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Changing the Enemy, Visualizing the Other:

Contacts between Muslims
and Christians in the Early
Modern Mediterranean Art

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Triumphant over the Enemy. References to the Turks as part of Andrea, Giannettino and Giovanni Andrea Doria's artistic patronage and public image

Laura Stagno*

Abstract

Andrea Doria (1466-1560) and later his heir, Giovanni Andrea I (1540-1606), were “generals of the sea” for the Spanish crown, and in that capacity engaged in a long-term effort to contain and defeat the Ottoman enemies. Ariosto, in his *Orlando Furioso*, celebrated Andrea as a new and greater Pompey, who made the Mediterranean safe from the “pirates” in its every part, and many other contemporary authors exalted his feats against the Turks. This paper aims to investigate how this role translated into images, with reference to Andrea, but also to his second-in-command and designated heir Giannettino (who was killed in the 1547 Fieschi conspiracy), and to the latter's son Giovanni Andrea, who, because

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of his father's premature death, became Andrea's successor. Works of art commissioned by the Dorias include references to Turks in such diverse contexts as "all'antica" sculptures and plaquettes, the depiction of the Battle of Lepanto in a narratively articulated series of six large tapestries, and the celebration of the passage of power from Andrea to Giovanni Andrea in a complex allegorical composition. The approach of the two Dorias to the theme was different: mediated by classical references in the case of the emperor's admiral, more explicit in that of his heir. The earliest, most direct representation of the defeated Turks at Andrea's feet, however, originated outside the family patronage, in the context of the public commission of an honorific portrait statue.

Andrea Doria (1466-1560) e in seguito il suo erede, Giovanni Andrea I (1550-1606), quali "generali del mare" per la corona spagnola, ebbero un ruolo cruciale nella strategia a lungo termine di lotta contro il nemico turco e di contenimento del suo potere. Ariosto, nel suo *Orlando Furioso*, celebrò Andrea come nuovo e più glorioso Pompeo, in grado di liberare il mare dai corsari ottomani, e numerosi altri testi coevi ne esaltarono le gesta contro il Turco. Scopo dell'articolo è quello di indagare in che modo tale ruolo si sia tradotto in termini di rappresentazione figurativa, in riferimento al grande ammiraglio, ma anche al suo luogotenente ed erede designato, Giannettino (ucciso nel corso della congiura dei Fieschi, nel 1547) e del figlio di questi, Giovanni Andrea, che appunto in ragione della morte prematura del padre succedette al grande ammiraglio. Tra le commissioni artistiche dei Doria si riscontrano riferimenti al nemico turco in statue e placchette, nell'articolata serie di arazzi dedicati alla battaglia di Lepanto, ma anche nella complessa raffigurazione allegorica del passaggio del potere dal vecchio principe al giovane erede. Il tipo di approccio al tema risulta però diverso: mediato da riferimenti classici e simbolici nel caso di Andrea, più diretto in quello del successore. In parallelo al patronage dei due Doria ha un ruolo di grande importanza la committenza della Repubblica genovese, alla quale si legano le prime iconografie che presentano in modo esplicito il trionfo di Andrea sugli Ottomani.

«Questo è quel Doria che fa dai pirati
Sicuro il vostro mar per tutti i lati.
Non fu Pompeo a par di costui degno,
Se ben vinse e cacciò tutti i corsari»¹.

Thus Ludovico Ariosto presented Andrea Doria in the 1532 edition of his *Orlando Furioso*, defining the admiral's figure by his victories on the Ottoman "pirates" and comparing him favourably to Pompey, who had freed the Mediterranean from corsairs in ancient times².

Ludovico Dolce later proposed the same concepts in the sonnet opening Andrea's first biography by Lorenzo Capelloni (1562), writing «Né fu Pompeo

¹ «This is that famous Doria / Who makes your sea safe from pirates on all sides / Not even Pompey was as worthy as he is, / Though he defeated and drove out all the corsairs»: Ariosto 1532, XV, vv. 30-31.

² The parallel between Andrea Doria and Pompey is analyzed in Gorse 1995, pp. 259-260 and Gorse 2016, pp. 14-15. On references to Andrea Doria in the *Orlando Furioso*, see B.M. Savy, catalogue entry 76, in Beltramini, Tura 2016, p. 196.

di maggior gloria cinto dell'invitto Doria»³. Andrea – Dolce asserted – had made every fierce, barbarous heart tremble and defeated Barbarossa, so that his name would live forever while the «impious Scythian» (as the Turk is called here, in reference to its barbarian ancestors: «la nation de' Turchi senza dubbio alcuno ha l'origine sua da scythi»⁴, Giovio observed) was left to sigh and cry, confronted with the extinction of all memories of his feats. In the meantime, Pietro Aretino, in the same letter of July 1541 in which he advanced his fortunate image of Andrea as Neptune – destined to become a standard reference for visual celebration, too – had called Doria «flagello della insolenza infedele», the scourge of infidel insolence⁵.

It is quite clear, from these few examples, that in reference to Andrea, emperor Charles V's «general of the sea»⁶, the Turks (using the term in its 16th century broad sense)⁷ were unambiguously typecast as the enemy on whose containment and defeat Doria's fame largely rested, as Andrea's biographies by Capelloni and Sigonio, which chronicle his battles and clashes with the Ottoman forces, confirm⁸; and, on a lesser scale, the same applies to his designated successor Giannettino, whose promising but brief career was interrupted by his murder during the Fieschi conspiracy (1547)⁹, as well as to the latter's son Giovanni Andrea I, who was Andrea's main heir and in 1583 gained the position of admiral of the Mediterranean fleet for Philip II (having previously commanded the right wing of the Christian fleet at Lepanto)¹⁰.

The main object of this paper is to investigate if and how, for the three of them, this literarily celebrated role of champions in the fight against the Muslim enemy translated into visual imagery.

³ «Pompey was not crowned with greater glory than undefeated Doria»: *Sonetto del signor Ludovico Dolce in lode del prencipe Andrea Doria*, in Capelloni 1562.

⁴ «The Turkish nation draws its origin from the Scythians, without a doubt» (Giovio 1535, p. 3).

⁵ Pietro Aretino, *A lo immortale Andrea Doria* (Venice, July 13th, 1541), in *Il secondo libro* 1609, p. 215.

⁶ The vast bibliography on Andrea Doria's figure and political role includes: Grendi 1979, pp. 91-121 (later published in Grendi 1987, pp. 139-172); Lingua 1984; Grendi 1992, pp. 264-274; Pacini 1999; Lo Basso 2003, particularly pp. 267-272; Pacini 2007, pp. 409-435; Graziani 2008; Carpentier 2013a; Airaldi 2015.

⁷ In early modern Italy, the term “Turks” referred not only to those who belonged to the Turkish ethnic community and state, but to all Ottomans, including Barbary corsairs; in fact, to all Muslims of any ethnic origin except the black inhabitants of Northern Africa, called “Mori” (Moors). See Formica 2012, p. 17. The term was often used in the singular (“il Turco”), to signify the perceived unity of the Ottoman “other” (*ivi*, p. 10). In this paper, “Turk(s)” and “Turkish” are therefore used in the same generic way.

⁸ Capelloni 1562 (and later editions); Sigonio 1586 (later translated into Italian by Pompeo Arnolfini: Sigonio 1598). Capelloni also authored an encomiastic address to celebrate Andrea's conquest of the city of Africa (Capelloni 1550).

⁹ On Giannettino Doria, see Cavanna Ciappina 1992, pp. 341-345; Bernabò 2008, pp. 43-49. Andrea Doria had no children of his own: hence his adoption of Giannettino, a first cousin's son, and then of Giannettino's son, Giovanni Andrea, as his main heirs.

¹⁰ On Giovanni Andrea I Doria, see: Bracco 1960; Savelli 1989; Savelli 1992; *Vita del Principe* 1997; Borghesi 1999; Lo Basso 2003, *passim*; Borghesi 2008; Carpentier 2013b; Lomas Cortés 2013; Carpentier, Priotti 2015.

Before doing that, though, it is useful to emphasize that Genoese art – an almost uncharted territory from this point of view¹¹, as opposed, for instance, to the well-studied Venetian context – comprises a wealth of images of Ottomans which cannot all be inserted in a binary discourse of direct opposition between local Christian identity and infidel threat, but rather concur to present “otherness” in a more complex and multi-faceted way¹². Images of Turks surface in early modern Genoa in a variety of contexts, with different roles and purposes. They appear in religious scenes, by means of the well-known translation mechanism by which the old enemies – typically, the Jews and the Romans persecuting Christ, as well as the first martyrs’ pagan tormentors – came to be represented with the characters of the new ones, the Ottomans¹³; but also as symbols of attractive exoticism or general remoteness in time and space, often linked to Old Testament episodes¹⁴. Classical figures of chained “captivi” with Turkish attributes recur in frescoes, sometimes on palaces’ façades for maximum impact¹⁵, but a series of etchings by Cornelis De Wael realistically presents, with no hints of condemnation, Muslim slaves’ everyday life in the city, from their work in the port to their performance of basic dentistry¹⁶. A portrait of 17th century aristocrat Gio Agostitino Durazzo in “alla Turchesca” apparel and a series of paintings (most of them now lost) celebrating his diplomatic missions to the Sublime Porte constitute the highest point of positive Turkish imagery in Genoa¹⁷.

It is against the background of this wider and diverse range of images, by avoiding monolithic generalizations, that the representations linked to the patronage or the public celebration of three generations of Doria di Melfi¹⁸ – committed to fight the

¹¹ A pioneering approach to the theme is offered by the exhibition catalogue *Turcherie. Suggestioni dell'arte ottomana a Genova*, edited by L. Pessa (2014), especially by Pessa 2014, pp. 36-45, and Sommariva 2014, pp. 46-53. An essay on the topic by L. Stagno is forthcoming (2018).

¹² For the concept of being confronted, most of the time, «non pas à une altérité univoque mais à une altérité ‘interconnectée’» – which is central to recent research on the theme of the image of the “other” in medieval and early modern Europe – see Stoichita 2014 (quotation from p. 36), as well as Formica 2012 (with specific reference to the Ottomans).

