated Michelangelo's David (figs. 12 and 13), turning this monumental Old Testament civic allegory of the Florentine anti-Medici republic into a seignorial mythic portrait of the admiral as founder of the Genoese republic, imperial ruler of the seas.[35] Civic allegories of communal government became personal mythological portraits of imperial ascendance in the age of the "Courtier."

Fig. 11. Baccio Bandinelli, *Andrea Doria as Neptune*, pen and brown ink, 1529–30, London, British Museum, © The British Museum.

[34] Suetonius, "Augustus," pt. 25; and the famous humanist *impresa* of the anchor and entwined dolphin associated with this Augustan motto, used by Aldus Manutius as a printer's mark and the Medici: *Ragionamento di mons. Paolo Giovio sopra i motti, & disegni d'arme & d'amore che communemente chiamano imprese* [...] (Venice: Giordano Ziletti, 1556), f. 4.

[35] Charles Seymour, *Michelangelo's David: A Search for Identity* (New York: Norton, 1974); Hibbard, *Michelangelo*, 51–61; Elena Ciletti, "Patriarchal Ideology in the Renaissance Iconography of Judith," in *Refiguring Woman: Perspectives on Gender and the Italian Renaissance*, ed. Marilyn Migiel and Juliana Schiesari (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 35–70; Yael Even, "The Loggia dei Lanzi: A Showcase of Female Subjugation," in *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History*, ed. Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard (New York: Harper Collins,1992), 127–37.

Fig. 12. Michelangelo, *David*, Carrara marble, 1501–1503, Florence, Accademia. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. 13. *Piazza Signoria*, Florence, 1296 to 16th century. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource.

Fig. 14. Baccio Bandinelli, *Andrea Doria as Neptune*, marble, 1537–38, Carrara, Piazza del Duomo.

Nine years and several contracts later, Bandinelli left the unfinished statue in Carrara, where the marble had been quarried and partially blocked out. Doria Neptune was now draped with trident and rudder, riding frisky paired dolphins across the seas (fig. 14).[36] The classical source for this mythological portrait were sculptural personifications of the God of the Seas, of maritime cities and famous admiral-rulers, based on the Poseidon of Melos (fig. 15) and the "Hellenistic Prince" (fig. 16) in the tradition of Lysippos' heroic nude portrait of Alexander the Great as Apollo-Helios.[37] Greek civic nude met "eastern" divine ruler, always to haunt and embellish, to apotheosize Hellenistic and Roman emperors. The first literary reference to "Doria Nettuno" came in Paolo Giovio's famous *all'antica* battle description of Capo d'Orso on April 28, 1528, in the service of the League of Cognac.[38] However, it was only after Doria's military alliance with Charles V, his foundation of the republic, and the imperial *entrata* of 1529, that Neptune became official, with a Hellenistic-Roman notion of the Mediterranean, *mare nostrum*.

Fig. 15. *Poseidon of Melos*, 2nd century B.C., Athens, National Museum.

[36] Vasari, "Baccio Bandinelli," 6:157. The contracts for this commission continue to repeat an antique honorific "bronze" statue, while Bandinelli's project was in marble according to his expertise. Descriptions of the commission also mention its location in the Piazza San Matteo as well as the Palazzo Ducale, indicating significant differences in terms of family and communal representation. This continued with the Montorsoli commission of 1539–1540 (see nn. 33, 52).

[37] George L. Gorse, "Committenza e ambiente alla 'corte' di Andrea Doria a Genova," in *Arte, committenza ed economia a Roma e nelle corti del Rinascimento (1420–1530)*, ed. Arnold Esch and Christoph Luitpold Frommel (Turin: Einaudi, 1995), 255–71.

[38] Paolo Giovio, *Li veri particulari de la felice vitttoria del Illustre Signor Conte Philippino Doria contra l'armata cesarean sopra Salerno*, Biblioteca Vaticana, Chigi IV, 2204, int. 9; Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio*, 102–03; Parma Armani, "Il palazzo del principe," 33–38; Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le arti*, 107–08.

Fig. 16. *Hellenistic Prince*, 2nd century B.C., Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo. Photo: David Wright.

