

1-1-1985

The Villa of Andrea Doria in Genoa: Architecture, Gardens, and Suburban Setting

George Gorse
Pomona College

Recommended Citation

Gorse, George. "The Villa of Andrea Doria in Genoa: Architecture, Gardens, and Suburban Setting," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 44 (1985), pp. 18-36.

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Pomona Faculty Scholarship at Scholarship @ Claremont. It has been accepted for inclusion in Pomona Faculty Publications and Research by an authorized administrator of Scholarship @ Claremont. For more information, please contact scholarship@cuc.claremont.edu.

The Villa of Andrea Doria in Genoa: Architecture, Gardens, and Suburban Setting

GEORGE L. GORSE Pomona and Scripps Colleges

This paper reconsiders Andrea Doria's 16th-century villa in Genoa as an architectural and garden monument in relation to its original suburban setting.¹ The villa has thus far been discussed primarily as a decorative monument, with scholars focusing their attention upon the interior fresco and stucco decorations of Perino del Vaga and façade paintings by Perino, Beccafumi, and Pordenone.² However, these paintings have not been understood fully in terms of the architectural, garden, and suburban context of the villa, which serves as the focus of this study.

A biographical sketch of Doria is followed by a building history of his villa, tracing its classical and Renaissance prototypes, the development of the building plan, and phases of construction. Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli's gardens of the 1540s are reconstructed from visual and literary sources, then related to the villa architecture and its suburban environs. A discussion of urban planning around the villa during the 1530s and 1540s shows how the villa functioned as a ceremonial entry monument into Genoa. Concluding remarks on the triumphal receptions of Emperor Charles V and Philip II at the Villa Doria during the mid-16th century underscore the importance of the villa's architecture, gardens, and suburb as a unified work of art.

DURING THE 19TH CENTURY, the Villa Doria appeared as a monumental building with gardens to the north and south, facing outward toward the sea in Fassolo, a suburb to the northwest of the city (Fig. 1). Doria commemorated the foundation of his villa in 1529 with an inscription located on the central portion of the north façade (Fig. 2), overlooking the Via San Benedetto, the main public street through the area. This inscription provides a vivid autobiographical image of the patron, as well as a key to the program and meaning of his villa:

By Divine Favor Andrea Doria, son of Ceva [Doria], Captain General of the Holy Roman Church, of Charles V Emperor of the Catholics, Most High and Invincible, of Francis I King of France, and Prefect of the Genoese Fleet of Triremes Four Times, has restored these buildings for himself and his descendants now that this body is tired from past labors and in order to repose in distinguished ease [*Honesto Otio*], 1529.³

Andrea Doria was born in 1466 to Ceva and Caracosa Doria in the western Ligurian coastal town of Oneglia.⁴ A member of an impoverished branch of the powerful Doria noble family of Genoa, Andrea began his military career at the age of 18 in the Vatican Guard under Pope Innocent VIII of the Genoese

This article is based upon my Ph.D. dissertation, "The Villa Doria in Fassolo, Genoa," Brown University, 1980, from which a comprehensive monograph on the villa is in preparation. Portions were presented first at the SAH conferences in Savannah, Georgia, and Victoria, B.C., in 1979 and 1981. I would like to thank Elisabeth Blair MacDougall for her critical comments on the preliminary drafts. Grant support came from the Trustees of the Center for Studies in Landscape Architecture, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the American Council of Learned Societies. Finally, I would like to thank Naomi Sawelson-Gorse for her critical insights on this project. To Naomi this article is dedicated with affection.

1. Previous studies of the architecture and gardens include: A. Merli and L. T. Belgrano, "Il Palazzo del Principe Doria a Fassolo," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 10 (1874), 1-99; G. Caldiroli, "Il Palazzo del Principe a Genova-Fassolo," *Tesi di laurea*, Università di Genova, 1955; G. Cirilli, "Genova—La Villa del Principe e il suo Giardino," *Quaderno*, Università di Genova, Facoltà di Architettura, 7 (1971), 73-96; G. Gorse, "Genoese Renaissance Villas: A Typological Introduction," *Journal of Garden History*, 3 (1983), 255-280.

2. P. Askew, "Perino del Vaga's Decorations for the Palazzo Doria, Genoa," *Burlington Magazine*, 98 (1956), 46-53; B. Davidson, "Drawings by Perino del Vaga for the Palazzo Doria, Genoa," *Art Bulletin*, 41 (1959), 315-326; E. Parma-Armani, "Il Palazzo del Principe Andrea Doria a Fassolo in Genova," *L'Arte*, Ser. 3, 10 (1970), 12-59; C. Cohen, "Two Studies for Pordenone's Destroyed Jason Scene on the Palazzo Doria, Genoa," *Master Drawings*, 10 (1972), 126-133.

3. DIVINO MVNERE ANDREAS DORIA CEVAE F.:S.R. ECCLESIAE. CAROLI IMPERATORIS CATHOLICI MAXIMI ET INVICTISSIMI: FRANCISCI PRIMI FRANCORVM REGIS: ET PATRIAE CLASSIS TRIREMIVM IIII PRAEFECTVS VT MAXIMO LABORE IAM FESSO CORPORE HONESTO OTIO QVIESCERET AEDES SIBI ET SVCCESORIBVS INSTAVRAVIT: MDXXVIII.

4. There are two 16th-century biographies of Doria: L. Capelloni, *Vita Andreae Doriae*, Venice, 1565 (2d ed., 1863); C. Sigonio, *De vita et rebus gestis Andreae Auriac Melphiae principis libri II*, Genoa, 1586 (Italian ed., 1598). Modern studies include: F. D. Guerrazzi, *Vita di Andrea Doria*, 2 vols., Milan, 1864; E. Petit, *André Doria*, Paris, 1887; E. Grendi, "Andrea Doria, Uomo del Rinascimento," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 19 (93) (1979), 93-121.



Fig. 1. Villa Doria from south, 19th century (Fratelli Alinari).



Fig. 2. Villa Doria north façade view, east to west (author).

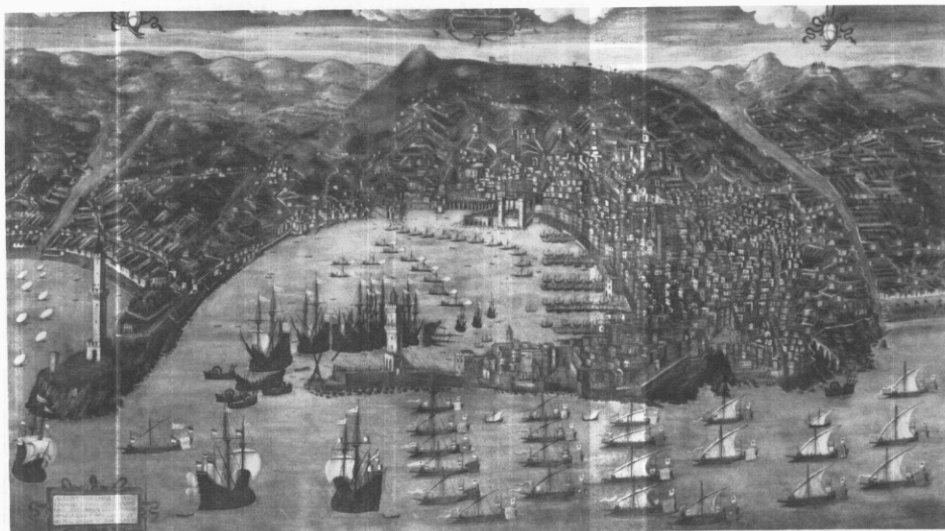


Fig. 3. Cristoforo de' Grassi, *Urban View of Genoa*. Painted in 1597 showing the city about 1481 (Genoa-Pegli, Civico Museo Navale; Direzione Belle Arti del Comune di Genova).

Cibo family.⁵ Following Innocent's death in 1492 and through the early years of the 16th century, he continued his *condottiere* service at the courts of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro in Urbino, Alfonso II of Aragon at Naples, and Giovanni della Rovere (later Pope Julius II) in Rome.⁶ These various and diverse contacts with High Renaissance court traditions and palaces would later influence his own artistic patronage.

Returning to Genoa, Doria was appointed Prefetto del Mare—prefect and captain of the Genoese fleet—in 1512 and thus began his long naval career.⁷ He went on to become a professional naval *condottiere*, taking part in the shifting military balance of power in Italy during the 1520s.⁸ First as Admiral General of the French fleet from 1522 until the capture of Francis I at the Battle of Pavia in 1525, and then as Captain General of the Holy Roman Church as part of Clement VII's League of Cognac against the Hapsburg empire from 1526 to 1528, Doria became the leading naval commander of the Mediterranean.

This phase of his life is summarized by the Villa Doria inscription of 1529.⁹ Doria's family birthright, his military alliances with Charles V, Francis I, and the Pope, his position as

prefect of the Genoese fleet are all prominently emphasized there, and the triumphant, retrospective tone in which he introduces the villa reflects a sense of optimism, probably stemming from the important historical events of the late 1520s, the highpoint of the patron's life.

In August of 1528, Doria switched his alliance from the papacy and France to the Emperor Charles V, becoming admiral of the Hapsburg fleet and a leading supporter of Hapsburg power on the Italian peninsula.¹⁰ As part of his alliance with Charles, he expelled the French from Genoa by military force and founded the Genoese Republic, free from direct foreign occupation, in September 1528.¹¹ A grateful Senate gave Doria the formal title of Pater Patriae et Liberator (Father and Liberator of His Country) on 7 October of the same year.¹² He also received as part of his public honors a palace on the Piazza San Matteo, the traditional Doria family quarter in Genoa, as well as significant tax exemptions and a portrait sculpture of himself as Pater Patriae et Liberator.¹³ Soon thereafter, Charles V bestowed upon him the prestigious Order of the Golden Fleece and the title of Principe di Melfi.¹⁴ With these titles and privileges, Doria con-

5. Capelloni, *Vita*, 2d ed., 17–18.

6. Capelloni, *Vita*, 2d ed., 18–32.

7. Capelloni, *Vita*, 2d ed., 32–33.

8. Conflict between the Hapsburg, Valois, and papacy during this period discussed by J. Hook, *The Sack of Rome*, London, 1972.

9. See no. 3 above.

10. Capelloni, *Vita*, 2d ed., 51ff.

11. Described in J. Bonfadio, *Annali delle Cose de' Genovesi dall'Anno MDXXVIII sino all'Anno MDL . . .*, Capolago, 1836, 15ff.

12. Capelloni, *Vita*, 2d ed., 54, nn. 1, 2. The Senate proclamation giving Doria this title is published in F. Alizeri, *Notizie dei Professori del Disegno in Liguria dalla origini al secolo XVI*, Genoa, 1877, v, 313–314, n. 1.

