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Rector Marium or Pater Patriae?

The Portraits of Andrea Doria as Neptune

IF WE LOOK FOR the rebirth of antiquity in the Early Modern Period we find not only the updating of iconography and the ‚renaissance‘ of classical art,¹ but also the revival of antique forms of representation. One of these is mythological portraiture, whereby the likeness of a living person is combined with the attributes of an ancient deity.² The ancient tradition begins with Alexander the Great, who was depicted in the guise of various gods, and culminates in Roman Imperial portraits like the bust of the Emperor Commodus as Hercules.³ One of the first revivals of this form appears in the portrait monument of Andrea Doria (1466–1560) by Baccio Bandinelli and a German portrait medallion from the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Both clearly show him in the guise of Neptune, while the famous portrait by Bronzino originally depicted him as the admiral of the ancient Roman navy. In each case the political context played a determining role in the choice of iconography.

Because Doria was the highly successful admiral of Charles V’s imperial navy,⁴ it is not at all surprising that he was called a second Neptune by his contemporaries, as reported by his biographer Lorenzo Capelloni: „havendo tante volte solcato il mare, quando il Sole gira i suoi raggi più bassi per questo emisphero, tal che dagli huomini

1 In the context of this paper see especially: L. Freedman, Cinquecento Mythographic Descriptions of Neptune, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* II/1, 1995, 44–53; ead., Neptune in Classical and Renaissance Visual Art, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* II/2, 1995, 219–37.

2 R. Dölling, *Das Bildnis in christlichen und mythologischen Darstellungen*, Ph. D., manuscript, Leipzig 1957; R. Wishevsky, *Studien zum ‚portrait historié‘ in den Niederlanden*, München 1967; D. de Chapeaurouge, Theomorphen Porträts der Neuzeit, *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* XLII, 1968, 262–302; H. Keller, *Das Nachleben des antiken Bildnisses von der Karolingerzeit bis zur Gegenwart*, Freiburg / Basel / Wien 1970; F. Bardon, *Le Portrait Mythologique à la Cour de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII*, Paris 1974.

3 H. Kloft, Herkules als Vorbild. Zur politischen Funktion eines griechischen Mythos in Rom, in R. Kray / S. Ottermann (eds.), *Herakles / Herkules I. Metamorphosen des Heros in ihrer medialen Vielfalt*, Basel / Frankfurt a. M. 1994, 25–46, here ill. 4 ff.

4 For Doria’s biography see: P. Lingua, *Andrea Doria*, Milan 1984.

sete chiamato il secondo Nettuno.⁵ It is therefore no coincidence that Andrea Doria was the first to be identified in portraiture with the god.

In general the identification of princes with Neptune first of all symbolizes political or military power over the sea. Thus in 1529 in Bologna the figure of the god visualized the maritime dominion of the Emperor Charles V,⁶ and in 1714 the British king George I was similarly called *Rector Marium* (Lord of the Sea) on a medal with his portrait as Neptune (Fig. 1).⁷ But this was only one and the more princely aspect of the meaning of Neptune – in contrast to the republican context which we



1. George I of Britain as Neptune, medal by John Crocker, 1714, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Heberden Coin Room. Photo: Museum.

will see later. Perhaps not coincidentally the political difference corresponds to the iconographical diversification of Neptune. Already in the sixteenth century we have the ,tranquil‘ and the ,stormy‘ god or – in the words of Guillaume Du Choul in 1559 – „una volta pacifico & una volta adirato“.⁸

The most famous example of the identification with Neptune is the painting by Bronzino in the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan. It is traditionally said to be a real mythological portrait and the painting has been seen in close connection with the never completed statue of the same subject by Baccio Bandinelli.⁹ But we have neither a secure date for the execution of the painting (around 1533?) nor visual proof for McCorquodale’s supposition that Bronzino „reproduced almost exactly Bandinelli’s marble“.¹⁰ Nevertheless there is a closer connection between Bandinelli’s famous Neptune drawing and the painting.¹¹ Obviously the Florentine painter did his work with the *paragone* in mind and therefore under-

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- 5 L. Capelloni, *Al vittorioso Principe d’Oria*, s. l. 1550, s. p. See also the poem *sobra il ritratto del principe Andrea Doria*: P. Arnolfini, *Della Vita et Fatti di Andrea Doria Principe de Melfi Libri due*, Genoa 1598, s. p.
- 6 K. Möseneder, *Montorsoli. Die Brunnen*, Mittenwald 1979, 107.
- 7 Medal by John Crocker: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Heberden Coin Room.
- 8 Freedman, *Mythographic Descriptions*, 1995 (cfr. n. 1), 51.
- 9 J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance. The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the fine Arts*. (= *Bollingen Series XXXV/12*), Princeton 2nd ed. 1989, 244; Freedman, *Art*, 1995 (cfr. n. 1), 227 f.
- 10 Ch. McCorquodale, *Bronzino*, London 1981, 64; E. Baccheschi, *L’opera completa del Bronzino*, Milan 1973, no. 76.
- 11 Because Gioivo, who ordered the Bronzino painting, had written a biography of Bandinelli, he must have known at least post festum of the Neptune identification in the sculpture: E. Pommer, *Théories du portrait. De la Renaissance aux Lumières*, Paris 1998, 122 f.