Famously, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* hailed Doria as surpassing Pompey the Great, Julius Caesar, Octavian Augustus, and Mark Anthony in military glory and love of country.[39] The reference to Pompey is remarkable. Pompey the Great first adopted the Alexander image in his portraits as an Apollonian figure with leonine hair and heroic body.[40] In their "Lives" of the Roman admiral and leader of the aristocratic patrician party, Plutarch and Cassius Dio gave particular attention to Pompey's early military victory during his first consulship of 67 B.C. with 200 galleys against Cilician (Syrian) pirates in the Mediterranean.[41] Roman civil war, according to the ancient authors, left the Mediterranean open to pirate "infestation," even resulting in the sack of Italian coastal cities and villas, disrupting commerce, and causing "a disgrace to the Roman supremacy." What better historical analogy to the Italian situation in 1529, ravaged by 35 years of "civil war" between European Christian nations, now harassed by Turkish fleets and armies invading Hungary, Austria, and the Mediterranean?

According to Plutarch, in response, the Roman Senate entrusted Pompey with "the monarchy of the sea […] with a commission to take the sea away from the pirates. […] For the law [Lex Gabienus] gave him dominion over the sea this side of the pillars of Hercules, and over all the mainland to the distance of four hundred furlongs [50 miles] from the sea."[42] In order to

[39] Ludovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, Ferrara, 1532, bk. XV, 30-35; Giovanna Rosso del Brenna, "L'iconografia del Principe Doria nella letteratura cinquecentesca," *L'Arte* 10 (1970): 59–63; Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le arti*, 105–18, and specifically for Ariosto's paean 117 n. 38.

[40] Peter Greenhalgh, *Pompey, the Roman Alexander* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981); Pat Southern, *Pompey the Great* (Stroud, UK: Tempus, 2002).

[41] Plutarch, "Pompey," in *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1917), 5:173–215 (chaps. 24–38); Cassius Dio, *Dio's Roman History*, trans. Earnest Cary (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1914), vol. 3, bk. 36, pts. 17–38; Gorse, "La 'corte' di Andrea Doria," 260–61.

[42] Plutarch, "Pompey," 5:177.

govern this vast sea-land empire, Pompey "divided the waters and the adjacent coasts of the Mediterranean Sea into thirteen districts, and assigned to each a certain number of ships with a commander, and with his forces thus scattered in all quarters he encompassed whole fleets of piratical ships that fell in his way, and straight way hunted them down and brought them into port. [...] The war was therefore brought to an end and all piracy driven from the sea in less than three months, and besides many other ships, Pompey received in surrender ninety [ships] which had brazen beaks."[43] These naval trophies were displayed in Pompey's triumphal procession through Rome after his victory.

During the campaign of 67 B.C., Pompey was given the title of "Neptunus" with "imperium maris" to designate his supreme military and constitutional authority over the Mediterranean, *mare nostrum*. To paraphrase Henri Pirenne and Fernand Braudel, the Mediterranean was not a boundary, but a lake, a middle kingdom (*medio-terraneo*) at the center of the Roman world, ruled by a monarch, who embodied the power of Neptune and the Empire, god of the seas and the surrounding coastal lands.[44] Doria Neptune took on Pompey's mantle.

From 1529 to 1538, Bandinelli undertook a series of projects for an historiated antique pedestal for the Doria Neptune statue, which glorified the admiral's historical career (*res gestae*), the foundation for his mythological image above.[45] Two drawings give variant "inventions" for Doria's reception of the Order of St. Michael by Francis I in gratitude for his recapture of Genoa in 1527.[46] One shows Doria kneeling, receiving the shield with French fleur-de-lis and being crowned by winged victories, while warrior followers witness and bound slaves (furies) writhe in wonder (fig. 17). In a similar Ionic pedestal drawing, kneeling Doria is now crowned, receiving the banner directly from St. Michael, with Michelangelesque bound slaves, similar to the tomb of Julius II, and triumphal arch decorations (fig. 18). In two other drawings, Doria lays siege to a port city (perhaps Tunis in 1535), with commanding trident in hand, similar to Trajan's column in Rome, framed by term figures with erotic Maniera "Egyptian" Griffin-Sphinx-Sea Nereids and horned marine monster above supporting sea turtles (fig. 19). The second drawing has Doria on an antique ship prow holding unifying bound *fasces* with raised baton of command, directing an "all'antica" sea battle (*naumachia*) before a walled port fortress. With turbaned Turkish defenders, framed by graceful serpentine female figures of Fortune on wheels and bound centaurs above, virtue triumphs over vice, with a central genius figure turning the pages of *istoria* (Fame) (fig. 20). Doria with trident receives captured slaves, with Phrygian caps, in a classical *aula*, again inspired by Roman triumphal arch reliefs (fig. 21); Doria is shown kneeling, giving offerings with his wife Peretta Usodimare (married in 1527) before the altar of a classical circular *martyrium* chapel. An officiating bishop raises the sacred relic of the plate on which St. John the Baptist's head was presented by Salome from the Cathedral of San Lorenzo, with *tropaeum* displays and an imperial Roman eagle on festive garlands above and celebrant *genii* on dolphins, while unfolded parchment records these heroic, pious deeds (fig. 22).[47]

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[43] Ibid., 5:183..