¹³ In general terms, see Stoichita 2014, pp. 31-41, and Capriotti 2016, pp. 357-373. For references to the Genoese context, from the late 15th century on, see Stagno forthcoming (2018).

¹⁴ For Genoese examples, see Pessa 2014, pp. 41-44.

¹⁵ Stagno forthcoming (2018).

¹⁶ Reference is made to a series of twelve etchings dated 1647, by Flemish painter Cornelis De Wael, who spent most of his life in Genoa (see Donati 1988, pp. 18-20; Castagneto 2008, pp. 29-50).

¹⁷ The portrait is by Franz Luyckx von Leuxenstem. 18th and 19th century sources mention paintings by Lorenzo Bertolotto and Domenico Piola, depicting significant moments of Durazzo’s mission to Constantinople. See Leoncini 2004, pp. 41-73; L. Leoncini, catalogue entries 62-64, in *ivi*, pp. 350-355. Durazzo wrote interesting reports about his missions to the Sublime Porte in 1665 and 1666-1667 (see E. Ferro, catalogue entry 3 in Pessa 2014, p. 77).

¹⁸ Andrea received the title of prince of Melfi from Charles V in 1531. There were many other branches of the family, bearing different titles. Among Andrea’s relations, Antonio Doria – not part of his line of adopted heirs, though serving under him for part of his career (with a pattern of recurring disagreements between them) – also had an important role in fighting the Ottomans, engaging in many clashes with them and writing the unpublished but widely circulated and

Ottomans by their role in the service of the Spanish crown (by which they surged to prominence and, in Andrea's case, to European relevance) – can be analysed as a most significant, high profile case study, itself characterized by a plurality of approaches and nuances.

Since his first sea commands in the service of the Republic of Genoa, during the second decade of the 16th century, Andrea's operations were largely directed against Barbary corsairs (which constituted a threat to navigation and to Ligurian coasts well into the 17th century). But it was at a later stage of his exceptional career, after he entered Charles V's service in 1528 – bringing with him his twelve galleys, in the specific kind of "asiento" contract he created¹⁹ –, that Andrea's role against the growing threat posed by the Ottomans, led by the greatly feared corsair Barbarossa (Khair-ad-Din) after the welding of Turkish-Barbary forces, came to be internationally recognized. The patent letter by which Charles V appointed him captain general of the army against the Turks insisted on Doria's «calidad, valor y experiencia» and «singular zelo» as means to defeat «el Turco común enemigo de la Cristiandad»²⁰. On the strength of his position as the emperor's admiral – «le bras armé des Castellans en Méditerranée»²¹ – Andrea also established, according to Grendi, his own "informal signoria" of Genoa²².

The list of Doria's clashes with the Ottomans is long, including the conquest of Corone and Patrasso in Morea (1532), the liberation of Tunis (1535), the rescuing of the imperial forces in Algiers one year later, but also such important defeats as the one at Prevesa (1538), which inaugurated a long period of a mostly unfavourable balance of forces²³.

How did all this translate into images?

Andrea's direct patronage was mainly focused on his palace, Palazzo del Principe, an *unicum* on the Genoese scene from both an architectural and an artistic point of view, which was built and decorated with the aim of conveying the exceptionality of Andrea's status. Perino del Vaga acted as court artist between 1528 and 1533, executing the fresco cycle with the help of his collaborators and designing most of the furnishings, tapestries included; Pordenone and Beccafumi were involved in the decoration of the southern façade²⁴.

influential *Discorso sopra le cose turchesche per via di mare* (1539), in which he cautioned against the threat posed by the strengthening of Barbarossa's naval forces (for Antonio Doria, see Borghesi 2007, pp. 454-466, with bibliography).

¹⁹ On the agreement stipulated between Andrea Doria and Charles V and the characters of the "asientos de galeras", see Lo Basso 2003, pp. 268-272, and Lo Basso 2007, pp. 397-428.

²⁰ «Quality, valour and experience» and «singular zeal» as means to defeat «the Turk, shared enemy of Christendom». Roma, Archivio Doria Pamphilj (hereinafter ADP), *Copia della Patente di Capitano generale dell'Armata contro il Turco fatta dall'imperatore Carlo V al Principe Andrea Primo. Estratta del suo Originale esistente nel Libro delle lettere Reali del 1528 a tutto 1560 segnato n. 1. 25 marzo 1532*, Scaff. 79.58.1B.

²¹ Carpentier 2013a, p. 215.

²² Grendi 1992.

²³ Grendi 1987; Grendi 1992; Pacini 1999; Pacini 2007; Carpentier 2013a.

²⁴ On Palazzo del Principe, see Gorse 1980; Parma Armani 1986, Magnani 1987; Boccardo 1989; Parma Armani 2001; Stagno 2004; Parma Armani 2004; Stagno 2005; Altavista 2013.

In this context, no images of Turks as such appear. On a more general level, Andrea did not have himself or events of his times represented in his palace, at all. With the help of an unknown adviser, a “letterato” who produced the iconographic program for the artistic cycle (the annalist Paolo Partenopeo and Paolo Giovio, who was more than once a guest at Palazzo del Principe, have been proposed for the role)²⁵, Doria used the filter of myth and ancient history to speak of the present. A case in point is the illustration of Lucius Aemilius Paulus’s triumph over the Gauls, from which he had freed Liguria, evoking the admiral’s own success in driving the French out of Genoa in 1528²⁶. In the same key, the *Fall of the Giants* on the vault of the main hall in Andrea’s apartment, considered to be Perino’s masterwork, has been interpreted by Elena Parma as an allusion to Charles V crushing his enemies²⁷, in the light of such parallels as the one proposed by Pietro Aretino in a 1537 letter to the emperor, in which he compared the latter’s foes – “il Turco” among them – to the foolish giants who challenged Jupiter and were destroyed by him²⁸. This kind of interpretation finds a parallel in the use of the giants’ motif as a symbolic reference to defeated enemies (Muslim included) in the arches erected in other cities for the emperor’s triumphal entries, and later for his son’s ones²⁹. By the time Charles V sojourned in Palazzo del Principe (March 28th – April 9th, 1533), the fresco was completed and the emperor’s throne was erected below it³⁰. The connection to the emperor’s presence is significant. For the same occasion, an ephemeral triumphal arch of classical architecture – of which a preparatory drawing survives³¹ (fig. 1) – was designed by Perino del Vaga and erected close to the palace³². The veil of myth was discarded here, in favour of a more direct celebration: in the upper section of the arch, scenes of battles in which turbaned Ottomans are recognizable flank a central personification bearing a papal tiara, possibly symbolizing catholic Religion, with figures kneeling in front of it³³. Reference is thus made to the recent clashes with the Infidels in Morea and Hungary, thanks to which Charles on his arrival at Genoa was saluted in the welcome address as a triumphator over the Ottomans, having «di fresco vinto e domato l’atroce e crudele nemico di Cristo Solimano imperatore turco»³⁴.

²⁵ Parma Armani 2001, pp. 85-88.

²⁶ Boccardo 1989, p. 53.

²⁷ Parma Armani 1986, pp. 122-123.

²⁸ Pietro Aretino, *A Cesare*, Venezia, May 20th, 1537, in *Il primo libro* 1864, pp. 152-153.

²⁹ See Borja Franco Llopis’s essay in this issue of «Il Capitale culturale».

³⁰ On Charles’s V stay at Palazzo del Principe and the ephemeral arches erected in that occasion, see Stagno 2002b, pp. 73-88, with bibliography.

³¹ London, Courtauld Institute of Art, inv. 21, recto. See E. Parma Armani, catalogue entry 95, in Parma Armani 2001, pp. 202-203.

³² Another arch was built close to the church of San Lazaro. The importance of the 1529 and 1533 ephemeral arches celebrating Charles V’s arrivals in Genoa have been underlined in Gorse 1993, pp. 9-18.

³³ Gorse interprets the figure as a personification of Rome, in a general reading of the arch’s and the palace’s iconography in terms of a new Augustean Golden Age, inaugurated by Charles V and Andrea Doria (Gorse 1993, p. 13).

³⁴ «Recently won and tamed the atrocious and cruel enemy of Christ, the Turkish Emperor

The same concepts were central in the address delivered when Charles V's son, Philip, arrived at Palazzo del Principe in 1548: in his encomiastic *Oratione*, Capelloni recalled the Emperor's great feats against «l'humanissimo Solimano Ottomano», the most inhuman Ottoman Suleyman, conducted with Andrea Doria's help, and auspicated a new crusade against the Mahometan sect, led by Philip³⁵. In the series of triumphal arches built in the city to honour the prince (only known through descriptions), various references were made to the defeated enemies, and the arch erected in Piazza dei Giustiniani bore a representation of the War of Tunis³⁶.

In Andrea's patronage, such explicit depictions were apparently reserved for Hapsburg exaltation in triumphal entries' propaganda. As previously said, only motifs that indirectly evoked a present-day enemy could be seen in Andrea's palace, as far as we know: details of classical imagery offered the visual means to convey ennobling allusions to current themes. The Phrygian cap recurs as an oblique reference to Ottoman "captivi", substituting the elsewhere ubiquitous turban, so as to be consistent with the Greco-Roman theme of the whole decoration: it appears in the stucco freeze of the Hall of the Giants, attributed to Silvio Cosini, and on one of the two marble figures of barbarian slaves – «figure barbate di schiavi, le quali [...] vestono il costume dei Daci, come vedonsi rappresentati nella colonna Traiana e sopra l'arco di Costantino. L'uno di tali schiavi ha coperto d' un berretto frigio il capo, all'altro lo intornia una benda»³⁷ – which support the majestic fireplace of this room, whose execution has been referred to Silvio Cosini, Guglielmo Della Porta and, lately, Niccolò da Corte and his workshop (fig. 2)³⁸.

The symbolic function of the cap is clear: one of the two engraved portraits by Enea Vico opening Andrea's first biography by Capelloni³⁹ – an "all'antica" image that defined and disseminated the idea of Andrea as «dux and princeps preliorum victor», military commander and prince, winner of battles – significantly includes in the bottom left corner a figure of a chained slave with a Phrygian cap, in a context which refers to Doria's victories over the Turks,

Suleyman». *Annali di Paolo Partenopeo* 1847, p. 113. Partenopeo wrote the welcome address, his young daughter Simonetta delivered it.