took to rival the *disegno* of antique and contemporary sculpture.¹² But there can be no doubt that the well known Milan portrait originally did not present Andrea Doria as Neptune. The replica in the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj and a medal known only by an engraving in a numismatic book of 1620¹³ indicate that Bronzino originally depicted Doria as commander of the Roman imperial navy (*PRAEFECTUS CLASSIS*) with the appropriate attribute, an oar, which was later over painted as the trident.¹⁴ This classical iconography fits well not only with the *renovatio-imperii*-ideology around the coronation of Charles V in 1530,¹⁵ but also with the fact that the picture was ordered by Paolo Giovio for his collection of *viri illustres*. In this context the painting of Andrea Doria was published in 1557/75 with other portraits of Giovio's *Musaeum* – consequently with the oar instead of the trident (Fig. 2).¹⁶ Because the portrait by Bronzino was, according to Vasari, executed around 1533,¹⁷ and because the medal is probably the one made in wax and plaster (*di cera e stucco*) by Alfonso Cittadella called Lombardi, who worked for Charles V in 1530 and was in Genoa in 1533,¹⁸ it seems very plausible that the medal was the original source for the painting by Bronzino.¹⁹

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- 12 E. Parma Armani, Il palazzo del principe Andrea Doria a Fassolo in Genova, *L'Arti* X, 1970, 12–63, here 36; J. Cox-Rearick, From Bandinelli to Bronzino: The Genesis of the Lamentation for the Chapel of Eleonora di Toledo, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* XXXIII, 1989, 37–84, here 51: „there is the probability that Bronzino knew drawings by Bandinelli for the monument of ‚Andrea Doria in the Guise of Neptune‘, which he may have used about 1533 in the preparation of his own portrait of the Genoese admiral as Neptune“. On the relationship of painting to sculpture see also: J. Cox-Rearick, A ‚St. Sebastian‘ by Bronzino, *Burlington Magazine* CXXIX, 1987, 155–62, here 158; B. Schweitzer, Zum Antikenstudium des Angelo Bronzino, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Römische Abteilung XXXIII, 1918, 45–63 (with ‚Taf.‘ II and III).
- 13 J. J. Luckius, *Sylloge Numismatum elegantiorum* (...), Strasbourg 1620, 67.
- 14 Parma Armani 1970 (cfr. n. 12) 34: „Nel ritratto di Brera (1530–40), ... sono ancora visibili le tracce del remo-timone, presente nella copia romana e in altri ritratti del Doria (medaglie, incisioni, ecc.) da quello derivati.“ P. Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le Arti. Committenza e Meccenatismo a Genova nel Rinascimento*, Rome 1989, 106 f.
- 15 F. Checa Cremades, *Carlos V y la imagen del héroe en el Renacimiento*, Madrid 1987, 245–55 („Las ceremonias de Bolonia en 1530 y el resurgir de la Antigüedad“).
- 16 P. Giovio, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium. Septem libris iam olim ab autore comprehensa, et nunc ex eiusdem Musaeo ad vivum expressis imaginibus exornata*, Basel 1575, 374 f.
- 17 G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, a cura di R. Bettarini / P. Barocchi, VI, Florence 1987, 232 writes that the Doria portrait was executed by Bronzino after his return to Florence in 1532 and before the portrait of Ugolino Martelli, which is dated around 1535–37.
- 18 J. Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, XIX, London / New York 1996, 551; N. Gramaccini, *Alfonso Lombardi* (= *Neue kunstwissenschaftliche Studien*; 9), Frankfurt a. M. 1980.
- 19 Boccardo 1989 (cfr. n. 14), 108.



2. Andrea Doria as Praefectus classis, woodcut by Tobias Stimmer after the painting by Agnolo Bronzino, Vienna, Universitätsbibliothek. Photo: Vienna, Institut für Kunstgeschichte.

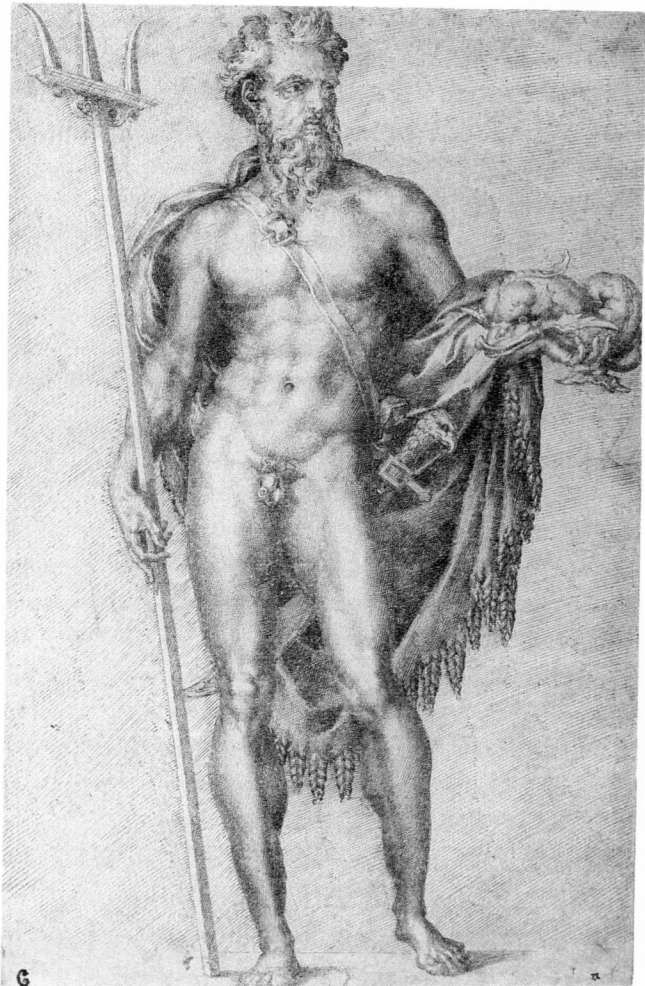
Just as in Giovio's gallery and in the earlier portrait of Doria by Sebastiano del Piombo (also as naval commander),²⁰ we find in Bandinelli's monument not only a *renovatio* in the fields of iconography and style, but also in the concept of portraiture and *repraesentatio* itself (Fig. 3). When in 1528 the republic of Genoa regained peace and liberty with the help of Andrea Doria, the city's government honored the commander's service to the republic by declaring him 'father and liberator of the fatherland' („eaque pietate exposuit ut patriae ipsius et pater et liberator dicatur“). At the same time, a bronze statue of Doria was to be erected in the great hall of the Palazzo Ducale: „Item ut Ill[ustriss]imo D[omi]no Andree Dorie enea statua in magna Palatii aula quanto ornatius erigi poterit cum nominis inscriptione erigatur.“²¹ Indeed, it was not only the political situation that reminded contemporaries of Scipio Africanus and Julius Caesar, 'restoring liberty to their fatherland' („restituendo