[44] Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, trans. Frank D. Halsey (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974); Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Row, 1976).

[45] Heikamp, "In Margine," 54–56; Weil-Garris, "On Pedestals," 396.

[46] Capelloni, *Vita del Principe Andrea Doria*, 44; Sigonio, *Della vita, et fatti di Andrea Doria*, 64.

[47] The circular setting suggests Andrea Doria's chapel to St. John the Baptist on the Molo (Fig. 9), commissioned in 1519 to celebrate his early victory with trophy spoils over Turkish pirates at Pianosa, rather than the rectangular Chapel of the Baptist in the left side aisle of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo. For the Cappella al Molo (destroyed in the 18th century), see Kate McCluer, "A Newly Discovered Last Will and Testament of Andrea Doria,"

Fig. 17. Baccio Bandinelli, *Andrea Doria Receiving Order of St. Michael*, pen and brown ink, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, inv. 84.

Fig. 18. Baccio Bandinelli, *Andrea Doria Receiving Order of St. Michael*, pen and brown ink, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, inv. 85.

Rinascimento 33 (1993): 125–42; and the cathedral reliquary chapel to this patron saint of medieval Genoa: Hanno-Walter Kruft, "La Cappella di San Giovanni Battista nel Duomo di Genova," *Antichità Viva* 9 (1970): 33–50.

Fig. 19. Baccio Bandinelli, *Andrea Doria Laying Siege to a Port City (Tunis?)*, pen and brown ink, black chalk on off-white laid paper, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, Smithsonian Institution Design Museum, NY, Art Resource.

Fig. 20. Baccio Bandinelli, *Andrea Doria Laying Siege to a Port City (Tunis?)*, pen and brown ink, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, inv. 86.

Fig. 21. Baccio Bandinelli, *Andrea Doria receiving captives*, pen and brown ink, Département des Arts graphiques, Musée du Louvre, inv. 89.

Fig. 22. Baccio Bandinelli, *Andrea Doria and Wife Worshiping the Relic Plate of St. John the Baptist*, pen and brown ink on off-white paper, WA1942.55.90, © Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.

Together, the pedestal drawings present Andrea Doria as an "antique Roman admiral" in full armor, helmet, and cuirass; historical allegories below support the mythological ascension as Neptune above.[48] There were two Dorias, this chameleon, one nude, or almost so (celestial), the other armored (terrestrial). They represent two sides of his imperial mythic-historical image, rooted in body politics, which comes to fruition after 1528–1529. In Plutarch's "Life of Pompey the Great," the old Roman admiral is described as handsomely dressed in full armor on his galleys during battle, a supremely confident visage.[49] His triumph was "destined" and his trident his naval attribute. Yet, more profound, is the image of the Roman admiral and general as Mars, god of war and founder of Rome (fig. 24).[50] Nude Neptune rules the seas; armored Mars conquers the seas. Together, Bandinelli's drawings for the pedestal (never executed) outline a four-cornered universal image of Doria in the ancient-medieval tradition of the *speculum principum* (the mirror of princes), an image of his nobility, heroism, benefaction, and piety, all aspects of the Renaissance *Principe*. Doria had come a long way in his mythic ascension.[51]

In 1539–40, Florentine sculptor Fra Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, follower and assistant to Michelangelo in the Medici Ducal Chapel in San Lorenzo, came to Genoa to complete the unfinished statue of Andrea Doria for the courtyard of the Palazzo Ducale.[52] Doria now becomes the heroic ancient Roman admiral in armor and cuirass with Medusa head and Golden Fleece (Toson d'Oro) on his breastplate, bestowed in 1531 by Emperor Charles V with the title of Principe di Melfi (inland from Naples) (fig. 23). Doria stands in *contrapposto* over chained Turks with crescent moon and trophies beneath his feet, Roman virtue over vice and the infidel of the east. This Roman military iconography comes directly out of Bandinelli's unexecuted pedestal drawings, another triumphal imagery of Neptune and Mars from the ceremonial *entrate*.