³⁵ Capelloni 1549.

³⁶ Stagno 2013, pp. 76-77.

³⁷ «Bearded figures of slaves, who [...] wear the dress of the Dacians, as they are seen represented on Trajan's column and on Constantine's arch. One of these slaves has his head covered by a Phrygian beret, the other wears a band around his» (Varni 1868, pp. 17-18). For the classical models of the "captivi" statues, see catalogue entry 74 (*Prigioni Farnese*), in Haskell, Penny 1984, pp. 436-339.

³⁸ Boccardo 1989, p. 57 (Cosini); Parma Armani 1987, p. 282 (Della Porta); Campigli 2014, pp. 83-104 (Da Corte).

³⁹ For the biography, its etchings and its editions, see Andreoli 2004, Stagno 2013. The biography was published two years after Andrea's death with Giovanni Andrea's support, and was dedicated to the latter. A new, much more successful edition was published in 1565, and later reprinted.

as is made explicit by the insertion of an ottoman flag and turban at the top of the same page (fig. 3).

A similar association is also visible on the series of six trophies sculpted by Giovannangelo Montorsoli between 1543 and 1547, now in Palazzo del Principe, but originally in the Doria church of San Matteo, whose renovation Andrea entrusted to the artist⁴⁰. These marble reliefs – which are celebrative of the patron’s status and *cursus honorum* (since they include his araldic eagle, the Golden Fleece he received in 1531 and maritime emblems, as well as a repertory of classical weapons, shields and cuirasses), while displaying no Christian symbols – may originally have had the function of chancel’s plutei; but they were removed from the church no later than 1613⁴¹. A headpiece evocative of a Phrygian cap is again included here; while in the panoplies flanked by putti, some of the arms of the defeated – dominated in four reliefs by the enemies’ reversed cuirasses, alternating with Andrea’s standing one, displaying the collar of the Golden Fleece – bear small crescents that discreetly but clearly identify them as belonging to Muslim foes. It is the presence of this detail that provides these military trophies with a measure of religious meaning, in that they commemorate the vanquishing of enemies of the faith: it is significant that the explicit mark of the crescent surfaces not in Andrea’s palace, but in his family church. For this motif the reliefs have an important antecedent. They share the crescent detail with the armour of the defeated foes in Montorsoli’s previously executed portrait statue of Andrea, which constitutes an iconographic turning point by offering an instance of a much more imposing and directly anti-ottoman image, that of Doria trampling two Turks underfoot.

It is to be noted that this statue, the most explicit contemporary work of art visualizing Andrea’s triumph over the Ottomans, did not originate within Doria patronage. Rather, it was linked to the way the Republic of Genoa viewed and communicated Andrea’s role. On October 7, 1528, after Andrea’s agreement with Charles V, the magistrate of the Twelve Reformers decreed to honour Doria, “Pater patriae”, by having a statue made for him⁴². It was first commissioned to Baccio Bandinelli, and a figure of Neptune with Doria’s features was the chosen subject (though possibly not from the start), but a series of disagreements and difficulties followed, so that Bandinelli never completed it. The artist, however, did produce a high quality presentation drawing of the sculpture, an unfinished statue and a series of projects for a never executed historiated pedestal, which include scenes of *all’antica* sea battles and a significant depiction of Doria as Roman dux (with a trident, to connect it to the mythological projection chosen for the sculptural portrait) receiving kneeling *captivi* with Phrygian

⁴⁰ On Andrea Doria’s patronage in relation to the church, see Chapter VI in Boccardo 1989, pp. 89-104. A PhD dissertation on *Andrea Doria, San Matteo, and the Art of Patronage in 16th Century Italy* is being prepared by B. Eldredge at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey.

⁴¹ Merli, Belgrano 1874, p. 40.

⁴² The decree is published in Alizeri 1877, pp. 312-314.

caps (fig. 4): a narrative rendition, expressed in the customary classical terms, of the idea of Andrea subjugating the Turks, which would become the main theme of the statue later executed by Montorsoli, replacing the Neptunian iconography⁴³. In 1538, following cardinal Innocenzo Cibo's recommendation of the artist, Montorsoli did in fact receive a commission for a new statue. He executed a colossal marble sculpture representing Andrea in the attire of a roman admiral or emperor (fig. 5), one of the first portrait statues to revive the fashion of classical "colossi" and an influential prototype for later ones⁴⁴. It was presumably finished by December 1539, and put in place between September and October 1540, against the main façade of Palazzo Ducale (seat of the Doge and of the government of the Republic) at the side of its entrance, rather than in the middle of the Doria family's square, for which it had been planned according to Vasari⁴⁵. As Lomazzo's description attests, Doria was represented holding a baton and having «some Turks under his feet»⁴⁶. The statue was badly damaged during the Jacobin uprising of June 14th, 1797⁴⁷, and only its central section and fragmentary basement survive⁴⁸. Andrea's left foot is shown pressing down on ornate arms and on the chained bust of a Turk, whose face is completely obliterated (while his turban survives); the torso of another defeated Ottoman can be seen close to it. The template was the classical image of Roman emperors crushing barbarians underfoot, visible on coins and statues⁴⁹, adapted to the illustration of the subjugation of the Turks (in the role of new barbarians). For this specific iconographic declination, the impact of ephemeral art – in which, after Charles V's triumphal progress through Italy subsequent to his Tunis victory, «the years 1535-36 saw a veritable invasion of Moors and Turks»⁵⁰ represented as *captivi* in various stances – must not be discounted. With this public statue, which was crucial in the creation and dissemination of the iconography of Andrea as a Roman dux, triumph over the Ottomans started to openly define Doria's image visually, in convergence with Ariosto's earlier evocation of a "new Pompey" ridding the Mediterranean

⁴³ The events related to Baccio Bandinelli's sculpture are described in Boccardo 1989, pp. 112-116. For the pedestal's drawings, see Gorse 2016, pp. 15-19.

⁴⁴ On Montorsoli's statue, see Keutner 1956, pp. 143-148; Manara 1959, pp. 26-32; Parma Armani 1970, pp. 33-41; Parma Armani 1987, pp. 286-289; Boccardo 1989, pp. 113-116; Laschke 1993, pp. 39-41; Gaier 2002, pp. 178-206; Hanke 2009-2010, pp. 175-176.

⁴⁵ On this point, see Parma Armani 1987, p. 288.

⁴⁶ Lomazzo 1584, p. 551.

⁴⁷ For a chronicle of the events, see Ronco 2005, pp. 142-146.

⁴⁸ The surviving fragments – the torso and the basement – of the two statues were retrieved and placed in the cloister of the Doria church of San Matteo in 1846, by prince Filippo Andrea V Doria Pamphilj. In 1936 they were transferred to Palazzo Ducale's atrium by Orlando Grosso, and later put into storage. In 2010, after restoration, they were moved from Museo di S. Agostino's deposits to the first landing of Palazzo Ducale's grand stairs, where they can be seen now (Spalla, Ansaldo 2014).

⁴⁹ Mattern 2002, pp. 196-197.

⁵⁰ Scorza 2012, p. 124.

of corsairs and with the other literary celebrations of his role, establishing an “official” model later appropriated by Giovanni Andrea Doria I in his own patronage.

At the time, Andrea’s chosen heir, Giannettino, son of his first cousin Tommaso, was acting as the admiral’s second-in-command. He had debuted in his career by taking part in Andrea’s expedition against Suleyman’s fleet in Cefalonia in 1537⁵¹, and later participated in other enterprises, earning a good reputation, as “valorous” and “very able” in maritime warfare, so that his name started to be well known among Christians and infidels alike⁵². In this capacity, following Andrea’s orders, in June 1540 he chased and captured the much feared Turkish corsair Turghud Ali Pasha – that is, «Dragut gran Corsale, e molto favorito di Barbarossa Re di Algeri»⁵³, the great corsair Dragut, much favoured by Barbarossa king of Algiers – in the bay of Girolata on the west coast of Corsica⁵⁴. This success, which was the apex of Giannettino’s career (interrupted in 1547 by his premature death), had a vast echo locally and internationally: it was considered «impresa utile»⁵⁵ and «assai nobile vittoria»⁵⁶, a useful feat and a most noble victory, against an «empio e rapacissimo nemico»⁵⁷, a godless and rapacious enemy, whom the young commander brought to Genoa in chains, exhibiting him as a trophy in his triumphal entry in the city⁵⁸. This defining moment constitutes the implicit subtext of the two bronze plaquettes celebrating Giannettino produced in 1541 by Leone Leoni, who had come to be in the service of Andrea Doria in Genoa, where he stayed for about eleven months, after being freed by the admiral’s intervention from his labours as “forzato” on a papal galley, to which he had been sentenced for assaulting the pope’s jeweller⁵⁹. The two subtly executed reliefs are part of a set of three known pieces, «intended to complement one another as a multi-faceted tribute

⁵¹ Bernabò 2008, p. 45.

⁵² «Giovine valoroso, nell’esercizio dell’armata marittima diligente e peritissimo [...] Il cui nome era già in molte parti de’ Cristiani ed infedeli noto e famoso». This definition was given by contemporary writer Lorenzo Capelloni in a manuscript description of the 1547 Fieschi conspiracy (in which Giannettino was killed), published in the 19th century by A. Oliveri (Capelloni 1858, p. 8).

⁵³ Ulloa 1565, p. 119.

⁵⁴ Bernabò 2008, p. 45; Moresco 2014, pp. 31-43. In 1544 Dragut, after having suffered the humiliation of serving on the Doria galleys, chained to an oak, was ransomed, probably as part of a wider political scheme.

⁵⁵ Capelloni 1565, p. 90.

⁵⁶ Campana 1605, p. 59.

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁸ Capelloni 1565, p. 90; Ulloa 1565, p. 120; Mambrino Roseo da Fabriano 1573, p. 149; Campana 1605, p. 59 (in which the date June 22nd, 1540, is given as the day of the “solemn entrée” of Giannettino in Genoa).