20 L. Leoncini, Deduzioni iconografiche, linguaggio geroglifico e uso dell'antico: il caso del Ritratto Doria, in *Il Ritratto e la Memoria: Materiali*, II, eds. A. Gentili / Ph. Morel / C. Cieri Via, Rome 1993, 249–61.

21 Decree of the Comune from the 7th of October 1528: F. Alizeri, *Notizie dei professori del disegno in Liguria dalle origini al secolo XVI*, V, Genoa 1877, 312 f.

alla sua Patria quella libertà“). Roman tradition was also the basis for the title ‚Father of his Country‘ („Padre della Patria“) and for the idea to erect monuments to the eternal memory of honorable men like Doria as again reported by Capelloni: „Il quale ascese à tanta grandezza, che essendo chiamato da tutti Padre della Patria, gli furono dal publico fatti doni, et in memoria et honor suo, alzate in luoghi publici statue, che faranno della magnanimità & valor suo, eterno testimonio alle genti, che verranno in tutti secoli.“²²

But Bandinelli's sculpture was never finished and its development is also not very clear. In June 1529 the Florentine sculptor received payment for a sculpture of gilt bronze („statue enee erigende in laudem Illustr. Dom. Capitanei“).²³ Two months later a new contract was signed between Bandinelli and Cardinal Girolamo Doria, one of the *Dodici Riformatori* of the city. According to its terms, the statue was to be made of marble instead of bronze



3. Andrea Doria as Neptune, drawing by Baccio Bandinelli for the monument in Genoa, after 1528, London, British Museum. Photo: Museum.

22 L. Capelloni, *Vita del Prencipe Andrea Doria descritta da M. Lorenzo Capelloni. Con un compendio della medesima vita, e con due tavole; l'una delle cose piu generali, & l'altra delle cose piu notabili*, Venice 1565, 41.

23 Alizeri 1877 (cfr. n. 21), 316.

and at a height of four *braccie* (yards), or about 2.40 meters.²⁴ Because the sources also mention at roughly the same time a block of marble („un blocco di marmo“; 1534) and a bronze statue („statua bronzea“; 1535), it has even been suggested that two sculptures were ordered from Bandinelli, a public one by the republic and a private one by the prince.²⁵ In 1537 the size was increased to five yards,²⁶ and Vasari speaks even of six yards.

Unfortunately we do not know if the „metamorphosis from a semiprivate portrait statue to an allegorical ‚theomorphen‘ statue type“ was ordered or inspired by the government, by the prince or by the artist himself. Neither do the preparatory drawings give further information about the iconographic development.²⁷

The only documented fact is therefore that the portrait of Andrea Doria changed from a bronze sculpture in the city hall in 1528 to a more than life-size public marble monument in 1538. This sculpture, now in Carrara, broke with the Genoese tradition of interior statues of worthy citizens („cittadini benemeriti“),²⁸ and was not only the first public portrait statue in Renaissance art, but also the first to be mythologically disguised²⁹ (Fig. 4). This seems no accident, although the final version of the Genoese monument by Fra Giovan Angelo Montorsoli, placed around 1540 in front of the city hall, showed Doria in Roman armor.³⁰ Therefore Boccardo thinks that the Bandinelli version of the *Rector marium* influenced by court panegyrics was replaced by the Montorsoli version, which should be seen as a portrait of a *condottiere* in the republican context and as „exemplum“ per i governanti e i cittadini della Repubblica.³¹ But the historical situation seems to speak for the opposite interpretation. When the sculpture was ordered in 1528 by the commune, the republican

24 D. Heikamp, In margine alla ‚Vita di Baccio Bandinelli‘ del Vasari, *Paragone* XVII/11, 1966, 51–62, here 54.

25 Boccardo 1989 (cfr. n. 14), 10 and 14; H. Keutner, Über die Entstehung und die Formen des Standbildes im Cinquecento, *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* VII, 1956, 138–68, here 144.

