Sacrality and Modernity at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso

by

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PREFACE. Philology and the Distant Past

In writing the following paper, I experienced an extreme distance from my chosen subject, the mid-sixteenth century Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso (Fig. 1). The villa rests atop a hill in Albaro, an eastern suburb of Genoa, Italy, and, in my mind, remains only a digital or printed image. Not only because I did not have the fortune to go to the site but also because I spent the entire year with books, my study remains a philological one. The issues inherent to such an approach are apparent: without having walked through the altered but nonetheless existent villa, I did not see the structure, its relation to the surrounding landscapes or its architectural details. I seem to stand, as previously stated, at a great distance from the building.

Yet such a perspective yields productive results in relation to sixteenth-century Italian humanism and villeggiatura, or villa culture, especially at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso. Since Pliny, villa ideology has been rooted in texts that justify and structure villa revivals. The rhetoric of words rather than of architectural forms dominates villa studies and furnishes Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso with meaning. Moreover, the building was renovated to function as a laboratory and classroom space for the University of Genoa’s engineering program in 1921 and was partially destroyed during World War II air raids.¹ History has redefined the villa and rendered its significances layered beyond easy comprehension. Text now provides the sole entryway into Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s original form. The impulse to understand the site as one of many Italian villas that represent the scars of European modernity weighs heavily upon any reader or visitor that encounters Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso: how and why was such a monumental and historically significant structure so dramatically altered?

One answer immediately emerges: the Royal Academy of Naval Engineering, which purchased the villa in 1921, enacted historical violence. The desire for progress drove this educational institution and continues to drive Europeans to make rash decisions in the name of ensuring increased efficiency and greater understanding of the scientific world. In essence, the modern world has placed demands upon land and buildings that disavow their histories in favor of a predetermined future. We do not learn from the past, as Manfredo Tafuri suggests, but instead we ignore it and race forward, pursuing new ends without considering the failed actions of our ancestors.² Such a scolding consciousness does, however, grant contemporary historians with a bias that employs hindsight to condemn the present.

There seems no way to approach Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso without admitting to readers that it has undergone significant changes, but these changes will not be the focus of my study. A productive, if hermeneutic, account of the terrors wrought upon the sixteenth-century building during the twentieth century could be the focus of an entire book that, in my opinion, should be written. Instead and, as a result of my research process, I have chosen to focus on the ways in which texts accumulate to form a historiography, a dense palimpsest that writes and rewrites itself based upon the successive biases of historians, visitors, and critics. Much like the more seductive violence offered by the villa’s recent past, its sixteenth-century context has been neglected.³

Genoa, a port city located in the northwestern corner of Italy, has not appealed much to scholars. Its peripheral location is further complicated by the fact that the Grand Tour, that bourgeois traversing of certain privileged European spaces from the late sixteenth


³ I use “violence” intentionally to denote the irreparable damage caused by sites that have and have not been favored by architectural historians and travelers since Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso was constructed.
through the mid-nineteenth centuries, slighted the city in favor of Venice, Florence, and Rome. The reasons are clear. The number of humanist texts written by Genoese authors during the Italian Renaissance does not compare to the multifarious offerings of the three aforementioned Italian cities. More importantly, artistic and architectural styles favored by the Genoese followed trends first introduced in those epicenters of humanism. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s architect, Galeazzo Alessi, also lacks a significant paper trail; he fell out of popularity soon after his death in 1572. The neglect of both subjects likely allowed the problematic functional redefinition and structural compromise of the villa. A building with a higher value, such as Palladio’s Villa Rotonda, has long since been preserved, while Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso was allowed to fall into disrepair before attaining an unexpected modern redefinition.

New trends in philology catalyzed by the digital transfer of documents can undo the rigid system by which Western scholars chose to champion certain subjects and disempower others. This system remains grounded in the epistemological and ontological perspectives of scholars that value subjects both commonly discussed and easily classifiable. More slippery or less glamorous topics like Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso continue to be neglected. With the widespread use of computers and the internet, an equalizing plane has emerged: more documents concerning a wider range of subjects are instantaneously available to both academic and lay audiences, providing individuals with access to more varied particular topics.

Fewer websites and online texts exist on Genoa than Rome, but the field of information concerning almost all topics has significantly expanded, not only providing an immediacy heretofore unimaginable but also making visible the gaps in our pre-existing knowledge. My most salient discoveries occurred first online—using English and Italian
websites as well as databases like WorldCat—and pointed me in directions that purely textual research did not. By looking at the villa on Google Maps, for example, I discovered its proximity to religious structures that related to both the patron’s personal history and, as I will argue, the selected site. Only after realizing such an obvious conclusion could I progress to more detailed research.

My task has been rediscovering that which was elided from canonical histories and, in doing so, bridging the distance between what I have experienced textually and electronically with what remains to be more directly explored. The following pages suggest potential, or the ability to reconsider a history written many times over whose major battles appear to have been decided some time ago. Our information age opens up the possibility of revising such a past in the present moment.
INTRODUCTION: Rethinking the Historiographies of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, the Architect Galeazzo Alessi, and the Genoese Context

The socio-economic paradoxes presented during the initial construction period demonstrate reasons for Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s ambiguous historical position. Luca Giustiniani (?-1583), the patron, did not belong to the Genoese nobility; though he spent he spent his life acquiring wealth through alum trade in addition to serving as a diplomat and statesman for Genoa and the Vatican, he existed outside of the Genoese class that had controlled the government since 1099. In these ways, he represented a modern man and made history through innovative and individuated action. Galeazzo Alessi (1512-72) came from the Perugian nobility and, as a result, acquired advantageous papal appointments before becoming an architect. Alessi’s two mentors, Giovanni Battista Caporali and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, were heavily influenced by Vitruvius’ De architectura and promoted an all’antica style that reapplied classical architectural motifs in mid-Cinquecento designs.


5 Michael Allen Gillespie, The Theological Origins of Modernity (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 2. Gillespie constructs a philological history of Western modernity that begins in the late medieval period. His introduction defines modernity: “To be modern means to be ‘new,’ to be an unprecedented event in the flow of time, a first beginning, something different than anything that has come before…but also to define time in terms of one’s being, to understand time as the product of human freedom in interaction with the natural world.”

6 Salzer, pp. 1-23. Salzer provides an in depth biography of Galeazzo Alessi up to his arrival in Genoa.

Against such orthodoxy, Alessi’s architecture focused on conflating the human figure with built space and the surrounding natural environment. Alessi incorporated many *all’antica* elements into his buildings, but he emphasized abstracted forms that reduced the degree architecture mediated individual interaction with external conditions. Galeazzo Alessi’s designs exhibited a modern character because they transgressed traditional architectural practice. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso reflected the innovative spirits of both Giustiniani and Alessi and contrasted the primarily medieval architecture found in Genoa’s urban core until the villa was commissioned.

Genoa lagged behind central Italian architectural developments; High Renaissance and Mannerist styles entered Genoa several decades after first appearing in Rome. To the present day, Genoa has the largest intact medieval urban fabric of any European city. Architectural historians have traditionally studied a linear stylistic history with bounded periods defined by artistic *licentia* (license), which could only be acquired after establishing a set of theoretical and practical rules. No period possesses an inclination towards scholarly orthodoxy more than the Italian Renaissance, in part because Giorgio Vasari, the Florentine

Cinquecento Italian architects to look towards an idealized classical past (whose architecture was accessible in the fragmentary treatise written by Vitruvius as well as monuments around Rome) to define contemporaneous architectural form. There existed two distinct camps of architects by the mid-Cinquecento: those who emphasized these antiquarian concerns (like Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Raphael, Bramante, and Baldassare Peruzzi) and those who favored developing individualistic modern styles (like Michelangelo and, as I will argue, Galeazzo Alessi).

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10 Payne, pp. 15-33. License and the archaeological impulse—the Cinquecento desire to study ancient Roman monuments—combined to define the architectural profession. Rules, in turn, were found through studying an array of buildings and observing stylistic continuities.
author of *The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1550/68), founded the discipline of art history with biographies focused on individual artistic genius. His text canonized the aesthetic accomplishments of the Renaissance and, in turn, determined which Italian cities European and American travelers visited on the Grand Tour. Genoa was largely excluded from Vasari’s text. As a partial result, Genoa decayed along with its nineteenth-century industrialization and its once natural environment became polluted. Genoa’s modern history opposes the general fossilization of Italy as a touristed landscape in which buildings were preserved like objects in a museum. Instead, Genoa was forgotten.

Above all else, geographical conditions defined Genoa through the mountains and sea that isolated the city from the Italian peninsula. The Western empirical tradition, embodied by Vasari, intentionally distanced concurrent, but often disjunctive, realities to empower its singular, evolutionary history of art: Genoa had a largely medieval urban and suburban fabric until 1528, when centuries of political upheaval ended and the Republic of

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12 Cf. D. Medina Lasanky, *The Renaissance Perfected: Architecture, Spectacle, and Tourism in Fascist Italy* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004). Lasanky focuses on how Mussolini’s Fascist government harnessed Italian landscapes to fulfill its ideological ends, but her method indicates how and why various Italian governments have used ancient and Renaissance architecture as a source of income and as a political tool.

13 Michael Meredith, “Radical Inclusion! (A Survival Guide for Post-Architecture),” *Perspecta* 41 (2008): 10-16. This essay focuses on the ways in which traditional approaches (formal, iconographic, even socio-political or critical theoretical) to studying architecture fail to actualize the human relationships—and the spaces literally created between them—embedded within both structures and their surroundings. The argument hinges upon the belief that, as a result of the interconnections provided by the internet, a new, pseudo-architectural space has opened up interpersonal communication—once limited and thus easily read as endemic to post-war isolation (e.g., Adorno’s alienation, so aptly realized in a Frankfurt monument by Vadim Zarkhov). Ironically the first essay in an issue of *Perspecta* concerning the Grand Tour encourages one to look beyond the canonical. In turn, Meredith calls for individuals to define architecture through the direct experiences previously and contemporaneously occurring at a given site.
Genoa was permanently established. Genoa arguably lagged behind Florence, Rome, or Venice in a progressive stylistic evolution, but the city’s tenacious ability to overcome geographical and historical disadvantages set the northwestern port city apart from the rest of Italy. While the influence Rome and most other Italian cities waned over the sixteenth century, Genoa gained international power through its alliance with the Spanish Habsburg Emperor Charles V. During “the Age of the Genoese,” a common phrase denoting a period from the 1550s to 1630s, the city’s bankers controlled Spanish imperial accounts. Most still consider Genoa an anomaly not worth studying.

Although Genoa makes a minimal number of appearances in Vasari’s Lives, the second edition includes a short biography of Alessi that mentions, among his other Genoese commissions, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso. Alessi receives neither the degree nor the length of praise Vasari bestows upon other more canonical figures like Leon Battista Alberti or Michelangelo Buonarroti. Rather than embodying an almost divine artistic genius, Alessi is merely a talented man to whom Vasari misattributes several designs, including the urban renovation of the Strada Nuova. The lack of care given to Alessi demonstrates the bias of Vasari: the architect primarily worked in northern Italy, which Vasari minimally discussed because of his clear Florentine bias. Since 1568, Alessi has been pushed aside in favor of

14 Kirk, pp. 17-22.
15 Ibid, p. 29.
16 Giorgio Vasari, Vita di Galeazzo Alessi, architetto perugino (Perugia: G. Boncampagni, 1873). Although this volume was independently published in the architect’s hometown, one must cross reference Gaetano Milanese’s 1906 edition of Vasari. Here, one discovers that Vasari only briefly handles Alessi at the conclusion of a chapter, which included in the second edition of Le Vite (1568), about Leone Leoni and other sculptors. Vasari mentions Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso at the beginning of his catalog of Alessi’s Genoese work: “Ha fatto anco fabbrihe private: il palazzo in villa di messer Luca Justiniano…” (9).
17 Ibid, p. 8. Vasari’s misattribution of the Strada Nuova to Galeazzo Alessi: “Il medesimo ha fatto la strada nuova di Genova con tanti palazzi fatti di suo disegno alla moderna…”
grander narratives concerning the primarily central Italian artists and architects Vasari praised. Before considering either Alessi’s design principles or Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, one must look past the historical devaluation, or misinterpretation, of the architect, the villa, and the Genoese context.

Only recently have art and architectural histories emerged from a preoccupation with stylistic evolution. Since the 1970s, villa scholars have demonstrated an increasing interest in the correspondences between a building’s formal elements and the social realities surrounding the production and experience of a site. Bentmann and Müller’s *The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture* (1970) provided a first step towards exploring the socio-historical implications of sixteenth-century Italian *villeggiatura*. The hermeneutic tools used by the coauthors did not contextualize Palladio’s Venetian villas so much as they situated them in relation to critical theory.18 Furthermore, rather than focusing on an individual site or set of sites, *The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture* traced an ideological framework established in relation to the Veneto through various other contexts and into twentieth-century America and France. Although formalism was no longer the sole or even principal concern of the study, the book followed a teleological logic shaped by Vasari’s concept of stylistic evolution: the power dynamics between an empowered socio-economic elite and the masses enact themselves on numerous landscapes, but the contextual concerns of Venetian *villeggiatura* are lost in the mix. Subsequent architectural historians like James Ackerman toned down the 1970 German study to emphasize the socio-cultural matrix that produced particular manifestations of *villeggiatura* and highlighted literature as the primary carrier of ideological

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meaning. Although villa books commonly appeared alongside and legitimized the colonization of Italian suburban locales, *The Villa* (1990) provides a typological overview spanning from ancient Rome to twentieth-century America and France rather than a history of a single site and, therefore, suffers from the same deterministic view of history as *The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture*. More recently, with the reemergence of philology, Amanda Lillie’s essay on the Villa Medici at Fiesole provides a new means of considering *villeggiatura*. Lillie defines Fiesole according to individual actions made upon the landscape surrounding the villa rather than emphasizing its formal relation to previous or subsequent villas.20

I have chosen to consider Genoa’s broader history because few possess a working knowledge of the subject. Lillie’s essay provides the primary scholarly precedent for my thesis. Her work redefines the relationship between the historical meaning, landscape and architecture. For Lillie, land holds both expressive and functional potentials: the natural and architectural elements on a terrain combine with the “traces” of past events to produce allusive new meanings.21 Albaro, the eastern Genoese suburb where Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso sits, has a rich and complicated spiritual and political history that precedes the villa’s erection and feeds into its dual public and private functions. Indeed, visual corridors connect the villa to the southern Ligurian Sea and the northern Apennine Mountains. These two geographic features defined Genoa from the time of ancient Rome because they

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21 David Leatherbarrow, *Topographical Stories: Studies in Landscape and Architecture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 12-13. Leatherbarrow expands the definition of topography to look beyond the natural and structural components that occupy a terrain and to include the historical “traces” of events that have occurred and are occurring on the land.
separated the city from the peninsula and, much later, provided Genoese merchants as well as naval fleets direct access to the Mediterranean Sea. Luca Giustiniani asserted his public authority to the Genoese public through such implicit topographic links. Yet a personal sense of piety also related the western wall to his ancestry because the Giustiniani clan funded an expansion of the nearby San Francesco d’Albaro, a Franciscan convent and church that sat to the villa’s west, in 1440. Thus, in the mid-Cinquecento, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso sat atop a hill, removed from the growing suburban fabric of Albaro, and encouraged a sense of leisure that equally suited public gatherings and private prayer.

Previous scholarship on Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso overlooks these topographic relationships and relays a repetitious stylistic narrative. According to most studies, Genoese architecture—including vernacular villa typology—lagged behind the developments of other Italian regions until 1548. Galeazzo Alessi arrived in Genoa that August and began construction at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso. According to almost every previous Italian and English language scholar, the villa catalyzed a stylistic paradigm shift in Genoese architecture by which High Renaissance and Mannerist concerns from mid-Cinquecento Italy flowed into the city. Along similar lines, architectural historians praise Alessi for first integrating central Italian design principles into the vernacular. Not only do these claims ignore the Villa Doria at Fassolo, which underwent two construction periods beginning in the 1520s and

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24 Gorse, p. 311. Gorse makes a claim similar to Lotz.
incorporated many elements of mid-Quattrocento Florentine villa typology, but they also
follow a comparative historical logic that ignores the singularity of Genoese history and
disfavors the Genoese to their Roman counterparts.25

More importantly, these studies focus on the southern front of Villa Giustinianini-
Cambiaso, which bears the most conventional architectural detailing on the villa and,
because it faced the Ligurian Sea, functions as the villa’s most public face. The lower storey
has a Doric order carrying the corresponding entablature, while its centralized, three-bay
loggia provides a recessed entryway. On either side, smaller projecting bays (Fig. 2) contain
windows overhung by triangular pediments. The upper storey (Fig. 3) has a Composite order
and consists of windows topped by alternating triangular and segmental pediments above
which smaller rectangular windows rest. Stylistic precedents for details found on the
southern façade may be found in the work of Baldassare Peruzzi, Raphael, and Alessi’s
mentor, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. The re-appropriation of all’antica architectural
elements pervaded Cinquecento Italian architecture and informed the designs of the
aforementioned men. But the eastern and western façades (Figs. 4 and 5) demonstrate an
almost modernist understanding of abstract geometric relationships that separates Alessi
from his predecessors and contemporaries. No classical orders appear here; rather, doubled
vertical lines run up the first and second storeys between window openings. These two walls
face more private areas. To the west sat Albaro and Genoa as well as the aforementioned
church of San Francesco d’Albaro. To the east, an adjacent garden and a thoroughfare
connecting Genoa and to the Italian peninsula were visible. Therefore, Alessi designed the
villa to function like a compass rose that delineated Luca Giustiniani’s public and private

25 For Andrea Doria’s villa, the two best sources are: George L. Gorse, “The Villa of Andrea Doria in
44, no. 1 (1985), pp. 16-36; Laura Stagno, Palazzo del Principe: The Villa of Andrea Doria, Genoa (Genoa:
Sagep, 2005).
selves: the east-west axis furnished Giustiniani with private modes of leisure, while the north-south axis granted him a ceremonial image visible to guests. In choosing to ignore the east-west axis of the villa, historiography has established a conventional narrative concerning both Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso and Alessi in order to insert them into preexisting histories of Italian Renaissance architecture.