13. See Alizeri, *Notizie*, n. 12 above, for these honors. I am preparing an article on the Doria portrait sculpture with further documents and discussion of civic context.

14. Capelloni, *Vita*, 2d ed., 62.



Fig. 4. Cristoforo de' Grassi, *Urban View of Genoa*, detail of Fassolo. Churches of San Benedetto and San Tomasso left and right of 16th-century Villa Doria site.

tinued his naval crusading against the Turks, the major threat to Italy and western Europe during the 16th century, until his death in 1560 at the incredible age of 94.

Doria's military and political career is closely related to the history of his Genoese suburban villa in Fassolo. The nucleus of his villa was established in August 1521 with the purchase of a modest *podere*, or farm villa, from Jacobo Lomellino, a member of a prominent Genoese noble family in Fassolo.¹⁵ Cristoforo de' Grassi's *Urban View of Genoa* of 1597, showing the city c. 1481 (Figs. 3, 4), illustrates the strategic importance of Fassolo, a rather densely populated suburb located outside the city walls, in front of the gate of San Tomasso at the northwest entrance into the harbor.¹⁶ A principal reason for the choice of site seems to be that Doria could oversee his military duties as Prefect of

the Sea and conveniently moor his galleys in front of his new villa.

The surrounding properties of the Genoese nobility also reflected the patron's rising social status in the city. The Lomellino farm villa is described in an April 1521 document as consisting of a house on the Via San Benedetto, with a farmyard, vineyard, and vegetable garden in back facing toward the seafront.¹⁷ Mentioned in the same document are properties owned by the Giustiniani de' Furneto family to the east and the Spinola and Adorno families to the west of the Lomellino residence.

15. Merli and Belgrano, "Il Palazzo," 1-12, Doc. IX. Discussion in Gorse, "Villa Doria," Chap. I, including physical remains of Lomellino house with documents. They purchased the property in 1498 from the Reccanelli family, following its expropriation by the city, with pledges to make repairs.

16. E. Poleggi, *Iconografia di Genova e delle riviere*, Genoa, 1977, no. 58.

17. Merli and Belgrano, "Il Palazzo," Doc. VIII: "... domum cum terra vineata ac arborata diversis arboribus et partim ortiva cum eius pertinentiis, ac quodam parvo vacuo per contra seu e regione dicte domus posito ubi cuniculi ali et saganari consueverunt, ac cum iure ducendi aquam a quodam fonticulo sito in Granarolo sub suis confinibus ... sitam in loco seu villa Fassoli extra muros Janue, cui terre cum domo coheret antea via publica, ab uno latere domus cum terra filiorum ac heredum qm. domini Hieronimi Spinule qm. Andree Justiniani qm. Octaviani mediante quodam eorum forno, a latere inferiori mare sive scopuli. ..."

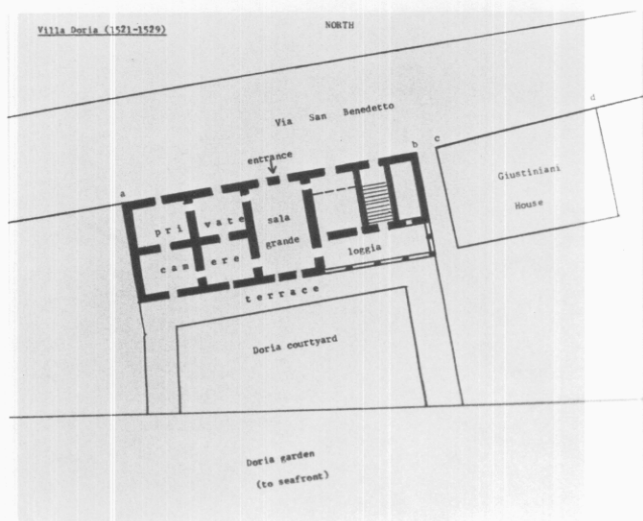


Fig. 5. Author's reconstruction plan of Villa Doria, 1521-1529.



Fig. 6. Villa Tomati in Val Polcevera, c. 1450 with late-15th-century additions (Direzione Belle Arti del Comune di Genova).

Doria's early villa can generally be reconstructed in plan from the existing villa and the documents (Figs. 2, 5).¹⁸ The location and dimensions of the Lomellino house are discernible from the irregular contour of the north façade, which changes angle abruptly several times along the Via San Benedetto. Within Doria's façade inscription of 1529 (see Fig. 5, a-d), the wall surface is broken into two large segments: one (a-b) measuring 35 meters to the west, and another (c-d) of about 17 meters to the east. These two sections are separated by a short break (b-c) in the façade of 3 meters. The 35-meter segment (a-b) corresponds to the Lomellino house, and the 17-meter dimension (c-d) to the Giustiniani de' Furneto property as described in the 1521 document. The 3-meter interval (b-c) represents a space or alley between the two houses.

18. Gorse, "Villa Doria," Chap. II.

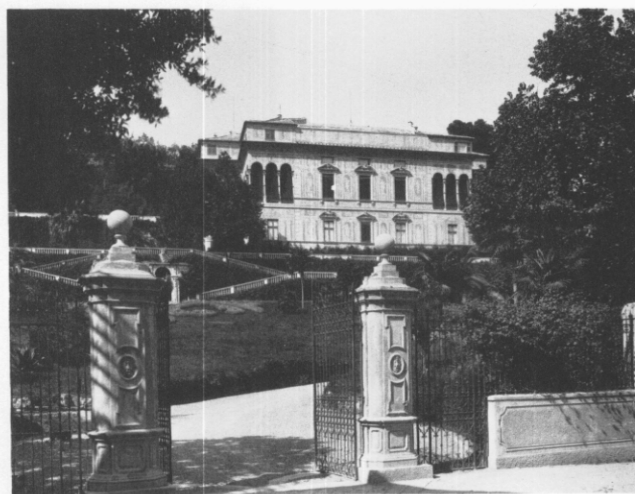


Fig. 7. Villa Cattaneo-Imperiale in Terralba, c. 1495-1502 with mid-16th-century additions (Direzione Belle Arti del Comune di Genova).

We must return to the Villa Doria inscription as a key to the building history, in conjunction with the physical evidence. Doria refers in his inscription to his "restoration of these buildings for himself and his descendants" (*italics mine*). The patron is emphasized as the principal figure in the building campaign, undoubtedly assisted by an architect, building advisor, or master mason.¹⁹ "Restoration" (*Instauravit*) is an accurate description of the building process, a rebuilding and consolidation of older structures into a new palace plan.

Physical evidence shows that Doria transformed the Lomellino farm villa into a pleasure villa after 1521.²⁰ The house was restored in an Early Renaissance style, establishing the block-like form and classical detailing of the present structure. His early villa emphasized the corner loggia in plan (see Fig. 5), a characteristic feature of Genoese 15th-century urban palaces and country villas. The Villa Tomati of c. 1450 (with late-15th-century additions) on the Salita degl'Angeli to the northwest of the city (Fig. 6) is one of the few extant examples of this Lombard Gothic-Early Renaissance style.²¹ An even more immediate Genoese prototype is the Villa Cattaneo-Imperiale in Terralba of 1495-1502 (Figs. 1, 7) with its longitudinal emphasis, decorated stucco façades, classical window frames, and loggias.²² This Genoese Early Renaissance villa style, with its open relationship to landscape, was the major source of inspiration for Doria's early villa.

19. The architect of the Villa Doria is unknown. Alizeri (*Notizie*, v, 284, n. 1) proposed Domenico Caranca, the architect of the Cathedral of Genoa during the 1520s, as "l'architetto o rafforzatore" of the villa. However, comparison with Caranca's extant work is not conclusive on this point. The absence of known architects for Genoese buildings remains common until the second half of the 16th century.

20. Gorse, "Villa Doria," Chap. II for a more complete discussion of the following points.

21. Gorse, "Genoese Renaissance Villas," 255-256.

22. Gorse, "Genoese Renaissance Villas," 258-259.

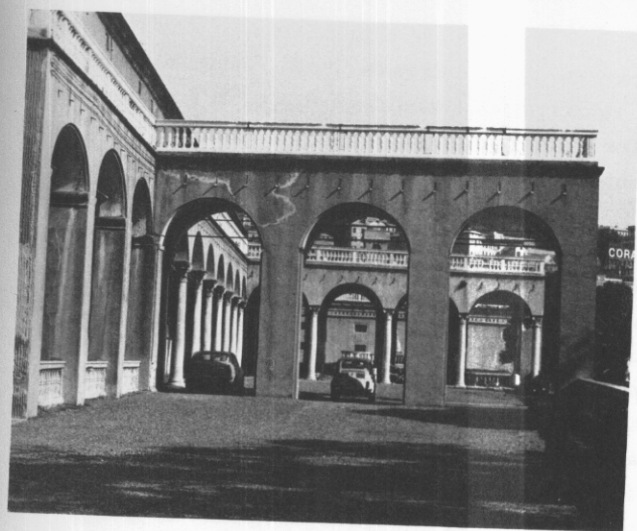


Fig. 8. Villa Doria south courtyard from west (author).

The most important addition Doria made to his villa in 1521, however, was a U-shaped courtyard on the south façade (Figs. 5, 8), which established the building's relationship to the sea.²³ A freestanding classical colonnade transformed the Lomellino farmyard (as described in the April 1521 document)²⁴ into a formal courtyard, orienting the palace toward the seafront. A terrace on the second floor opened the palace up to the landscape, and the property below was now changed from a vineyard and vegetable garden to a pleasure garden filled with trees, flowers, and formal plantings.

The "idea" of Doria's Renaissance *villa suburbana* on the sea was inspired ultimately by the Hellenistic-Roman portico sea villa (Figs. 1, 9), which the patron could only have known indirectly from classical literary sources and Renaissance recreations of classical villas.²⁵ Cicero referred to the Roman portico villa as part of a continuing Hellenistic tradition of the pleasure villa in nature, an integration of architecture, decorations, gardens, and landscape, a place for the pursuit of *otium*, the classical ideal of "contemplative ease" in nature.²⁶ Doria himself stressed the classical inspiration for his villa as a place for *honesto otio* in his 1529 inscription, a humanistic ideal which

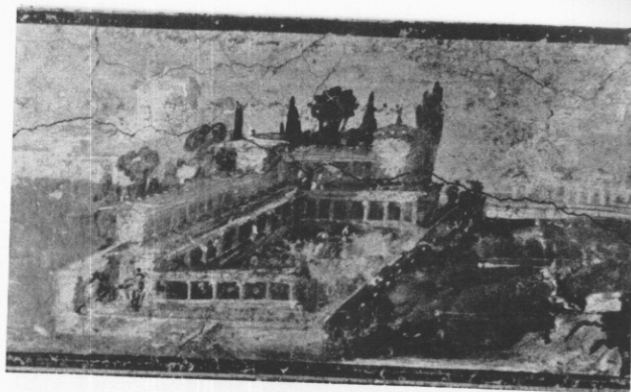


Fig. 9. Roman sea villa. Wall painting, from Stabiae, 1st century A.D., now in Museo Nazionale, Naples.

he would have learned from his early court experiences in Rome, Urbino, and Naples.²⁷

Pliny the Younger's description of Laurentinum from the 1st century A.D. might further have influenced the Villa Doria U-shaped plan and orientation.²⁸ According to Pliny, his villa included an atrium court and numerous rooms with prospects over the sea, plain, and mountain wood.²⁹ Leon Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* of 1452 repeats this recommendation in placing the villa "where [the owner] can uncontrolled enjoy all the pleasures and conveniences of air, sun, and fine prospects . . . and have a view of some city, town, the sea, and open plain and the tops of some known hills and mountains."³⁰

Doria's synthesis of the Genoese Early Renaissance villa with the classical sea villa idea seems particularly appropriate to this port city's tradition of arcading.³¹ This classical tradition would explain the longitudinal form of the building, with the U-shaped suncourt in the middle, and its orientation toward the landscape, the garden, and the sea.