26 R. Ward, *Baccio Bandinelli 1493–1560. Drawings from British collections, exhibition catalogue*, Cambridge 1988, 54.

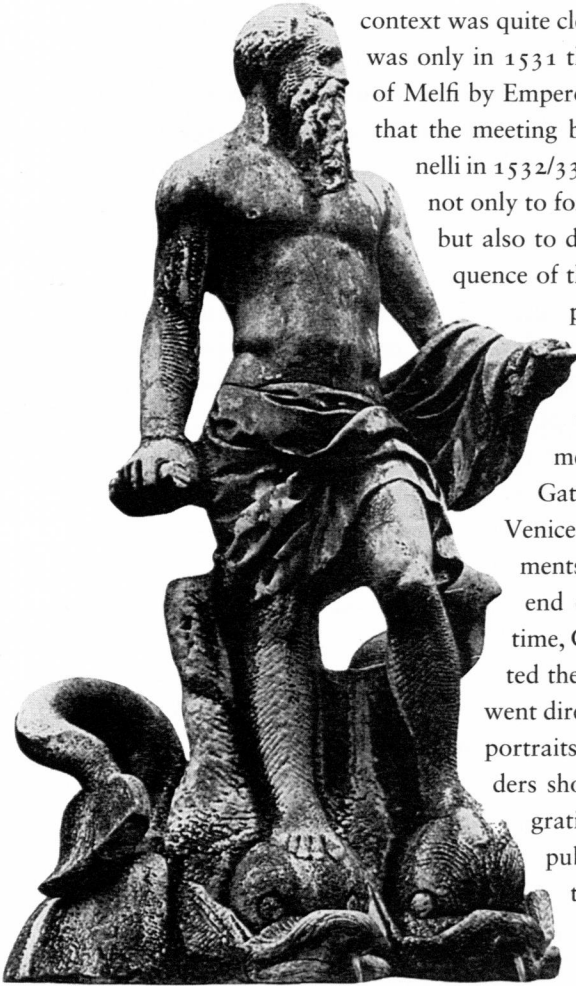
27 Ward, 1988 (cfr. 26), 54–56; G. Swoboda, *Baccio Bandinelli (1494–1560). Die Zeichnungen der Albertina*, Diplomarbeit, manuscript, Vienna 1994, 19 f. suggested that the identification with Neptune was Bandinelli’s idea, but there is no proof.

28 E. Parma Armani, Il ritratto civile di committenza pubblica a Genova nel Quattrocento. Statue di Cittadini benemeriti in Palazzo San Giorgio, in Gentili / Morel / Cieri Via 1993 (cfr. n. 20), 135–72.

29 Keutner 1956 (cfr. n. 25), 148.

30 B. Laschke, *Fra Giovan Angelo da Montorsoli. Ein Florentiner Bildhauer des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1993, 39–41; Boccardo 1989 (cfr. n. 14), 112, ill. 137.

31 Boccardo 1989 (cfr. n. 14), 15.



4. Andrea Doria as Neptune, unfinished marble sculpture by Baccio Bandinelli, around 1535, Carrara. Photo: repro after Boccardo 1989 (cfr. n. 14), 113.

Both Bandinelli and Montorsoli worked on Hercules groups for Grand Duke Cosimo I of Florence concurrently with the Doria monument. Also, some ten years la-

context was quite clear, as stated above. Furthermore, it was only in 1531 that Andrea Doria was made prince of Melfi by Emperor Charles V. Thus it might also be that the meeting between Cardinal Doria and Bandinelli in 1532/33, recorded in the sources, was meant not only to force the artist to continue his work,³² but also to discuss potential changes as a consequence of the fact that Andrea Doria was now prince and not merely *primus inter pares* of the republic.

Indeed, despite the fifteenth century equestrian monuments commemorating the Venetian *condottieri* Gattamelata and Colleoni in Padua and Venice, the great success of public monuments of living princes first started at the end of the sixteenth century.³³ At that time, Gabriele Paleotti and others formulated the theory of such monuments, which went directly back to Roman sources: public portraits of princes and military commanders should be erected to demonstrate the gratitude of the people and to present a public example of outstanding virtue to inspire emulation.³⁴

In the years between 1490 and 1590 we have only monumental sculptures of mythological, biblical or allegorical heroes, which symbolize the triumph of virtue over vice.

32 Heikamp 1966 (cfr. n. 24), 43.

33 It seems to be no accident that Donatello's 'Gattamelata' also reduced the likeness to make an idealization of a 'condottiere': L. Freedman, The Counter-Portrait: The Quest for the Ideal in Italian Renaissance Portraiture, in Gentili / Morel / Cieri Via 1993 (cfr. n. 20), *Materiali*, III, 63-81, here 71.