⁵⁹ On Leone Leoni’s plaquettes (as well as his relations with Andrea Doria and the medals he produced for his Doria patrons, one of which, now lost, bore Giannettino’s effigy), see Thornton 2006, pp. 828-832, with bibliography. The events of Leone’s punishment and subsequent liberation are known through a letter from Jacopo Giustinian to Pietro Aretino (May 16th, 1540), published in Bottari, Ticozzi 1822-25, 1, pp. 247-250.

to Andrea and Giannettino Doria»⁶⁰, the only plaquettes to be attributed to the artist with any certainty⁶¹.

The one surviving in multiple versions (fig. 6) shows Giannettino, attired as a Roman general, in a sea-car, with Neptune in his own chariot in the background, and bears the legend *ANDR.PATRIS.AVSPITIIS.ET.PROPRIO.LABORE* (under the auspices of his father Andrea and by his own efforts): an inscription and an iconography that Hill was the first to connect to Giannettino's victorious capture of Dragut⁶², and that faithfully reflect the widely shared perception of this feat as the result of the joined virtuous actions of the old admiral and of his adoptive son (in Andrea's biography by Capelloni, the "celebrated trophy" is said to have been acquired by Giannettino's vigilance and valour, and through the old Prince's wise judgement and deliberation: «acquistato con la sua [di Giannettino] vigilanza & valore, & dal saggio giudizio & deliberatione del vecchio Principe») ⁶³. Neptune in the background obviously alludes to Andrea; Boccardo has emphasized the timely relevance to this iconography of Aretino's 1541 letter identifying the old admiral as the only true god of the sea⁶⁴ (at the same time calling him scourge of the infidels, as mentioned before).

While a second plaquette portrays Andrea alone, between the allegories of Peace and Fame, the third one – known in only one specimen, purchased by the British Museum in 2005⁶⁵ – represents Giannettino, again in ancient Roman attire, while engaged in a classical-style sacrifice in front of a flaming altar (a scene partly "christianized" by Doria's kneeling posture), with a laurel tree behind him and a stormy sea with a ship in the background; it bears the legend *DEO LARGITORE* (to God, who gave [the victory]) (fig. 7).

Dora Thornton links this scene, too, to Giannettino's triumph over Dragut. She also notes the presence of a snake rising in the middle of the altar flames, and of another one depicted under young Doria's kneeling figure, connecting the second one to the precedent of Constantinian and later coins representing Christian emperors trampling serpents, interpreted as emblems of Discord⁶⁶. In light of Francesco Sorce's research on dragons and «their herpetological variations» (admitting a certain interchangeability between dragon and serpent) as symbols, originally rooted in the concept of religious heresy, of the Ottoman enemy in Christian literature and visual representation⁶⁷, as well as Borja Franco Llopis's observations on the use of snakes as negative symbols of Islam

⁶⁰ Thornton 2006, p. 830.

⁶¹ Warren 2012, p. 43.

⁶² Hill 1929, pp. 500-501.

⁶³ Capelloni 1565, p. 90.

⁶⁴ Boccardo 1989, p. 110 and p. 117, note 46. Boccardo prefers to interpret the figure in the sea-car in the foreground as Andrea rather than Giannettino, but observes that the general meaning of the composition is not greatly altered by the different reading of this character.

⁶⁵ Thornton 2006, p. 828.

⁶⁶ Thornton 2006, p. 832.

⁶⁷ Sorce 2013, pp. 173-198 (quotation at p. 173).

in ephemeral art⁶⁸, the serpent twice depicted in the plaquette – once amid flames, the other below Giannettino’s figure – can be read in a more specific sense as an allusion to the defeated enemy: “il Turco” in general and Dragut in particular.

Leoni’s plaquettes are consistent with the rest of Andrea Doria’s patronage in the choice of a classical paradigm to mediate references to current events, and in the preference for symbols and allegories.

It was only while the Doria house was headed by Giovanni Andrea I – Andrea’s chosen heir since his father Giannettino was killed in the 1547 Fieschi conspiracy – that the direct representation of Turks in the prince’s patronage, in connection both to his predecessor and to himself, became pervasive.

Giovanni Andrea did not gain the same role as Andrea, as the latter’s informal signoria of Genoa was never replicated in the Republic’s history – still, he was one of the richest men in Italy⁶⁹ as well as the *primus inter pares* among the Genoese oligarchs, and had an outstanding career on the sea and at the Spanish court⁷⁰. He started to navigate as a young boy, accompanying the old admiral on his galleys⁷¹. His first commands met with inauspicious results, especially with reference to the defeat at Gerbes (1559), but he later came to be considered one of the first “uomini di mare” in Europe, specializing in the war against the Turks. He maintained the “asiento” of his galleys to the crown of Spain, commanded the right wing of the fleet at the Battle of Lepanto, where he played an important – though controversial – part, and in late 1583 was appointed by Philip II general of the sea (the same position held by Andrea years before)⁷². Throughout his career, he was engaged in clashes with Barbary corsairs and with the Ottoman fleet⁷³: at Orano and Peñon de Velez (1563-1564), in the rescue operations of sieged Malta (1565) and of Tunis (1574) and in many other instances, till the final, unsuccessful expedition against Algiers (1601), after which he resigned his position⁷⁴. His vast information network and Genoa’s unique position allowed him to largely control the flux of information pertaining to Ottoman matters directed to Madrid, which enhanced his role in shaping Spain’s military strategies⁷⁵. In 1594 he became a member of the Spanish State Council, a honour rarely conferred on non-Spanish aristocrats⁷⁶.

⁶⁸ See Borja Franco Llopis’s essay in this issue of «Il Capitale culturale».

⁶⁹ In 1601 he was defined «richest, and most hated» of all Italian noblemen by an agent of the Granduke of Tuscany (Borghesi 1999, p. 19).

⁷⁰ Savelli 1992; Borghesi 2008; Carpentier, Priotti 2015.

⁷¹ *Vita del Principe* 1997, p. 3.

⁷² Savelli 1992; Borghesi 2008; Carpentier 2013b (where the date of Giovanni Andrea’s appointment as generale of the sea is given as 1584, rather than late 1583).

⁷³ See Carpentier 2013b. Some interesting materials can be found in *Relazioni di viaggi di G.A. Doria I con le galere del Re Cattolico contro i Turchi, 1565-67*, in ADP Scaff. 79.53. 15.

⁷⁴ Borghesi 1999, p. 8; Borghesi 2008, pp. 110-112.

⁷⁵ Carpentier 2015.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*.

Yet, the pivotal role played by his predecessor Andrea in European politics and his unequalled status cast a long shadow, influencing his successor's career choices, lifestyle and artistic patronage.

Giovanni Andrea started enlarging Palazzo del Principe as soon as he inherited it in 1560, and continued to renovate and decorate it till his death, in 1606⁷⁷. Images of Turks abound in the rooms he added to the palace, in a plurality of functions. They appear in religious scenes, in frescoes pertaining to two chapels destined to the use of Giovanni Andrea's wife, Zenobia⁷⁸: the first one, executed by Lazzaro Calvi in the passage leading to the main "Oratorio" on the ground floor (dated by documents to 1583)⁷⁹, comprises a depiction of *Christ among the doctors* – a scene sometime invested with the meaning of a confrontation and a resistance to the Christian truth on the part of the "others"⁸⁰ – in which an exotic-looking, turbaned figure stands in the foreground; while the second one, attributed to the brothers Cesare and Alessandro Semino, is on the wall of the small "camerino" attached to Zenobia's bedroom (1589) and represents an *Ecce Homo*⁸¹ (fig. 8). Here Pontius Pilate is attired in clearly recognizable Turkish dress and headgear (many other instances of this specific iconography, a blatant anachronism most loved by 16th and 17th century painters, can be found in Genoese art, from the works by Luca Cambiaso to those by Orazio De Ferrari)⁸²: another example of the tendency to project the characters of infidel alterity on all negative figures of the Gospels' narrative⁸³, such as the «iniquitous judge»⁸⁴ blamed for Christ's death. Late 16th century turbaned Turks support a mantelpiece, as opposed to the classical figure of the Phrygian capped slave in Andrea's monumental fireplace; and rustic telamons, originally in the palace's north garden (probably as part of a nimpheus), present the same attribute.

While all these details show a change in attitude, by presenting a frequent evocation of Ottoman figures and renouncing the earlier all-encompassing classicization of iconographies, they can be considered as relatively marginal. Other works of art, on the other hand, point at Giovanni Andrea intentionally assuming victory over the Turks as a central tenet of the family's glory (and consequent claim to primacy in the ranks of Genoese aristocracy). One of them, whose early story remains largely obscure, is a veritable manifesto: an

⁷⁷ On Giovanni Andrea's role with reference to Palazzo del Principe's decoration, furnishing and collections, see Stagno 1999; Stagno 2004; Stagno 2005; Stagno 2017a; Stagno 2017b.

⁷⁸ Both were added during Giovanni Andrea's tenure, as all other chapels in the palace (see Stagno 1999).

⁷⁹ Stagno 1999, p. 40.

⁸⁰ For a discussion of anti-Jewish renderings of the iconography, see Capriotti 2014, pp. 101-117; for an analysis of Dürer's *Christ among the Doctors* (among whom a black man is included) in terms of contrast between identity and alterity, beauty and ugliness, see Stoichita 2014, pp. 31-36.

⁸¹ Stagno 2017a.

⁸² Stagno forthcoming (2018).

⁸³ Gentili 1996; Capriotti 2016.

⁸⁴ For one of many instances in which Pilates's iniquity is underlined, see Visdomini 1575, p. 19.

allegorical painting (fig. 9) which includes an overabundance of inscriptions (part of them probably modified at a later date) to make its meaning clear to viewers and fulfil its didactic purpose, in an interplay of written words and images, realistic portraits and personifications which recalls the rhetoric structure and the relation between the figurative and the textual components typical of ephemeral monuments.