The Villa Doria program of 1521 was further enlarged and the building remodeled during a second phase of construction after 1529 (Figs. 5, 10) to provide room for an apartment for

23. Dating and analysis of this courtyard in Gorse, "Villa Doria," 28–30. The capitals in the Doria courtyard are closely comparable to the loggia capitals of the Villa Imperiale in Terralba. The west arm of the Doria arcade deviates from the perpendicular 5 degrees to compensate for the oblique position of the villa in relation to the waterfront.

24. See n. 17 above.

25. K. M. Swoboda, *Römische und Romanische Paläste*, Vienna, 1924; C. L. Frommel, "La Villa Madama e la tipologia della villa romana nel Rinascimento," *Bollettino del centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio*, 11 (1969), 46–67.

26. J.-M. André, *L'Otium dans la vie morale et intellectuelle romain*, Paris, 1966; D. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, Princeton, 1979, 11–12.

27. Capelloni, *Vita*, 2d ed., 17–32.

28. Pliny's influence on Renaissance villas: J. Ackerman, "Sources of the Renaissance Villa," *Studies in Western Art: Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, 11. *The Renaissance and Mannerism*, Princeton, 1969, 6–19.

29. This included a dining room directly on the sea: Pliny, *Letters*, trans. W. Melmoth, London, 1923, 1, 153–155.

30. L. B. Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. J. Leoni, London, 1955, Bk. v, 17.

31. L. Grossi Bianchi and E. Poggi, *Una Città Portuale del Medioevo*, Genova nei secoli X–XVI, Genoa, 1980, 59–61, for the construction of the Ripa arcades during the 12th century.

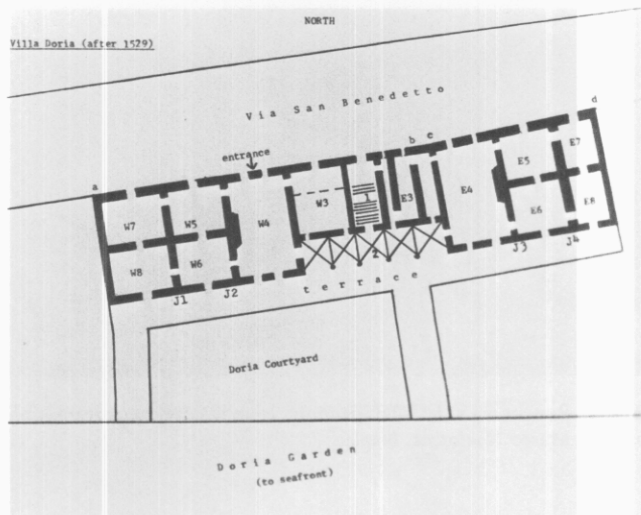


Fig. 10. Author's reconstruction plan of Villa Doria, 1529-1533.

Doria's wife, Peretta Usodimare, a niece of Pope Innocent VIII, whom he married in 1527.³² Peretta was given the east apartment in the expanded villa (Fig. 10, E4-8), while Andrea continued to live in the west apartment (Fig. 10, W4-8)—a separation between nuptial apartments common in Renaissance palace design.³³

Documents show that the Republic of Genoa expropriated the neighboring Giustiniani de' Furneto house to the east, which had fallen into ruin, and conceded to Doria the purchase of the property in June 1529.³⁴ Expropriation laws of this type in Genoa were a standard form of civic control over private property and an important instrument of urban planning during the medieval and Renaissance periods.³⁵

The Giustiniani de' Furneto property concession and the many privileges received from the Republic after September 1528 reflect Doria's political status in Genoa as well as the influence of the Usodimare family. A final document of purchase from June 1533 refers to the Giustiniani house as already part of the "most splendid villa of Prince Doria," and describes the building consolidation after 1529: "the [Giustiniani] house was torn down for the most Illustrious and excellent master Andrea Doria . . . [and] remade in another and internally diverse form from its

original, converted and changed, so as to support and make ready the larger house based upon the old foundations."³⁶

Doria's villa expansion of 1529 to 1533 (see Figs. 2, 10) resulted in a striking disparity between the exterior and interior of the building. On the exterior, the villa became asymmetrical, with the north portal entrance set off to the west, the joining angle between the two buildings clearly exposed (Fig. 10, b-c), and another terrace arcade added to the east side of the south courtyard. On the interior, the new program resulted in an entirely different apartment organization. The exterior loggia on the *piano nobile* (Fig. 10, no. 2) now became the central element in a symmetrical arrangement of two apartments—each including a *sala grande* (Fig. 10, E4, W4), two *anticamere* (E5-6, W5-6), and two *camere* (E7-8, W7-8)—a formal sequence from state room to semiprivate and private bedchambers.

This set the stage for Perino del Vaga's interior decorations and his façade decoration projects, executed between his arrival in Genoa during the spring of 1528 and his departure for Rome early in 1538.³⁷ Although this paper cannot consider Perino's decorations in detail, three points come out of the preceding architectural analysis which correct misconceptions about the decorations. The first concerns the relationship of the decorations to the architecture.

It has always been assumed that the Villa Doria architecture was completed before Perino's decorative campaign, based upon the façade inscription date of 1529. Taking this as a *terminus ante quem* for the building, Perino's decorations, according to this view, were fitted into a pre-existing architectural framework. This is disproved by the document of purchase and consolidation of the Giustiniani house into the villa between 1529 and 1533.³⁸ The Doria inscription, therefore, must commemorate the beginning of the architectural expansion rather than its end. This means that the Villa Doria expansion and the decorative program were conceived together, not separately, and that Perino probably had a strong influence on the final architectural plan.

The second point involves the chronology of Perino's decorations. Scholars have always followed Vasari's statement that Perino executed a full-scale cartoon of *Neptune Calming the Seas* upon his arrival in Genoa, now known only through a preparatory drawing (see Fig. 13), and that he painted this composition

32. Capelloni, *Vita*, 21. Doria's marriage was followed by the sack and partial burning of the villa by French troops during a raid on Genoa, 19-20 December 1528, which further necessitated the remodeling. See Gorse, "Villa Doria," 25, 27-28.

33. Alberti (*De re aedificatoria*, v, 2, 17) recommends this separation. The Palazzo Ducale at Urbino and the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, are two of many examples of this same division.

34. Merli and Belgrano, "Il Palazzo," 10-11, Doc. x.

35. See n. 15 above and Poleggi, "Il rinnovamento edilizio genovese e i maestri Antelami nel secolo XV," *Arte Lombarda*, 2d Sem., 1966, 53-68.

36. Merli and Belgrano, "Il Palazzo," Doc. x: "... et que domus fuit dirupta per illustrissimum et excellentissimum dominum Andream Dorian Melphi Principem . . . in aliam et penitus diversam formam a prima redegerit, converterit atque mutaverit, ita ut amplius species nulla antiquae forme subsistat et apparsat. . ."

37. G. Vasari, *Le Vite* . . . , ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1906, v, 612-620.

38. See n. 36 above.



Fig. 11. Perino del Vaga, north façade portal, c. 1529–1530, Villa Doria. Execution of architecture by Giovanni da Fiesole and figures by Silvio Cosini (Fratelli Alinari).

in oil fresco on the ceiling of the east salon (Fig. 10, E4) "as the first story and the first work that Perino began for the Prince."³⁹ However, Perino could not have executed the Neptune fresco first, because the east salon belongs to that portion of the palace (the Giustiniani house) purchased in June 1529 and then torn down, rebuilt and consolidated into the main building during the next four years.⁴⁰ Given the sequence of construction, Perino must have decorated the palace from west to east, beginning with the ground floor vestibule (Fig. 10, below W4), the second floor loggia, and the west apartment before turning to the east apartment.⁴¹

The third point concerns the close interrelationship of architecture and decorations, as one enters and proceeds through

39. Perino's preparatory drawing for this composition first published in Vasari, *Vita di Perino del Vaga*, ed. M. Labò, Florence, 1912, 44. Inv. Reiset, 636. The fragility of oil fresco, probably painted largely *a secco*, resulted in the painting's fading and loss by the 17th century. See Gorse, "Villa Doria," 65–67. Vasari, *Le Vite*, v, 614–615: "... la prima storia ed il primo principio che Perino cominciase per il principe."

40. See n. 36 above.

41. This chronology has many points in common with Askew, "Decorations"; Davidson, "Drawings"; and Parma-Armani, "Il Palazzo," based upon stylistic analysis. See Gorse, "Villa Doria," Chap. III, for detailed discussion of datings.



Fig. 12. Villa Doria, Loggia degli Eroi, with decorations by Perino del Vaga, 1530–1531 (Fratelli Alinari).

the villa, in defining a series of interior spaces. A good example of Perino's architectural role is his north entrance portal on the Via San Benedetto (Fig. 11), executed by Giovanni da Fiesole and Silvio Cosini in white Carrara marble.⁴² Finely carved Doric columns on pedestals support a segmental arch with figures of Abundance (with cornucopia) and Peace (trophies) holding the Doria family coat-of-arms, the crowned eagle.⁴³ Eagles alternate with sacrificial ram's heads (*bucrania*) as antique funerary references to Immortality, Time, and Fame on the lintel, while the *Fundavit eam Altissimus* (Founded on Most High) inscription above the entrance refers to the ancient foundation and glory of the Doria family. Through this figural and architectural ensemble, the north portal introduces the theme of triumph-of-the-Doria as bringers of peace and prosperity to Genoa.