34 L. Freedman, The Concept of Portraiture in Art Theorie of the Cinquecento, *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* XXXII, 1987, 63-82.

ter, we find Neptune fountains by Montorsoli in Messina, by Ammanati in Florence and by Giambologna in Bologna. All these sculptures had a direct political meaning, because Neptune, like the more familiar Hercules,³⁵ was at this time also a personification of specific virtues.³⁶ Already Virgil's verses in the *Aeneid* presented the domination of the ocean and the calming of the waves as symbols of pacification and justice alluding to the Emperor Augustus:

*„And as, when oft-times in a great nation tumult
has risen, the base rabble rage angrily,
and now brands and stones fly, madness lending arms;
then, if haply they set eyes on a man honoured for noble character
and service, they are silent and stand by with attentive ears;
he with speech sways their passion and soothes their breasts:
even so, all the roar of ocean sank, soon as the Sire,
looking forth upon the waters and driving under a clear sky,
guides his steeds and, flying onward, gives reins to his willing car.
(Aeneid 1.148–56).*

Like the image of a political leader who brings an emotional crowd to reason after tumult and chaos, the Neptune in Messina, also ordered by the city, honored Charles V and Philip II as peacemakers.³⁷ Even more significantly, the god of the sea in Bologna was a symbol of the peacemaking force of the Pope.³⁸ For us it seems noteworthy that Virgil called the calming Neptune a father (of the fatherland).³⁹

Thus we should distinguish between the military and the political meanings of Neptune, of which the latter accords better with the republican context of the Genoese monument. In his drawings Bandinelli made this ideology even more clear.

35 F. Polleroß, From the ‚exemplum virtutis‘ to the Apotheosis: Hercules as an Identification Figure in Portraiture: An Example of the Adoption of Classical Forms of Representation, in *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, ed. A. Ellenius (= *The Origins of the Modern State in Europe*; 7), Oxford 1998, 37–62.

36 For the parallels between the Neptune in Bologna and Hercules see: I. Lavin, Giambologna's ‚Neptune‘ at the Crossroads, in id., *Past-Present. Essays on Historicism in Art from Donatello to Picasso*, Berkeley / Los Angeles 1993, 75–81, here 63–68.

37 Möseneder 1979 (cfr. n. 6) 104 f.; S. Ffolliott, *Civic Sculpture in the Renaissance. Montorsoli's Fountains at Messina*. (= *Studies in Renaissance Art History*; 1), Ann Arbor 1984, 139–77.

38 R. Preimesberger, Visual Ideas of Papal Authority: The Case of Bologna, in Ellenius 1998 (cfr. n. 35), 173–90.

39 Möseneder 1979 (cfr. n. 6), 107 and 112.

The dolphin in the hand of Neptune symbolizes *incolumitas*, i. e. the interest of the prince for the welfare of his subjects.⁴⁰ On the Louvre sketch for the pedestal, Doria, represented with the trident, is offering clemency to prisoners of war.⁴¹ Another relief presents Andrea and his wife honoring the head of Saint John in the cathedral of Genoa⁴² (Fig. 5). Both scenes visualize the contemporary panegyric of Doria as a man of extraordinary piety and justice: „Si che di pietà, giustitia, e religione poche altre à lei agguagliar si possono.“⁴³

Not only were the decorations in the latter and in two other sketches for the monument with battle scenes strictly neo-classical,⁴⁴ but the body of Neptune by Bandinelli also seems to have been directly inspired by the figure of the god in an antique sculpture or on a sestertius of Agrippa.⁴⁵ The classical form of Bandinelli's monument fits well not only with the high renaissance style of the other works of art for Andrea Doria, like the paintings and sculptures in his palace,⁴⁶ but also with the direct connection between Doria's triumph and the Roman tradition made in Capelloni's biography of the admiral: „Ne si debbe por dubbio che se i Principi della christiana fede fosserano tra loro uniti come Romani, & che Genova fosse Roma, à voi si darebbe il triumfo di tanto fatto, come già triomfarono tant' altri romani capitani.“⁴⁷

As we can see in a drawing by Bandinelli for a beardless Neptune⁴⁸ (Fig. 6), the classical body of the god in the Doria monument is combined with a more or less real portrait of the face.⁴⁹ Further, Bandinelli added a sword (not appropriate in the iconography of the god of the sea) to make clear that this Neptune is a disguised

40 Möseneder 1979 (cfr. n. 6), 108; Parma Armani 1970 (cfr. n. 12), 56, n. 83.

41 Paris, Louvre, Cabinets des Dessins inv. no. 86; Heikamp 1966 (cfr. n. 24), 55, ill. 40a.

42 Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, P II 85.

43 Capelloni 1550 (cfr. n. 5), s. p.

44 New York, Copper-Hewitt Museum, Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins Inv. no. 89; Swoboda 1994 (cfr. n. 27), ill. 25; Boccardo 1989 (cfr. n. 14), 14, ill. 139; Heikamp 1966 (cfr. n. 24), ill. 38.