A chronological survey of scholarship on Alessi and the villa supports this conclusion. In 1874, Adorno Rossi published a brief volume that provided archival leads concerning Alessi and supplied the architect with the laudatory biography Vasari did not write. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso receives a brief and glowing mention. Mario Labò, an early twentieth-century Genoese architectural historian, wrote several books on Genoese villas. He expanded the discussion of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s typological analogues and scoured archives for sources about sixteenth-century Genoa’s social milieu as well as the effects of Alessian design upon architectural development during “the Age of the Genoese.” Labò’s research remains unparalleled in the breadth and depth of discoveries made concerning mid-Cinquecento Genoa. In 1957, Emmina de Negri, another Genoese architectural historian, published a monograph on Alessi that foregrounded typological concerns and traced Alessi’s evolution as an architect. The monograph does not, however, advance scholarship on Alessi; its primary contribution consisted of extensive descriptions, diagrams, and photographs of every design attributed to Alessi. Rossi, Labò, and De Negri

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evidence the primarily stylistic and typological interests of late nineteenth to mid-twentieth-century architectural historians.

More recent work on Alessi and Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso reflects architectural history’s movement towards social history, but these disciplinary shifts have yet to be explored in relation to either subject. Manfredo Tafuri, the Italian architectural historian widely considered to have sparked an increasing interest in architecture’s socio-cultural context, discusses Alessi in his 1966 *L’architettura del manierismo nel cinquecento europeo.* Much later in his career, Tafuri rejected his survey of Mannerist architecture and, along with it, his claim that Galeazzo Alessi exhibited the period’s stylistic traits. In 1975, papers delivered at a 1974 conference on Alessi were anthologized and provided the most significant contribution to Alessi scholarship since Labò. None of the essays solely concern Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, but they suggest potential theoretical models for considering Alessi’s architecture and, by implication, the villa. These essays argue that Serlian scenography, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, and various landscapes influenced Alessi and, moreover, demonstrate a willingness to assert that Alessi designed innovative structures in Genoa, Milan, and elsewhere. Subsequent studies on Alessi and Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso fail to advance the theoretical suggestions made in 1974. The American Donna Marie Salzer wrote a dissertation on Alessi’s Genoese villas, but her chapter on Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso focuses on the patron, architect, and design separately and does not reach a conclusion that relates the villa to its larger context. In 1993, the German Kurt Zeitler completed his

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dissertation on Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso.\textsuperscript{31} Zeitler pursues typological precedents, most notably Villa Farnesina in Rome, based upon the parallel history of the two villas’ patrons. His effort does not entirely succeed, but Zeitler signifies one could approach Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso from more than a stylistic perspective. The Italian Stella Seitun’s 2007 monograph provides an overview of the villa’s various owners from Luca Giustiniani forward and claims that the villa enacted a Palladian impulse without substantiating her claim.\textsuperscript{32} Instead, the majority of her book does catalogs the various paintings and sculptures currently held at Villa-Giustiniani-Cambiaso and forgoes theoretical concerns for practical purposes. Therefore, a study of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso that first contextualizes and subsequently analyzes its formal, social, and historical merits has yet to appear.

The obstacles facing a scholar with such a purpose are numerous. Historiography not only exhibits a bias against Genoa and Galeazzo Alessi in comparison to other contemporaneous Italian cities and architects, but numerous events have also permanently altered the original, sixteenth-century villa. A late twentieth-century watercolor (Fig. 6) illustrates that, in addition to the functional changes made to the original building, several new structures were placed around the villa and interrupted its historical relationships with Albaro’s topography. Although many historical Italian landscapes are now littered with more recent structures, preservationists often attempted to salvage the buildings themselves. Yet because history has rent Alessi’s original form from twenty-first century visitors, one’s understanding of the architecture and its details can never be complete. An irony emerges: if, as I will argue, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso most vividly reflects the private devotional


\textsuperscript{32} Stella Seitun, \textit{Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso: Patrimonio, Storico, Artistico} (Genova: De Ferrari, 2007).
character of Luca Giustiniani, then the distance contemporary visitors experience in relation to its origins parallels one’s inability to hold religious convictions beyond faith alone.

Sacrality suffuses the hilltop villa and suggests the relative authenticity of the beliefs that drove its original patron remain as ambiguous as the villa’s original form. These complications exist alongside the need for a clear argument and enrich the villa with unexpected meaning.

Galeazzo Alessi designed Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso for a patron whose public and private desires converged around his Catholic faith. The image of the compass rose represents the functional, structural, and symbolic character of the villa. The wealth Luca Giustiniani accumulated indirectly came from the Holy See, which approved the Genoese monopoly over the alum trade. Yet money alone does not explain the villa’s relation to a Catholic landscape. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso interacts with both contextual and canonical narratives that refer to historical sites in Albaro, Christian textual precedents, and Genoese mythologies. Topography, the combination of natural and built environments as well as the historical events that occurred at these sites, conditioned the Genoese much like the villa.

Before discovering what both Luca Giustiniani and Galeazzo Alessi desired from the villa’s design, my first chapter provides an overview of Genoese history. I emphasize the city’s isolated position, which allowed the Genoese to produce origin stories that tied Genoa to Troy and Rome. Such a fabricated classical past allowed the Genoese to overlook the political turmoil of the medieval period. Indeed, the city underwent a dizzying number of changes in rulership before 1528. In this year, the Genoese revolted against the French forces controlling the city. Afterwards, the Republic of Genoa was permanently established.

Moreover, I trace the concurrent urban and financial growth of the city through 1548 in

order to establish the complicated histories that defined the Genoese and, in turn, Luca Giustiniani. The first chapter also includes an overview of Genoese villa typology prior to 1548, which demonstrates that Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso constructs a more allusive and geometrically regimented analogy between built and natural forms than previous regional villas; Quattrocento and Cinquecento Genoese villeggiatura harnessed the mythological, topographic, and financial concerns of the city’s elite citizens and constructed a generic value system to legitimize the building of a second home.

The second chapter further explores mid-Cinquecento Genoa to understand Luca Giustiniani’s atypical position within Genoese society. His villa exhibits a strong relation to both nearby Franciscan structures and the regional topography. Much like the Gallery of Maps in the Vatican, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso projected an authoritative religious gaze onto the surrounding terrain. Time and history merged to create a unique villa that testifies to its patron’s character more than its broader context. The Giustiniani clan itself past defied conventional social divisions within Genoa; its historical separation from the nobility rendered Luca Giustiniani modern because he struggled to attain the respect of a nobleman without the formal title. The second chapter also aims to establish a rationale for Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s siting. Atop a hill, the villa suggests an archetypal Christian narrative typified by Francesco Petrarca and others that associates mountainous ascents with spiritual revelation. These conceptual relationships build upon the Franciscan history of Albaro, which was named after Saint Francis of Assisi until the nineteenth century and contains several Franciscan churches and monasteries. As a pious papal employee, Luca Giustiniani desired a villa that reflected his public successes as well as his private faith. A description of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, which draws upon documentary histories, follows the historical and theoretical concerns surrounding Luca Giustiniani. This axial progression attempts to
discover traces of Giustiniani’s demands outside as well as inside the villa and begins to connect the structure to mid-Cinquecento Italian architectural culture.

The final chapter concerns Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s architect, Galeazzo Alessi. Building upon the discussion of mid-Cinquecento architecture, I situate Alessi in relation to the generation of architects that preceded him. Alessi’s architectural career came of age when De architectura, the ancient Roman architectural treatise by Vitruvius Pollio, preoccupied both humanists and architects. Most early Cinquecento buildings responded to an antiquarian impulse sparked by the Latin text and reapplied classical details that were codified by the treatises of Leon Battista Alberti, Sebastiano Serlio, and others. Although Alessi trained with two Vitruvians, he deviated from this path and cultivated an individualistic style and design process. The topographic condition of a given project served as Alessi’s primary design concern; beginning with his first work in Perugia and through the end of his career, he maximized siting to announce his work’s presence. A dialectic between urban and rural architecture undergirds all villeggiatura and, almost immediately after Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso completed construction, the Genoese began building the Strada Nuova, the city’s primary Renaissance urban redevelopment. Not only does a comparison of the villa and Palazzo Nicolosio Lomellino, located on the Strada Nuova, reveal common motives behind mid-Cinquecento Genoese architectural patronage, but it also demonstrates the comparative success of Alessi’s form. Il Libro dei Misteri (1565-9), a two-volume document that contains unexecuted designs by Alessi, enables one to understand how and why Alessian design principles deviated from contemporaneous architectural practice. Landscape and the dissolution between internal and external space dominate the text. Though written a decade after Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso was completed, Il Libro dei Misteri exemplifies the mature stage of many incipient principles that Alessi introduced at the villa. As in chapter two, these
historical and theoretical discussions conclude in a discussion of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso from Galeazzo Alessi’s perspective.

The three chapters aim to contextualize and then develop theories concerning their primary subjects, Genoese ethos, the social standing of Luca Giustiniani, and the designs of Galeazzo Alessi. In the mid-Cinquecento, Genoa, its medieval nobility, and its architectural culture underwent a paradigm shift that pushed the city towards modernity. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso continues to be misunderstood because its modern character defied its historical context. Without knowing the histories of its commission, design, and construction processes, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso loses the sacred meaning embedded in its form.
CHAPTER 1. The Myths and Realities of Genoese Topography: A Historical Sketch of Genoa and Its *Villeggiatura*

We come to Genoa, which, as you sat, you have not yet seen. Thus you will see the imperious city on the side of a rocky hill, proud of its men and its walls, whose very aspect declares her lady of the sea. As already happened with many cities, her power itself, from which continual causes of civil strife are born, hinders her and damages her.  

-Francesco Petrarca, *Guide to the Holy Land* (ca. 1358)

(a) Introducing Genoa: Turkish Invasion, Petrarchan Adoration, and Trojan Origins

According to the fourteenth century humanist Francesco Petrarca, Genoa’s troubled history was tied to its topography. Genoa rests in a costal plain facing the Ligurian Sea and surrounded by the northwestern Apennine Mountains on its three other sides (Fig. 7). Ancient Romans considered its geographic position an inconvenience. Although the locale later contributed to medieval and early modern financial as well as military successes, the original Roman thoroughfare Via Julia Augusta, later renamed Via Amelia, ran inland and connected the Roman Empire to Provence and Spain, bypassing *Genna* and lending greater importance to other, now lesser-known inland towns.  

Unfortunately, almost no textual or architectural artifacts from the ancient settlement remain because the Turks demolished the Roman *castrum*, or military outpost, of *Genna* in 934 CE.  

Fissured from their past, the Genoese were forced to develop their own unique foundation narrative, discarding their actual history for a nobler mythology. In his 1294 chronicle, Jacopo Doria claimed that a Trojan named Ianus built a castle on the Ligurian

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36 Raffaele Belvederi, ed., *Genova, la Liguria e l’otremare tra Medioevo ed eta’ moderna: studi e ricerc e d’archivo*, 3 vols., (Genoa: Fratelli Bozzi, 1974-79). These three volumes indicate not only the numerous records lost concerning Genoa before the Turkish raid of 934 CE, but they also present a clear picture of the city’s citizens, who only gradually reclaimed their self-confidence.
coast where the archbishop’s palace currently sits. This origin story demonstrates the Genoese desire to connect to Rome, the peninsula’s symbolic and geographic center. Rome also boasts a retrospectively applied foundation story: Augustus, the first Roman emperor, commissioned Virgil’s *Aeneid*, an epic poem which concludes with a Trojan refugee founding the ancient capital city. While there was no classical epic concerning Ianus, the ambiguous etymology of *ianua* validated Doria’s narrative. Isidore of Seville thought the word referred to a port that birthed commercial products, while Doria himself asserted that *ianua* referenced Janus, the Roman god of gates and doors whose two faces reflected Genoa’s dual land and sea fronts. In the fourteenth century, Petrarca deconstructed both interpretations, but nonetheless included the Genoese origin story as part of his *Itinerarium*, a pilgrim’s guide to the Holy Land:

They [the Genoese] write that Janus, believed by some to have been the first kind of Italy, was the founder of the city and source of its name...[offering a second interpretation] or if the site itself gave name to the city, which is like *ianua* (that is to say, ‘door’)...the former opinion is given the most credit in Genoa, not only in local chronicles but also on public monuments.

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38 Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *Rome’s Cultural Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Wallace-Hadrill constructs an archaeological and literary history of the redefinition of ancient Rome in the transition from Republic to Empire. The Genoese desired such a rich classical history and constructed a fictional one to stand in for their peripheral as well as lost ancient history.

39 Epstein, pp. 164-65 and 173. Epstein recounts the contents of Jacopo Doria’s *Annals*, extant at the Archive of the State of Genoa. From 2006 to 2007, the fresco was moved to its new location—the faculty lounge at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso—where it is currently displayed.

40 Petrarca, p. 95.
Denying the Genoese these symbolic claims, Petrarca turned an accepted truth into a mythological byproduct of the city’s social value system. The desire to occupy the Apennine peninsula’s center rather than its periphery—to be the symbolic as well as literal gate into Italian identity rather than a peripheral power—plagued Genoa throughout its history. This yearning produced a rigid, corrupt power dynamic between the Genoese elite and the lower classes that attempted to model the Genoese social hierarchy off of Rome’s. In turn, class tensions necessitated myths like those rejected by Petrarca to validate Genoese autonomy and relate it to the mythological and religious narratives that undergird Italian as well as Western histories. Yet, as a beleaguered instead of empowered door, Genoa operated in an interstitial space relative to most of Italy: the internal dynamics that drove central Italian development were matched by foreign, or non-Italian, influences upon Genoa. Yet the myth of Ianua demonstrated the Genoese want to occupy as significant a symbolic, socio-economic, and political role as Rome had since before the common era.

Il rapimento di Elena (Fig. 8), a fresco now at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, depicts the capture of Helen of Troy. Likely executed by Luca Cambiaso in the 1560s, the painting links mid-Cinquecento Genoa to its fabricated Trojan origins. The fresco thus illustrates the continued influence of Doria’s narrative upon Genoese citizens, especially the wealthy elite that enacted the doppia residenza scheme. Andrea Doria coined this term—meaning literally, “dual residence”—to define Genoese villeggiatura: suburbs rather than villas served as fulltime homes during the spring and summer, while urban palazzi housed elite families in the colder

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41 Seitun, 325-28. Il rapimento di Elena (The Rape of Helen) was originally executed for the bedchamber of a member of the Lomellino clan during the 1560s, but the detached fresco has belonged to the Genoese government since 1911.
months.\textsuperscript{42} Therefore, in his Annals, Jacopo Doria provided an ancient analogue to the villeggiatura impulse with Ianus’s colonization of the region. He grounded the Renaissance villa craze roots in humanist ideology that idealized the suburban landscapes colonized by villa owners. In turn, he connected Genoese topography to this classical past. Such historical revisionism coexisted alongside the social and political instability that defined Genoese topography. From these parallel narratives, a distinct dialectical relation between reality and ideality formed: Genoa was rarely an autonomous city-state and thus created a historical fiction to empower itself.\textsuperscript{43}

Both extremes find allegorical realization in the fresco. Helen fights against the men sent to capture her, though the futility of her resistance is known to all. The scene feels staged and renders its didactic purpose at once lofty and overt. Helen could perform the role of Genoa, resisting her captors much like Genoa, which had lost its sovereignty numerous times, or she could more simply allude to Jacopo Doria’s empowering origin story. Whereas the first hews closer to historical truth, the latter connects the Genoese to a narrative that bolstered their self-confidence and defied the city’s troubled politics. The mimetic relationship created between the original, mythological Helen and her personification of Genoa in this fresco inverts her capture’s negative connotations to validate Genoese history. As a microcosmic emblem of Genoa, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso analogously resisted and redefined Genoese architectural history; the fresco articulates an iconography that undergirds the unique power Alessi and Giustiniani’s partnership attempted to actualize. The relation to

\textsuperscript{42} Salzer, p. 40 n. 51. Salzer cites Andrea Doria’s diary: “\textit{Era questa, della doppia residenza, una antica abitudine della nobilita’ Genovese, che gia’ nel 1414 possedeva nel circonario della citta’ 92 ‘palazzi di villa,’ oltre as alcune centinaia di pin’ moderne ‘case’ e ‘casette.’}” From December to June, those with two homes lives in their palazzi and, from July to November, they occupied their villas.

\textsuperscript{43} Epstein, pp. 326-27. Epstein includes an appendix that records the number of Genoese revolts and changes in government between 1257 and 1528.
sea and mountain present at the villa further forged a visual corridor that connected the villa to the natural beauty first admired by Ianus as well as the means through which the city acquired international renown.

Recent archaeological surveys suggest the myth of Ianua contains a degree of truth. The Cathedral of San Lorenzo (Figs. 9 and 10), the Archbishop of Genoa’s home as well as the city’s formal ecclesiastical seat, rests in the center of medieval Genoa, where archaeologists discovered hints of a pre-Christian burial grounds in addition to surrounding Roman walls and roads that date from the fifth and sixth centuries BCE. Therefore, the location served a sacred purpose contemporaneously to the foundation of Rome, 753 BCE, and the fall of Troy. Tied to the events that drove Ianus to the Italian peninsula, San Lorenzo’s history encompasses both an idealized domestic past, embodied by the palace previously at the site, and an extensive Christian history that parallels the development of Genoa. As a result, the foundational site signifies the dualism at the heart of Genoa’s character and set a historical precedent for the relation between myth, religion, wealth, and politics that came to dominate the Genoese landscape.