This same integration of architecture and decoration is apparent in the second floor *Loggia degli Eroi*, where a series of over-life-sized *Doria Ancestors* who served the state continue the theme of family triumph around the walls (Fig. 12).⁴⁴ They are seated within their architectural fields, looking out through a five-bayed Doric loggia to the second floor terrace and sea view. Their bulky Michelangelesque forms complement the heavy gray-stone pedimental entrance from the ground floor and the segmental door frames at either end which open into the grand salons beyond.⁴⁵

42. H.-W. Kruff, *Portali Genovesi del Rinascimento*, Florence, 1971, 19; Gorse, "Villa Doria," 47–49.

43. On the attributes of *Abundance* and *Peace*: C. Ripa, *Iconologia*, New York, 1970, 1–2, 375–378.

44. An inscription on the loggia cornice above their heads identifies them as "PRAECLARAE FAMILIAE MAGNI VIRI MAXIMI DVCE OPTIMA FECERE PRO PATRIA."

45. The loggia entrance bears the inscription date "MDXXX," another indication that Perino was involved with the architectural expansion and remodeling after 1529.



Fig. 13. Perino del Vaga, "Neptune Calming the Seas." Drawing for fresco 1528-1529, executed 1532-1533 (Paris, Musée de Louvre).



Fig. 14. Perino del Vaga, *Jupiter Casting Down the Giants*. Ceiling fresco in west salon, Villa Doria, 1531-1532 (Fratelli Alinari).

Perino designed the loggia vaults above their heads in a delicate Roman grotesque style, with Roman republican heroes surrounded by stucco representations of mythological gods.⁴⁶ On entering the *piano nobile* and turning toward either the grand salon or the apartment suite, one sees the Doria compared to these defenders of the Roman *patria*.

In the grand salons, monumental ceiling paintings dominate the architectural spaces. These were the major entertainment rooms on the *piano nobile*, and in them we move from themes of republic and family to the theme of empire. Neptune appeared over the east salon (Fig. 13), riding the waves on his sea chariot with trident in hand to calm the wind and sea and save the shipwrecked Aeneas, from the First Book of Virgil's *Aeneid*.⁴⁷

46. These Roman themes include: *Horatius Cocles Defending the Ponte Sublica*, *Titus Manlius*, *Camillus Refusing Ransom to the Gauls*, and *Mucius Scaevola before Porsena*.

47. See n. 39 above. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1, 135ff. "Quos egos . . .": see Gorse, "Villa Doria," 65-67, for analysis of this theme and comparison with Marcantonio Raimondi's *Quos Ego* engraving after Raphael, c. 1515-1516.



Fig. 15. Villa Doria, "Jupiter" west salon, with decorations by Perino del Vaga, 1531-1532 (Fratelli Alinari).

Neptune was an appropriate theme for Doria, the Hapsburg admiral in the Mediterranean. However, the Neptune theme may also refer to Peretta, who occupied the east apartment, because *Usodimare* literally means "use of the sea."

The west salon still preserves Perino's *Jupiter Casting Down the Giants* in *buon fresco* covering most of the vault surface (Figs. 14, 15). Surrounded by the Olympian gods, Jupiter casts down the giants, creatures of the earth, with his thunderbolts across a ruined landscape.⁴⁸ The eagle that Jupiter rides resembles the Doria coat-of-arms, repeated below at the top of Perino's large fireplace in the salon.⁴⁹ Several giants are shown as turbaned Turks, while the Golden Fleece appears in the lower left corner above Perino's signature—allusions to Doria's honors and military triumphs.

Perino relates his Jupiter painting to the architecture by the cascading motion of the giants, who almost fall out into the space below. Their pictorial relief is complemented by the plastic relief of the stucco gods and goddesses who move about in the lower lunettes. Furthermore, Perino designed tapestries to fit into the architectural framework of the grand salons.⁵⁰ A series

48. Apollodorus, *Gods and Heroes of the Greeks*, 1, 4.

49. This fireplace in black Promontorio marble also was sculpted by Silvio Cosini and Giovanni da Fiesole, with Guglielmo della Porta executing the white caryatid figures below. The central roundel theme of *Prometheus Stealing Fire from the Gods* and inscription *SORDIDA PURGAT* (Purge Sin) above, continue the themes of fire and virtue over vice from the Jupiter painting on the ceiling. See Gorse, "Villa Doria," 71-73.

50. Gorse, "Villa Doria," 81-87. The Doria tapestries are listed in an inventory after the patron's death in 1560, published by E. Pandiani, "Arredi ed Argenti di Andrea Doria da un Inventario del 1561," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 53 (1926), 241-297.

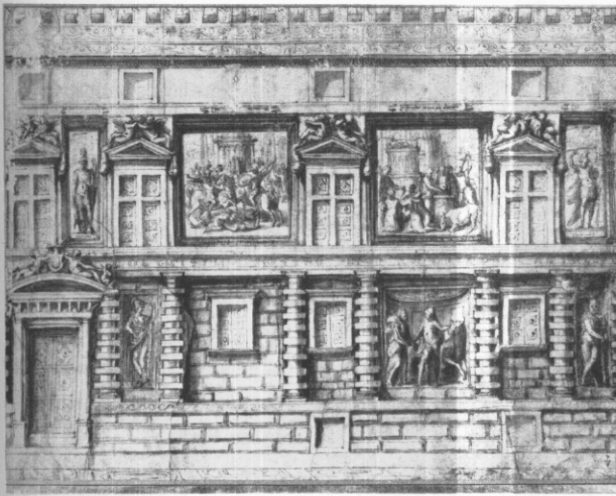


Fig. 16. Perino del Vaga, "Drawing for North Façade Decorations," 1533-1536, never executed (Chantilly, Musée Condé).

of seven tapestries on the "Acts of Jove" were hung in the Jupiter salon, while six "Aeneas" tapestries continued the narrative in the Neptune salon.⁵¹ Architecture as well as permanent and temporary decorations were unified in a single iconographic and stylistic scheme.

This same co-operation between architecture and decoration was continued in Perino's projects for exterior façade paintings. On the north façade, he designed a series of *Camillus* scenes in large framed pictures along the *piano nobile* (Figs. 2, 16), including the entrance portal, façade inscription, and classical window frames in a painted rusticated architecture.⁵² The *Camillus* cycle above the public street entrance to the villa was meant to complement the republican themes in the interior program through the Loggia degl'Eroi, while a *Jason and the Argonauts* cycle was intended for the south façade (see Fig. 1) to extend the imperial Neptune and Jupiter themes onto the second floor terrace overlooking the gardens and sea.

Consideration of the Villa Doria gardens and their suburban setting poses a more difficult problem, because they no longer exist in their original form. Giovanni Andrea Doria, the great-nephew and heir of Andrea Doria, expanded the villa and completely redesigned the gardens from the late 1570s through the 1590s.⁵³ The colossal *Jupiter* statue in a niche on the hillside,



Fig. 17. Villa Doria from south (author).

and the *Neptune* fountain in the lower garden, still visible in the 19th century (see Fig. 1), are part of this later campaign. Twentieth-century urban expansion into the area has further complicated studies of the villa environs (Fig. 17), with the destruction of the upper garden and the interruption of the original, surrounding street pattern.⁵⁴ As a result, we are dependent upon literary descriptions and views for a reconstruction of the gardens and their suburban setting.

Of the triumphal entry of Charles V into Genoa on 28 March 1533, Paolo Francesco Partenopeo, a Neapolitan humanist employed by the Genoese Republic as official historian, orator, and educator, reports: "Everyone stayed [at] the sumptuous houses and most pleasant gardens of Doria in that part of the city that passed the city gate of San Tomasso [and] turns to the west by the street of Fassolo."⁵⁵ The Villa Doria gardens appear already as part of a ceremonial context in this description, very different from the more functional Lomellino vineyard and vegetable garden mentioned in the April 1521 document.⁵⁶

Vasari tells us that the gardens were given a thematic focus during the 1540s when the Florentine sculptor Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, a follower of Michelangelo, came to work for Doria in Genoa.⁵⁷ Following Montorsoli's choir decorations and crypt tomb in the family church of San Matteo of 1543-1545,

51. Gorse, "Villa Doria," 84-85.

52. Davidson, "Drawings," 324-325, Figs. 22, 23; Gorse, "Villa Doria," 75-81. Parma-Armani ("Il Palazzo," 22) compares these designs to Giulio Romano's Palazzo del Tè in Mantua.

53. On these later changes: Gorse, "Villa Doria," Chaps. VI-VIII.

54. Gorse, "Villa Doria," Chap. IX.

55. See n. 87 below. Partenopeo, *Annali* (1536), Genoa, 1847, 115: "San tutti starsi le sontuose case e gli amenissimi giardini del Doria in quel trattodi città che varcata la porta di S. Tomasso volge ad occidente per la via di Fassolo."

56. See n. 17 above.

57. Vasari, *Le Vite*, VI, 645-646. On Montorsoli in Genoa: G. Manara, *Montorsoli e la sua opera Genovese*, Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Arte, Università di Genova, 2, Genoa, 1959.

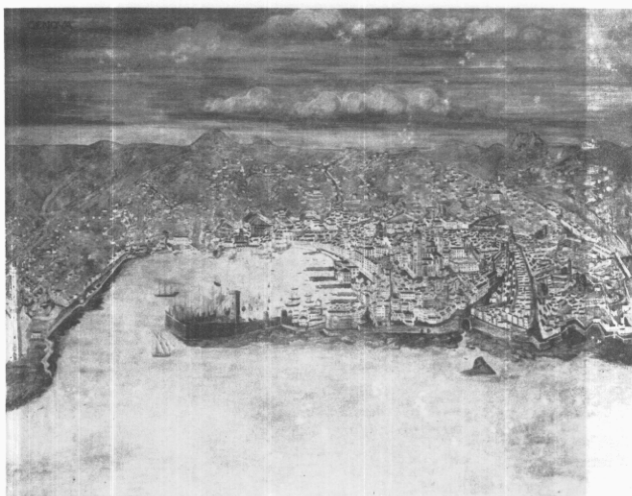


Fig. 18. Felice Calvi, *Urban View of Genoa*, about 1584. Fresco (Genoa, Palazzo Doria-Spinola).

the same Prince Doria had [Montorsoli] place a hand to his palace [in Fassolo], and to make new additions of buildings and very beautiful gardens, that were made by the Frate [Montorsoli]; which having just made a fish pond in front of the palace [Montorsoli] made a *marine monster of marble in the round*, that pours forth a great quantity of water into that fishpond. . . . He [also] made a *great Neptune of stucco*, that was posted over a pedestal in the garden of the prince.⁵⁸ [Italics mine]

Montorsoli's Villa Doria commission must be dated, therefore, to 1545–1547, before his return to Rome in the latter year.⁵⁹

Of the sculptures mentioned by Vasari at the villa, Montorsoli's stucco *Neptune*, the major iconographic feature of the garden, is lost; it was replaced in 1599 by Taddeo Carlone's *Neptune* fountain which still stands in the south garden (see Figs. 17, 30).⁶⁰ Montorsoli's "marine monster" has been identified with the extant *Triton* fountain (see Fig. 26) in the east courtyard of the palace.⁶¹ However, the *Triton* fountain was moved to its present location during Giovanni Andrea Doria's villa expansion after 1578.⁶² Its original site is uncertain.