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[48] This iconography comes out of Perino del Vaga's "Loggia degl'Eroi" in the Villa Doria of 1530–1531, representing a series of *all'antica* Roman cuirass figures, Doria ancestors, seated around a Doric loggia, facing the sea, in the tradition of Michelangelo's Prophets and Sibyls in the Sistine Chapel of Rovere Pope Julius II. At the base of the ceremonial staircase leading from the ground-floor vestibule to the reception loggia on the piano nobile, Andrea Doria is represented as Mars, founder of Rome, among the spandrel pagan god figures, part of this Roman triumphal entry program of patron, family, republic, and empire. See Gorse, "Between Empire and Republic," 196–200.

[49] Plutarch, "Pompey," 5:281.

[50] Livy, *The Early History of Rome*, trans. Aubrey De Sélincourt (New York: Penguin, 1978), 1.1:34–35: "and so great is the glory won by the Roman people in their wars that, when they declare that Mars himself was their first parent and father of the man [Romulus] who founded their city, all the nations of the world might well allow the claim as readily as they accept Rome's imperial dominion." For the Capitoline Mars: Henry Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1912), 1:39–40; Phyllis Pray Bober, Ruth Rubinstein, and Susan Woodward *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (London: H. Miller; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), no. 24, 66–67.

[51] Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997). Cf. Bandinelli's historical antique reliefs on the tombs of Popes Leo X and Clement VII in Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome and the monument to Cosimo I's brave *condottiere* father, Giovanni delle Bande Nere, in the Piazza San Lorenzo of Florence: Vasari, *Le vite*, 6:86 and 168.

[52] Vasari, "Montorsoli," *Le vite*, 6:640–41; Carla Manara, "Montorsoli," *Quaderni dell'Instituto di Storia dell'Arte, Università di Genova* 2 (1959): 26–37; Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le arti*, 113–14; Birgit Laschke, *Fra Giovan Angelo da Montorsoli: Ein Florentiner Bildhauer des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Gerb. Mann, 1993), 39–41. Montorsoli's monumental statue of Andrea Doria as Augustan Mars "Pater Patriae" was complemented by another by Taddeo Carlone of Giovanni Andrea Doria over bound Turks as "Conservator" of the republic in 1601, flanking the entrance staircase to the Palazzo Ducale. Both were thrown down and partially destroyed during the Napoleonic overthrow of the Genoese aristocratic republic in 1797.

Fig. 23. Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, *Andrea Doria as a Roman admiral*, 1539–1540, Genoa, Palazzo Ducale. Photo: author.

Fig. 24. *Capitoline Mars*, marble, 2nd century B.C., Rome, Museo Capitolino. Photo: author.

With Doria Mars in the Palazzo Ducale courtyard at the base of the triumphal entry staircase (figs. 10 and 23), Doria Neptune moved out to the suburbs where this mythic foundation figure became part of the program of the Villa of Andrea Doria at the harbor entrance (fig. 9). These inter-related antique iconographies now defined his "civic" and "imperial" mythic personas as "Pater Patriae et Liberator" of Genoa and admiral of the Hapsburg fleet in the Mediterranean. In 1543–1547, Montorsoli was commissioned to design an Italian Renaissance axial garden, uniting the seaside and terraced hillside, following the model of the Villa of Duke Cosimo de' Medici at Castello outside Florence, which Montorsoli had worked on as an assistant to sculptor Niccolò

Tribolo in the 1530s.[53] Thus, "il medesimo principe Doria fece mettere mano al suo palazzo, e fargli nuove aggiunte di fabriche e giardini bellissimi, che furono fatti con ordine del frate; il quale, avendo in ultimo fatto dalla parte dinanzi di detto palazzo un vivaio, fece di marmo un mostro marino di tondo rilievo, che versa in gran copia acqua nella detta peschiera; […] Fece un gran Nettunno di stucco, che sopra un piedistallo fu posto nel giardino del principe" ["the same Prince Doria put [Montorsoli] to work on his palace, making new additions of buildings and very beautiful gardens, that were made by order of the friar; of which, in the latter, he made in front of the palace a marine monster [Triton] of marble in the round that spouts a great amount of water into a fishpond; […and] he made a grand Neptune in stucco, placed over a pedestal in the garden of the prince"].[54] Montorsoli's stucco Neptune is no longer extant and his rustic garden fountain of Triton is no longer in its original location, but they fostered a series of civic commissions of Neptune as allegories of empire in Venice, Bologna, Florence, and Messina.[55]