An allegorical ship is depicted, flying flags bearing the coat of arms of the sovereigns Andrea served as admiral (pope Clement VII, emperor Charles V, Philip II of Spain and Francis I of France), plus a Crucifix standard with the coat of arms of Emperor Charles V, Pope Paulus III and the Republic of Venice, alluding to the 1538 League against the Turks of which Andrea had been appointed “general of the sea”⁸⁵, and another one bearing the Genoese red cross on a white shield. Andrea is shown sitting on a throne while he invites the personifications of *Magnanimitas* and *Liberalitas* to pass their crowns to his heir, a young Giovanni Andrea, labelled as *GENUAE SPES ALTERA MAGNA*, the second great hope of Genoa (second after Andrea, of course). The whole painting is therefore an illustration of the passage of power from the old admiral to Giovanni Andrea, who was his heir but not his son; hence the need of such an emphatic celebration of the succession. But what matters more is that Andrea’s figure and career are presented overwhelmingly in terms of his victories over the Turks. The large, crowded painting is teeming with references to this theme. The main inscription at the top introduces Andrea as *MAGNVS ANDREAS DORIA ALTER NEPTVNVS PIRATARVM ACERRIMVS HOSTIS*⁸⁶ (The great Andrea, second Neptun, the fiercest enemy of the pirates). The sequence of two framed plates on the ship’s stern and nine green shields on its flank lists his major feats against the Ottomans: the liberation of Gaeta and the conquer of the city of Africa, as well as of Corone and Patrasso; the capture of Dragut and of Godoli’s galleys, and Himerale’s retreat; the victories over the Turkish fleets at Valona and Nice; the capture of Barbarossa’s galleys; the liberation of Christians from slavery. For this choice of episodes, the first source seems to be Capelloni’s biography⁸⁷. Images focus on the subjugation of the Ottomans

⁸⁵ «Essendosi fatta lega contra il turco tra il Papa, Cesare e Vinitiani, [Andrea Doria] fu fatto Generale di quella lega in mare e il Duca d’Urbino Generale degli eserciti da terra» (Capelloni 1565, *Sommario*; see also p. 83).

⁸⁶ *MAGNVS ANDREAS DORIA ALTER NEPTVNVS PIRATARVM ACERRIMVS HOSTIS PATER ET LIBERATOR PATRIAE QVI CLARISSIMVS PRINCEPS AVTORITATEM IMPERIVMQ. IN ITALIA CAROLO CAESARI SINE CONTROVERSI A-IACTE NVS RETIN VIT AC CONSERVAVIT.*

⁸⁷ The inscriptions read: *GAIETA OBSIDIONE MIRABILITER LIBERATA / AFRICA VRBS AFRICAE CAPTA / CORONAE ET PATRAE EXPVGNATAE / DRAGVTVS PYRATA CAPTVS / GODOLIS PYRATAE TRIREMES CAPTAE / CLASSIS TVRCICA AD VALONAM PRAELIGATA ET CAPTA / BARBAROSSAE, REGVLO, TRIREMES EREPTAE / CHRISTIANI SERVITVTE TVRCICA LIBERATI / HIMERARIS TVRCA IVGATVS / CLASSIS TVRCARVM AD NICEAM DISSIPAT / INSVLAE CORSICAE, OPTIMAE CONSVLTVM.* Capelloni’s biography seems to

as the basis of the admiral's power. Andrea and his throne are supported by chained, turbaned Turk captives, on which Doria's feet rest: an ancient motif, this of the throne-bearers, which found great fortune in 16th century triumphal processions and 'apparati' celebrating victories over the infidels⁸⁸. Close to one of these figures is the inscription TIRANNIS, which shows that, beyond symbolizing the enemy's defeat, they also function as an allegory of tyranny, as represented by the Ottoman state: a political trope which progressively gained strength from the 16th to the 18th century⁸⁹, and is to be found in many Christian texts, including – in the Genoese context – Capelloni's 1548 address to prince Philip that mentions peoples oppressed by the "Turchesca tirannide", or, one century later, *Il Genio Ligure risvegliato* which comments on the dispotical nature of the Sultan's regime both toward his own subjects and toward other nations⁹⁰. It is significant that below the head of the Turk supporting the throne and the personification of *Magnanimitas* at his side, an inscription on the ship's flank reads PATRIAE LIBERTAS RESTITUTA, an allusion to one of Andrea's best known claims to fame, celebrated in his biographies: according to Capelloni, after his agreement with Charles V he was offered the full signoria of Genoa, but refused it because of his wish to guarantee the freedom of the Republic, an attitude as opposite to tyranny as could be conceived⁹¹. The cartouche in the bottom-left corner of the painting bears a long *Explicatio Triumphi* that associates *Tirannis* to *Avaritia* and *Cupiditas*, stating that they were never able to induce Andrea to dominate his own city⁹².

A trophy of Ottoman arms can be seen hanging from the mast, while shipwrecked Turks, some of them already dead, float among the waves, and a triton figure with devilish characters chases them with his trident.

This is a visual reconstruction of Andrea's glorious career – as defined mainly by his triumphs over the Ottomans – used in all its force as a consecration of his heir's own role; and though no document gives information about the chronology of the painting (which, in the very few mentions it has received in recent literature, was dated either to Andrea's time⁹³ or to the 17th century,

be the source for the inclusion of such relatively minor episodes as the capture of Godoli's seven galleys (for which see Capelloni 1565, p. 24).

⁸⁸ See Borja Franco Llopis's essay in this issue of «Il Capitale culturale».

⁸⁹ Formica 2012, pp. 37-38.

⁹⁰ Capelloni 1549, pp. n.n.; Veneroso 1650, p. 99.

⁹¹ Capelloni 1565, p. 40.

⁹² CIRCVM SOLIVM HINC TYRANNIDEM, ILLINC AVARITIAM ATQVE CVPIDITATEM CATENIS VINCTAS DVCIT A' QVIBVS ABDVCI VNQVAM POTVIT, VT SVAM PATRIAM AVBIGARET. The complete text can be read in De Marchi 2016, pp. 406-407. The *Explicatio* poses some problems, as it is not perfectly consistent with the representation (for instance in the description of the two protagonists' attire and in the reference to an absent personification of *Cupiditas*, while *Avaritia* can be seen, in chains). See also the following note, with reference to the 2012 restoration report.

⁹³ Borghesi 1999, p. 12.

after 1627⁹⁴), it seems, on the strength of its artistic language, to have to be placed in the late 16th century, which links it to a commission by Giovanni Andrea in his later years. It is difficult to attribute it to a specific painter; in fact, the language does not appear to be distinctly Genoese, it seems to have more of a southern inflection, and combining this with the fact that its first known (quite late) mention is in an inventory of the Doria castle in Melfi⁹⁵, the fiefdom in Basilicata from which this branch of the family derived their title of princes⁹⁶ (though in 1830 the painting was transferred to Rome⁹⁷, from where it was moved to Genoa in 1996⁹⁸), I would suggest that this might be the highly didactic image that Giovanni Andrea commissioned for the Melfi palace, possibly to a local painter, wishing to summarize in one single allegory the greatness of his family, procured by Andrea's successes, and its continuity through the generations.

Much more information is available for other works of art which Giovanni Andrea commissioned to celebrate both his own and his predecessor's victories.

The Doria were collectors of precious tapestries – of which they owned an exceptional number – rather than of paintings⁹⁹. Andrea had extended his preference for classical subjects and motifs to the many tapestries he ordered for his palace, often designed by Perino del Vaga¹⁰⁰. Giovanni Andrea, on

⁹⁴ On the basis of the long inscription in the bottom-right corner, it has been argued (De Marchi 2016, pp. 406-407) that the painting must have been executed after 1627, as a Giovanni Andrea Doria Landi, marquis of Bardi, count of Compiano and lord of Turbigio (as well as prince of Melfi and other Doria titles) is mentioned in it, and 1627 was the year in which Giovanni Andrea II Doria married Polissena Landi, Federico II Landi's only daughter, who received Bardi, Compiano and other fiefdoms as her dowry. But the nuptial agreement (*Istromenti di dote della Signora Maria Landi Marchesa di Bardi nel suo matrimonio con Giovanni Andrea Doria Principe di Melfi*, in ADP, Scaff. 79.61), clearly state that the donation would become effective only after Federico's death, which happened only in 1661, twenty-one years after his son in law's demise. The first Doria to fit the profile would appear to be Giovanni Andrea Doria Landi II (1653-1737). The inscription on this cartouche – which has been suggested by a recent restoration (2012) to have been probably superimposed on the original surface, as its companion on the left (M. Fasce, "Trionfo di Andrea Doria", *Restoration report*, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe's Archive) – is therefore problematic and looks like a later addition, which does not in fact offer reliable clues about the date of the painting.

⁹⁵ «Quadro grande del Impresa del Trionfo della casa Doria», registered in the Melfi Castle in 1685 (ADP, Scaff. 23.5).

⁹⁶ Succession to the title was not linear. Charles V gave the principality of Melfi to Andrea Doria in 1531; Andrea left it to Marcantonio Doria Del Carretto, born of his wife Peretta's first marriage, to be passed on to Marcantonio's daughter Zenobia. Zenobia married Giovanni Andrea, as arranged by Andrea. Upon her death in 1590, the title of prince of Melfi passed to Giovanni Andrea; when he died, it passed to their first son Andrea II and then to his descendants.

⁹⁷ De Marchi 2016, p. 407.

⁹⁸ On the relocation in Palazzo del Principe of works of art belonging to the Doria Pamphilj collection which were connected to the Genoese side of the family's ancestry, during the late 1990s (when the Palazzo opened to the public and its restoration began), see Stagno 2002a.

⁹⁹ Boccardo 1983-1985, pp. 122-124; Stagno 2008, p. 57.

¹⁰⁰ Boccardo 1989, pp. 79-83. The conquest of Tunis, in which Andrea had taken part, was illustrated in the famous series of tapestries designed by Vermeyen, but it was a commission of Charles V's, but that was commissioned by Charles V (on the Tunis tapestries, see Bunes Ibarra 2006).

his part, commissioned an extraordinary set of tapestries (fig. 10) depicting the whole enterprise leading to the victory at Lepanto (October 7th, 1571), including the meeting of the Holy League's ships at Messina, the battle itself and the return of the Christian fleet to Corfu. Lepanto – «the most spectacular military event in the Mediterranean during the entire sixteenth century»¹⁰¹ – was a triumph celebrated throughout the Christian world and generated a wealth of celebrative images¹⁰²; but this series has been defined, in absolute terms, «la más completa crónica de la Batalla de Lepanto que se ha ejecutado en el campo de las Belles Artes»¹⁰³. In the expedition and battle, Giovanni Andrea was second in command, together with Luis de Zuñiga y Requesens, under Juan de Austria; he led the right wing of the Christian fleet¹⁰⁴ (according to the Doria family's tradition, it was in this occasion that he captured and brought back the Ottoman standard in crimson taffetas bearing Ali's two-bladed sword, Zulfiqar, and other Muslim symbols in contrasting coloured silks, still in their collection)¹⁰⁵.