58. Vasari, *Le Vite*, VI, 645–646: "Finita la detta chiesa [San Matteo], il medesimo prencipe Doria fece mettere mano al suo palazzo, e fargli nuove aggiunte di fabbriche e giardini bellissimi, che furono fatti del frate [Montorsoli]; il quale, avendo in ultimo fatto dalla parte dinanzi di detto palazzo un vivaio, fece di marmo un mostro marino di tondo rilievo, che versa in gran copia acqua nella detta peschiera. . . . Fece un gran Nettuno di stucco, che sopra un piedistallo fu posto nel giardino del principe."

59. Gorse, "Villa Doria," 89. On Montorsoli's presence in Rome in June 1547, see the letter published by G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI* . . . , Florence, 1840, II, 365.

60. See n. 99 below.

61. Manara, *Montorsoli*, 73–76, n. 21; Parma-Armani, "Il Palazzo," 22.

62. Merli and Belgrano, "Il Palazzo," 53, 56–57; Gorse, "Villa Doria," 163, with documents for new fountain installation.

A reconstruction of Montorsoli's garden program begins with Felice Calvi's *Urban View of Genoa* of c. 1584 in the Palazzo Doria-Spinola, owned during the 16th century by a close family relative and naval lieutenant of Doria (Figs. 18, 19).⁶³ The Villa Doria appears in schematic form, oriented outward by its U-shaped courtyard between two enclosed gardens—one to the north with terraces and the other to the south, toward the sea. Comparison with Cristoforo de' Grassi's urban view of just one hundred years before shows how the villa had come to dominate the suburb of Fassolo and the harbor entrance (see Figs. 3, 4). A sea loggia and breakwater in front serve as a reception platform, while Montorsoli's stucco *Neptune* appears in the middle of the south garden, facing the sea (see Fig. 19).

Montorsoli designed his stucco *Neptune* in imitation of Baccio Bandinelli's *Andrea Doria as Neptune* (Fig. 20), commissioned by the Signoria of Genoa in 1528 to commemorate Doria's foundation of the Republic and liberation of the city, and left incomplete in Carrara after the marble was quarried and blocked out in 1537–1538.⁶⁴ Calvi shows Montorsoli's *Neptune* as an over-life-size contrapposto figure, holding a staff or trident from upper left to lower right, and standing over a series of curving lines, representing the coiled body of a dolphin. The Neptune and dolphin are arranged in a tall, pyramidal composition, with its left side advanced forward; the sculptural group was placed over a circular fountain basin, as the central focus of the garden.

In iconography, Montorsoli's *Neptune* represents an image of the pacific Neptune, developed in Renaissance theory and emblem books from antique literary sources, sculpture, gems, and coins.⁶⁵ Giovanni Lomazzo in his *Treatise on Painting* of 1584 says that "Neptune, God of the Sea, was formed in diverse modes, now tranquil, quiet and pacific, and now all agitated as one reads in Homer, or Virgil."⁶⁶ Vincenzo Cartari's *Images of the Gods* (Fig. 21) illustrates the Renaissance theory of the "two natures" of Neptune.⁶⁷ The Marriage of Neptune and Amphitrite is flanked by two antique gems, showing the pacific Neptune as a contrapposto figure with a dolphin and the turbulent Neptune as a striding figure on a sea chariot. The pacific and turbulent Neptune types symbolize the nature of water itself in its calm and agitated states.

63. Poleggi, *Iconografia di Genova*, no. 60. On the Palazzo Doria-Spinola: E. Poleggi, *Il Palazzo di Antonio Doria a Genova*, Genoa, 1958.

64. See n. 13 above. D. Heikamp, "In margine alla 'Vita di Baccio Bandinelli' del Vasari," *Paragone*, 191 (1966), 51–62.

65. On the representation of Poseidon-Neptune in antiquity: W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, III, Leipzig, 1897–1909, cols. 2788–2898; G. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Romans*, New York, 1971, nos. 65–70, 648, 649.

66. G. P. Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'Arte de la Pittura*, Milan, 1584, Libro VII, Cap. xv, 584: "Nettuno Dio del mare fu formato in diversi modi, hora tranquillo, quieto e pacifico, e hora tutto turbato come si legge appresso Homero, o Vergilio."

67. V. Cartari, *Imagini de gli Dei delli Antichi*, Padua, 1615, 228.

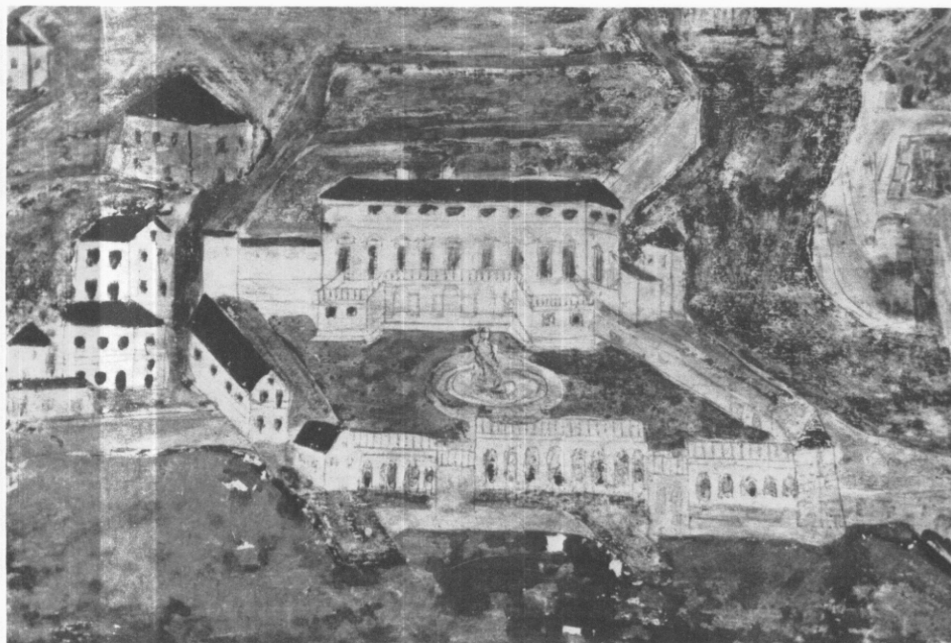


Fig. 19. Felice Calvi, *Urban View of Genoa*, detail of south garden of Villa Doria, with Montorsoli's stucco Neptune.



Fig. 20. Baccio Bandinelli, *Andrea Doria as Neptune*. Marble, commissioned 1528–1529, left incomplete 1537–1538.



Fig. 21. "Neptune and Amphitrite on a Sea Chariot," from Vincenzo Cartari, *Imagini de gli Dei delli Antichi*, Padua, 1615, 228.

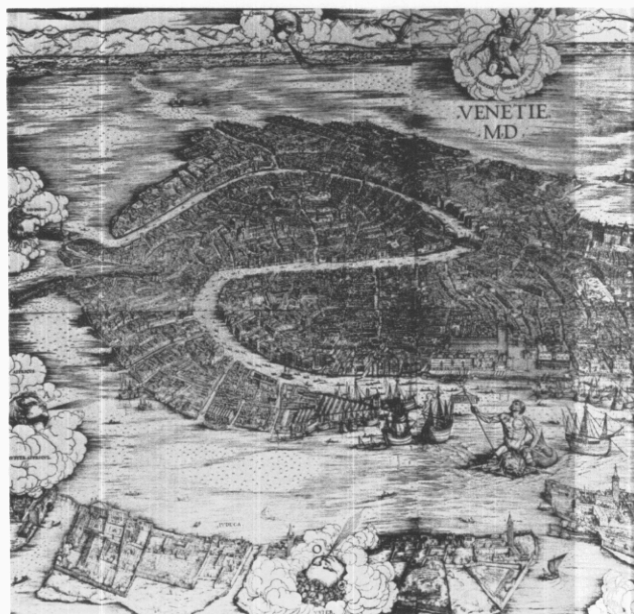


Fig. 22. Jacopo de' Barbari, "View of Venice," 1500, detail. Woodcut, first state (London, British Museum).

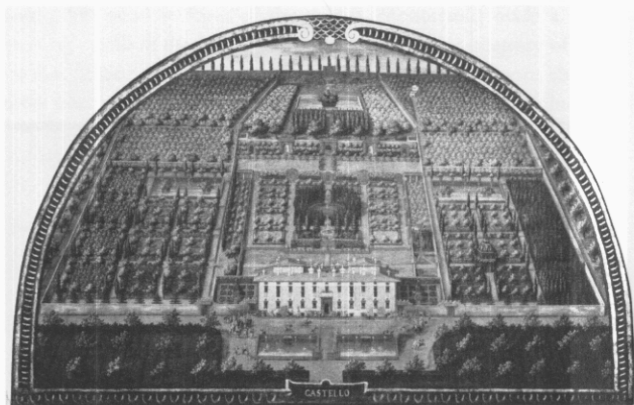


Fig. 23. Giusto Utens, *View of Villa Medici at Castello*, 1599 (Museo di Firenze Com'Erà).

In this context, Montorsoli's stucco *Neptune*, standing in the south garden, facing outward toward the sea and the harbor entrance, is significant as an iconographic image of the patron in relation to the city. Montorsoli extended Neptune imagery at the villa into the gardens. Perino's *Neptune Calming the Seas* (see Fig. 13), the turbulent Neptune restoring order to the seas in the east salon, was now complemented by Montorsoli's pacific Neptune in the south garden, as guardian over the city.

Neptune, as God of the Seas, often appears as the classical guardian over maritime cities.⁶⁸ Neptune is shown, for instance,

68. Alberti (*De re aedificatoria*, x, 1) refers to the Neptune temple of Rhodes: "... nella quale i Rodii costruirono un tempio dedicato a Nettunno protettore."