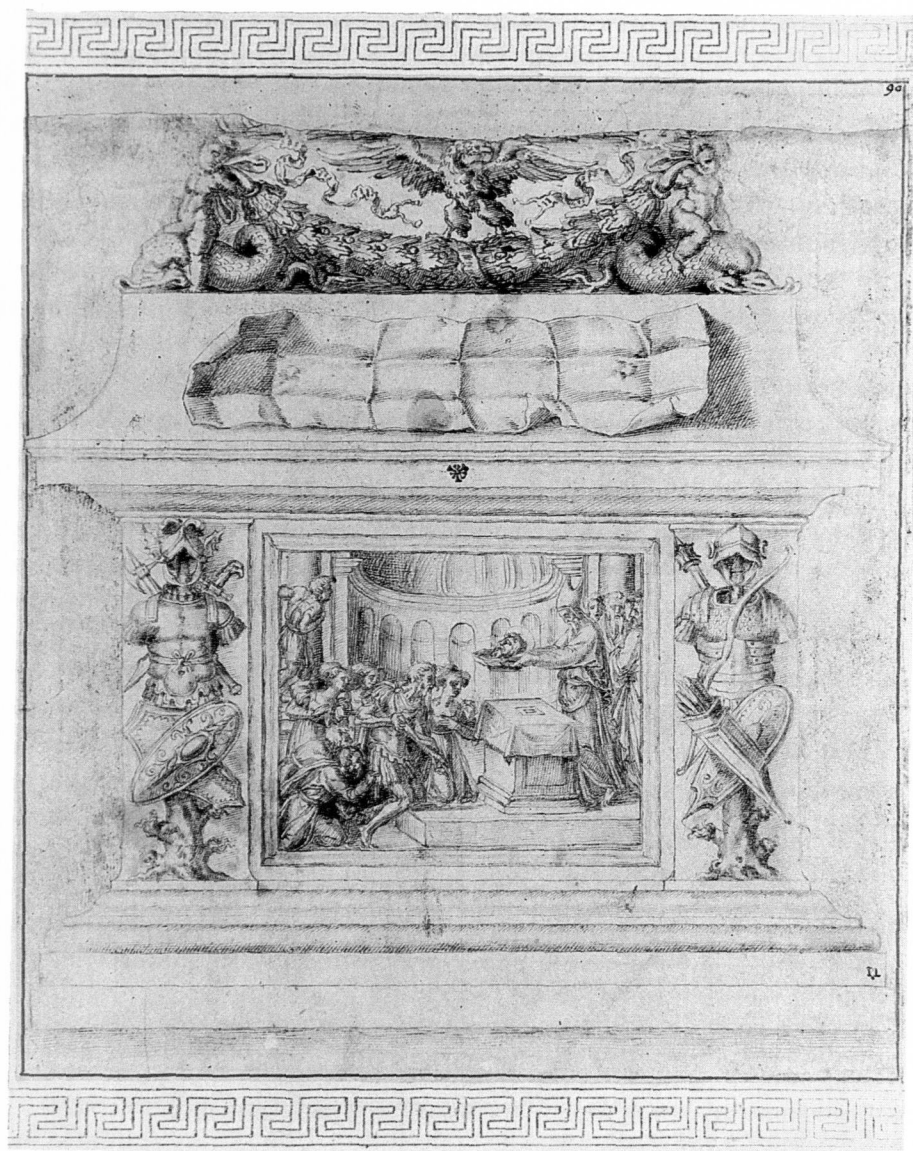
45 Parma Armani 1970 (cfr. n. 12), 36; – Freedman, Art, 1995 (cfr. n. 1), 228, ill. 2 and 8.

46 G. L. Gorse, The Villa of Andrea Doria in Genoa: Architecture, Gardens, and Suburban Setting, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XLIV, 1985, 18–36; E. Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga. L'anello mancante. Studi sul Manierismo*, Genoa 1986, 263 ff.

47 Capelloni 1550 (cfr. n. 5), s. p. – On the growing interest in antique triumphs see: G. L. Gorse, Between Empire and Republic: Triumphal Entries in Genoa During the Sixteenth Century, in „All the world's a stage ...“. *Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, eds. B. Wisch / S. Scott Munshower (= *Papers in Art History from the Pennsylvania State University* VII), University Park PA 1990, 188–256.

48 Swoboda 1994 (cfr. n. 27), 14–20.

49 Parma Armani 1970 (cfr. n. 12), 31.

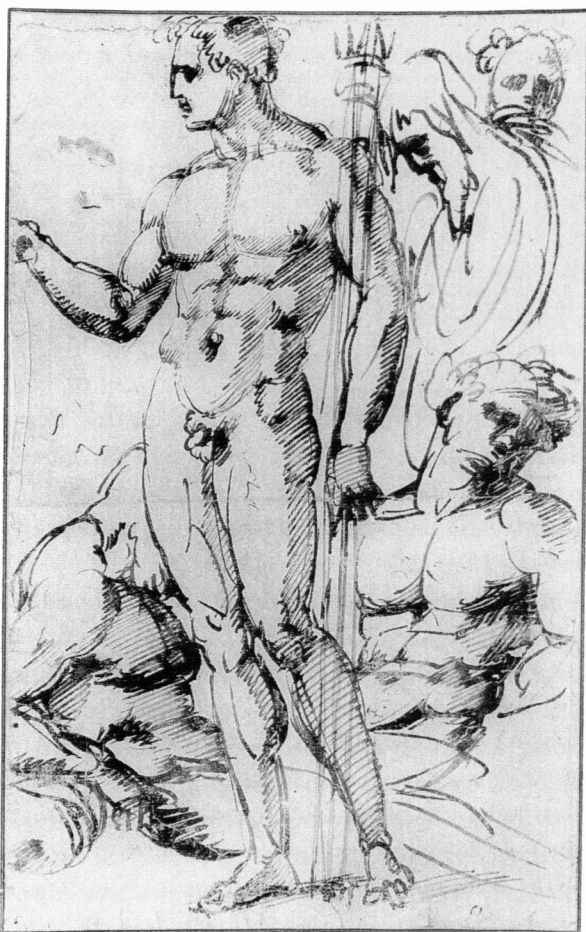


5. Andrea Doria and his wife honoring the head of Saint John, drawing by Baccio Bandinelli for a relief on the Doria-monument, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Photo: Museum.