His role was crucial; but his behaviour at the moment of the clash with the enemy (particularly the manoeuvres he ordered to avoid encirclement by the Turkish fleet's left wing, led by Uluç Ali, called Occhiali by the Italians) was harshly criticized by the leaders of the Venetian and papal forces¹⁰⁶; Marcantonio Colonna, in particular, orchestrated what has been defined a defamation campaign against him¹⁰⁷. Though Juan de Austria expressed his full support and appreciation for Doria's actions, it still made his participation to the Christians' greatest success against the Ottomans quite controversial. Many official representations of the battle, especially those connected to papal commissions, purposely omitted depicting the events that took place in the southern sector, in which the galleys led by Giovanni Andrea confronted Uluç Ali's¹⁰⁸. A number of reports preserved in the Doria Pamphilj Archive in Rome – including the copy of a “Relatione” Giovanni Andrea sent to Giacomo Di Negro, describing in detail the phases of the battle, «perché mi è venuto

¹⁰¹ Braudel 1973, p. 1088.

¹⁰² See Le Thiec 2007; Strunck 2011, pp. 217-242; Scorza 2012b.

¹⁰³ «The most complete chronicle of the Battle of Lepanto ever produced in the field of fine arts», Junquera 1971, p. 22.

¹⁰⁴ Borghesi 2008, p. 111.

¹⁰⁵ The standard might have migrated from the Palazzo del Principe in Genoa to the Doria Pamphilj palace in Rome (which had become the principal residence of the Doria family, subsequent to their inheriting the Pamphilj properties, titles and surname) in the late 18th or in the 19th centuries, as many other objects did (see Stagno 2013, pp. 169-206), though no document proving that has been found. During prince Alfonso Doria Pamphilj's tenure (1890-1914), it was exhibited in the display of arms and military antiques created in the Winter Garden of the family's roman palace, of which a photograph by Romualdo Moscioni (1849-1925) survives in the collections of Archivio Doria Pamphilj, Rome.

¹⁰⁶ Savelli 1992; Borghesi 2008, p. 111, with bibliography. See also Scorza 2012b, pp. 170-171.

¹⁰⁷ Capponi 2010, p. 254.

¹⁰⁸ See Scorza 2012b, pp. 169-170.

all'orecchie che alcuni vanno dicendo che il giorno della battaglia mi allargai con il corno diritto che io guidava troppo in mare et lo attribuiscono a poca voglia di combattere»¹⁰⁹ – attest to Doria's efforts to fully clear his name and claim the sizable share of glory he felt was his due. His decision to commission such a detailed illustration of the sequence of relevant events – preceded by a series of six canvases with the same subjects as the narrative parts of the tapestries, which he sent to Antonio Perez, Philip II's secretary, and are now at the Escorial – is probably at least partly motivated by the same reasons. A study published in 2008¹¹⁰ analyses the material story and complex iconography of the tapestries (as well as the relation between them and the earlier canvases); therefore they will be just summarized in this paper, while more specific attention will be paid to the figures of Turks represented in close-up in the low section of the two last tapestries. The set was commissioned by Giovanni Andrea about ten years after the battle. A modest payment in 1581 to Lazzaro Calvi (a prolific but relatively minor artist often employed by Giovanni Andrea) for six drawings, and important ones in 1582 and 1583 to Luca Cambiaso (the best Genoese painter of the time, soon to depart for Spain, where he would serve the king) for the “patroni” – the tapestry cartoons – are recorded¹¹¹. The series comprises six main pieces, plus three vertical “entre-fenêtres” with personifications of Spain, Rome and Venice¹¹². Each of the main pieces bears a central narrative scene, flanked by two personifications of virtues related to it (for instance, Concord associated to the meeting of the League's ships, Vigilance connected to the sea journey, etcetera); and a lower section displaying inscriptions that refer to the above scene, with either allegorical or realistic figures at their sides. This section is where negative or defeated characters are represented, such as the chained personification of Ocean under the depiction of the Christian fleet coasting Calabria.

It is to be noted that, though Giovanni Andrea was a most devout post-tridentine champion of the catholic faith, with the foundation or renovation of no less than eight churches and convents to his name and a strong connection to Borromeo's circle¹¹³, this detailed representation abstains from presenting Lepanto as a God-given victory, diverging in this from most other works of art connected with the theme¹¹⁴.

¹⁰⁹ «As it came to my ears that some people are saying that on the day of the battle I extended too far the line of the right wing [of the fleet], which I led, and they attribute this to little will to fight» (ADP, *Relatione*, Scaff. 75.30.5; other reports on the battle are preserved in the same box). See also *Particolare relatione del viaggio et della vittoria dell'armata della lega contra infideli l'anno del 1571*, in ADP Scaff. 79.53. 5.

¹¹⁰ Stagno 2008.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*. The cartoons were sent to Brussels, where the tapestries were made.

¹¹² All the pieces are in Palazzo del Principe, except the entre-fenêtre depicting Spain, which is in a different private collection.

¹¹³ Stagno 1999.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Le Thiec 2007, pp. 39-40; Strunck 2011.

No Virgin, saints or angels are visible here, no religious figures of any kind. The commentary joined to the narrative scenes is entrusted to the personifications and emblems that frame them, which refer, through an allegorical vocabulary rooted in classical tradition, to the virtues, skills, good luck, final victory and deserved fame of the Christians engaged in the enterprise. The visual motifs that compose this symbolic discourse mostly come from Cartari's *Images of the Gods of the Ancient* and, above all, Valeriano's *Hieroglifica*, volumes which are listed in a later catalogue of the Doria library including a high number of mid and late 16th century volumes, presumably Giovanni Andrea's own books (some of which are known to have been rare and precious)¹¹⁵.

The last two tapestries of the set represent the final phase of the battle, with the flight of seven Ottoman galleys commanded by Uluç Ali (the only Ottoman commander to survive), and the triumphal return of the victorious fleet to the Christian stronghold of Corfu. In the lower sections, Turks (rather than the allegories prevailing in the other pieces of the set) are depicted, two for each tapestry (figs. 11 a, b, c, d). All of them are surrounded by a wealth of sumptuous weapons. Three have their arms tied or chained behind their back, a position which obviously denotes them as "captivi" and which finds an obvious model in the Ottoman in the foreground of Titian's Lepanto allegory for Philip II, as well as in other permanent or ephemeral visual celebrations of Christian victories; the fourth is lying dead on a shield. It can be observed that their figures are afforded a high degree of dignity. The very last one, close to the personification of Fame (fig. 11d), is given a classical outlook, with a naked torso and a sort of Phrygian cap; but the others display a rich apparel and good, non-grotesque facial features, devoid of marked indicators of specific ethnicity¹¹⁶. Their exotic characters are not exasperated; they do not even wear turbans: their headgear is among the objects represented around them, together with the splendid arms discreetly emblazoned with the crescent. By comparing them, for instance, with Vasari's Turks in the Sala Regia's Lepanto frescoes, evoked by the personifications of their vices with their tragic consequences (Death, Fear, Weakness, Ruin, Pride) or represented as physically oppressed by the allegory of Faith¹¹⁷, and with the prisoners depicted by Ligozzi in the *Return of the Knights of saint Stephen from Lepanto* in the order's church in Pisa, whose barbarian, almost animal-like appearance has been noted¹¹⁸, it can be understood that in

¹¹⁵ See Stagno 2008, pp. 73-80. The list, which appears to be the catalogue of the family library in Palazzo del Principe, comprises mid 17th century titles, but has an important nucleus of 16th century books. Giovanni Andrea certainly was the owner of a library, which included rare volumes. Albert V of Bavaria, for instance, sent him a letter asking for the loan of some books which were written "in lingua affricana".

¹¹⁶ On the perception and depiction of Ottoman ethnicity, see Kaplan 2011, pp. 41-66.

¹¹⁷ Scorza 2012b, pp. 160, 184.

¹¹⁸ Strunck 2011, pp. 224-225. For another instance of allegorical representation of the Christian triumph in Lepanto centred on the Turks' vices, see Francesco Sorce's analysis of Lattanzio Gambarà's fresco in Palazzo Latta, Parma (Sorce 2016).

this case the role assigned to these figures is that of worthy enemies, rather than intrinsically inferior and almost diabolical infidels. This choice is consistent with the way the battle itself is presented: the inscription under its depiction in the fourth tapestry states that *DIV UTRINQUE AC FORTITER PUGNANTUR TANDEM FOEDERATORUM CLASSIS SUPERIOR EVADIT*: they fought long and bravely on both sides, at last the League's fleet prevailed. The aim of this kind of representation – as it will happen in the much later frescoes in the Palazzo Colonna in Rome, exalting Marcantonio¹¹⁹ – is clearly that of underlining the greatness of the feat accomplished by the Christian fleet that had Giovanni Andrea among its top commanders, in a context that was shaped by an intent of celebration (or defence) of Doria's political and military role, rather than by a religious agenda. Marina Formica states that the passage of the confrontation with the Other from a religious to a political/military plane, which allowed recognition of the enemy's valour, is attested, in particular, by Francesco Sansovino's *Dell'istoria uniuersale dell'origine et imperio de Turchi*¹²⁰, a three-volume opus published for the first time in 1560-1561 in which the author gathered the most important texts published on the Turks, with the aim of providing, as he states, “intera cognizione delle forze & della grandezza loro”, full information on their strengths and greatness, even proposing a parallel between their empire and the Roman one¹²¹. It is therefore interesting to note that the already mentioned catalogue of the Doria library¹²² includes both this influential work and the other one Sansovino devoted to the Ottoman theme, *Gl'Annali overo le vite de' principi et signori della casa Othomana*¹²³.