The first Christian Cathedral to be constructed on the site was erected from the fifth to sixth centuries CE and dedicated to Saint Syrus of Genoa, a bishop who later became the city’s primary patron saint. Subsequently destroyed along with most of Genoa between 934 and 935 CE, a second Romansque Cathedral was funded by Genoese bounty from the

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45 According to the chronologies by literary critics of Homer, the fall of Troy occurred around 1000 BCE. If the event was actually connected to the foundations of Rome and Genoa, then it likely happened much later.
Construction on San Lorenzo began in 1099 and the church was consecrated in 1118, though it only neared completion in the late fourteenth century. Rather than building many smaller churches in the late medieval period, the Genoese poured their wealth into this principal church, investing the city’s symbolic potential in the structure. Unfortunately, external crises extended the construction period. In 1222, a significant earthquake undid the previous century worth of progress, while in 1299, a fire further damaged San Lorenzo. By the late thirteenth century, the Catheral’s lower façade, as well as two bell towers, were complete and, between 1307 and 1312, the nave’s lower order, the apse, and the wooden roof were restored following the fire.

Concurrent with Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s construction, Genoese civic authorities commissioned Galeazzo Alessi to reconstruct the entire church. Alessi only got as far as covering the nave, aisles, dome, and apsidal spaces, in addition to laying pavement in these respective areas. The centrally planned ecclesiastical structure likely informed his designs for Luca Giustiniani’s villa because the patron was entrenched in papal politics and desired a villa that would be emblematic of the historical connections between Genoese capital, ecclesiastically derived authority, and Habsburg imperial wealth. As a result, Alessi enacted the urban-suburban dialectic by looking back at Genoese urban ecclesiastical architecture to relate the villa’s design to vernacular definitions of sacred space. This choice represented a

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46 Epstein, pp. 28-32, 40, 50, 87-88, 91, 97, 105-6, and 109-110. The Genoese played an integral role in the Crusades, participating in the Christian attempt to recapture and colonize the Middle Eastern Holy Land. Their fervor stemmed from the hostility they held towards the Muslim Turks after the tenth century. This activity represents one of several catalysts driving the construction of a mighty Genoese naval fleet.


pan-Italian convention: contemporaneous Palladian villas such as Villa Rotonda also appropriated the architectural vocabularies of religious structures in order to assert a hegemonic position over domestic landscapes.\textsuperscript{49} From San Lorenzo Alessi borrowed concepts of spatial distribution and the symbolic historical relationship between Genoese religious, political, and private life. Although quite different from the southern front of the villa, a tripartite internal and external spatial division appears at the Genoa Cathedral as well (Fig. 11). Likewise, the Cathedral rests upon a platform that situates it slightly above the urban landscape. Atop an axial, symmetrical platform, the villa stands above and looks past potential visual obstructions, suffusing the interior with views of Genoese landscapes in four directions. Alessi thereby visually appropriated the entire surrounding landscape, even though the Giustiniani family did not own these visual corridors. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso represents the private devotional character of most Genoese citizens; due to the instability of Genoese public institutions throughout the medieval era, citizens became increasingly wary of organized worship and cultivated a private devotional character.\textsuperscript{50}

The Cathedral of San Lorenzo signifies many reasons that the Genoese cultivated personal devotional habits. The commune of Genoa connected this node of ecclesiastical authority to their sovereignty over the Ligurian coastline, which furnished the Genoese with access to the Crusades and mercantile pursuits: Genoa’s political rulers granted the archbishop of Genoa ownership of the coastline in 1139 and then funded the construction of its harbor. Both the archbishop and the consuls subsequently gained control over and tax

\textsuperscript{49} Although I previously problematized \textit{The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture}, the co-authors emphasize that “a close causal interrelationship exists between the principle of religious authority and the social principle of authority,” both of which were embedded within the \textit{villeggiatura} impulse and expressed through rational architectural villa designs (Bentmann and Müller, pp. 25-26). The use of religious architectural typologies on a villa, then, inscribes religious connotations onto private domestic life.

\textsuperscript{50} Epstein, 187.
revenue from the sea; they tied Genoese political and religious authority to a natural source of power and wealth. The Cathedral sat near the eastern shore of the Genoese port and flagged entry into Genoa; the blend of ecclesiastical and mercantile capital that had enabled its construction came to define Genoese ethos. The façade, with a Gothic portal built by French artisans in the later thirteenth century, exhibits a style traditionally associated with the homes of late medieval nobles. Alternating black and white bands of striated marble ooze wealth because the materials were imported from the Adriatic Sea; their more common appearance on palazzi indicates the hybridization of both domestic and ecclesiastical architecture, which, in turn, relates to the private ventures that funded San Lorenzo’s construction. When compared to other medieval and early modern Italian cities, Genoa was defined by a private political structure: power was given to and disseminated from the commune, which consisted of noble men who sought to advance their own interests. While San Lorenzo’s siting tied it to a mythic past, its style and the power held by the archbishop housed within looked towards the city’s future, proclaiming the grand potential of the Genoese and their private fiscal interests. The intermingling of Genoese history and mythology received its first structural articulation at the Cathedral of San Lorenzo.

(b) The Genoese *Imago Urbis*: Perspectives on the City’s Urban and Fiscal Growth

Genoa occupies a peculiar position within European cultural history and early modern Italian geo-politics. Although Italy remained politically divided until 1871, most

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51 Epstein, 47.


53 Epstein, 33-38. In 1099, Genoa establishes its *compagna*, or commune of citizens. Every three years six new consuls were chosen to lead the collective and, almost always, the six men came from the Genoese *nobili*.
Europeans considered the peninsula unified by its cultural productivity. Europeans considered the peninsula unified by its cultural productivity. Early modern Italians considered Genoese humanism of little importance when compared to Roman, Florentine, and Venetian intellectual and artistic achievements, further dividing the city from the rest of the peninsula. On the other hand, Northern European artists championed Genoa during the early seventeenth century. Anthony van Dyck painted portraits of Genoese nobles and Peter Paul Rubens drew elevations and plans of their homes, compiled in *Palazzi di Genova* (1618-22). The two artists respectively depicted the Genoese nobility’s sumptuous clothing and the architecture that encased their grand lifestyles. Emblems mediated by foreign artistic vision, these documents traced the somewhat limited influence of preexisting Italian styles upon early seventeenth-century Genoese patrons, but they also spread the city’s aesthetic sensibility across Europe. In *Palazzi di Genova*, Rubens included Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, the Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta in Carignano, and other

54 William J. Bouwsma, *The Waning of the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 4-5 and 8-11. Bouwsma discusses pan-European jealousy of the Apennine peninsula during the early Renaissance and claims that this stance developed into a prejudice against Italy as the period progressed. Nonetheless, he emphasizes that wealthy European intellectuals made a point of traveling to Italy to visit the monuments of antiquity and the Renaissance.

55 Various authors, *Perspecta* 41 (2008). Dedicated to the Grand Tour, this issue of *Perspecta*, through its failure to mention Genoa, suggests that the Genoese aesthetic was historically considered less canonical because it drew upon stylistic developments of other Italian regions several decades after they had initially been used in Rome, Florence, Venice, and elsewhere.

designs by Alessi, thereby popularizing the Perugian architect’s designs for future
generations of Northern European architects.\footnote{Lombaerde, esp. pp. 122-23 and 144-45. Alessi’s Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso influenced the northern European architectural and stage set designs of John Webb, Joseph Furttenbach, and Inigo Jones.}

Prior to these Baroque interventions, paintings and maps of Genoa constructed and
captured contrasting local and foreign perceptions of the city. Whereas the Genoese
depicted their city frontally, looking from the sea towards Genoa, foreign artists more often
portrayed Genoa from either its eastern or western suburban hills, gazing into the city as if
sitting high up in an amphitheatre.\footnote{Gorse, “A Classical Stage for the Old Nobility.” Cf. Stanislaw Wilinski, “L’Alessi e il Serlio,” in 
Galeazzo Alessi e l’architettura del cinquecento, ed. Wolfgang Lotz (Genoa: Sagep, 1975), pp. 141-145. The
use of scenographic language is intentional and intended to evoke one symbolic potential suggested
by George Gorse and Stanislaw Wilinski.} Despite these contrasting perspectives, a similar
conception of Genoese ethos nonetheless emerges from the two design types: citizens of the
northern Italian republic held a self-conscious, inward-looking mentality that solidified its
ancient historical division from the peninsula and stemmed from a fear of invasion following
the tenth-century Turkish raid. Maps, in turn, illustrated the social character of the city.\footnote{Alessandro Scafi, “Mapping Eden: Cartographies of the Earthly Paradise,” in Mappings, ed. Denis Cosgrove (London: Reakton Books, 1999), p. 50. Here I am paraphrasing a central claim of Scafi’s
argument: “Map construction, no less than writing text, is essentially a social act, one which involves
the thoughts and beliefs of both map-maker and culture.” An entire literature concerning the social
dynamics embedded within maps, or cartographic images. Cf. Alessandro Scafi, Mapping Paradise: A
History of Heaven on Earth (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).}

Cristoforo de Grassi’s 1597 View of Genoa, 1481 (Fig. 12) retrospectively renders the city
from an uncommon position of late medieval power. Between 1478 and 1488, Genoa
existed as an autonomous city-state, but, on either side of this decade, foreign forces
occupied it. The Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, was declared lord of the city in 1463 to
prevent the French from expanding farther into Italy and the Sforza continued to control
the city from 1488 until 1499, when Louis XII of France took over.\textsuperscript{60} In Cristoforo de Grassi’s map, darkness overhangs the urban core, as if signaling the chaotic effects of its ever-fluctuating rulers, while the city’s architecture, its suburban farms, and its navy rest along parallel lines that ironically and rigidly order the frame in a manner characteristic of late Renaissance design.\textsuperscript{61} De Grassi placed the city in the center of its own universe, unconnected to more extensive, land-based networks. The painter only implicitly linked the enclosed Genoese mindset to the outside world by the sea, where viewers entered the image at the bottom of the map’s frame. Moreover, within the dark sky two emblems bearing the Genoese flag, white with a red cross running through its center, hover above the city and indicate its territorial ends. The late sixteenth-century map suggests that Genoa was haunted by its past—1481—in the present representational moment—1597. De Grassi indicates that Genoa held tightly to its own self-reflective socio-economic and aesthetic vocabularies long after the establishment of the Genoese Republic three-quarters of a century earlier.

The bleak tone of \textit{View from 1481} yields another paradox when compared with a 1457 Genoese world map (Fig. 13). In this year, the Genoese were again temporarily under self-rule, but only one year before they had submitted to King Charles VIII of France. Here the Apennine peninsula rests in the far left corner of the depicted world. Situated along the border between earthly and heavenly space, Italy approximated medieval \textit{mappaemundi’s}

\textsuperscript{60} Kirk, pp. 16-17. Also, Epstein, pp. 325-327.

\textsuperscript{61} Bouwsma, pp.143-164 and 246-258. The ordering impulse inherent to late Renaissance design resulted from an increasing insecurity concerning the freedom of early humanist thought. As a result, a taxonomic, scientific classification system developed and infected aesthetics. Painting, sculpture, and architecture were, as stated in the preface, ranked according to their relative innovation of regional style.
common peripheral and liminal placement of Eden in relation to the earthly realm. The peninsula simultaneously occupied a position that the northwestern location of Genoa and reflected a Genoese impulse to project its claustrophobic ethos onto more general subjects. Rather than situating the peninsula at the world’s symbolic center, the Genoese mapmaker placed Italy on the side to suggest its citizens must take to the sea and export their goods, as well as their religious beliefs. Genoese separation metonymically implied the potential for both its own expansion, as well as that of Italy and Europe more generally.

Whereas the Genoese took to the sea as the 1598 and 1457 maps suggest, other Italian powers did not expand their economic and political influence over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The sea, Genoa’s primary means of accessing the outside world, enabled Genoese merchants and bankers to forge alliances with the Habsburgs just as the same imperial forces overran much of Italy. In 1527, the Sack of Rome by Charles V undid Roman and papal hubris for the next several decades; the Sack also furthered the Catholic Church’s insecurities concerning from the Protestant Reformation and catalyzed, according to many scholars, commanding High Renaissance style’s decline into the self-conscious Mannerist period. Genoa, then, ironically underwent the transition from a medieval to a(n early) modern society concurrent with what William J. Bouwsma termed “the waning of the Renaissance” and rose to power against the greater tides of Italian fortune. During this period, the mid-sixteenth well into the seventeenth century European intellectual and

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62 Scafi, “Mapping Eden,” p. 63. Mappamundi (singular: mappamundi) conflated many different times and places in order to geographically map the history of human spiritual development. In their visual recombination of contemporary religious knowledge, mappamundi functioned like cartographic encyclopedias that contained multiple temporal frames within one spatial plane.


64 Bouwsma, p. xviii.
artistic products exhibited a paradoxical mindset: the innovation and freedom characteristic of Renaissance intellectual life constantly conflicted with an increasing sense of uncertainty. Genoa, already hyper-aware of its topographic position on the outskirts of the traditionally powerful and productive peninsula, came of age with a self-consciousness endemic to such larger shifts. The sea remained the most potent emblem of historical transitions, appearing in numerous Genoese paintings and visible to citizens on a daily basis. The sea ironically transformed a location ancient Romans considered inconvenient into a hub of international commercial activity.

Inherent to the dualistic character of Genoa, the fruitful Ligurian coastal port also posed a significant threat to the city’s sovereignty. An inherited anxiety stemming from the tenth-century Turkish invasion catalyzed the Genoese to build a robust fleet of naval vessels, which appeared in multifarious images like de Grassi’s map and became part of the city’s iconography along with the mountains and sea that enclosed it. Genoa further protected itself by constructing walls around its perimeter that continuously expanded along with the city itself. Such a strong protective impulse counterbalanced the city’s historically disempowered position. As already mentioned, from 1396 to 1527 Genoa underwent a dizzying ten shifts in sovereignty, as French, Milanese, and papal forces fought over the city. Indeed, Genoa rarely retained its autonomy for more than one or two decades before another external force sought its advantageous port for their own profits. In 1522, Habsburg Emperor Charles V first intervened in Genoa along with the Papal States, marking the beginning of a productive relationship between Genoa and the Spanish crown. Charles V

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65 Ibid, pp. 129-142.

66 Epstein, pp. 72, 74, and 201. Here the walls surrounding medieval Genoa are discussed. Thomas Allison Kirk’s entire history concerns the relationship between a self-protective Genoese ethos and their relationship to topography.
supported Genoa’s 1528 rebellion against the French after which the Republic of Genoa was formed. Andrea Doria, a *condottiero*, or mercenary, led the revolt. An admiral who rose to prominence during the early Cinquecento, Doria acquired his power at sea much like Genoa itself. Such a symbolic connection to traditional definitions of Genoese power enabled his rapid ascent of the city’s social hierarchy despite his lower class origins and ensured his continued influence over the Republic following the revolt.\(^67\)

A 1528 contract between Charles V and Andrea Doria delineated diplomatic relations between Habsburg and Genoese forces that enabled the city’s economic boom.\(^68\) As *pater patriae*, or founding father, Andrea Doria freed the city from its medieval political turmoil and permanently established Genoa as an autonomous Republic. The agreement allowed Doria to select the Genoese businessmen, like Luca Giustiniani, that could frequent the Habsburg court. Andrea Doria thus played a significant role in solidifying Genoese society following the revolution because he dictated which families retained, acquired, or lost the right to handle imperial accounts.\(^69\) After 1528, Genoa’s citizens became increasingly aware of their unusual position as compared to other Italian cities. Maritime trade and naval might had established Genoa as a trans-Mediterranean power over the course of the medieval period, but the later influx of Habsburg capital expanded Genoese economic

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\(^68\) Kirk, pp. 21-22.

influence internationally. On the other hand, by the mid-sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, other Italian cities were increasingly defined by their cultural capital rather than their economic or political prowess. The Genoese attempted to mediate these two forces by producing art that announced its successes.