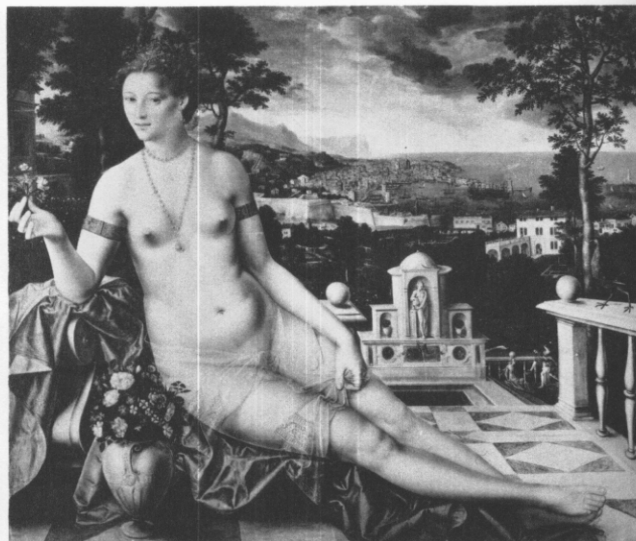


Fig. 24. Jean Massys, *Flora With a View of Genoa*, 1561 (Stockholm, National Museum).

in the foreground of Jacopo de' Barbari's *Print View of Venice* of 1500 (Fig. 22).⁶⁹ With Mercury, the God of Commerce above, Neptune symbolizes the economic strength and prosperity of the city. The prominence of the Piazzetta, Ducal palace, and Church of San Marco in de' Barbari's print visualizes the political and religious stability of *La Serenissima*.

Genoa was also a maritime republic, yet very different from Venice in its political and social structure.⁷⁰ In Genoa, Doria commissioned the stucco *Neptune* as a private iconographic image, representing himself as Admiral of the Hapsburg fleet and protector of Genoa. In Venice, Neptune personified the maritime republic, the city itself. The prominence of the Villa Doria in the topography of Genoa symbolizes the power of private over public authority in the city—very different from the Venetian emphasis on public institutions.⁷¹

Montorsoli integrated his *Neptune* statue into a Renaissance garden plan, strongly influenced by his Tuscan background. Collaboration with Niccolò Tribolo in designing the monu-

69. J. Schulz, "Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography Before the Year 1500," *Art Bulletin*, 60 (1978), 425-474; D. S. Chambers, "Bird's-eye View of Venice," *The Genius of Venice 1500-1600*, ed. by J. Martineau and C. Hope, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1983, 392-393.

70. Comparison between Venice and Genoa: L. Martines, *Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy*, New York, 1979, 131-132.

71. Montorsoli's stucco *Neptune* of 1545-1547 was also the forerunner of a series of statues on this theme which served as important public monuments. These include Montorsoli's *Neptune* fountain in Messina, Giambologna's on the Piazza Nettuno in Bologna, Ammannati's on the Piazza Signoria in Florence, and Jacopo Sansovino's on the grand staircase of the Palazzo Ducale, Venice. Vasari (*Le Vite*, vii, 506) says that Sansovino's *Neptune* and *Mars* on the grand staircase show "le forze che ha in terra ed in mare quella serenissima repubblica."

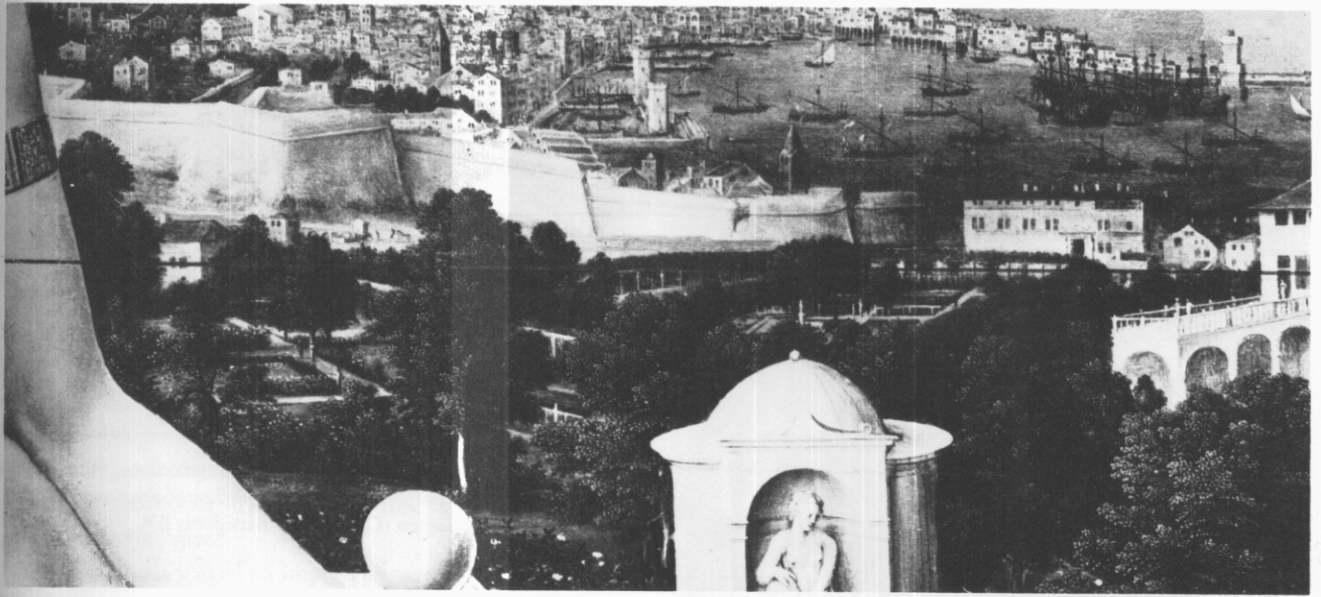


Fig. 25. Jean Massys, *Flora With a View of Genoa*. Detail of Villa Doria north garden and façade.

mental garden of the Villa of Cosimo I de' Medici at Castello c. 1540 (Fig. 23) directly inspired his approach to the Villa Doria gardens.⁷² Neptune established the central axis of the Doria gardens, which ran up through the palace courtyard to the terraced hillside garden above. Montorsoli adapted the Villa Medici garden plan, with its emphasis on large-scale sculptural themes, set in a regular series of garden terraces with geometric planting beds and shrubbery elements, to the more rugged terrain and milder climate of the Ligurian coast. The ceremonial functions of the Medici gardens—as a place for formal entertainment—influenced the Doria gardens as well.⁷³

With this commission, Doria adapted the villa style of the Tuscan court to his classical sea villa. And he began an axial garden tradition in Genoa that influenced the history of Genoese gardens until the 19th century.⁷⁴ Nature was now manipulated artificially, and the villa gained a new unity of architecture, gardens, and landscape, characteristic of the High Renaissance style.

Montorsoli's north garden plan illustrates this aspect of Renaissance villas, and shows how the Villa Doria gardens continued to be a highly visible iconographic image of the patron in his native Genoa. The villa appears in the middle ground of

Jean Massys' *Flora With a View of Genoa* of 1561, painted just one year after Doria's death (Figs. 24, 25).⁷⁶ Flora, the Goddess of Flowers, is seated in the foreground holding a nosegay, with a vase of picked flowers at her side. A nymphaeum closes off the foreground and initiates a vista view of Genoa, as seen from the hillside region of *Paradiso-Granarolo* overlooking Fassolo. As an image of the city's prosperity, Massys emphasizes the allegorical relationship between Flora and Genoa, while the north garden of Doria's villa appears as an example of Nature's fertility.

In detail (Fig. 25), Massys shows the asymmetrical design of the north façade on the Via San Benedetto (after 1529), with the entrance portal, two major stories, and attic. An attic porch on the right side serves as a belvedere from Doria's apartment into the north garden, which appears as a long, narrow sequence of terraces carved into the hillside. Montorsoli's garden plan begins with an elevated vine pergola at the base of the hill, opposite the second floor of the palace.⁷⁷ Large foliage trees and shrubs enclose the garden as it extends upward from the pergola. A formal garden plan has been imposed on the hillside, with a geometric pattern of garden paths crisscrossing the terraces, separating the plantings into rectangular beds. A series of sculp-

72. Gorse, "Genoese Renaissance Villas," 265. For Tribolo: D. R. Wright, "The Medici Villa at Olmo a Castello: Its History and Iconography," diss., Princeton University, 1976, 155–167.

73. Wright, "Villa Medici," Part II.

74. M. P. Gauthier, *Le plus beaux édifices de la ville de Gênes et de ses environs*, 2 vols., Paris, 1818, 1830–1832.

75. J. Ackerman, "The Belvedere as a Classical Villa," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 14 (1951), 70–91; Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*.

76. C. de Tolnay, "Une vue d'Angers de Pierre Bruegel l'ancien?" *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 49 (1957), 73–80; Poleggi, *Iconografia di Genova*, no. 2. This is a companion picture to Massys' *Flora With a View of Antwerp*, Museum of Hamburg, dated 1559. See Gorse, "Villa Doria," 88ff., for a more detailed analysis of Massys' north garden view, with documents on property purchases in this area.

77. An interior view and section of this pergola is in Gauthier, *Les plus beaux édifices*, pls. 60, 61. This could explain Vasari's references to "buildings," in n. 58 above.



Fig. 26. Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli, *Triton*, 1545–1547. Marble. Mounted on fountain in Villa Doria east courtyard after 1578.

tural decorations mark out the central axis of the garden, opposite the north entrance portal of the palace.

William Thomas, in his *History of Italy* of 1549, describes Montorsoli's garden design on the north side of the villa:

Amongst all others the palace of Andrea Doria . . . is a notable thing, very fair, sumptuous, and large. And above his house (a thing wonderful) he hath made his slaves to hew out of the hard rocky mountain as much space as hath made *six gardens one above another*, and hath caused so much earth to be carried up as sufficeth for the growth of all manner fruits and herbs, very pleasant to behold.⁷⁸ [Italics mine]

Thomas captures the monumental effect of this multileveled, hillside garden, and the immediacy of its execution—the extensive landscaping of the terrain, the planting of fruits and herbs.

Montorsoli's *Triton* figure (Fig. 26) is the only extant sculpture that may have been located originally in the north garden.⁷⁹ This placement would correspond with one of the sculptures shown on the central axis of the garden (see Fig. 25). Vasari describes the “marine monster” as standing above a fishpond

78. W. Thomas, *The History of Italy* (1549), ed. G. B. Parks, Ithaca, 1963, 106–107. I thank Naomi Sawelson-Gorse for bringing this description to my attention.

79. See nn. 61, 62 above.

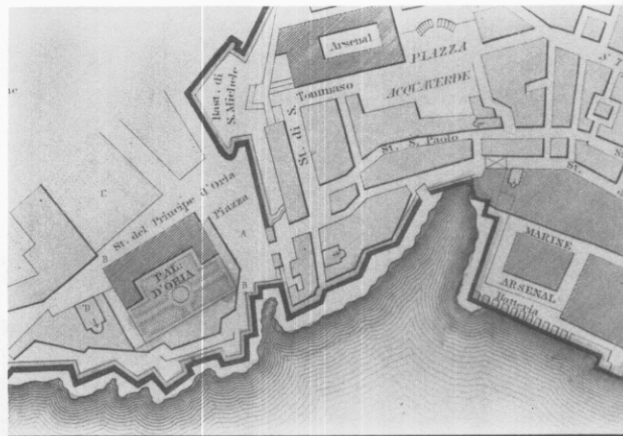


Fig. 27. 17th-century plan of Genoa. Detail of Piazza Principe (A); author's proposed locations of triumphal arches of 1533 and 1548 (B); Villa Doria upper garden (C); and San Benedetto (D).

with a quantity of water flowing from it.⁸⁰ The aqueduct system and gravitational pull on the north hill were sufficient to create this visual effect.