The lack of an explicit religious perspective in the Lepanto tapestries is partly counterbalanced by Giovanni Andrea's decision at a later date, in the mid 1590s, to have himself portrayed (probably by Lazzaro Calvi)¹²⁴ as Constantine on the eve of the battle at the Milvian Bridge (312 a.D.), gazing at the luminous cross in the sky, on the vault of one of the ground floor rooms (fig. 12). This projection of himself as *miles* and *princeps christianus*, involving the noble *persona* of the first Christian emperor, surely draws on many aspects of Doria's life and public image, but its first obvious reference is to the continuous war waged by Giovanni Andrea toward the new enemies of Christendom, the Ottomans, to be defeated in the name of the Cross as the pagans had been in Constantine's time; it even assumes the value of a more specific allusion to the battle of Lepanto if we consider that the Crucifix and the motto “in hoc signo

¹¹⁹ Strunck 2011.

¹²⁰ Sansovino 1560-1561.

¹²¹ Formica 2012, pp. 42-43.

¹²² ADP, Scaff. 75.94, Library catalogue (untitled).

¹²³ Sansovino 1570.

¹²⁴ On the fresco, see Gorse 1980, pp. 132-136 (where it was first published and attributed to Andrea Semino, and Giovanni Andrea's features were recognized in Constantine's profile) and Stagno 2017b.

vinces”, which appeared to the Roman emperor together with the cross and was inscribed on the *labarum* he brought to battle, were chosen to decorate the papal standard flown by Marcantonio Colonna on his flagship at Lepanto and later dedicated to the Virgin in Gaeta’s cathedral, and were also associated to the standard presented by Pius V to Juan de Austria in the scene’s depiction offered by such well known celebratory images as Giovanni Mellon’s medal for Cardinal Perrenot de Granvelle¹²⁵.

This iconography has the characters of an exception in the context of the fresco and stucco cycles that Giovanni Andrea commissioned for Palazzo del Principe, for which he generally chose classical myths and (less frequently) “pagan” Roman history as subjects, in continuity with Andrea’s example. But also exceptional in this sense was the artistic program of what he considered to be «la meglio pezza habbi in casa»¹²⁶ (the best room he had in his house), which was built and ornamented with the specific purpose of making it the new ceremonial heart of the palace: the Galleria Aurea (Golden Gallery), whose construction began in 1594¹²⁷. For it, Giovanni Andrea envisioned a grand cycle, composed of a rich stucco decoration, the execution of which he entrusted to the well-known specialist Marcello Sparzo¹²⁸, and five central “vacui” (empty spaces) that had to be frescoed, for which he sought to acquire the services of the best painters, including the Carracci and probably Caravaggio, without success (he died without seeing the pictorial part of the cycle carried out)¹²⁹. The main feature of the stucco decoration, presumably completed in 1599 when the new queen of Spain, Margaret of Austria, used the gallery to receive princes and ambassadors during her Genoese sojourn¹³⁰, is the series of “all’antica” statues (six on each long side of the gallery, one at the centre of each short side), influenced by the paradigm of the Twelve Cesars but in fact portraying the most illustrious members of the Doria house, from the medieval heroes to Andrea, in the attire of Roman generals¹³¹. When Giovanni Andrea – who, as his epistolary shows, was very much involved with the iconographic program – chose a seminal image of the great admiral, meant to dominate the room from its privileged position at the centre of the end side of the gallery, the preferred model was that offered by the colossal marble figure sculpted by Montorsoli. In Sparzo’s stucco statue (fig. 13), Andrea is presented as a victorious Roman general or emperor, crowned with laurel; his foot rests directly on a Turk’s turbaned head.

¹²⁵ Scorza 2012b, pp. 147-148.

¹²⁶ ADP, Scaff. 85.33, Letter from Giovanni Andrea Doria to Orazio Spinola, May 16th, 1605.

¹²⁷ Regarding the Galleria Aurea, its building and decoration, see Stagno 2017b, with bibliography.

¹²⁸ Sparzo was engaged in the decoration of four rooms, the gallery and the adjacent chapel; the work went on at least from 1596 to 1601 (Stagno 2017a). For an analysis of the artist’s activity for Giovanni Andrea Doria, see Galassi 1999 and Sanguineti 2015.

¹²⁹ *Ibidem*.

¹³⁰ For Margaret’s sojourn at Palazzo del Principe, see Stagno 2002b.

¹³¹ Stagno 2017b.

This explicit visual rendering of the admiral vanquishing the enemy – iconologically similar to the depiction of his trampling the prone figures of the Ottomans in the painting from Melfi – should have been narratively amplified by the planned but never executed fresco representation of his military feats on the gallery’s ceiling¹³², which would have completed Giovanni Andrea’s vision of dynastic celebration. Doria’s adoption in his own patronage (with regard to his predecessor’s effigy) of the successful formula inaugurated by the publicly commissioned statue by Montorsoli, already a model for such important sculptural portraits as Leones Leoni’s effigy of Charles V now in the Prado¹³³, was soon followed by the commission on the part of the city magistrates of a portrait sculpture of Giovanni Andrea himself – a tribute to his role as guarantor of the political preservation of the Republic (“*patriae libertatis conservator*”) – which was programmatically and closely modelled after Andrea’s one with regard both to iconography and dimensions.

Destined to guard the other side of Palazzo Ducale’s entrance, in symmetry with Montorsoli’s sculpture, the new “twin” statue (fig. 14), decreed in 1601¹³⁴, was executed by Taddeo Carlone. It shares the same history of Montorsoli’s sculpture, and is therefore similarly damaged. On its base, Giovanni Andrea’s left foot can be seen pressing down one of the two figures of Turks, quite close to its turbaned head, while the other foot is on the defeated enemies’ arms. Both the tense arching of the bodies and the expressions of the heavily mustachioned, strongly featured faces convey the drama of the Ottomans’ defeat and subjugation. The continuity with Andrea’s exceptional legacy, pursued by Giovanni Andrea in so many aspects of his life and career, here finds an authoritative visual confirmation, significantly based on the illustration of triumph over the Turks as the distinctive character shared by the two Dorias’ public *personae*. It is a fit conclusion for a relation with the enemy’s image that had known, in the course of the 16th century, many variations, from Andrea’s indirect approach to Giovanni Andrea’s more explicit one, consistent on the one hand with transformations in the representation of the Other in post-siege of Malta, post-Lepanto Christian imagery¹³⁵, but at the same time also rooted in the necessity for the latter to openly defend a less assured position, a

¹³² In letters written to Giovanni Andrea in January 1597 quoted in Merli, Belgrano 1874 (and currently not preserved among the letters received by Giovanni Andrea in that period, in ADP, Scaff. 82.15), Gerolamo Doria suggested the detailed subjects of the paintings, which, according to the succinct summary offered by the 19th century scholars, should have represented the military feats of the famous men of the Doria house, and especially those of Andrea (Merli, Belgrano 1874, p. 69). The paintings were not executed because Giovanni Andrea could find no artist that satisfied him, or could not reach an agreement with the painters he thought suitable; later on, a personification of Fame and putti were frescoed, probably by Giulio Benso.

¹³³ For instances of statues for which Montorsoli’s marble figure of Andrea was a model, see Parma Armani 1987, p. 289.

¹³⁴ Sborgi 1970, p. 127.

¹³⁵ Scorza 2012b, pp. 177-178.

more controversial role¹³⁶. At the same time, the two Dorias' patronage found a consistency of character in the prevalence of the military/political discourse over the religious dimension of the conflict, never translated directly into visual terms; while the two statues commissioned by the Republic's magistrates – placed in the public space at the entrance of the doge's palace and reiterating the same aulic iconography – crystallized the official, most explicit and most widely known image of the Turks' defeat (again, presented in classical terms devoid of Christian symbols) as basis of the Doria admirals' glory, celebrated by a grateful Republic.

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¹³⁶ In fact, as previously indicated, the works of art commissioned by Giovanni Andrea were not themselves homogeneous, but conveyed quite different nuances of meaning according to their purpose, measured by the distance between the representation of humiliated Turks under Andrea's feet in the dynastic painting, and the defeated but dignified figures in the Lepanto tapestries.