Convegno navale guidato da Carlo V, il papa e Andrea Doria (Fig. 14), an anonymous sixteenth-century oil on canvas painting, allegorizes the relationship between Andrea Doria

70 Epstein, pp. 103-4, 199-200, and 181-82. During the medieval era, the Genoese and Venetians had a longstanding competition over their dominance of trade in the Mediterranean. Genoa won the historical feud by attaining connections to the Habsburg crown

71 Pierre Bourdieu, Distinction: A Social Critique of Taste, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), p. 2. Bourdieu defines cultural capital in his introduction to Distinction: “Consumption is...a stage in a process of communication, that is, an act of deciphering, decoding, which presupposes practical or explicit mastery of a cipher or code. In a sense, one can say that the capacity to see (voir) is a function of the knowledge (savoir), or concepts, that is, the words, that are available to name visible things, and which are, as it were, programmes for perception. A work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possess the cultural competence, that is, the code, into which it is encoded. The conscious or unconscious implementation of explicit or implicit schemes of perception and appreciation which constitutes pictorial or musical culture is the hidden condition for recognizing the styles characteristic of a period, a school or an author, and, more generally, for the familiarity with the internal logic of works that aesthetic enjoyment presupposes. A beholder who lacks the specific code feels lost in a chaos of sounds and rhythms, colours and lines, without rhyme or reason.” Cf. Claudia Lazzaro, “Italy as a Garden,” in Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France, ed. Mirka Benes and Dianne Harris (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 49 and 58-60. Claudia Lazzaro also harnesses Bourdieu’s theory to explicate the rigor and rewards provided by a humanist education. Simultaneously, she figures this “specific code” or language as endemic to Italy’s subsequent decline (Bourdieu, 2): gardens and artistic representations of the labor within their manicured, geometrically arranged landscapes concealed the increasingly wide social stratification between a wealthy patriciate and the landless peasants they employed. This reality starkly contrasted the idealty provided by the garden’s representation of “a Golden Age in which the classes coexist in harmony” (Ibid, 58). For further explanation of this topic, see the following two sources: Pierre Bourdieu and Loic J.D. Wacquant, An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), esp. pp. 4, 99, 102n.55, 119, 119n.74, and 160; Pierre Bourdieu, The Field of Cultural Production, trans. by Randal Jonson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993). An extensive secondary literature on Pierre Bourdieu, which situates his scholarship in relation to cultural studies and, more specifically, art history, also exists. A brief but productive essay by the architectural historian John Archer, “Social Theory of Space: Architecture and the Production of Self, Culture, and Society,” The Journal of Architectural Historians 64, no. 4 (2005): 430-433—as well as a more general, anthologized essay—Richard Hooker, Dominic Paterson, and Paul Stritton, “Bourdieu and the art historians,” in Reading Bourdieu on Society and Culture, ed. Bridget Fowler (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), pp. 212-228—supply multifarious questions for the recent disciplinary fusion of sociology and architecture.
and Charles V. A naval fleet occupies the majority of the canvas and extends into Genoa’s claw-like harbor. One ship, Genoa itself, defies the eastern winds that direct every other ship, a movement that implies the comparative decline of other Italian powers. The single, westward ship contains *all’antica* statuary figures that uphold two Genoa jibs, sails named after the city and characterized by larger surface areas that were intended to maximize a ship’s speed in moderate winds. The invention of the Genoa jib—and its inclusion in such a triumphant, self-mythologizing painting—demonstrates the Genoese had a practical definition of progress that eventually rewarded their city. Technological prowess enabled the Genoese to attain their late Renaissance fiscal and political successes.

Christian symbolism also pervades the allegory and suggests that God’s favor further empowered the Genoese. Clad in a light pink toga and holding the main sail, a blonde-haired woman, perhaps a Petrarchan beauty like Laura, stands atop a case enclosing a grail, gestured at by one of three monks in the ship’s bow. In a description of Genoa, Francesco Petrarca mentions a “precious and noble vase of solid emerald that Christ…is said to have used as a dish.” The holy relic lent Genoa an appeal beyond its natural beauty for the early humanist and rendered the Genoa a worthy stop on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The object pictured here serves a similar purpose even if it does not resemble Petrarca’s description. Furthermore, a cross within a light gray Mandorla floats above the three ecclesiasts. Dark outlines steer the other ships, specters rather than fully rendered figures, and expand the vitality and sacrality of the allegorical Genoese ship. The painting presents a later, allegorical counterpart to the Cathedral of San Lorenzo and figuratively

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72 In English, the title reads *Naval Conference Led by Charles V, The Pope, and Andrea Doria.*


illustrates the close ties between Genoese ecclesiastical and political authority, while also actualizing the potential that the medieval Cathedral anticipated.

The painting allegorizes the relationship between Genoa and Habsburg capital. Loans granted to the Habsburgs by Genoese bankers exponentially increased between 1520 and 1556 and Genoese profits rose from 273,270 ducats to 3,303,697. As a result of a rise in available capital, the city underwent a significant expansion at the end of the Cinquecento. New domestic, governmental, and ecclesiastical structures appeared throughout the urban core as well as in its eastern and western suburbs. Not since the late medieval period had Genoa undergone such an extended period of urban and suburban growth. Genoese architecture during both eras shared the desire for self-commemoration. Several medieval projects demonstrate this impulse. For example, the tenth-century Palazzata della Ripa—an arched, arcaded Gothic overhang—provided a harborside location for late medieval palazzo construction. Genoese merchants funded the 900-meter long palazzata under an agreement with the city’s consuls. The contract allowed investors to build their homes above the civic structure. Privately owned towers also appeared throughout medieval Genoa. The Embriaci Tower (Fig. 15), made of rusticated ashlar, commemorated Guilgielmo Embriaco, a Genoese hero of the First Crusade. The Tower defied a 1296 law that reduced the potential height of such monumental towers because the city’s elite considered the structures symbols of their wealth and status and continuously increased their height to compete with other families.

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76 Balchin, pp. 114-115. From the medieval period forward, private residences expressed the power of their Genoese owners. Although during this earlier period villas did not exist, they eventually
Decadent *palazzi* and towers used architecture to establish Genoa as the primary port city in northwestern Italy. During the late medieval period, such privately funded projects exceeded the number of public construction ventures.

The Genoese continued to commission more private than public buildings during the Renaissance. Beyond the mid-Cinquecento urban intervention on the Strada Nuova (to be discussed in chapter three), numerous new *palazzi* and villas were built from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. The conventional Roman dialectic between urban and suburban development was, however, inverted in Genoa, where the claustrophobic conditions of its city center and the militaristically compromising mountains both seemed to present significant obstacles to expansion, but actually furnished the first architectural innovations. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso first synthesized mid-Cinquecento, central Italian and *all’antica* styles with the Genoese vernacular. From Albaro, stylistic development moved into the city rather than the other way around. Beyond style, the villa encouraged subsequent generations to colonize the eastern region and, in the mid-seventeenth century, led to the extension of the medieval city walls. Due to the relatively late influx of High Renaissance architecture from central Italy as well as the aforementioned topographic limitations, the Genoese Baroque remained relatively tame in comparison to its Roman and Venetian counterparts. The styles introduced by Galeazzo Alessi remained fashionable long

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77 Ackerman, pp. 9-10. The general urban-rural dialectic is laid out in Ackerman’s introduction to *The Villa*.

78 Balchin, pp. 241-242, 276-277, and 360-362.

after they lost their hold over other Italian regions. In effect, Alessi provided a modern architectural counterpart to the towers that commanded Genoa’s medieval skyline.

(c) Luca Cambiaso: A Case Study of Mid-Cinquecento Genoese Painting at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso

In conjunction with the flow of Habsburg capital into architecture, the visual arts witnessed a similar resurgence. Here, too, central Italian High Renaissance and Mannerist styles entered Genoa and altered its vernacular aesthetic. Luca Cambiaso, the Genoese painter who executed *Il Rapimento di Elena* and several frescoes at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, exhibits the transitional nature of Genoese painting during the sixteenth century. The *Stoning of St. Stephen*, an altarpiece painted by Giulio Romano in 1530 for Santo Stefano, a stylistic purpose similar to Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso. Giulio Romano, a student of Raphael, executed the altarpiece. As the single renowned painter working within Genoa during the Cinquecento’s first half, Cambiaso combined the two principal styles of Romano’s painting in his own work, blending a *maniera* sophistication with a bold, dramatic sense of figural composition. In addition to Giulio Romano, Perino del Vaga, a Florentine painter who designed tapestries for Andrea Doria’s Fassolo villa in 1527, held significant sway over

80 Balchin, 439-441.


82 Manfredo Tafuri, ed., *Giulio Romano* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Essays by Tafuri and others emphasize the connections between Romano’s architectural and other artistic practices while foregrounding his initial role in High Renaissance design before late becoming involved in the Mannerist movement.

Cambiaso’s developing style, which provided the Genoese with their own distinct pictorial language.\textsuperscript{84}

Luca Cambiaso frescoed numerous palace and villa walls with a style that inserted the Genoese elite into a pan-European power network based upon its newfound banking monopoly. Cambiaso built off of an idealized classical past and the Christian iconographic tradition to establish a style that derived from his High Renaissance and Mannerist influences. At Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, his frescoes reflect an understanding of Galeazzo Alessi’s interrelation of internal and external spatial dynamics. Located in the \textit{piano nobile} loggia, Cambiaso and Il Bergamasco executed two frescoes that paralleled \textit{Apollo} and \textit{Diana} (Fig. 16) with the villa’s orientation towards both the waning moon and the rising sun. The frescoes rendered the \textit{piano nobile} loggia the villa’s central symbolic space and conflated the room with a compass rose that related its geographic location to two cardinal directions.\textsuperscript{85} Both paintings were situated within illusionistic lunettes surrounded by decorative stuccowork that evoked the heavens’ ethereal nature. Like much of Cambiaso’s early figural representation, the two ancient Roman gods bear a dramatic musculature and remain believably situated within their environments. Atmospheric colors create a delicate sensibility that contrasted his geometric figural composition. Whereas Apollo stands with his arms spread out to embrace the day, Diana flees into the clouds as the first hint of dawn hits her feet. Two \textit{putti} flank both figures, occupying the same lunette and facing the same direction.

\textsuperscript{84} Salzer, p. 86. Salzer’s dissertation and several other sources cite the influence of Perino del Vaga upon Galeazzo Alessi. Cf. Thomas P. Campbell, \textit{Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence} (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002), pp. 351-60. Tapestries were popular in Genoa, but are traditionally considered material cultural artifacts rather than high art. Perino del Vaga’s tapestries connected Andrea Doria to the mytho-historical origin narratives of Genoa, depicting Neptune as well as scenes from the \textit{Aeneid}.

\textsuperscript{85} Chapters two and three handle the significance of the \textit{piano nobile} loggia in greater detail, but these frescoes employ figural representation to convey the eastern and western directions of the villa while windows opened onto its northern and southern sides.
as their corresponding gods. Two herms within each lunette divide these smaller figures from their larger counterparts and, as innovatively rendered by Alessi’s design, have heads that overlap with the lunette’s stucco frame. Therefore, Cambiaso’s dynamism responded to and built upon these small but innovative herms. Although the frescoes at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso represent a fraction of the painter’s total production, they corroborate not only a popular aesthetic found in contemporaneous Genoese domestic interiors but also the painter’s sensitivity to architectural space by situating the two allegorical forms within their larger context. In doing so, Cambiaso executed frescoes tied to the modern impulses driving both the patron and architect behind the villa, which itself testified to the unique historical position of mid-sixteenth century Genoa.

(d) Genoese Villa Typology and *Villeggiatura*: Prefacing Alessian *Invenzione* at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso

A genealogy of Genoese villas demonstrates that Galeazzo Alessi made an emphatic stylistic statement by synthesizing High Renaissance and vernacular concerns at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, but, against conventional readings of the villa, occupied an atypical rather than paradigmatic position in Genoese architectural history. Although the mid-Cinquecento marked the beginning of a sustained villa revival in the northwestern port city, Genoese villa and *palazzo* design had simultaneously evolved from the late medieval period forward and stylistic shifts within Genoa lagged behind but nonetheless paralleled those in other northern and central Italian regions. When compared to Florence, Rome, or Venice, Genoa generated far fewer notable structures or other cultural products during the Renaissance and Baroque height of Italian art and architecture.  

86 Indeed, several late

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Quattrocento poets, a handful of mid-Cinquecento sculptors and painters, and only one villa book written by Paolo Pansa emerged from Genoa. Furthermore, the relatively simple villa typology found in Genoa until 1548 reveals that Genoese patrons valued function far more than monumental self-presentation and indicates that Alessi added subtly and refinement to the traditional Genoese villa designed and built by local artisans.

Mid-Quattrocento villas emphasized the relationship between landscape and architecture less effectively than Alessi’s 1548 design eventually would. Longitudinal and placed into the slopes around the city, these villas were characterized by paired corner loggias on either side of the piano nobile’s central salone. The frontal plane framed a direct view to the sea, while their façades often lacked decorative elements and a symmetrical focus. Emphasizing the view out, such villas did not assert the authority of their patrons through the use of a commanding style that created a reciprocal view up towards the commanding façade. Gardens did, however, play a pivotal role in establishing man’s dominance over nature. Like almost all Genoese villas, these early villas had gardens placed...

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Renaissance, trans. Jessica Levine (Cambridge, MA: 1989). Tafuri executes a case study of Venetian urban politics and architecture, a model that has yet to be applied to Genoa. In fact, both Ackerman and Tafuri rarely mention Genoa, however, their work represents the best later twentieth-century scholarship on Renaissance architecture. More importantly, their work can be contrasted with an architectural history of Genoa to produce new, more theoretically engaged histories.

Epstein, pp. 292-99. Epstein devotes attention to late Quattrocento humanism and art, foregrounding its parallels in other late medieval, Italian cultures.

Salzer, pp. 30-31. Genoese and Lombard artisans designed as well as oversaw the construction of most buildings until Alessi came to Genoa. Between 1439 and 1596, the Arte del Antelamo, a board of governmental officials, regulated local building projects, architectural apprenticeships, and construction ethics.


Genoese gardens provided the primary subject for scholars who handled Genoa in 1980s and 1990s. This favoritism indicates the general shift towards including garden and landscape studies within art and architectural histories. The following are the most useful: Lauro Magnani, “‘L’uso
on the same elevation as the piano nobile and located behind rather than in front of the homes. Villa Tomati in the Val Polcevera (c. 1450) sat northwest of the city and exemplified this late Lombard Gothic tradition. Influenced by both the feudal castle-tower as well as local farm architecture, Villa Tomati (Figs. 17 and 18) bore an informal, L-shaped plan that signaled the initial colonization of the hills surrounding Genoa.91

Later Quattrocento villas enriched traditional typology by integrating central and northern Italian styles. During this period, symmetry began to redefine the proportional relationship between architectural parts. Concurrently, subtly classicized detailing emerged and an authoritative, monumental scale more actively asserted a villa’s relation to surrounding landscapes. Commissioned by Lorenzo Cattaneo, the Villa Cattaneo-Imperiale (Fig. 19) refined Villa Tomati’s L-shape with a linear frontal façade. Villa Catteneo-Imperiale sat atop a hill, a block whose piano nobile loggias functioned as belvederes overlooking the landscape to two of its sides. The villa’s ground floor further opened onto nature where contained porches provided similar views and prefaced the expansive internal rooms. The latter spaces reflected the exterior’s axial-geometric relation to the natural world and were divided into two parts: the public ceremonial spaces of the grand salone and the loggias d’ornare i fonti: Galeazzo Alessi and the Construction of Grottoes in Genoese Gardens,” *Journal of Garden History* 5 (1985): 135-153; Maniglio, Annalisa, “Ville e giardini genovesi,” *Spazio e società* 11 (1988): 96-101.

spilled onto a frontal garden, substantially expanded since the initial construction, while the private camere were placed in the villa’s rear. Completed by 1502, Villa Cattaneo-Imperiale served as one of many Genoese villas where the French monarch Louis XII was entertained while visiting Genoa in August 1502. Phillipe de Ravestain, the city’s French governor, took Louis XII to the ceremonial sites and holy relics of Genoa. Lorenzo Cattaneo, in turn, invited the king and his traveling court to his villa for a celebratory banquet. Jean d’Auton, who traveled with Louis XII and later published a chronicle of the monarch’s life, described the villa: “[the] beautiful pleasure gardens [were] full of orange and pomegranate trees and fruits of every type; in sum, it is an earthly paradise.” The passage reveals that the villa’s style fulfilled its intended grandeur and corresponded to the generalized topos associated with other Italian villeggiature. More importantly, d’Auton signifies the hybrid nature of the Genoese villa and the doppia residenza scheme; formal social events held at urban palazzi were equally suited for a suburban pleasure home. The descriptions of the French royal travel agenda demonstrated that the

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92 Ibid, p. 258. Cf. De Negri, pp. 336-347. In the mid-Quattrocento, Villa Imperiale-Cattaneo was expanded. At its back, an extended, U-shaped courtyard with a nymphaeum and fountain in its center were added, while at its front another nymphaeum prefaced an axial garden plan. This mid-Quattrocento expansion interestingly reflects the nymphaeum and garden depicted in Jean Massys’ 1561 painting Flora with a View of Genova. Perhaps even more compelling in relation to Villa Giustinian-Cambiaso are the later façade and interior decorations by, among others, Luca Cambiaso, who executed several frescoes and other interior design details for Luca Giustiniani. Cf. Epstein, pp. 149-50. The Treaty of Nymphaeum (1261) adds a historical irony to the use of such structures in Genoese gardens. The Republic of Genoa and the Empire of Nicaea signed this agreement, which promised the Nicaeans naval protection against a potential war with Venice and the Genoese with weapons as well as horses in their eastern colonies.

93 Petrarca’s allusion to Genoese holy relics still drew visitors to the city.

Genoese successfully convinced visitors of their self-constructed mythologies: they described Genoa like a paradisiacal Christian landscape.

Villa Fieschi at Carignano, located to the east of Genoa like the later Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, also served as a locus of entertainment for Louis XII. Here Louis stayed ten days in 1502 and received papal as well as diplomatic representatives from other Italian city-states. Such hospitality led d’Auton to characterize “the Genoese [as] the gatesmen of Italy.” Again, the French tapped into a traditional Genoese narrative, this one concerning the idealized classical past of Ianus. For French diplomats, Genoa provided easier access to Italy than Rome and therefore assumed a potent role in their perception of Italy. Villa Fieschi itself was built in 1391 for Ugolino Fieschi and underwent several expansions during the Quattrocento. Unfortunately, Villa Fieschi was decimated in 1547 and few documentary sources concerning the exact layout of the building exist. Paolo Pansa provided the most extensive known descriptions of the site. His 1524 encomium, or laudatory treatise, was a generalized description of the sun-drenched months the Genoese spent in their villas. According to both d’Auton and Pansa, Villa Fieschi realized an equilibrium between architecture, landscape design, and nature with its abundant garden structures and plantings.