portrait of Andrea Doria⁵⁰ (Fig. 3). Although the nudity of the figure in this statue was set by the iconographic tradition, it soon became a problem of *decorum*. As Sheila Ffolliott suggested, it was no longer appropriate, in the period when

⁵⁰ Freedman, *Art*, 1995 (cfr. n. 1), 228.

the nudes in Michelangelo's *Last Judgement* were being covered, to depict Andrea Doria unclad.⁵¹ Indeed, in contrast to the Neptune drawing by Bandinelli, the marble sculpture had the genitals covered with a cloth (Figs. 3 and 4), and the later portrait by Montorsoli presents the commander in Roman armor. The same can be said of the bronze sculpture of the Emperor Charles V by Leone Leoni, where the naked body was also later clad in a military dress.⁵² Nevertheless, Lomazzo tells us that the Roman emperors were presented nude to demonstrate openly their virtue and justice to the people: „Talvolta anco si facevano ignudi, per accennare che l'imperatore deve esser libero e mostrare apertamente quello che è a popoli, e così che debbe essere riverito per la bontà sua e temuto per la giustizia che ministra.“⁵³



6. Neptune, drawing by Baccio Bandinelli, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina. Photo: Museum.

51 Ffolliott 1984 (cfr. n. 37), 28.

52 *Felipe II. Un monarca y su época. Un príncipe del Renacimiento*, exhibition catalogue, [Madrid] 1998, 385–87; D. de Chapeaurouge, *Aktporträts des 16. Jahrhunderts, Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen XI*, 1969, 161–77, here 166 f.

53 H. Baader, Giovan Paolo Lomazzo: Das Porträt als Zeichensystem (1584), in *Porträt*, eds. R. Preimesberger / H. Baader / N. Suthor (= *Geschichte der klassischen Bildgattungen in Quellentexten und Kommentaren*; 2), Berlin 1999, 307–15, here 307 f.; in 1585 also Pérez de Moya wrote that Hercules was nude to denote virtue („par denotar virtud“): Checa Cremades 1987 (cfr. n. 15), 116.

It is obvious that we are confronted in both cases not with the real, but with the „political body“ of the prince. The disguised portrait by Bandinelli is therefore a very instructive visualization of the „king’s two bodies“ in Kantorowicz’s sense,⁵⁴ and a good realization of contemporary theories of portraiture. It was the opinion of Paleotti, Lomazzo, and others that it was important „not only to represent an image verily, but also to retain in memory all the virtues“ and to capture the *idea* or *con-cetto* of the person portrayed.⁵⁵ In 1546 Benedetto Varchi drew a parallel between the Greek term *idea* and the Latin *exemplar* and thus indicated that it is the idea of the person portrayed that offers an example to the spectator.⁵⁶ In our case, it is quite obvious that the ideal body of the Neptune sculpture depicts the ideal of government as formulated in Virgil’s *Aeneid*. Clear proof of this is given in a German medal of Andrea Doria: on the obverse we see his actual portrait in contemporary dress, on the reverse we find the nude Neptune between *LIBERTAS* and *PAX*.⁵⁷ Logically we can read on the first side with the face the name of the prince, on the other side the inscription *PATRIAE LIBERATOR*. Thus front and back make a clear distinction between the individual and the political body (Fig. 7).

In other contemporary sources the same distinction is made, but indirectly through praise of Doria’s virtues. In 1541, Leone Leoni showed the admiral with *Liberalitas* on a second medal, and on the plaquette between peace and fame under the motto *VIRTUS MAIORA PARAT*.⁵⁸ In two instances the admiral was praised because he had brought eternal peace („pace eterno“) and perpetual liberty („libertà perpetua“) to Genoa.⁵⁹

From Vasari we know explicitly that the monument was „un Nettuno in forma del principe Doria“ and that it was ordered for the great square of the town in memory of the virtue (and not the person!) of that prince and of the very great and rare bene-

54 E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Theology*, Princeton NJ, 2nd ed. 1966. Probably the antique costume of the Montorsoli monument had an allegorical meaning too: C.-P. Warncke, Rang, Platz, Pose und Kostüm. Politische Kategorien öffentlicher Personaldenkmäler in der Frühen Neuzeit, *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* XXXVIII, 1999, 195–208, here 198.

55 Freedman 1987 (cfr. n. 34), 66 and 73.

56 U. Müller-Hofstede, Benedetto Varchi: Principium factivum. Der Anfang des Porträts und die Seele des Künstlers (1546), in Preimesberger / Baader / Suthor 1999 (cfr. n. 53), 254–61, here 256.

57 Boccardo 1989 (cfr. n. 14), 110 f., ill. 133.

58 Boccardo 1989 (cfr. n. 14), 110, ill. 132.

59 The Venetian writer was also in contact with Giovio and it was „probably because of Aretino that, ... Giovio discussed which artist would be best suited for portraying this or that personage, for example, Agnolo Bronzino would be the best, he thought, for portraying Andrea Doria ...“: L. Freedman, *Titian’s Portraits Through Aretino’s Lens*, University Park PA 1995, 15.