Montorsoli's *Triton* has been cited as an early example of the “rustic island fountain” in the 16th century.⁸¹ As part of the north garden, the *Triton* would have served as a sculptural link with the stucco *Neptune* in the south garden. Neptune and his son, Triton, would have been seen as a formal and iconographic pair, an integral part of the garden plan, not as isolated garden figures.

Contemporary with Montorsoli's Villa Doria garden program, extensive urban planning around the villa further transformed Fassolo into a political symbol of the patron in Genoa. The villa was fused with its surrounding urban spaces as a ceremonial complex. After an unsuccessful attempt by the French to retake Genoa by military force during the summer of 1536, the Republic began a monumental project to rebuild its old and decayed fortifications system (see Figs. 3, 18).⁸² City gates and bastions were modernized according to the new ballistics of the 16th century; intermediate city walls were rebuilt or strengthened to ensure a defensible perimeter.

During the early 1540s, the commune of Genoa enlarged a pre-existing piazza to the east of the villa, widened the Via San Benedetto in front of the main palace façade, and constructed a third alley to the north garden (Fig. 27).⁸³ The oblong, triangular piazza in Fassolo was cleared as part of the modernization of the city gate of San Tommaso and the bastion of San Michele, although it also served the private functions of the

80. See n. 58 above.

81. B. H. Wiles, *The Fountains of the Florentine Sculptors and their Followers from Donatello to Bernini*, New York, 1975, 79–80.

82. Bonfadio, *Annali*, 102–108.

83. Gorse, “Villa Doria,” 101–102, based on document cited in n. 84 below.

Villa Doria. Initiation of this urban project was commemorated by a communal proclamation on 18 February 1541, which "canonized the said Piazza [in Fassolo] as the Piazza of the Prince Doria" and confirmed the piazza space (and a water aqueduct in the area) "for the use and ornament of his palace."⁸⁴ Even today this traffic intersection is called the Piazza Principe, although the fortifications and city gate have been torn down and the urban spaces altered for contemporary use.

The Piazza Principe in Fassolo reflects, once again, the "private" nature of Genoese politics and society and the special status of Doria as the "first citizen" of the Republic. It created a formal entrance into the city and was a functioning part of the Villa Doria. Certainly, the Piazza Principe is not a great Renaissance urban space, but it is an interesting example of communal town planning in the service of a private patron. It served as both a public and private space.

The Villa Doria played an important part in the ceremonial life of Genoa, in civic festivals and imperial entries during the 16th century. It is in the ceremonial functions of the villa that the architecture, the gardens, and their suburban setting emerge as a spatial unity. Beginning in 1528, the Genoese Republic established 12 September as a civic Festival of Unity, commemorating the foundation of the Republic, to be celebrated by a solemn mass in the cathedral and a public procession to the piazza in Fassolo.⁸⁵

Imperial entries were by far the most spectacular festival events in Genoa during the 16th century.⁸⁶ Emperor Charles V made numerous triumphal entries into Genoa during his seven visits to Italy after 1529, in which he was received, lodged, and entertained at the Villa Doria.

Partenopeo's description of Charles V's *entrata* of 1533 emphasizes the courtly aspect of the Villa Doria as a reception monument. Arriving at the waterfront near the villa,

84. Gorse, "Villa Doria," Appendix A, Doc. 27: "Piazza fuori le Porte di San Tomasso," Doria Pamphily Archive, Rome, 64/55/int. 23: "I due Coleggi della Repubblica canonizarono detta Piazza per Piazza del Principe Doria, all'orde con loro decreto de 18: Febbraio 1541. a Lui, oltre la conferma della donazione fattagli a 17. Giugno 1539 per uso, et ornamento del suo Palazzo, di quella stessa acqua, che correva al Palazzo l'altra volte chiamata di S. Tomaso, quale unitò alla villa ed esso annessa aveva la Repubblica in dett'anno comprato da Antonio Doria et Battista, e poi fatto atterrare a riguardo della fabrica delle mura della Città. . . ."

85. For the Senate proclamation, see n. 12 above. This festival continued until the Napoleonic occupation of Genoa in 1797.

86. For these imperial festival descriptions: B. Mitchell, *Italian Civic Pageantry in the High Renaissance*, Florence, 1979, 56-67; Gorse, "Villa Doria," Chap. v, Appendix C.

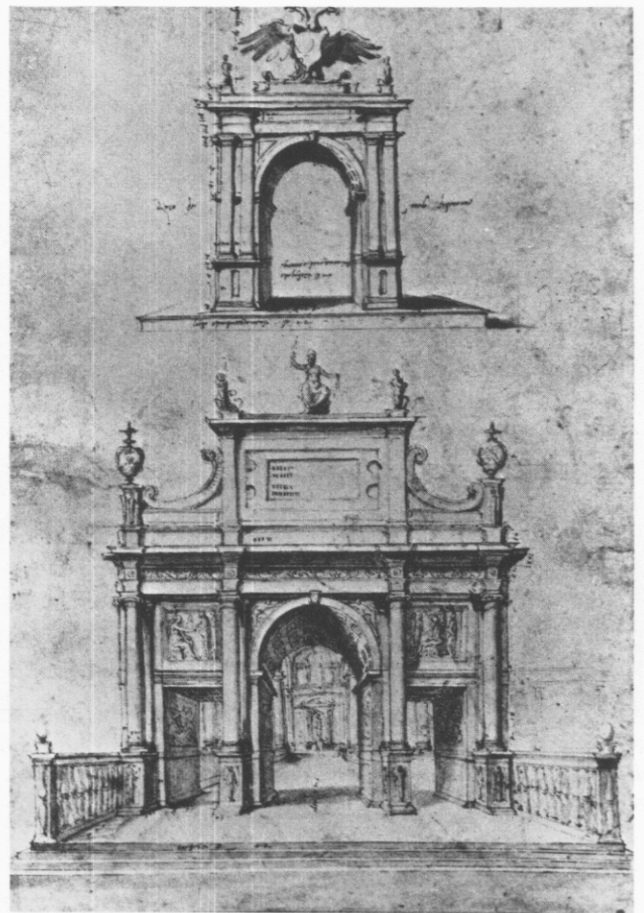


Fig. 28. Perino del Vaga, "Drawing for Triumphal Arches during the *entrata* of Charles V into Genoa," 1533 (Berlin, Kunstbibliothek).

the Emperor was accompanied under his golden canopy held up by the best citizens to the houses of Doria, where he was royally received with his entire cortège that well added up to a thousand, magnificently, and with every sort of splendor provided at the expense of Andrea [Doria] during the entire time of his residence in Genoa.⁸⁷

Charles stayed at the Villa Doria for 13 days, during which time an elaborate feast was prepared on board one of Doria's galleys in front of his villa.⁸⁸ Accompanied by musicians and singers, each change in menu saw the casting of dirty silver plate into the water. Alas, the silver dishes were caught in a large net suspended beneath the hull!⁸⁹

87. Partenopeo, *Annali* (1536), 115: "... sotto aureo baldacchino soretto dagli ottimati si accompagnò l'imperatore alle case del Doria, ove regalmente accoltò con l'intero corteo che ben sommava a mille, magnificamente, e con ogni ragione di splendidezza si provvide a spese di Andrea in tutto il tempo di sua dimora in Genova."

88. Guerrazzi, *Vita*, I, 248-251.

89. This seems to be a *topos* of Renaissance banquet descriptions, which also appears in Agostino Chigi's throwing of golden plate into the Tiber from the dining loggia at the Villa Farnesina.

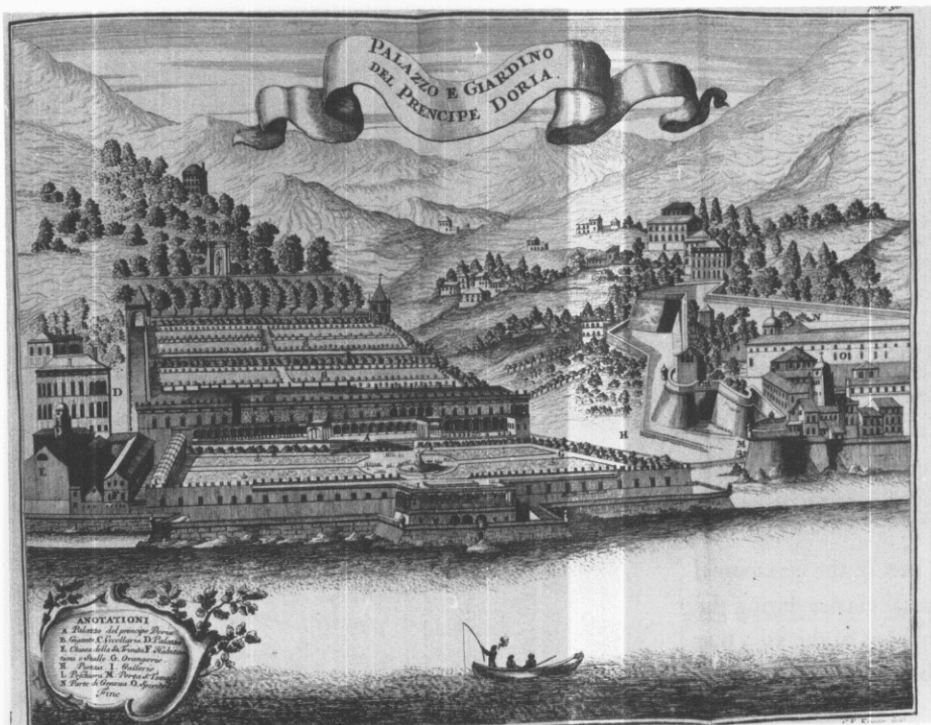


Fig. 29. J. C. Volckamer, "Palazzo e Giardino del Principe Doria," from his *Nürnbergische Hesperides de Gründliche Beschreibung der Edlen Citronat—Citronen und Pomeranzen*, Nuremberg, 1708–1714, I, p. 96 (courtesy, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.).