Pansa’s lengthy text praised Carignano, adjacent to and part of the larger suburb Albaro, and provides the sole example of Genoese villa writing, a genre that flourished in,

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95 Ibid, p. 258. Gorse again translated d’Auton’s French into English; the quotation signifies that the heretofore historically peripheral port city was gaining prestige—if not within Italy then from northern European visitors.

96 Gorse, 277 n.27.
among other Italian locales, the Veneto. His descriptions conflate Genoese *villeggiatura* with villa cultures in central Italy and Venice:

> There the patrons comfort themselves (as is the custom of our citizens), leaving behind in the city ambitious cares, worrisome trade, the expenses of magistrates and the noises of hateful quarreling, just at the time that the sun with long stay begins to heat the earth; as if to a secure shore and a tranquil port they retire; here profitably removed from civil tumult, as long as the summer lasts, they enjoy an air more free, more pure and agreeable.

For a people fraught by constant internal power struggles as well as external threats to their sovereignty, villas offered solace, slightly removed from the city and less entrenched in the anxiety endemic to Genoa’s compact urban fabric. Ironically, the Genoese climbed the surrounding mountains in order to more directly interact with sea. Though *palazzi* sat far closer to the Ligurian coastline, visual obstructions prevented urban homes from seeing the natural source of Genoese authority. Moreover, the relationship between natural weather patterns and experience within the landscape operated as a common trope throughout villa literature and emphasized a patron’s ability to cultivate well-being in a suburban setting.

Pansa places nature over society—suburban *otium* over urban *negotium*—throughout the text. Yet his idealization works against the social reality of most villa owners: Genoese villas

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97 Cf. Alvise Cornaro, *Discorsi intorno alla Vita Sobria*, ed. Pietro Pancrazi (Florence: F. Le Monnier, 1943). Cornaro’s text provided an ideological catalyst for Venetian merchants seeking to colonize the Terraferma. It is the most notable, but certainly not the sole, *villeggiatura* text to come out of Venice. In comparison to Paolo Pansa’s *encomium*, this text possesses a far more radical tone. Also see: James S. Ackerman, “The Image of Country Life in Sixteenth-Century Villa Books,” in *The Villa*, pp. 108-33.

98 Paolo Pansa, *Vita del gran pontefice Innocenzio quarto, scritta gia’ da Paolo Pansa genovese, e da Tomaso Costa corretta e migliorata cosi’ di stile, come di lingua, arricchita di postille e di sommario, e data in luce. Ove s’ha notizia di molte cose notabili accadut* (Naples: Gianiacopo Carlino & Antonio Pace, 1960). The Genoese humanist’s *encomium* was inserted into a larger text recounting the lives of several popes. Cf. Gorse, pp. 258-60. Gorse translated several portions from Pansa’s text and includes them in the bulk of his article. The lengthy Italian document contains numerous descriptions of Genoese *villeggiatura* like those translated by Gorse. Pansa’s generalized and idealized tone compares to Venetian and Roman *villeggiatura* texts written in the sixteenth century. Although such correspondences demonstrate the Genoese desire to appropriate cultural forms from other Italian contexts, the similarities also demonstrate that Genoese *villeggiatura* was figured as a broadly as it was elsewhere despite the apparent contextual issues every villa site presented.
remained proximate enough to the city center so businessmen and politicians could still conduct daily business while residing in their villas for half the year. In turn, Pansa did not discuss the dual permanent residences many wealthy Genoese citizens owned and occupied in favor of relating the regional villeggiatura to more well known contexts like Florence where villas functioned as leisurely retreats.

The Villa of Andrea Doria at Fassolo (Figs. 21 to 26), a proximate and populous suburb to the west of the city walls, enacts the traditional doppia residenza scheme and enabled the implicit sovereign of Genoa to easily move between the city and Fassolo. 99 Against many scholarly claims, Doria’s was the first villa to incorporate central Italian villa design into the vernacular, thereby disempowering absolutist claims concerning Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s originating role in Genoese villa typology. Andrea Doria (Fig. 27) purchased a podere (land, property) in the Genoese suburb of Fassolo in 1521 where his villa underwent two construction periods—one before and the other after the 1528 revolution. The villa’s chronology allowed it to embody the parallel relationship between Genoese architectural and political developments. Adjacent to and overlooking the sea, Doria sited his villa to assert his ceremonial title, “Prefect of the Sea” (Prefetto del Mare). 100

Siting assumed a dual role at Fassolo, outfitting Doria with a panoramic view and integrating him into the moneyed, suburban fabric despite his less than noble social status. Subsequent generations highlighted the site because of its relation to Genoa’s pater patriae. Cristoforo de’ Grassi and Ignazio Danti’s maps of Genoa depict Fassolo before and after Doria purchased the villa. Whereas de Grassi’s 1481 view of the Genoa foregrounds the seafaring might that catalyzed and foreshadowed subsequent historical shifts, the Gallery of


100 Ibid, p. 20.
Maps fresco (Fig. 28), executed by Danti and a group of Bolognese painters between 1580 and 1581, demonstrated the gradual colonization of the rugged terrain that surrounded and enclosed the city (Fig. 29). At opposing edges, Danti detailed both Doria’s villa and the suburb of Albaro where Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso is located. Albaro was not included in maps of Genoa before Danti’s late Cinquecento fresco at the Vatican, thereby denoting the Genoese nobility increasingly inhabited the countryside and figuring Albaro along with Fassolo as loci for such migration.

An inscription on Villa Doria claims that the patron performed the primary “restoration” of the site: the villa became a pleasure villa after 1521 as early Renaissance Florentine villa style overtook its preexisting agricultural form.101 The villa assumed a new, block-like form with classical details.102 The first renovation also reflects a common Quattrocento Genoese villa motif found at the Lombard Gothic Villa Tomati, which also emphasized its corner loggias. In accordance with Genoese villa typology, loggias forged an open relation between villa and landscape; at Fassolo, a U-shaped courtyard fronted the southern, sea-facing façade and continued the dynamic relation between loggia and garden (Fig. 21). Formerly productive agricultural land transformed into a geometrically ordered pleasure garden flanked by a freestanding, classical colonnade and a second storey terrace that offered further views from the palatial villa onto the landscape. George Gorse claims that the first building campaign stemmed from the “Hellenistic-Roman portico sea villa,”


discussed by, among others, Pliny, whose Laurentinum (1st CE) villa provided a textual analogue for Doria’s project.\textsuperscript{103} Significantly, Leon Battista Alberti demanded villas be sited like this Laurentine villa in \textit{De re aedificatoria}: “it should be in view, and have itself a view of some city, town, stretch of coast, or plain.”\textsuperscript{104} Though Alberti’s description lacked specificity in order to suit his readers’ potentially varied contexts, he underscored the importance of nature as pleasure inducing and physically as well as mentally rejuvenating. Implied by both authors was the necessity of a gaze implicitly projected from the villa’s secluded position onto surrounding landscapes, which asserted the dominance of man-made forms over the natural settings. The first campaign thus yielded a building that synthesized the typologies of earlier Genoese villas with classical sea and mid-Quattrocento Florentine villas. The villa’s longitudinal form, U-shaped courtyard, and open relationship to landscape, garden, and sea reveal a pastoral, antiquarian assertion of Doria’s rising political and military powers.

The second campaign reflected the continued ascent of Doria as the villa’s architecture increasingly ornamented his political pageantry.\textsuperscript{105} Following his 1527 marriage to Pope Innocent VII’s niece, Peretta Usodimar, Doria expanded his property holdings. The Republic of Genoa expropriated the adjacent, eastern estate, which Doria subsequently purchased in June 1529 and he embellished the villa from 1529 to 1533 using this additional property.\textsuperscript{106} While the exterior matured into an asymmetrical design, setting the northern, portal entrance to the west, exposing the angle joining the earlier and newer buildings, and

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\textsuperscript{104} Alberti, pp. 145.
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\textsuperscript{105} Gorse, pp. 23-25. Here Gorse discusses the second expansion project.
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\textsuperscript{106} Ennio Poleggi, “Il rinnovamento edilizio Genovese e i magistri Antelami nel secolo XV,” \textit{Arte Lombarda} 2 (1966): 53-68. Genoese expropriation laws were common throughout the medieval and Renaissance eras, furnishing civic seizure of private property in order to alter the city’s urban fabric.
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creating an additional terrace arcade to the southern courtyard’s eastern side, the internal spatial organization was redistributed to form a symmetrical whole. The external piano nobile loggia (Figs. 23, 25 and 26) separated two apartments, each with a sala grande, two anticamere, and two camere, and granted husband and wife their own private quarters. A sequential room order (Fig. 22) that led from public reception areas to private bedchambers further inscribed conventional domestic decorum into the villa’s interior design. Although architectural historians have not conclusively agreed, the primary architect behind the campaign could have been Perino del Vaga: an inscription implies that del Vaga’s expansive interior and façade decorations impacted the villa’s overall redesign. The relative anonymity surrounding the second campaign’s architect suggests that Doria wanted history to remember him as the primary actor in this design process as well.

The northern entrance portal on the Via San Benedetto, executed by Giovanni da Fiesole and Silvio Cosini in white Carrara marble, further exemplified the goals of the second project. The ceremonial structure championed Doria as the harbinger of Genoese autonomy and wealth. Doric columns rise from pedestals to uphold a segmental arch on which Abundance and Peace hold the Doria coat-of-arms, a crowned eagle, that symbolically linked Doria to the entrance and framed visitors’ experiences with an emblem of his authority. Furthermore, eagles and bucrania (sacrificial lambs’ heads) alternate on the lintel and provide antiquarian funerary analogues to Immortality, Time, and Fame. These figures

107 Alberti, p. 149. “The husband and wife should have separate bedrooms.”

108 Ibid, p. 145. “Each house, as we have already mentioned, is divided into public, semi-private, and private zones. Of these, the public ones should imitate the house of a prince.”


110 Ibid, p. 194.
reflected another inscription above the entrance, *Fundavit eam Altissimus* (Founded on Most High), which signified Doria’s ancient ancestry. The portal thus granted Andrea Doria an almost trans-historical importance: allegorical signs of his genealogy and his personal successes were placed on a structure intended to extend his legacy into the future as well as into the Fassolo villa complex.

Within the villa, classical frescoes, reliefs, and sculptures abound, especially those concerning Neptune, god of the sea who represented the source of both the city and Doria’s good fortunes. Although Montorsoli’s stucco Neptune statue is now lost, the sculpture sat at the center of the southern garden (Figs. 24 and 26), as depicted in Danti’s fresco, and tied the villa’s iconographical program to both the regimented garden and the sea. Doria appropriated the mythological image as a personal icon that connected him to natural and built forms within the city he liberated. The villa’s prominent topographical position signified the Genoese placement of private above public power, while Neptune acquired an individualized meaning that figured Doria as the admiral of the Habsburg fleet, as well as the protector of Genoa. Notably, the sculpture depicted the ancient god in a Florentine rather than Venetian manner. In Jacopo de’ Barbari’s *View of Venice*, Neptune corresponded to the political and religious stability of Venice as a whole, whereas at Villa Doria, Neptune’s symbolic potential rested on private property that was rendered symmetrical and geometrical much like the Medici villas at Fiesole and Poggio a Caiano. Therefore, the ordering of nature and the use of classical statuary undergirded Andrea Doria’s political position in Genoa.

111 Ibid, pp. 195-6. Gorse interprets the *all’antica* entryway as Doria’s attempt to argue that Genoa was the new Rome and, moreover, that his villa served as one of few primary entryways into the city.

The back of Doria’s Fassolo villa appears in the midground of *Flora with a View of Genoa* (1561), which depicts a moment of *otium* (Fig. 30). An allegorical representation of the Goddess of Flowers reclines in the foreground.113 Her back faces a garden that overlooks a panoramic view of Genoa’s western suburbs and extends to Genoa itself; her fertile divinity recalls the economic prosperity of the mid-sixteenth century city. Jean Massys, the painter, figures the city’s urban core, specifically the Cathedral of San Lorenzo, as his vanishing point. Through linear perspective he established and empowered both the suburban villa of Genoa’s principle political figure and urban ecclesiastical sites and related the dually religious and political Genoese ethos to the urban-rural dialectic of *villeggiatura*. Beginning with Flora’s knees, an invisible line extends to the crowning dome of an *all’antica* nymphaeum—capped by a nipple-like appendage that echoes the bare breasted goddess as well as her nude sculptural counterpart within the grotto’s niche. The perspectival line continues over a second, farther garden, touches the conical tower on the harbor’s western shore, and concludes along the corresponding eastern bank, burgeoning with homes and businesses, at San Lorenzo (Fig. 31).

Massys thus employs perspective to conflate an individual with her surroundings, bathing a confident allegorical figure in a representation of urban and suburban Genoa, and synthesizes the symbolic potential of *villeggiatura* and the history embedded within the Genoese landscape.114 With a conventional northern European point of view, Massys looks back into Genoa and reconstructs the villa’s close proximity to the city. In the right mid-ground, Massys depicts the asymmetrical northern façade of Villa Andrea Doria at Fassolo

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114 Leatherbarrow, p. 12.
to make explicit the dialectical interplay depicted. The villa’s western entrance portal, two main stories, and attic are visible. This attic functioned as a belvedere leading from Doria’s apartment to his northern garden, which consisted of successive terraces inserted into the hillside. Massys likely selected this setting for the symbolic potential associated with Andrea Doria. An idealization of suburban withdrawal, Flora seduces members of the Genoese elite to purchase second homes and imitate the Republic’s founder by purchasing land outside Genoa and constructing their own villas. Each addition to Doria’s villa only embellished its function as a ceremonial western entryway to Genoa, literally welcoming foreign visitors in a manner not dissimilar from the seductive allegorical goddess. At Fassolo and elsewhere, Genoese psychology compensated for its medieval political instability and harnessed early Renaissance architectural forms to declare its newfound freedom.

Architectural, figural, and natural details scattered throughout the painting support Massys’ thematic intentions. An upper class (Fig. 32) couple rests one level below Flora in the paved garden: a seated young woman faces a kneeling courtier who holds his cap in the air as well as the hand of his female counterpart. These gestures represent a codified upper class language affirmed by both figures’ sumptuous costumes. The two characters exist in an idealized landscape that implies their removal from nearby urban bustle and details the romantic and sensual pleasures derived from their leisure. Notably, the woman’s pink gown forms an “L” that makes the same shape as Flora’s flesh, a shape echoed throughout the painting. The harbor and city lead to the mountains that enclose Genoa to the north. Covered with rectilinear white buildings, roads, and empty green spaces, these distant northern suburbs look like the foregrounded garden and Doria’s villa. The rise from the harbor, through Genoa, and into the mountains also parallels the shape of Flora’s body:

115 The impulse to function as an entryway ties the Villa Doria at Fassolo back to the Genoese myth of Ianus.
beginning with her feet and moving up towards her reclining torso and upright face, her form climaxes along with the Genoese terrain. Holding a nosegay, it is as if Flora calls upon viewers to leave their urban *palazzi*, colonize the hills surrounding Genoa, and experience the same exclusive relation between artifice and nature, religion and politics, history and mythology as she does. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso recently concluded construction beyond the harbor as Massys painted *Flora* and represents the first of many subsequent commissions to act upon the pictorial rallying cry for a Genoese *villeggiatura*.

Yet, at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, the dialectical interplay of patron and architect produced an atypical villa that was only gradually accepted by Genoese and foreign audiences. The inversion of traditional patron-architect social standings likely made contemporaneous audiences uneasy. Even though Luca Giustiniani existed outside the formal nobility, he conventionally functioned as a Genoese diplomat and merchant that derived power and wealth from a combination of papal and political roles within and outside of Genoa. Moreover, much of Alessi’s design corresponded to preexisting characteristics of Genoese villa typology. Alessi perfected the relation between surrounding landscapes and architectural form by integrating a Roman modernity partially indebted to *all’antica* architecture rather than relying upon the generally asymmetrical internal and external spatial divisions found at Fassolo and its predecessors. Indeed, the Genoese were used to asymmetrical villas whose architecture connected to nature through manicured landscapes that bordered the wild sea and mountains, relationships perfected at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso.

Somewhat ironically, the motives that drove Giustiniani to commission Alessi did not significantly diverge from those of Andrea Doria. The threat posed to Genoese sovereignty by a lower class upstart and a foreign architect alarmed visitors only enough to
prevent the building from attaining a canonical status contemporaneous with its initial construction. As previously mentioned, Alessi and other foreign as well as local architects freely drew from the *all’antica* and mid-sixteenth century Roman motifs introduced at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso for both suburban and urban Genoese designs for the next seventy-five years. Giustiniani received favorable treatment from Andrea Doria and, partially through these means, rose to prominence. Unlike Villa Andrea Doria at Fassolo, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso reached farther back into the villa’s pan-Italian typological history to forge allusive connections between its form and Genoa’s mythological Trojan origins, to structurally realize the complex religious and political ethos inscribed upon Ligurian coastal topography, and to colonize a suburban landscape relatively uncharted when compared to its eastern counterparts. But it was not through sumptuous interior decoration or expansive groves that Alessi expressed his patron’s complicated position within Genoa but rather through architectural detail that fluctuated between modern and antiquarian. The factors that drove Giustiniani to hire Alessi and, moreover, to approve such an ambitious design within Albaro expanded the potential of Genoese architectural patronage, just as Habsburg capital began to flow into Genoa and the city rose to its long anticipated prominence.