Contemporary with Bandinelli's heroic sculptural project, Paolo Giovio commissioned a portrait by Medici court painter Agnolo Bronzino of Andrea Doria as Neptune for his "Museo" of ancient to modern worthies in his antique villa on Lake Como (figs. 25–27).[56] Bronzino highlights the erotic character of the 67-year-old admiral, his Michelangelesque body now in intimate range, displayed in all his splendor. Paragon indeed! Originally, Doria held an oar in his right hand (fig. 26), changed during the 17th or 18th century to a more conventional (though diminutive) trident with "A. Doria" inscription; the oar blade is clearly distinguishable on the paint surface and in X-ray photographs. Doria Neptune stands in front of a mast with sail draped suggestively across his male member. Like Venus Pudica, this conceals, yet reveals. Together, the mast (Arbor), sail (Velum), and oar (*R*emus) spell out the admiral's name, "Auria"—a hidden emblematic rebus in the court tradition of Sebastiano del Piombo's Doria portrait, another Giovio

[53] Vasari, "Niccolò Tribolo," *Le vite*, 6:72–85; id., "Montorsoli," *Le vite*, 6:639–40; James Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 63–87; Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden: From the Conventions of Planting, Design, and Ornament to the Grand Gardens of Sixteenth-Century Central Italy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 167–89.

[54] Vasari, "Montorsoli," *Le vite*, 6:645–46. Cf. Montorsoli's colossal Neptune fountain on the harbor-front of Messina (1557), with extended hand calming the seas, an image (not a portrait) of Charles V's imperial rule: ibid., 6:649–50; Manara, *Montorsoli*, 65–91; Laschke, *Montorsoli*, 62–64,107–12.

[55] See Jacopo Sansovino's Mars and Neptune (land and sea) atop the grand staircase of the Palazzo Ducale, where Doges were crowned; Giambologna's bronze Neptune fountain in Bologna, image of papal rule and munificence; Ammanati's Neptune fountain on the Piazza Signoria of Florence and Giambologna's Oceanus fountain in the Boboli Gardens of Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, and Montorsoli's Neptune fountain on the Strait of Messina: John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985), 71–85.

[56] Vasari, "Bronzino," in *Le vite*, 7:595; Craig Hugh Smyth, "Bronzino Studies" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1955), 191–96; Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, 244–45; Parma Armani, "Il palazzo del Principe," 35–38; Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le arti*, 108–09. For Giovio's classical villa on Lake Como (of c.1537–1543) and his "Museo" of portraits, see Paolo Giovio, *Descrittione del Museo del Giovio*, in *Le iscrittioni poste sotto le vere imagini de gli huomini famosi in lettere* (Venice: Giovanni de' Rossi, 1558), 1–12; Eugène Müntz, *Le Musée de portraits de Paul Jove: Contributions pour servir à l'iconographie du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900); Paul Rave, "Das Museo Giovio zu Como," *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Hertzianae* 16 (1961): 275–84; Matteo Gianoncelli, *L'antico museo di Paolo Giovio in Borgovico* (Como: New Press, 1977); *Atti del Convegno: Paolo Giovio, il Rinascimento e la memoria* (Como: Società a Villa Gallia, 1985); Linda Klinger, "The Portrait Collection of Paolo Giovio" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1991), 66–67; Zimmermann, *Paolo Giovio*, 4–5, 159–63, 189. Giovio's inspiration came from Pliny the Younger's description of his Como villas ("Tragedy" and "Comedy") and the open U-shaped courtyard is similar to Andrea Doria's harbor-front villa in Genoa (Fig. 9), suggesting a Giovio influence. See Pliny, *Letters*, trans. William Melmoth (London: Heinemann, 1924), vol. 2, bk. 9, p. 7.

humanistic invention, the only mythological portrait in his ancient "portrait gallery," inspired by Pliny the Younger's description of his Como villas.

Fig. 25. Anonymous, *Later Sixteenth-Century View of Paolo Giovio's Plinian Villa on Lake Como*, built 1537–1543, Como, Museo Civico. Photo: Matteo Gianoncelli, *L'antico Museo di Paolo Giovio in Borgovico* (Como, New Press, 1977), 19.