7. Andrea Doria as Neptune, *obverse and reverse of a medal by Christoph Weiditz (?), Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung. Photo: Museum.*

fits which his homeland Genoa had received from him: „dalla republica di Genova gli fu allogato una statua di braccia sei, di marmo, la quale doveva essere un Nettunno [sic!] in forma del principe Doria, per porsi in su la piazza in memoria delle virtù di quel principe e de' benefizii grandissimi e rari i quali la sua patria Genova aveva ricevuti da lui.“⁶⁰

The republican context of the Neptune sculpture is therefore obvious and our interpretation of the whole monument confirmed by Pietro Aretino. In his letter to Doria, the Venetian writer not only calls the commander immortal („immortale“) and divine („celeste“), but also says that the attributes of the sculpture symbolize rational government („il senno che vi regge“) and the triumph of virtues („le virtù che vi esaltano“). Finally, Aretino explains the main reason for erecting such a public monument of a living person using the example of the Romans, in that he praises Andrea Doria as a good role model and clear image of useful prudence and real bravery: „norma illustre e specchio sacro de i consigli sani e de le prodezze vere.“⁶¹

This point was more important in a republican state like Genoa. As Keutner suggested, it seems that in the middle of the sixteenth century only the mythological disguise made it possible to erect a public monument to Doria and other living persons.⁶² The currency of this ideology can again be proved by the fact that an open-air

60 Vasari (cfr. n. 17), V, Florence 1984, 251.

61 P. Aretino, *Lettere*, a cura di P. Procaccioli, II/2, Rome 1998, 298 f.

62 Keutner 1956 (cfr. n. 25), 148: „Bis zum Planwechsel im Jahre 1534 aber konnte Doria seine Macht und Vorherrschaft in der Stadt derart festigen, daß ihm nun zwar ein Denkmal auf der Piazza, jedoch nur im Bilde eines Neptun, zugestanden wurde. [...] den Genueser Senat bewog allein die durch die Verkleidung gemilderte Individualität, der freien Aufstellung des Monumentes zuzustimmen.“

monument was a violation of the Genoese tradition of sculpture in public buildings⁶³ and by remarks in contemporary sources. Aretino praises the modesty of the prince as well: „quella modestia che, se ben sete primo ne la patria, non ha mai permesso sí fatto titolo a la dignità de i vostri chiari meriti; anzi più tosto si è sodisfatta in mostrarsi eguale nel collegio de i suoi cittadini, che seder duce di tutta la moltitudine ne gli ordini civili.“⁶⁴ The biographer Capelloni also tells us in 1550 that Doria was a patrician like the others and only distinguished by his title of *Pater Patriae*: „vive come cittadino, tal che nissun vantaggio in lei da gli altri si discerne, se non che come benemerito di essa (con giusto titolo) è chiamato Padre della Patria: & datole l'honore d'institutor e conservator d'ogni prosperità.“⁶⁵ Thus a real monument of Andrea Doria would have violated the egalitarian principles of the republic and therefore by disguising the monument as Neptune it was made more obvious that it was devoted to the virtue, and not to the person, of Doria. Indeed the way the monument was erected contradicted the artist's intention and probably also that of the prince. It was not freestanding in the middle of the square, but was placed near the facade of the Signoria. This less prominent position served to counteract, at least partially, Doria's assertion of princely power.⁶⁶ Nevertheless not only the Alba monument in the Netherlands, but also the public sculpture of Andrea Doria were later destroyed by revolutions.⁶⁷

This background explains why we find in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only four more „monuments“ of princes as Neptune in the same socio-cultural context. Around 1575 there was an unexecuted project in Venice by Alessandro Vittoria to erect a monument to the victor of Lepanto, Sebastiano Venier, as Neptune.⁶⁸ The 1615 fountain in Malta presents Neptune without doubt with the face of Alof de Vignacourt, grand master of the Order of Malta.⁶⁹ As such he was not only a military leader, but also an elected *primus inter pares* like Doria. The same can be said of Frederick Hendrick of Orange-Nassau and Corneille Tromp. Both were military commanders of the republican Netherlands and depicted in fictive monuments as Neptune. The first was painted around 1650 by Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert,⁷⁰

63 Parma Armani 1993 (cfr. n. 28), 161.

64 Aretino 1998 (cfr. n. 61), 299.

65 Capelloni 1550 (cfr. n. 5), s. p.

66 Keutner 1956 (cfr. n. 25), 148.

67 Laschke 1993 (cfr. n. 30); Keutner 1956 (cfr. n. 25), 147.

68 A. Bacchi / L. Camerlengo / M. Leithe-Jasper (eds.), „La bellissima maniera“. *Alessandro Vittoria e la scultura veneta del Cinquecento*, exhibition catalogue, Trent 1999, 346 ff., no. 76.

69 Keutner 1956 (cfr. n. 25), 150 f., ill. 12; Keller 1970 (cfr. n. 2), 126 f., fig. 18b.

70 H. Peter-Raupp, *Die Ikonographie des Oranjezaal*. (= *Studien zur Kunstgeschichte*; 11), Hildesheim / New York 1980, 81–84, ill. 31.

the latter depicted in an etching by Jan van Vianen⁷¹ (Fig. 8). In both, the hero is not shown leading a chariot as in other baroque examples (Fig. 1), but standing and crowned by Victoria, as in sculpted monuments of the apotheosis.

These, then, are the last echoes of the sixteenth century Genoese revival of the ancient tradition of mythological portraiture.



8. Corneille Tromp as Neptune, etching by Romeyn de Hooghe after Jan van Vianen, 1673 (?), Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina. Photo: Museum.

71 Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Klebeband LXX/1, no. 32.