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116 Frommel, pp. 197-200.
CHAPTER 2. A Pious Landscape for Luca Giustiniani: Patronage at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso

…when viewed from afar, the sea has greater charm, because it inspires longing.117

-Leon Battista Alberti, De re aedificatoria

(a) The Gallery of Maps: Ligurian Monks and Mountains under the Papal Gaze

In 1548, Galeazzo Alessi arrived in Genoa accompanied by a secretary who carried a sword to protect the noble architect. By this time, the city’s urban and suburban social landscapes had solidified in response to the city’s topographic conditions.118 Although the western suburbs received far more attention as pan-European travelers’ primary entryway into the city, by the mid-seventeenth century the eastern suburbs of Genoa housed as many if not more homes and farms than Savona, Fassolo, and their other western counterparts.119 At the time of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s construction, however, the relative emptiness of Albaro suited the foreign and non-noble social statuses of its patron and architect. Moreover, the fewer historical functions of and textual references to Albaro derived from the traditional Genoese isolation from the Italian peninsula, though land-traveling Italians reached Genoa through Albaro. Despite the fact that both Cinquecento and Seicento Italians considered Genoese art and architecture to be peripheral, the city’s wealthy merchants and bankers made their fortunes working for the Holy See and received, among other benefits, access to mineral-rich islands in the Mediterranean.120 In addition to the previously discussed Habsburg connections, the influx of capital from mercantile ventures fueled artistic production during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Luca Giustiniani was among the

117 Alberti, 147.

118 Mario Labò, “Galeazzo Alessi e il Dumo di Genova,” Marzocco 31 (9), p. 3.

119 Balchin, pp. 241-42, 276-77, and 360-62.

120 Epstein, pp. 211-12 and 223-24.
patrons who benefited from papal favoritism.Ironically,Genoese economic history paralleled pan-European rather than Italian trends;the city’s stylistic removal became a fiscal blessing. Given the unique positions of the patron and his chosen site,topology and history merged at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso,yielding a domestic structure that related interior domestic spaces to Genoese landscapes to contextually empower its patron. Though it deviated from vernacular architectural convention,Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso reflected its Genoese location. Its form advanced local architectural legacy while its siting related to the past inscribed upon the regional topography.

The Gallery of Maps at the Vatican similarly conflates geographical and temporal contexts in its frescoes of Liguria and Genoa (Figs. 33 and 28).121 Ignazio Danti depicted far more of Albaro, the Bisagno Valley, and Fassolo than earlier Genoese maps because the eastern suburbs connected the city to Italy and the western suburbs joined the peninsula to France. The Vatican Gallery itself consisted of forty maps that corresponded to regional divisions on the Italian peninsula. Initially commissioned by Pope Gregory XIII and executed from 1580 to 1581, the Ligurian and Genoese maps were altered under later popes. The painter Paul Bril likely restored the Ligurian map for Pope Urban VIII in the 1620s and embellished the mountainous landscape extending to the bottom of the painted frame.122


122 Gambi, p. 178.
Under the same Seicento pope, the Genoese map was modified to include new city walls built between 1626 and 1632, thus detailing Genoa’s urban growth between the late Cinquecento and mid-Seicento. Papal ideology framed these two landscapes and asserted ecclesiastical control of the land. The maps testified to the Church’s waning influence following the Protestant Reformation and unintentionally rendered the spiritual colonization of Italy by Jesuits and other religious figures as a sign of struggle. The Gallery also combined scientific and ecclesiastical knowledges: its initial papal patron annulled the Julian calendar and established the Gregorian calendar to synchronize annual religious holidays. Time redefined itself while the frescoes conversely and permanently recorded the historical regional divisions of late sixteenth-century Italy.

The maps further created a scientific, or cartographic, perspective by realistically framing visitors’ experiences. Yet the images subtly exhibit bias through selective depiction and allegory. One progresses through the hallway as if walking along the Apennine Mountains (Fig. 34). The hall thus consists of two conceptual halves joined atop the mountain range from which the papal gaze inspects the Italian landscape analogously to God’s view from heaven. The Gallery of the Maps created a vision of Italy that did not exist in reality. Instead, the maps exhibited God’s desire for Italian unity mediated through Pope Gregory XIII’s patronage. Pan-Italian linguistic and cultural characteristics acquired religious significance through the Gallery’s aesthetic unification of the geo-politically divided

123 Ibid, p. 28.

124 Fiorani, pp. 206-7. Fiorani relates the artistic patronage of Pope Gregory XIII to his establishment of a new annual calendar. The implications of his decision caused a redefinition of individual and institutional relationships between place and time. In the Gallery of Maps, different representational tools depict various historical and contemporary events, assuring viewers that “in these maps, the different systems of representation coexist without contradiction; in fact, they complement each other in providing a complex, multifaceted image of a place” (Ibid, 195). The analyses of the Ligurian and Genoese maps attempt to follow such a logic and extend Fiorani’s argument to details she did not handle.
peninsula. Alongside the idealized schema existed allusions to contemporary Italian territorial feuds. Such details constructed a temporally specific narrative that extended beyond religion to include political and topographical concerns. Planar and perspectival systems function within the same pictorial plane and furnish an entryway into each map, shifting from horizontal to vertical axes as one’s eyes move from the bottom to the top of a given fresco. The landscapes thus allow viewers to descend from their symbolic position atop the Apennines and into the peninsula’s various regions. Paradoxically, cartouches and other images placed on top of the maps operate as distancing mechanisms that force viewers to read the maps for meaning while directly experiencing the depicted landscapes.\(^{125}\)

Within this general framework, the Ligiurian and Genoese maps conversely figure the allegorical and actual ways in which Genoese capital was exported to Italy and abroad. The regional map places terrain below the Ligurian Sea and suggests its capital, Genoa, relied upon naval and mercantile activity to assert its identity. On the other hand, the urban map inverts this arrangement and situates the natural amphitheatre of the Genoese coastal plane and the surrounding mountains above the Ligurian Sea. An urban scenography that details local architecture and geography unfurls and less directly mythologizes the Genoese relationship to the sea while revealing a gradual movement away from the urban core towards the suburbs. The local relationships depicted are primarily economic and political, delineating the effects of Habsburg capital upon the expanding city. In contrast, the Ligurian fresco inserts allegorical figures into the sea and the mountains, productively demonstrating key mytho-historical relationships between the Genoese and their environs. Sea gods and enlarged ships occupy the blue sea, while churches, private homes, and monks cluster in the

\(^{125}\) Ibid, pp. 194-99. A subheading in Fiorani’s chapter examines chorographical maps, which she claims “represent individual locations as both a place and a site, as a landscape filled with nature and history as well as a fixed point in the cartographic grid” (Ibid, 195).
Apennines. Together the images function to reveal various realities encountered by the northwestern region’s residents. Genoa sits to the eastern side of the Gallery of Maps, framing the entryway along with the city’s longtime rival, Venice, while Liguria also rests on the hallway’s eastern side separated from Genoa by two frescoes. The city functions as one of two prefatory images that dictate the Gallery’s topographic and historical divisions. This position signifies the contemporaneous relevance of Genoa: the Holy See gained indirect authority from the close ties between Genoa and the Habsburg empire just as Church’s pan-European power was waning. Genoa initiates the systematic procession much like it functioned as an entryway into Italy for northern Europeans and obtained a microcosmic definition related to its historical significance.

Indeed, the Gallery of Maps allowed ecclesiastical authorities and their guests to make a pan-Italian pilgrimage without leaving the Vatican. Beginning with either Venice or Genoa, one followed the Apennine ridge down one side of the peninsula, rounded its southern tip, and then headed north on the opposite side. Although Danti depicted political, historical, and economic relationships, the emphasis lay on the sacralized view from the Apennines down its Italian territories. Sovereignty here took a distinctly religious form. A detail from the Ligurian map supports such a reading and depicts two robed monks in the

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126 Kirk, pp. 12-13. During the late medieval period, Genoa and Venice, located in mirrored geographical positions in the northeastern and northwestern corners of Italy, were fierce competitors over Mediterranean and Middle Eastern trade. Genoa emerged the victor upon allying with the Habsburg Empire, while Venice continued to decline economically over the course of the sixteenth century.

127 Bouwsma, pp. 100-11. In line with Bouwsma’s general argument that the primary forces that drove the European Renaissance were losing their grip over the continent, his chapter on religious change, “The Liberation of Religion,” figures Catholicism’s lost power as the means to a newly “rhetorical conception of human being in this period…open at once to reformism, inwardness and toleration” (111). Cf. Manfredo Tafuri, “Roma Coda Mundi,” in Interpreting the Renaissance, pp. 157-79. Tafuri analyzes the architectural repercussion of the Sack of Rome (1527), which, for many historians, represents the moment when the sixteenth-century Church publically lost its pan-European control.
lower left foreground (Fig. 35). The monks occupy a position similar to the implied papal gaze, thereby framing Liguria as a doubly coded sacred landscape.

Alessi attempted to articulate similar symbolic potentials for Luca Giustiniani.\(^{128}\)

From the villa to the Ligurian Sea, Luca Giustiniani could survey the Genoese terrain as if from a distance akin to the papal gaze at the Gallery of Maps. The patron was elevated above and related to nearby ecclesiastical structures that affirmed his private devotional character. Furthermore, the villa harnessed religious architectural vocabulary and an equally allusive sacred siting to conceal his lower class origins. The abstracted western wall faced San Francesco d’Albaro and, through its radical style, underscored Giustiniani’s relation to the Franciscan convent and church. Although the Gallery of Maps was executed three decades after Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, Ignazio Danti’s frescoes reveal a politicized sacred relation between topography and temporality that spoke to contemporary issues while retaining a timeless character. Similarly, Luca Giustiniani sought to structurally articulate a relationship between his untraditional economic successes, his personal sense of piety, and Genoese landscapes.

**(b) Luca Giustiniani: Family History, Devotion, and the Late Renaissance Upstart in Suburban Genoa**

Luca Giustiniani was technically born outside the *nobili*, a social group that fluctuated prior to and during his life.\(^{129}\) Initially united by its colonization of Chios—detailed in Hieronimo Giustiniani’s *History of Chios* (1586)—the Giustiniani clan resisted the rigid

\(^{128}\) Epstein, pp. 116-20, 129-35, and 185-87. Epstein traces the relative amounts of Genoese capital invested in religious charity from 1227 to 1314 and connects political mistrust to the increasingly private devotional makeup of most Genoese citizens.

definition of other Genoese alberghi. Such collectives typically represented broad social networks living within fixed urban neighborhoods, known in Genoa as alberghi. Each member existed subordinate to a single ruling family whose last name they took. Membership to the Giustiniani clan denoted membership to a maona, or charted company, that controlled mercantile activities in Chios from the thirteenth century. The clan nonetheless followed albergo housing protocol and established residency in Genoa’s Platea Longa neighborhood, where they constructed palazzi that ran along the Via Giustiniani to the city’s port.

The Giustiniani did not, however, always resist the traditional albergo structure. They chose to reject their membership to the nobili between 1298 and 1394. As mentioned previously, Genoa underwent a dizzying twenty-nine changes in rulership during the

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130 Hieronimo Giustiniani, History of Chios, edited and translated with an introduction by Philip P. Argenti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945), esp. pp. 407-407. Hieronimo Giustiniani published this history under French royal patronage in 1586. The Giustiniani controlled the island from 1362 to 1566 when the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed IV overthrew their rule and regained the formerly Byzantine island. At the beginning of the volume’s final book, Hieronimo Giustiniani confesses that his primary authorial intention was the valorization of his family: “Ma la prima nostra intenzione e’ trattarne più’ particolarmente degli uomini illustri, cioè’ d’alcuni che furono et sono della famiglia de’ Giustiniani, per la quale tutto il nostro scopo et fine e’ addonato. Et perché’ ad alcuno facilmente potrebbe parere, che descrivendo noi di quei Giustiniani che furono illustri et valorosi così’ nelle scienze come nell’arte militar, i gesti i quali non nacquero a Scio, far cosa mal appropriato con quelli che ci nacquero a Genova, ursupando quasi la Gloria altrui et a se appropriaississe, messoblando gli uni con gli altri, non dubito punto che la ragione non ci favoriscia ogni volta che la nostra intenzione et fine fusse altra di quella nella quale fu sempre fissa per special parlamento della sola famiglia di Giustiniani” (Ibid, 407-8). The entire history is redolent of such vanity and, rather than presenting an historically accurate account of the Giustiniani’s interaction with natives and other eastern European forces in Chios, makes extensive digressions that assert both his own cultural capital—embedded within multifarious rambling citations of ancient and early modern scholars—but also the various ecclesiastical, political, and economic positions of authority held by Genoese and Venetian members of the Giustiniani clan.

131 One should note that this term (sing.: albergo; pl.: alberghi) bears a specific meaning within the Genoese context that diverges from its modern Italian denotation.


fourteenth century and submitted to, among others, Henry VIII, the Holy Roman Emperor, in 1311, Robert of Naples in 1318, Giovanni Visconti of Milan in 1353 and a 1396 French invasion led by King Charles VII. The communal action of the Giustiniani responded to increasing divisions within Genoa’s social hierarchy, which was created by the constant fluctuation in political power and primed Genoa for further turmoil. In the late medieval period, the two main classes, nobili and popolari, encompassed subgroups that demonstrated rising degrees of internal tension. The nobili consisted of the quattro case, or the four main houses, in addition to the tetti appesi, the urban nobility that lacked the former group’s feudal origins. On the other hand, the popolari were separated along occupational lines: mercanti, merchants, fissured from artesi, artisans, and occupied distinct classes. In response to intranobility tensions, the Sauli, Franchi, Fornari, and Promontorio families denounced their nobili status along with the Giustiniani. Each clan had belonged to an elite mercantile class that had existed outside of the mercanti ranks, but joined the less corrupt lower classes.

Shifting power dynamics between the nobili and the popolari continued until 1528 when Andrea Doria redefined alberghi. The term no longer denoted privately controlled groups bound together by political, economic, and military interdependences implied by a common surname. Moreover, Doria expanded the nobili to include twenty-three pre-existing nobili vecchi, or old noble families, and five incipient nobili nuovi, or new noble families. These

134 Epstein, pp. 325-27.
135 Ibid.
groups unofficially splintered soon thereafter based upon inherited medieval prejudices.137 Doria seemingly encouraged the dissolution of his mandate by, as mentioned in chapter one, regulating which nobles could engage in mercantile and diplomatic relations with the Habsburg court. The two new social groups remained only in name and were actually redefined based upon their access to the Spanish crown. Luca Giustiniani, who served as a Genoese diplomat in Spain, indirectly entered the Genoese nobility by these means.

The Giustiniani embodied the most unique albergo composition prior to 1528 and continued to after 1528. Formerly, they represented an egalitarian purpose—even slaves were granted membership. After 1528, the Giustiniani continued to function outside of the nobili as a popolare group, retaining its historical connection to equality. Their peculiar status gained recognition and favor from Doria not only because they controlled one of Genoa’s few colonial possessions along with the Venetian Giustiniani clan but also because their fluid genealogy defied historical and contemporaneous convention, thereby celebrating the unique character of their city as well as the popolare status of Doria himself.138

A portrait of Alessandro Longo Giustiniani (Fig. 36), Luca Giustiniani’s son who was educated at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso and held the position of doge from 1611 to 1613, illustrates the increasing power of the Giustiniani clan within Genoa.139 Within the portrait, a tonally modeled, deep red drape overhangs an entryway that opens onto a columnar

137 These two horizontal class distinctions were given names after the two groups were merged into one, post-1528 nobili by Doria’s edict.


139 Ibid, pp. 99-101. As Doge, Alessandro Longo Giustiniani supported the increasingly controversial dependence of the Republic of Genoa on Spanish Habsburg capital and, in his diary, claimed “at present our republic and its liberty are founded on its fortunes and on the protection of Spain, and we must hope to find strength in the arms of this monarch.” (Both Biblioteca Civica Berio in Genoa and the British Library in London have copies of Alessandro Longo Giustiniani’s diary.)
courtyard. The doge’s unwavering authoritative gaze and the delicate precision with which he holds a scepter crowned by an orb declares that he has overcome his ancestry to attain the highest political position within the Republic of Genoa.\textsuperscript{140} Atop his head rests a two-part crown: a golden base supports a sensuous velvet cap around which four darker golden arms extend to culminate in a cross. The crown alludes to the papal wealth gained by his father while also asserting the divine power of the doge. Moreover, his cape contains three layers, the outermost a white animal fur augmented by tails or other unnaturally applied appendages, the middle layer a dark gold resonating with the micro-architectural, jeweled portion of his crown, and the innermost cloth an orange-infused red that also draws a comparison to the crown. The garments could represent the multiple authorities held by Genoese doges and, in a more metaphorical sense, the complicated past of the Giustiniani clan. Alessandro Longo Giustiniani likely inherited his refined diplomatic character from his father. Luca Giustiniani, in fact, held prominent positions both in Genoa as well as throughout the Italian peninsula and Europe. Such power exceeded the internal authority granted to his son, which Alessandro gained, in part, because of his father’s influence.

Luca Giustiniani’s professional titles and personal decisions furnished him with enough wealth and connections to commission Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso.\textsuperscript{141} His marriage to Mariettina Sauli tied him to the Genoese nobili vecchi and forged bonds with a family that

\textsuperscript{140} Luigi Maria Levati, \textit{Dogi biennali di Genova dal 1528 al 1699}, 2 vols. (Genoa: Marchese e Campora, 1930). Cf. Carlo Bitossi, \textit{Il governo dei magnifici: patriziato e politica a Genova fra Cinque e Seicento} (Genoa: EOG, 1990). The Genoese position of doge (duce) signified one of the many corrupt political offices held almost always by members of the nobili from the office’s 1339 inception. Simone Boccanegra was the first Genoese doge and set the precedent for lifelong terms. When Andrea Doria rose to power in 1528, he made the position a two-year office. Ironically, most Genoese doges either abandoned the position or died under a decade after assuming the office; the mercurial political character of Genoa provides one potential explanation for the dogeship’s frequent overturn.