Fig. 26. Tobias Stimmer, *Andrea Doria as Neptune*, woodcut, in Paolo Giovio's *Elogia virorumbellica virtute illustrium*, Basel, 1575. Photo: author.

Fig. 27. Agnolo Bronzino, *Andrea Doria as Neptune*, oil on panel, ca. 1533, Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera. Photo: Saskia, Ltd., © Dr. Ronald N. Wiedenhoeft, no. Lif-1244.

Giovio advised Como artist Leone Leoni in an extraordinary group of bronze medals and plaquettes, which further disseminated and burnished the Augustan Doria myth in the Renaissance. In 1540, Leoni was sent to the galleys (a "galera") for a year after attacking the papal jeweler.[57] When his galley arrived in Genoa, Andrea Doria obtained Leoni's release and thus ensued a remarkable year of patronage in recompense. In 1541–1542, Leoni executed a medal portrait of Andrea Doria in profile with Roman armor and trident behind his neck with a swift dolphin leading to the inscription: ANDREAS DORIA P[ATER] P[ATRIAE] (fig. 28). On the verso, Leoni portrayed himself with a galley and manacle lock behind his neck and chains surround.[58] An image of manumission and Doria benefaction, this medal sealed the relationship between patron and artist.

Fig. 28. Leone Leoni, *Andrea Doria and the Artist*, medal, 1541. .

[57] Vasari, "Leone Leoni," in *Le vite*, 7:535; Eugène Plon, *Les Maîtres italiens au service de la Maison d'Autriche: Leone Leoni sculpteur de Charles Quint et Pompeo Leoni sculpteur de Philippe II* (Paris: Plon, 1887); Michael Mezzatesta, "Imperial Themes in the Sculpture of Leone Leoni" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1980); Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le arti*, 109–10; Kelley Helmstutler di Dio, *Leone Leoni and the Status of the Artist at the End of the Renaissance* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2011).

[58] G. F. Hill and Graham Pollard, *Renaissance Medals from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the National Gallery of Art* (London: Phaidon, 1967), no. 430.

In the Roman tradition of Pompeius Magnus (Neptunus) and his son, Sextus Pompeius (Neptuni, of Neptune), governor of Sicily (in 44–42 B.C.), Leoni designed a medal again with Andrea Doria and a galley with lateen sail and imperial double-headed eagle on the poop with two oarsmen in a small boat and a fisherman angling on a rock (Fortuna?) in the foreground (figs. 29 and 30).[59] In a bronze plaquette, Doria Mars is portrayed as benefactor of his city, standing between Peace and Fame, receiving laurel and olive branches; between Neptune and galley sea and Virgilian garden grove at upper right is the inscription VIRTUS MAIORA PARAT (fig. 31).[60] An accompanying bronze plaquette of Andrea Doria as nude Neptune with trident weapon on sea chariot, riding the waves (above right), guiding armored Giannettino Doria, his adopted admiral son, seated on sea chariot with trident standard (below left), is based appropriately on the dramatic engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi after a design by Raphael of Virgil's "Quos ego," Neptune calming the seas from the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid* and Aeneas' Trojan odyssey to found Rome (Latium) (figs. 32 and 33).[61] Above storm clouds and a flock of geese or doves, an inscription reads: ANDR[EAS] PATRIS AUSPITIIS ET PROPRIO LABORE ("under the auspices of his father Andrea and by his own efforts"). Leoni also referenced Perino del Vaga's "Neptune Calming the Seas" in the east salon of the Villa of Andrea Doria in Genoa.[62]

Fig. 29. *Medal of Sextus Pompeius*, 40–38 B.C. image via www.romancoins.info.

Fig. 30. Leone Leoni, *Andrea Doria and Galley*, medal, 1541–1542. image via www.invaluable.com.