Alonso Ulloa's account of Prince Philip's reception at the Villa Doria in 1548 summarizes the imperial entry tradition and serves as a concluding statement on the ceremonial functions.⁹⁰ Philip and his retinue were received on "a special pier covered with tapestries, and very rich hangings near the Palace of Prince Doria," and continued in procession to the villa:

And so they began to climb the stairs that go to the Palace, and arriving nearby, one saw at the end of that [palace], near the main street that joined one corner of the palace, a great portico where the Prince had to pass, that occupied the entire passage, made very diligently of wood. This structure was of amazing genius, decorated with a great variety of pictures, and letters that appeared like a triumphal arch, with two gateways, one in front of the other, with the imperial and royal coat-of-arms.⁹¹

90. A. Ulloa, *Vita dell'Invittissimo, e Sacratissimo Imperator Carlo V*, Venice, 1566, IV, 245ff.

91. Ulloa, *Vita*, IV, 247: "... Et così cominciarono a montar la scala, cha va al Palazzo, et arrivando appresso, si vedeva in fine di quella, presso la strada maestra congiunta con uno de' cantoni del palazzo, un gran portico per dove il Principe doveva passare che occupava tutto il passo, fatta di legname diligentissimamente. Era questo edificio di maraviglioso ingegno, ornato con molte varietà di pitture, et lettere che pareva arco trionfale con due porte, l'una per fronte l'altra, con le arme Imperiale, et regali."

Passing through this triumphal arch to the Piazza Principe (Fig. 28), Philip arrived at the villa where "the Princess Doria waited to see Prince Philip, with a great company of beautiful women."⁹² Painted decorations were complemented by sumptuous tapestry hangings within the villa, "conforming to the magnificence that [Prince Doria] showed when he lodged the Emperor":

[And Doria] made in front of the palace [on the Piazza Principe] many celebrations and games of fireworks and other sorts of amusements of grand invention and genius. And among these one saw the world in the form of the globe in front of the palace with a crown of gold above, from which issued many rockets every time a Prince or Grand Signore entered the palace, with so much noise that it seemed like an artillery barrage. In this manner . . . all the rulers of Italy came to Genoa to visit the Prince from every direction, and to congratulate him on his very happy arrival, with great confidence that [his *entrata*] would be for the peace and public good of Italy.⁹³

92. Ulloa, *Vita*, IV, 248. For Perino's drawing of a triumphal arch at the Villa Doria: S. Jacob, *Italianische Zeichnungen der Kunstbibliothek Berlin*, Berlin, 1975, no. 53.

93. Ulloa, *Vita*, IV, 248: "Si fecero dinanzi il palazzo molte feste e giuochi, si di fuochi come di molte altre sorti di spassi, e di grande invention, et ingegno. Et fra le altre vi si vedeva la figura e rotondità del mondo a modo d'un globo dinanzi il palazzo con una corona d'oro sopra. Dal quale sempre che alcun Principe o gran Signore entrava in palazzo uscivano tante rochette, e con tanta romore, che pareva si

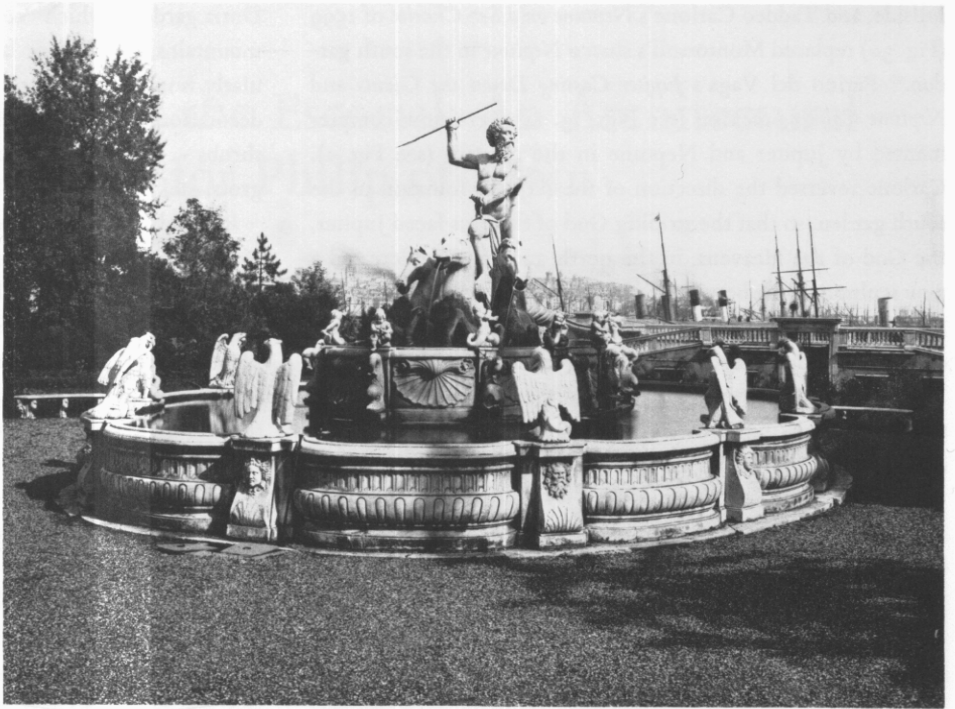


Fig. 30. Taddeo Carlone, *Andrea Doria as Neptune*, 1599. Marble. Villa Doria south garden (Fratelli Alinari).

Prince Philip was given the west apartment of the Villa Doria as his temporary residence, while the Duke d'Alva, Antonio di Toledo, and other members of the Spanish court were lodged in the east apartment.⁹⁴ The Jupiter salon (see Fig. 15) functioned as a throne room for the prince, the ceremonial focus for his reception into Italy:

The room where the Prince was lodged had a grand salon decorated with very rich tapestries of gold and silver, where they saw worked and woven with astonishing genius all the fables that the Poets tell of Jove. There was a *baldacchino* [over the throne area] of light purple velvet with gold fringes, in the middle of which one saw the imperial and royal coat-of-arms of gold and silver cloth. Further in there was an *anticamera*, a *camera*, and *recamera*, wonderfully attired and decorated, some of very rich cloths, of gold brocade, and others of gold and silver cloth, and of velvet bands, with the beds covered by the same. All the decorations of the house in every part that one entered were worthy of admiration.⁹⁵

sparasse artiglieria. Di modo . . . venero in Genova da tutte le bande, e potentati d'Italia a visitar il Principe, e a congratularsi della sua felicissima venuta, con gran confidenza che sarebbe per la quiete, e ben publico d'Italia."

94. Ulloa, *Vita*, iv, 248.

95. Ulloa, *Vita*, iv, 248: "La stanza dove il Principe alloggiò, aveva una gran sala apparsa di ricchissimi arazzi d'oro, e d'argento, dove si vedevano con maraviglioso ingegno lavorate, et tessute tutte le favole, che i Poeti fingono di Giove. V'era un baldachino di velluto pavonazzo con fra[n]gie d'oro, in mezzo il quale si vedeva lo Imperiale scudo con le arme regali ricamate di tela d'oro, e di argento. Più in dentro v'era un'anticamera, e camera, e recamera, accon[c]ie, e ornate maraviglio-

The Villa Doria as a Roman classical *villa suburbana*, a decorative ensemble standing outside the city walls, was regularly transformed in this fashion into a ceremonial entry monument for the Hapsburg kings, with "a very beautiful view to the sea and to the port, with many loggias on the eastern part. And such an excellent building decorated with many gardens, fountains and marbles marvellously worked, that truly is worthy of such a valorous and excellent man that Prince Doria is."⁹⁶

Giovanni Andrea Doria continued to emphasize the ceremonial functions of the villa, and the unity of the architecture, the gardens, and their suburban setting, during the second half of the 16th century. He expanded the villa architecture to its present length (Figs. 2, 29), thus enlarging the portico sea villa idea.⁹⁷ Montorsoli's axial gardens were expanded and even more colossal garden sculptures added.⁹⁸ Marcello Sparzio's standing *Jupiter* in a niche of 1586 (see Figs. 1, 29) now dominated the

samente, alcune di ricchissimi panni di broccato d'oro, e altre di tela d'oro, e d'argento, e di velluto a liste, con i letti forniti del medesimo. Tutto l'apparato della case in ogni banda che s'entrava era degno di ammirazione."

96. Ulloa, *Vita*, iv, 248: ". . . una bellissima vista al mare, et al porto, con molte loggie alla parte del Levante. E ornato di così eccellente edificio, con tanti giardini, fontane, e marmi maravigliosamente lavorati, che veramente è degno di così valoroso, et eccellente huomo qual il Principe Doria è."

97. Gorse, "Villa Doria," Chap. vi. The High Renaissance classical loggias at the ends of the villa are part of this late-16th-century addition.

98. Gorse, "Villa Doria," Chap. viii.

hillside, and Taddeo Carlone's *Neptune on a Sea Chariot* of 1599 (Fig. 30) replaced Montorsoli's stucco *Neptune* in the south garden.⁹⁹ Perino del Vaga's *Jupiter Casting Down the Giants* and *Neptune Calming the Seas* (see Figs. 13, 14) were now complemented by Jupiter and Neptune in the gardens (see Fig. 1). Carlone reversed the direction of the *Neptune* fountain in the south garden, so that the striding God of the Seas faced Jupiter, the God of the Heavens, in the north garden. They created a new sculptural link between the two gardens, while Triton (see Fig. 26) was moved to the east courtyard of the south façade, close to his father Neptune as the major theme on the seafront.

Seventeenth-century descriptions of the Villa Doria continue to emphasize its unity of architecture, gardens, and suburban setting. John Evelyn, in his *Diary* of 1644, describes the Villa

Doria gardens, which "reach from the sea to the summit of the mountains," with their large garden structures (he was particularly impressed by the aviary, C in Fig. 29) and rich garden decorations, "besides cypress, myrtles, lentiscuses, and other rare shrubs . . . orange trees, citrons, and pomegranites, fountains, grots, and statues."¹⁰⁰

Richard Lassels also praised the villa in his *Voyage of Italy*, of 1670, as a prominent symbol of the family in the city: "so beautiful to behold from the Sea, that strangers passing this way to Genoa take the garden for a second Paradise," with the Neptune fountain in the south garden (see Fig. 30) "as representing the true looks of brave Andrea Doria the Neptune of the Ligurian Seas and the man who put his Country out of Livery, and taught it not to serve."¹⁰¹

99. Gorse, "Villa Doria," Chap. VIII. See Merli and Belgrano, "Il Palazzo," 63, no. 2, 70, n. 1, for payment documents on *Jupiter* and *Neptune* statues.

100. J. Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. A. Dobbs, London, 1906, I, 131-133.

101. R. Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy*, Paris, 1670, 91-94.

This
tural
(c. 1
it wa
Phil
terpi
De
sourc
a res
with
relev
the p
match
the l
Refor
plicit
Th
it, wh
especi
with
1563,
treatis
the on
sugges
are no
incept

Coun
THE
side M
archit
regula
but co
monu
ology
escape
than c
thorita
of adv

JSAH