\textsuperscript{141} Salzer, pp. 49-59. Salzer draws upon a largely Roman and Genoese archive to trace Giustiniani’s various professional commitments.
historically denounced its medieval *nobili* status along with the Giustiniani. The union also allied Luca Giustiniani with Gerolamo Sauli, the uncle of his wife and, more importantly, archbishop as well as co-treasurer of Genoa in the mid-Cinquecento. Much like Andrea Doria’s marriage into the papal family, Mariettina Sauli granted Luca Giustiniani important ties to the Vatican that initiated his involvement in the Genoese alum trade. Since 1493, the Sauli had served as merchants on the Roman *curia*, a court composed of various councils that oversaw papal investments. The Sauli family later gained a monopoly over the alum trade because of their historical relationship with the Holy See. Following the death of Agostino Chigi, who previously controlled the monopoly, the Sauli, Pallavicino, and Grimaldi families paid a papal *depositario*, a sum that granted them authority over the alum-rich island Tolfa.

Moreover, in 1543, Luca Giustiniani joined with Tobia Pallavicino to form a banking venture whose shareholders were the primary Genoese alum traders. He also oversaw the shipping of alum to Venice between 1541 and 1548. Such mercantile activity was, however, standard

142 Ibid, p. 52. Gerolamo Sauli’s dually political and religious titles illustrate the continuation of the twelfth-century tradition discussed in regards to San Lorenzo.


in Genoa. Luca Giustiniani’s other professional commitments truly differentiated him from both historical convention and his peers.

Indeed, Luca Giustiniani served as a diplomat for various powerful groups. From 1538 to 1542 and in 1544, he performed the duties of provincial papal treasurer. He distributed income to functionaries and soldiers in addition to overseeing funding for the construction and repair of fortresses and other government buildings. During this time, he directly reported to Rome and gained a working knowledge of the design and construction processes, which suggests he collaborated with Alessi. His experience as an ambassador extended far beyond the Holy See. He represented Genoa to the Parma and Piacenza, was among one of four orators who greeted the Habsburg Emperor Philip II at Ventimiglia in 1548, and, in 1560, acted as both the Milanese ambassador to the Marchese di Pescara and an orator at the Spanish court. Most Genoese citizens, let alone members of the popolare, never experienced the broad geographical and cultural milieus to which Giustiniani was exposed.

The resulting worldliness expanded Giustiniani’s socio-political perspective beyond Genoa, rendered his name recognizable to international powers, and, most notably, introduced him to architectural styles other than the Genoese vernacular. As a diplomat, he frequented ecclesiastical and political spaces—churches, private homes, and other buildings—that symbolically extended the authority of his employers or hosts. He understood, much like Andrea Doria, that a suburban home could make potent statements about one’s economic success and humanistic virtues. In turn, his chimerical ability to adapt to and succeed in multifarious professional environments strengthened his understanding of pan-European definitions of cultural capital, which was architecturally manifested at Villa

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145 Salzer, pp. 54-8. Again, Salzer recounts Luca Giustiniani’s professional history based upon archival research and, therefore, I have drawn much of this sketch from her efforts.
Giustiniani-Cambiaso. With his design, Galeazzo Alessi announced his patron’s position as a socio-economic upstart\(^{146}\), a man whose abundant newfound wealth lent him powers traditionally limited to the nobili vecchi. Yet Giustiniani selected Albaro because of its unique relationship to his personal history rather than tying himself to a more traditional node of Genoese authority like Fassolo.

Much like Luca Giustiniani, who occupied a social standing between two conventional classes, Albaro held a peripheral position in Genoese and foreign mental maps of the city. Joseph Baretti’s *A Journey from London to Genoa* (1770) attests to this fact and recounts the standard entryway into the city from northern Europe. An Italian critic who wrote English-language travelogues in his position as the Secretary for the Foreign Correspondence to the Royal Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, Baretti entered the city through Savona, a western suburb whose topography exhibits the same convergence of mountain and sea found both in Genoa proper as well as in Albaro:

> The town of *Savona* contains no less than thirty thousand inhabitants, besides the five or six thousand in the suburbs; and it is one of the best built we have in Italy, abounding with noble houses, large churches, ample hospitals, and other kinds of public edifices.\(^{147}\)

Familiar with and fond of Liguria, Baretti suffuses his reverent descriptions of the suburban landscape with a didactic purpose that proposes a picturesque means of entering the northwestern Italian Republic. The late eighteenth-century publication demonstrates that Albaro did not play a significant visual or symbolic role for the foreign correspondent, who

\(^{146}\) The “upstart” is actually a term used to describe a particular character type in English Renaissance dramas, a man who rose far beyond his class origins through either cunning, cleverness, or an extremely productive work ethic. Cf. Nicholas P. Canny, *The Upstart Earl: A Study of the Social and Mental World of Richard Boyle, First Earl of Cork, 1566-1643* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

does not mention Albaro. In turn, Baretti documented that, far after the sixteenth-century building craze, Albaro remained less noted than its eastern counterparts.

(c) Failed Revolution, Franciscan Piety, and Petrarchan Leisure in Albaro: Potential Motives for Luca Giustiniani’s Chosen Site

The mid-Cinquecento history of Albaro complicated Giustiniani’s selected site because the destroyed Villa Fieschi had been located in Albaro. The Fieschi family retained a prominent role in the Genoese nobility until 1547 when the patriarch Gian Luigi Fieschi participated in an assassination plot against Andrea Doria. Not only did Gian Luigi Fieschi lose his life but his family also lost their villa, which the Genoese government destroyed. Other branches of the family survived, but the medieval papal connections and governmental positions held by Gian Luigi’s relatives were lost along with the family’s honor. Saint Catherine of Genoa, beatified in 1675 and canonized in 1737, notably descended from another line of the Fieschi family. The Pammatore hospital, supported by this female saint’s will, existed within the far eastern section of Genoa proper and provided a potential connection between the churches scattered atop the same hill as both the decimated Fieschi villa and Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso. Inscribed upon the same suburban landscape as Giustiniani’s villa were the implications of a disempowered noble that ironically bolstered the latter patron’s unconventional successes. The corruption of the old nobility


149 Saint Catherine of Genoa, Purgation and Purgatory: The Spiritual Dialogue, trans. by Serge Huge (New York: Paulist Press, 1979). This document provides no descriptions of Genoa’s eastern suburbs where Saint Catherine worked; the significance of Catherine, then, stems from her relation to the Fieschi clan as well as her spiritual activity, which occurred in close proximity to the future Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso. Cf. Epstein, pp. 307-9. Catherine’s will left the majority of her estate to the Pammatore hospital, located slightly east of the city walls. The funneling of charitable donations into Albaro and proximate suburbs provided a precedent for Luca Giustiniani’s own private piety, but one should note that hospitals funded by religious orders and private individuals were appearing in western Genoa and its suburbs as well.
gave way to the rise of Luca Giustiniani who apparently won Doria’s favor because he was selected as a Habsburg diplomat.

Luca Giustiniani thus chose a landscape primed for redefinition. Many Genoese citizens were likely afraid of being linked to the area’s traumatic recent past. When conflated with the biography of Gian Luigi Fieschi, Paolo Pansa’s description of Villa Fieschi reads as an a warning against architectural and landscaped indulgences:

…more magnificent…and greater than all the others, one sees the palace of Count Fieschi, adorned with sale, camere, loggie, archi, colonne, cortili, and with more lawns than is common with anyone else, in which every generation of pallid violets, greens, yellows, whites, and purples is given most abundantly for almost every season of the year.\(^{150}\)

The extent of Villa Fieschi exceeded the implicit control of the terrain around Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso and literally dominated the suburban landscape. Such overt displays of wealth and status could have encouraged Gian Luigi Fieschi to cultivate a sense of hubris that outstripped his political standing in Genoa. On the other hand, Luca Giustiniani demonstrated an anxiety concerning his own status. His villa commanded the topography of Albaro through vistas that created perspectives from inside his villa outward, while the relative refinement or abstraction of the villa’s four façades instilled its image in the minds of viewers with the aid of a small garden. These design decisions reflected an awareness of 1547’s events and, unlike Villa Fieschi, differentiated Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso from the rambling typology employed by Andrea Doria at Fassolo.\(^{151}\)


\(^{151}\) Upon comparing Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso to Villa Andrea Doria at Fassolo, a contrasting relationship to landscape emerges. Whereas Alessi’s design created an architectural system that implicitly connected Luca Giustiniani to San Francesco d’Albaro, the Gulf of Genoa, and the Apennine Mountains, Doria’s villa far more explicitly colonized and dominated Fassolo. The visual axes, comparatively small garden, and compact cubic form in Albaro differ from the symbolically charged and regimented gardens as well as the rambling, extensive villa in Fassolo.
Beyond the Villa Fieschi, Albaro existed as landscape that bore topophilic and geopious implications for Luca Giustiniani. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso renders nature’s inherent powers as equitable with human environments and allows the continued existence of the natural topography rather than organizing the villa around an extensive estate. Furthermore, several nearby churches as well as an abbey situated the patron within a complex medieval ecclesiastical matrix (Fig. 37). The church of San Nazaro, first cited in a 1345 manuscript, rested by the sea and concluded the visual corridor connecting the villa to the Gulf of Genoa. The Abbey of San Giuliano (Figs. 38 and 39), founded in the tenth century but first noted in 1283, occupied an adjacent rocky overhang. Turbulent storms from the Ligurian Sea destroyed both structures multiple times and furnished a natural counterpart to Albaro’s tumultuous recent political history. San Nazaro alone was rebuilt twice, in 1543 and 1643, which demonstrated the Genoese fortitude in the face of natural disasters. Closer to Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso stood Santa Maria del Prato (Figs. 40 and 41), an eleventh-century Romanesque structure, and San Francesco d’Albaro (Figs. 42–4), constructed from 1334 to 1387. These four ecclesiastical sites appeared during a period of extended medieval prosperity and, because their history so far predated the villa’s construction, Luca Giustiniani undoubtedly knew of their presence.

The churches’ proximity signifies that spiritual devotion was key to Luca Giustiniani’s daily life. A twenty-five to thirty minute walk separated the villa from Genoa.

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152 Terms proposed in Lillie, p. 11.

153 Epstein, p. 304. This “lower” branch of the Franciscan order was permanently established as Frates Minores Conventuales in 1517 and aided the urban poor. The mendicant Franciscans lived in suburban convents near areas conventionally considered part of the urban slums. The nearby Pammatore hospital further suggests the presence of the lower classes in and around Genoa’s eastern suburbs and, moreover, implies the Giustiniani family donated to charities that supported such individuals. Furthermore, the cost of land was likely less expensive if the urban poor did occupy the areas, thus providing an additional unspoken motivation for Luca Giustiniani’s site selection.
This brief but marked distance presented an obstacle to the villa’s inhabitants, who could not immediately access the urban churches they frequented in colder months. Luca Giustiniani likely chose the site so that he could easily walk to one of two churches from his villa and to routinely pray when he did not leave Albaro. Whether or not Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s siting resulted from an authentic or performed religiosity remains ambiguous: Luca Giustiniani did receive much of his initial fortune, and thus his socio-economic authority, from the Vatican and the resulting stream of ecclesiastical visitors as well as guests could have just as likely fostered his desire for the location. But Alessi’s design suggests the authenticity of Giustiniani’s faith: while the northern and southern faces possessed an *all’antica* architectural system, the eastern and western facades had a reductive linear geometric system that did not employ the classical orders. These two radical fronts faced Giustiniani’s private garden and the western San Francesco d’Albaro, the closest church and the only one of the four ecclesiastical structures explicitly related to the patron’s personal history. The less public eastern and western faces had a distinctly modern—that is, bearing an architecture based on design principles other than the classical orders—flare that conflated Luca Giustiniani’s personal connections to landscape and religion with a revolutionary rather than purely symbolic, historically derivative style.

Albaro’s broader history also reveals a close connection between piety and space. Until 1874, the suburb existed separately from Genoa and was called San Francesco d’Albaro.\(^\text{154}\) The name likely came from the aforementioned Franciscan convent and church, which was dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi. In 1307, Pope Clement V donated the land

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\(^{154}\) *Chiese di Genova*, p. 11.
upon which the church and its attached Franciscan convent now sit. After storms destroyed San Giuliano multiple times, the mendicant Genoese Franciscan community moved its headquarters to the safer hilltop site even though they rebuilt the seaside abbey. The Giustiniani clan funded two expansions of San Francesco d’Albaro in 1440 and 1606; Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso was constructed between the two donations. Luca Giustiniani sought to associate his home with the achievements of his ancestors and, more significantly, to perform a devotional act by architecturally enlivening the suburb and, by correlation, a locus of Franciscan activity. The later Giustiniani donation suggests Luca Giustiniani’s descendents knew the Franciscan church and convent was significant to the family.

Precedents for the association of Ligurian hilltops, Christian devotion, and spiritual enlightenment more indirectly undergird the siting’s medieval precedents. Founded in the early middle ages, the northwestern Italian town of Sanremo received its name from Saint Romulus of Genoa. Padron Antonio, Joseph Baretti’s guide, evokes an allusive Trojan image for the author as they approach Sanremo by sea:

When he took me up to carry on shore, he put me in mind of a picture, that would contrast very well that that of Eneas (Aeneas) carrying his aged father, because Padron Antonio is about as old as I supposed Anchises was when his son ran away with him from the burning town, and I am probably no older than the Trojan hero.

Baretti demonstrates that he either knew or felt the presence of the Trojan and later Catholic heraldry the Genoese associated with their city. More importantly, varying historical

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155 Ibid, pp. 11-23. The relation between San Francesco d’Albaro and Santa Maria del Prato to the other two ecclesiastical sites near Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso is made here.

156 J. Theodore Bent, *Genoa: How the Republic Rose and Fell* (London: C.K. Paul & Co., 1881). Bent discusses the relationship between Romulus and Syrus. Romulus is notable for his death in Villa Matutiae, which was later said to be near Sanremo. See the subsequent discussion in the text. Also, St. Romulus took his name from the legendary founder of Rome, Romulus, a name with a Greek etymology that means strength.

157 Baretti, pp. 322-23.
accounts place St. Romulus atop a mountain either in a villa or a cave at his death. The relation forged between one of the first recorded Genoese bishops and an elevated site of religious leisure created a strong precedent for the religiously driven patronage of Luca Giustiniani. The links between Genoese villeggiatura and regional religious history locate the former’s originating impulse not in Albaro but Sanremo and connect natural seclusion with hills like the one on which Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso rests. Spiritual revelation occurred on hills and mountains in the Bible and established an antecedent for both lived experience and exegesis that conventionalized elevated locations. Genoese topography provided a strong corollary to this common ancient and medieval Christian topos.

The hills of Albaro, in turn, relate to the biography of the suburb’s namesake, St. Francis of Assisi. On May 8, 1213, St. Francis gained sovereignty over the La Verna (Fig. 45) because he viewed the remote Tuscan Apennines well suited for spiritual contemplation. Five years later St. Francis oversaw the construction of a chapel, Santa Maria degli Angeli, on the mountain and, another six years later, the saint claimed to have received stigmata there. St. Francis believed his spiritual revelations derived not from earthly wealth or power but from his proximity to God. On La Verna, he inhabited a location closer to God that enabled more direct communication with the divine. Such Franciscan beliefs offered a radical solution to the mediation inherent to the Catholic Church’s hierarchy.


159 Two hagiographies on St. Francis provide divergent accounts of, among other events, the stigmata that occurred on La Verna: Bonaventure, The Soul’s Journey into God; The Tree of Life; The Life of St. Francis, trans. by Ewert Cousins (New York: Paulist Press, 1978); Ugolino di Monte Santa Maria, The Little Flowers of St. Francis, trans. by William Heywood (New York: Vintage Books, 1998).

160 No recent sources exist on La Verna, however, two older guidebooks by Saturnino Mencherini provide a historical and pictorial perspective: Saturnino Mencherini, Guida illustrata della Verna (Quaracchi: Tipografia del Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1907); Saturnino Mencherini, Codice diplomatico della Verna e delle SS. stimate di S. Francesco d’Assisi nel VIIo centenario del gran prodigio (Florence: Tipografia Gulandi, 1924).
While St. Francis was still alive, the order emphasized that one’s fate in the afterlife hinged upon an individualized conception of human will; actions that granted one person entrance into heaven could just as easily condemn another. The Franciscan order split in two after its founding father died. One group retained the extreme position of St. Francis while the other mendicant order pared down their divisive discourse in order to receive papal funding. The latter mendicant order founded and occupied San Francesco d’Albaro.

The Franciscans likely attracted Luca Giustiniani and his ancestors because the order advocated individualistic action as the means to salvation. The clan prided itself on its unique, self-defined successes, which defied the Genoese socio-economic hierarchy much like the early Franciscans challenged Catholic doctrine. The patron’s physical and visual proximity to God rather than a central node of Genoese ecclesiastical hierarchies, represented by San Lorenzo, empowered Luca Giustiniani. Yet the Franciscan order continued to receive charitable donations from wealthy Genoese citizens throughout the city’s medieval boom. At the same time, less capital fell into the Dominican order’s hands, which suggests that not only the Giustiniani but also the Genoese populace identified with the Franciscan order. During a Genoese expansion from 1256 to 1314, Franciscan favoritism corresponded to the appearance of more Genoese churches and monasteries throughout the Ligurian coastal landscape. Genoa’s politically contested terrain and corrupt internal government had, however, by the fourteenth century produced a wariness of institutional reform that encouraged an increasingly private devotional culture. Individual prayer subsequently became the primary means of religious expression. Franciscan piety did not,

161 Gillespie, pp. 25-30.
162 Epstein, pp. 117, 130, abd 185.
however, come into much conflict with this fact because it encouraged individual action. The proximity of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso to four ecclesiastical sites in Albaro demonstrated a particularly Genoese understanding of religious ritual. It therefore comes as no surprise that Albaro and its two Franciscan convents both originated from a Catholic order that began with St. Francis’ individualistic pursuit of devotion, which, in turn, reverberated with Genoese religious ethos.