[59] For Sextus Pompeius, his representation as the "son of Neptune" (Pompey the Great), and his naval guerrilla war in Sicily and the connecting Strait of Messina against Octavian in the west and Mark Anthony in the east: Cassius Dio, *Dio's Roman History*, bk. 48; Herbert Appold Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* (London: The University Press, 1970), 2:560–65; Hill and Pollard, *Renaissance Medals*, no. 431; Gorse, "La 'corte' di Andrea Doria," 260–61.
[60] G. F. Hill, "Andrea and Gianettino Doria," *Pantheon* 4 (1929): 500–01; Boccardo, *Andrea Doria*, 110.
[61] Hill, "Andrea and Gianettino Doria," 500–01; John Pope-Hennessy, *Renaissance Bronzes from the Samuel H. Kress Collection: Reliefs, Plaquettes, Statuettes, Utensils and Mortars* (London: Phaidon, 1965), no. 75; Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le arti*, 110; Gorse, "La 'corte' di Andrea Doria," 260–61. For Marcantonio's engraving of Virgil's "Quos ego" after Raphael: Lawrence Nees, *Nouvelle de l'Estampe* 40-41 (July-October, 1978): 18–29.
[62] Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga*, 110; Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le arti*, 62.

Fig. 31. Leone Leoni, *Andrea Doria between Peace and Fame*, plaquette, 1541–1542. Photo: M.26.75 by permission of the British Museum, London.

Fig. 32. Marcantonio Raimondi (after Raphael), *Neptune Calms the Seas, "Quos ego* [...]*"* (from Virgil's *Aeneid*, Bk. 1), engraving, ca. 1515. image via collections.lacma.org.

Fig. 33. Leone Leoni, *Andrea Doria as Neptune Guiding Giannettino Doria on Galley*, plaquette, 1541–1542. Photo: Wikimedia Commons.

After Emperor Charles V's victory over the Protestant Schmalkaldic League at Mühlberg in 1547, Leoni took on two Hapsburg commissions that allegorize these Roman triumphs. Both are based on the Doria commissions. In a commemorative medal (fig. 34), Leoni portrays Charles V, crowned in victory laurel, with Golden Fleece (Toson d'Oro) on his breastplate, with his ancient Roman imperial title: IMP[ERATOR] CAES[AR] V AVG[USTUS]. On the obverse, fulminating Jupiter defends the heavens and casts down the giants, creatures of the earth, with moral inscription: "DISCITE IVSTITIAM MONITI" ("[Now that you have been] admonished, learn Justice!").[63] Leoni literally quotes Perino del Vaga's "Jupiter Casting down the Giants" in the west salon of the Villa Doria, which Charles V used as his ceremonial audience hall during his triumphal entries into Genoa after 1533.[64] Augustan Doria iconography self-fashioned the empire of Charles V.

Fig. 34. Leone Leoni, *Emperor Charles V and Jupiter Casting Down the Giants*, medal, 1547, Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, cat. nos. 426–427.

[63] Hill and Pollard, *Renaissance Medals*, no. 426.
[64] Gorse, "Between Empire and Republic," 196.

Fig. 35. Leone Leoni, *Emperor Charles V Nude Subduing the Furies*, bronze, 1547–1551,Madrid, Prado. image via www.pinterest.com.

Fig. 36. Leone Leoni, *Emperor Charles V in Armor Subduing the Furies*, bronze, 1547–1551, Madrid, Prado. image via www.pinterest.com.

Finally, Leoni cast a colossal bronze statue of Charles V Subduing Fury (figs. 35 and 36), perhaps for his classical fortress palace in Granada next to the Alhambra. With Roman armor and lance in righteous right hand, Charles V, like Mars, does battle with and triumphs over Fury; the armor, however, can be taken off, like temporary triumphal entry *apparati*, to "reveal" the nude body of the emperor, that which "is," his "essence." He "divinely" triumphs over Fury as does Jupiter casting down the fearsome giants, impious rebel creatures of the earth.[65] Andrea Doria's

[65] Mezzatesta, "Imperial Themes in the Sculpture of Leone Leoni," 1–69. Milanese painter and theorist, Giovan Paolo Lomazzo, explains in his *Trattato sull'arte* (1584) why ancient emperors were often shown nude: "Talvolta anco si facevano ignudi per accennare che l'imperatore deve esser libero e mostrare apertamente quello che è [la nuda verità] à popoli, e cosí che debbe essere riverito per la bontà sua e temuto per la giustizia che ministra" (*Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento*, ed. Paola Barocchi [Turin: Einaudi, 1977], 3:2740–41). This seems relevant to early modern

iconography reverberates through the early modern period, charting new body politics and mythic figures in the turbulent waters of ancient Roman Mediterranean imperium.

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portraits in this hellenistic tradition from Antonio Canova's nude *Napoleon Bonaparte as Mars the Peacemaker* to Horatio Greenough's *George Washington as Jupiter*, giving new meaning to the proverbial expression, "The emperor has no clothes."