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Appendix

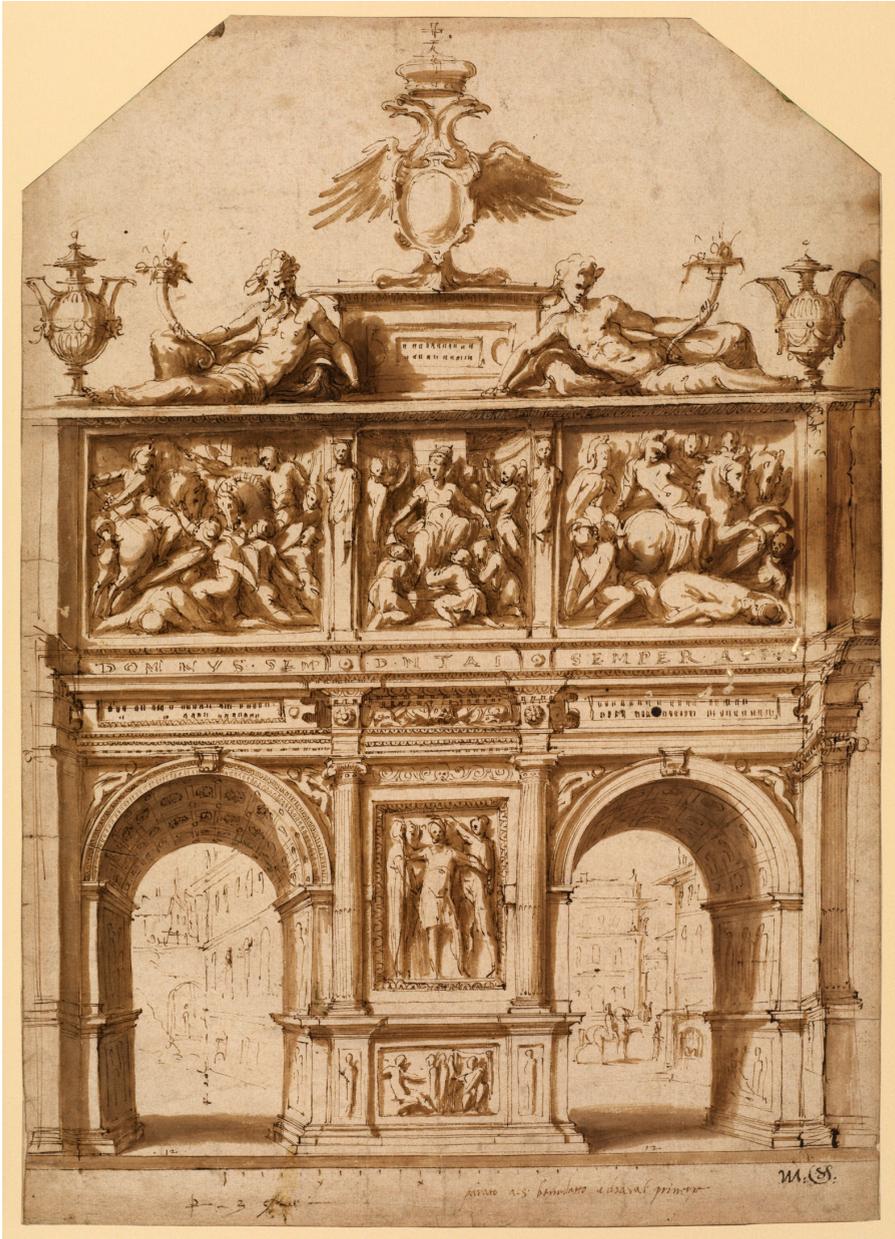


Fig. 1. Perino del Vaga, *Triumphal Arch for Charles V's 1533 entry in Genoa*, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Blunt Collection © Courtauld Institute, London



Fig. 2. *Figure of slave*, part of the Hall of the Giants' monumental fireplace, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe © Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj srl, Rome



Fig. 3. Portrait of Andrea Doria “VT DVX ET PRINCEPS PRELIORVM VICTOR”, by Enea Vico, in L. Capelloni, *Vita del prencipe Andrea Doria discritta da m. Lorenzo Capelloni con un compendio della medesima vita, e con due tauole; l'una delle cose più generali, & l'altra delle cose più notabili*, Venezia, Gabriele Giolito De Ferrari, 1565



Fig. 4. Baccio Bandinelli, *Andrea Doria receiving captives wearing Phrygian caps*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques © Musée du Louvre, Paris



Fig. 5. Giovannangelo Montorsoli, *All'antica portrait statue of Andrea Doria (fragments)*, Genoa, Palazzo Ducale © Comune di Genova



Fig. 6. Leone Leoni, *Giannettino Doria's marine triumph, with Andrea Doria as Neptune*, plaquette, London, British Museum © British Museum, London

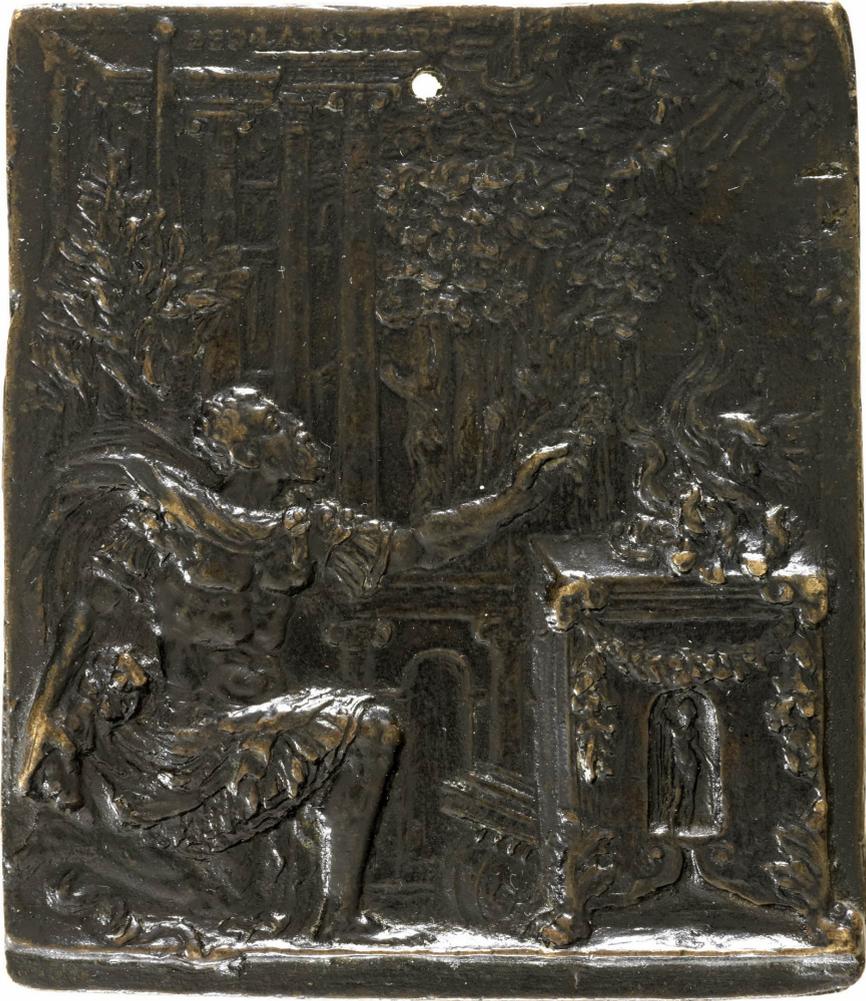


Fig. 7. Leone Leoni, *Giannettino Doria sacrificing*, plaquette, London, British Museum
© British Museum, London

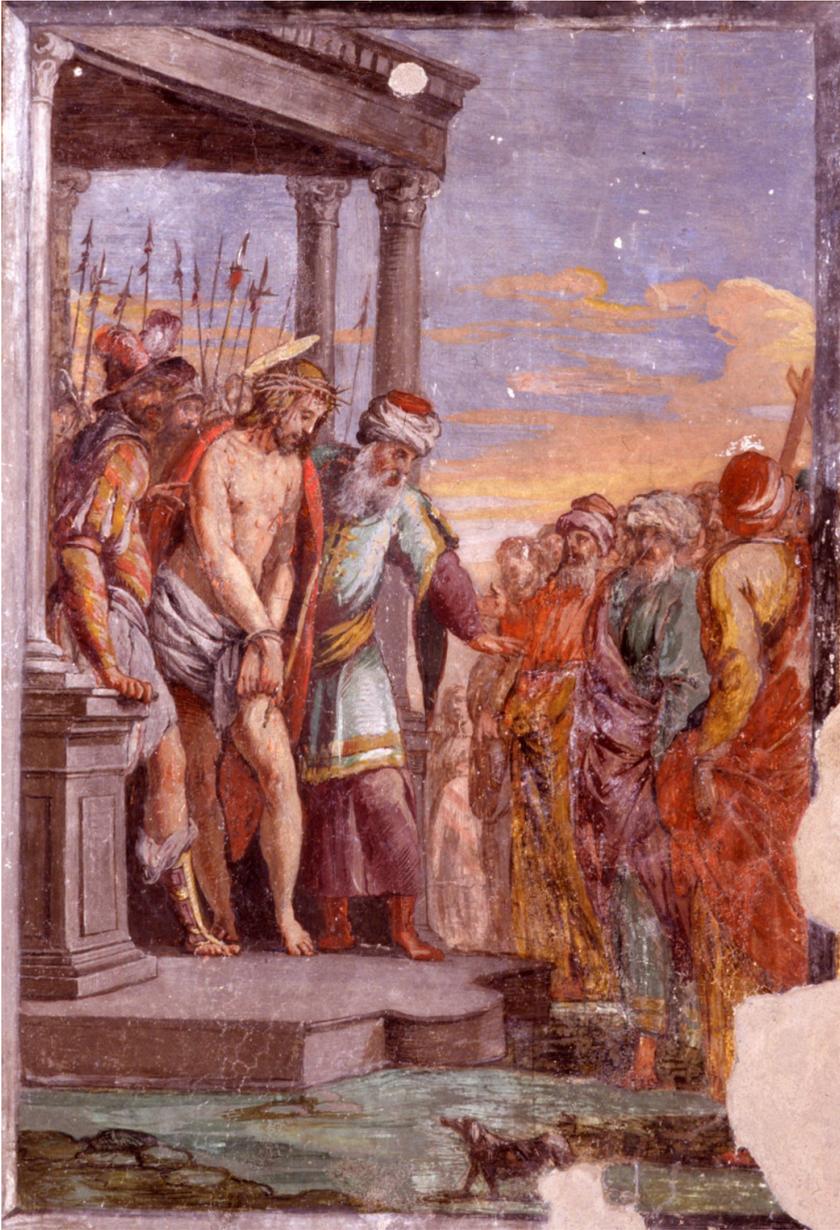


Fig. 8. Cesare and Alessandro Semino, *Ecce Homo*, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe
© Amministrazione Doria Pamphili srl, Rome



Fig. 9. Late 16th century painter, *The Passage of Power from Andrea to Giovanni Andrea Doria (Andrea Doria's triumph)*, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe © Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj srl, Rome



Fig. 10. "Battle of Lepanto" set of tapestries, designed by Luca Cambiaso, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe, Neptune's Hall © Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj srl, Rome



Fig. 11a and 11b. *Defeated Turks*, detail of *The victory and the seven Ottoman galleys' flight*, fifth piece of the "Battle of Lepanto" set of tapestries, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe, Neptune's Hall © Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj srl, Rome



Fig. 11c and 11d. *Defeated Turks*, detail of *Return of the victorious fleet to Corfu*, sixth piece of the “*Battle of Lepanto*” set of tapestries, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe, Neptune’s Hall
 © Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj srl, Rome



Fig. 12. Lazzaro Calvi, *Constantine on the eve of the battle at the Milvian Bridge*, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe, Constantine's Hall © Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj srl, Rome



Fig. 13. Marcello Sparzo, *All'antica portrait statue of Andrea Doria*, Genoa, Palazzo del Principe, Golden Gallery © Amministrazione Doria Pamphilj srl, Rome



Fig. 14. Taddeo Carlone, *All'antica portrait statue of Giovanni Andrea Doria (fragments)*, Genoa, Palazzo Ducale © Comune di Genova

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