Although St. Francis of Assisi furnished Albaro with its name and thus suggested a connection between its elevated locales and spiritual revelation, the early Renaissance humanist Francesco Petrarca reified the theory in his “The Ascent of Mt. Ventoux” and his treatise *On Religious Leisure*. Petrarca describes the physical difficulty of climbing a mountain in both texts. The activity catalyzed an animalistic ardor that made one more aware of one’s corporeal body and, thus, mortality. Petrarca encouraged such physical exertion because it forced one to ruminate upon the salvation promised to the virtuous after dying. Landscape notably triggered the ability of an individual to cultivate an earthly spirituality that directed one towards an eternal heaven. Other late medieval authors like Dante Alighieri used the motif of ascent and descent. The allegorical narrative of *The Divine Comedy* evinces that mortals could repent for their sins and reduce or completely eliminate the time one spent in Purgatory before entering heaven. On the other hand, Petrarca deviated from the

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165 Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, vols. 1-3 (*Inferno, Purgatory, Paradise*), trans. Mark Musa (New York: Penguin Books, 2003). A fourteenth-century edition of *The Divine Comedy*, attributed to Genoa, is one of the four fully illustrated Dante manuscripts from that century. The Manuscripts and Early Printed Books collection at Oxford’s Bodleian Library houses the text, which constructs a relationship between topography (the ascent into *Inferno* and the subsequent rise to *Paradise*) both inherent to Dante’s narrative and pictorially connected to Genoa’s natural environment.
cosmo-political world order exemplified by Dante, which saw each man in relation to a greater divine sovereign. Rather than looking to external referents for self-definition, Petrarca championed his individuality and autonomy as the means to the afterlife; he partially secularized Franciscan ideology to lay the foundations of Renaissance humanism.\footnote{Gillespie, pp. 44-46. Gillespie historicizes Petrarca’s relation to the paradigm shift that led from late medieval to early modern humanist thought. In response to the various crises emerging during the early fourteenth century, Petrarca considered his individuality as limited. He sought to perfect himself removed from society at large and disengaged from politics.}

Moreover, On Religious Leisure describes a private devotional character that sheds light on the contradictory nature of Luca Giustiniani and his villa. Petrarca’s text troubles the authenticity of Luca Giustiniani’s faith. The “indulgence of antiquity,” according to Petrarca, stemmed from the false master-slave dynamic created in Imperial Rome and relied not upon true devotion to a divine, but instead on “the license of making their origins illustrious.”\footnote{Petrarca, On Religious Leisure, p. 117. Here Petrarca claims that the Romans never believed in their self-constructed god, “Romulus.” This statement pertains to the Genoese: although Saint Romulus was a historical figure, the mystery surrounding his death, likely at a villa, became one of many potentially fictional ideological justifications for the local villaggiatura impulse.}

Although Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso exhibits all’antica influences on its southern as well as northern façades, the deviation from vernacular and historical conventions functions as its primary stylistic characteristic. All’antica designs functioned to valorize patrons through historical precedent, while innovative designs demonstrated a desire to differentiate oneself from the architectural standard. As a result of these stylistic dynamics, Luca Giustiniani and the villa were at least partially subsumed under the cosmo-political ideologies that Petrarca condemned. By contrast, Alessi subscribed to the Petrarchan belief in the strength found in errors. He designed a building that synthesized multiple stylistic traditions and unsettled mid-Cinquecento Genoese audiences; the abstracted western and eastern façades read as errors to any European knowledgeable about architecture because they lacked classical orders.
Moreover, Petrarca claimed that the arts relied upon sensory experience in order to provide the “truth that enters the soul,” which, at the villa, manipulated visitors’ perception of the Giustiniani name with a forcefulness that almost deified its mortal patron on its sea-facing front, but simplified and humanized Giustiniani to the less publically visible eastern and western sides.\(^{168}\) This paradoxical relationship demonstrates the public Luca Giustiniani followed tradition, but the private man deviated from it.

If Giustiniani and Alessi partially functioned under motives that Petrarca critiqued, they also subversively harnessed the villa’s hilltop site to construct a devotional mythology for Luca Giustiniani. Low lying land, like the coastal plain in which Genoa rests, bred sinfulness and corruption for Petra, while “a high and difficult hill” furnished those willing to ascend with spiritual wisdom.\(^{169}\) One may conflate this statement with the life of St. Francis to understand how and why Luca Giustiniani wanted to live in, or manufacture, a penitential landscape. Not only did Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso occupy a position antithetical to its patron’s urban palazzo, but the villa also forced its residents and visitors to enact spiritual purgation while climbing to it; satisfaction came upon reaching the villa. In turn, the villa occupied a sacralized position in the lives of those that frequented the home. The journey from Genoa to Albaro became a pilgrimage that moved towards “a glorious and quiet place” along “a path which is straight and free from worries,” and, moreover, observed the sea’s arresting but destructive potential from a distance.\(^{170}\) Even if the intentions of Luca Giustiniani’s villa would have stirred resentment in Petrarca or St. Francis, the home

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\(^{168}\) Ibid, p. 121.

\(^{169}\) Ibid, p. 127.

\(^{170}\) Ibid, 148. Cf. Alberti, 147: “…when viewed from afar, the sea has greater charm, because it inspires longing.” This claim parallels the 1544 change of the primary mendicant Franciscan site in Genoa.
effectively employed allusions to their religiosity to fabricate its meaning. Giustiniani himself held a peculiar position within Genoa paralleled Petrarca and St. Francis's defiance of ecclesiastical institutions.\textsuperscript{171}

More generally, the social implications of both Franciscan and Petrarchan presences in Albaro relate Genoese society and spirituality. Petrarca praised the Genoese landscape in his \textit{Interarium}, while also emphasizing the city’s mercurial ethos:

\begin{quote}
When you will have considered this city and the shore that embraces it from the right and from the left, the mountains plummeting down to the waves of the sea, and in addition, the persons, customs, the soul and life of the people, know that you have seen that other whetstone once sharpened by long use, over many years, the point of Roman virtue…Thus, while it is necessary everywhere to struggle against one difficulty at a time, here one confronted many all at once.\textsuperscript{172}
\end{quote}

The “struggle” that characterized Genoese life finds articulation in the relationship between San Giuliano and San Francesco d’Albaro. A seaside location empowered the Franciscans because it overlooked the source of Genoese wealth and political power, but inclimate weather undermined the symbolic potential of San Giuliano’s position and forced the Franciscans to relocate their headquarters to a \textit{piazza} adjacent to the later Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso. Certainly Genoese ethos derived much of its alternatively pessimistic and hubristic character from their fickle climate and the city’s terrain. The religious structures of Genoa formed in response to these factors and affected one’s ability to worship or live in ecclesiastical structures constantly under the attack of natural forces.\textsuperscript{173} In the sixteenth

\textsuperscript{171} Gillespie, pp. 47-49 and 59-64. Petrarca refused to enter a convent like his brother and instead considered the ideal private life as one shared between like-minded intellectuals in a secluded location. Significantly, Petrarca came of age just as the conflict between the Catholic Church and the Franciscan order emerged following St. Francis’ death.

\textsuperscript{172} Petrarca, \textit{Holy Land}, pp. 95 and 97.

\textsuperscript{173} In addition to San Giuliano, the construction of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo was, as mentioned, halted numerous times due to natural disasters.
century, one could see both Franciscan sites from Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s southern front, visually connecting its patron to the pious sites, their relation to his ancestors, and the Christian meaning of ascent. Although the more direct connection between the villa’s western side and San Francesco d’Albaro constructed a private devotional axis, Alessi also ensured that Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s most visible face related to more general symbolic relationships between topography and spirituality.

(d) An Axial and Ideological Progression of Luca Giustiniani through Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso

Beyond the sacredness of Albaro, Luca Giustiniani and Galeazzo Alessi inverted the traditional socio-economic relationship between patron and architect and injected a new, monumental and symbolically potent style into the Genoese vernacular. Whereas Alessi entered the world as a member of the Perugian nobility, Giustiniani spent his life acquiring a fortune that allowed him to overcome the fossilized medieval social hierarchy of Genoa. Alessi, in turn, brought a distinctly Roman modernity to his design. Immersed in humanist discourse of mid-Cinquecento central Italy, Giustiniani likely frequented the Vitruvian circle of Claudio Tolomei; Alessi received exposure to this humanist collective through his Roman employers.174 This collective represented the contemporary obsession with Vitruvian exegesis as well as the re-application and expansion of textual and built architectural motifs. The villa acquired cultural capital through architectural allusions only the well educated would

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comprehend on the southern, sea-facing façade. Alessi’s design figured Giustiniani as a learned man whose exposure to Roman, Venetian, and other architectural cultures was made legible on the villa’s most public face.

Yet, at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, the eastern and western fronts as well as interior design undid the potential elitism one could graft onto many architectural details on the southern façade. The total villa design indicates Giustiniani held a purpose beyond self-aggrandizement. Moreover, sea and mountain landscapes, one of which was visible from each of the cubic structure’s four sides, suffused the civilized interior space with local vistas that were accessible to visitors, residents, and workers of all classes. These natural forms spoke to the topography that conditioned Luca Giustiniani and other Genoese citizens and rendered the villa emblematic of the city as a whole, while also radically contextualizing its two more private faces. Previous Genoese villas opened onto the landscape with loggias and gardens, but Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso was the first to construct a relation to the terrain using entirely architectural elements. The villa had geometric and linear organizing principles that created a mirroring effect between landscape and architecture. Several rooms

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175 Frommel, *The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 102-5 and 121-24. The typological precedents for many elements on the villa’s southern façade bear cultural capital because only learned individuals could cite the structural or decorative element and its source (location, building name, and architect). Modern Italian architectural precedents include but are not limited to: the Vatican Belvedere, which was first designed for Pope Innocent VIII by Anotino Pollaiuolo, but subsequently expanded by Donato Bramante for Julius II and prefigures the Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso with its central loggia and side elements, and Raphael’s Villa Madama in Rome, which has a similarly pulvinated base. Cf. Caterina Napoleone, ed., *Villa Madama: Raphael’s Dream* (New York: Umberto Allemandi, 2007).

176 In his initial description of villas, Alberti cites “the house as a miniature city” (Alberti, p. 140). Book I, Chapter 9 of *De re aedificatoria* builds upon this claim, however, its relation to the villa signifies the ideological weight placed upon villa design in mid-Quattrocento Florence and subsequent Italian milieus, including Genoa.

on the piano terreno contained windows with benches (Fig. 46) that provided ideal sites for contemplation of the natural surroundings. Though made of stone, these benches suggest that Giustiniani desired a villa imbued with the dual humanist virtues of leisure and intellectual rigor. Both beliefs were triggered by a visual connection to surrounding landscapes. These seats also demonstrate an acute awareness of proportional relationships. Alessi paired two benches with two window openings, while vertical bands running around their edges echo the triglyphs on the frontal façade’s first storey.\footnote{178} Such small touches enact Alessi’s larger defiance of Genoese architectural convention, which did not favor such extensive correspondences between individual details and total structures.

Moreover, the stylistically hybrid, all’antica and modern, villa drew upon the architectural design process described by Leon Battista Alberti in his mid-Quattrocento De re aedificatoria: “And I would approve of any new invention that incorporates the established rules of ancient buildings, as well as the ingenuity of modern contrivance.”\footnote{179} Giustiniani’s Roman experience influenced Alessi to create a villa responsive to Albertian precepts. Rather than maximizing the amount of physical space occupied by the villa like Villa Doria at Fassolo, Alessi established a proportional relationship between nature and architecture that suited Giustiniani’s chosen site and his villa’s microcosmic representation of Genoa as a whole. Both the all’antica and modern elements of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso suggest an

\footnote{178} Double columns were on the side bays of the front façade and echoed these doubled benches.

analogy between architectural and natural beauty that Alberti cited as the foundation for design:

Beauty is a form of sympathy and consonance of the parts within a body, according to a definite number, outline, and position, as dictated by concinnitas, the absolute and fundamental rule in Nature. This is the main object of the art of building, and the source of her dignity, charm, authority, and worth.\footnote{Ibid, p. 303. Alberti’s concept of concinnitas refers to the joining of elements to make a whole. His entire architectural system hinges upon the correct combination of such parts.}

Alberti typified a transitive relation between the human body, built form, and natural order that actualized a given patron’s identity through architecture and the surrounding environment. Giustiniani, then, enacted larger shifts within Genoa not only through funding the revolutionary structure but also by occupying it. He related to Genoa through an architectural mediation of nature.

A common historical misunderstanding concerning Alberti explains why visitors and architectural historians valorized the conventional reapplication of forms on the frontal façade. Leon Battista Alberti wrote De re aedificatoria, considered the first modern architectural treatise, in the 1450s, however, the treatise went unpublished until 1486. Ironically, the treatises of Alberti and Vitruvius were both first published in that year, encouraging the subsequent misinterpretation that Alberti merely continued the project of the ancient Roman writer.\footnote{Payne, pp. 70-72. Both Vitruvius and Alberti’s treatises were initially written and published in Latin. Vernacular (Italian) translations appeared in the sixteenth century.} Although Alberti significantly deviated from Vitruvius through using a systematic rather than anecdotal tone and emphasizing both ancient as well as modern architecture, he also composed a treatise without drawings, thereby emphasizing the Vitruvian analogy between architectural style and language. Many overlooked Alberti’s call for a dually antiquarian and modern architecture, but Galeazzo Alessi responded to it.
Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso also responds to Alberti’s discussion of the suburban hortus. *De re aedificatoria*’s first discussion of villas (5.14-18) more directly corresponds to Villa Doria at Fassolo than Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, while the latter, briefer discussion of villas set a clearer precedent for Alessi. 182 Not only does Alberti encourage the freedom of applying ornamentation and the open territorial boundaries available in suburban rather than urban locales, but he also discusses several structural concerns that reflect Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s siting. 183 Alberti champions a visible, elevated home, “an isolated hilltop villa” that bears a “whole outer face and address of a building of whatever kind, bright and conspicuous on every side, since that increases its grace.” 184 Alessi deemed Giustiniani a worthy patron and situated his design to emphasize the merchant’s grace in addition to his knowledge of architecture. 185 Yet, again, the eastern and western façades lack a traditional definition of architectural grace and, if interpreted loosely, advance Alberti’s modern impulses while more publically adhering to textual code, most notably by using the classical orders on the southern façade.

The distance between 1486 and the villa’s construction seem disjunctive, however, *De re aedificatoria* was only translated into the vernacular in the mid-Cinquecento. As an upper class intellectual, Alessi undoubtedly encountered the text and drew inspiration from it; his

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182 Alberti, pp. 140-1 and 145-152. Alberti describes the divisions between agricultural and domestic space, bedchambers for husband and wife, and relation to landscape through extensive gardens. His text catalyzed mid-Quattrocento Florentine villa designs as well as Doria’s Fassolo villa.

183 Ibid, pp. 294-5.


185 Ibid, p. 318. Alessi fulfilled the prescribed relationship between patron and architect “to deal only with principal citizens who are generous patrons and enthusiasts of such matters (architectural invention and allusion).”
patron would have likely known of the treatise. Unlike the primarily illustrative, didactic work of Sebastiano Serlio, Alberti employed a more rhetorical style, but he nonetheless encouraged architects to undergo an extensive design process before construction began. Alina Payne has suggested that the relationship between book ownership and reading encourages “the kind of physical and intellectual intimacy and extended time frame that genuine appropriation demands and that only personal ownership of a book allows.” The same relationship could be posited between patron, architect, and the design process: only over a prolonged period of exchanging knowledge and practical demands does an intimate architecture manifest itself. The indirect relationships between design and structural articulation suggested by De re aedificatoria find a more direct voice in Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s documentary history while gesturing back to the Albertian precept that patron and architect should remain in close communication.

Seven documents concerning the construction of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, translated and analyzed by Donna Marie Salzer, explicate Luca Gustiniani’s desires for the villa. Spanning from 1548 to 1552, they reveal that the building took roughly four to five years to construct. The first document, dated July 27, 1548, details the marble supply required for the piano terreno loggia and mentions the prominent Lombard stonemason Giovanni Lurago. Roughly two weeks later, the second document advanced a 150 scudi

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187 Alberti, pp. 315-319.

188 Payne, p. 71.

189 Salzer, pp. 354-65. The seven documents in addition to Salzer’s commentary may be found here.

190 Ibid, p. 354.
loan from Agostino Sauli, Luca Giustiniani’s father-in-law, to Perugia, where Alessi lived and worked prior to arriving in Genoa. More importantly, the document references the ecclesiastical district in which Luca Giustiniani chose to site his villa: “Actum [Janue in palacio] Albarii in [terra] vila nobilis Luca Justiniani sita in iurisdicione [sancti] ecclesie sancti Francisi…”

Domenic Conforto, the notary for the second through the seventh documents, took note of the proximate Franciscan monastery and church near the future villa, indicating that San Francesco d’Albaro influenced Giustiniani’s site selection. This letter authenticated the complex topographic implications of the hilltop in Albaro and the piety driving Giustiniani’s patronage. As a result of his clear and just desires, Giustiniani assumed the role of a wise patron in search of personal fulfillment rather than fame, which corresponded to Alberti’s description of the ideal partner for the architect.

Dated January 1, 1549, the third document was composed and signed at the Giustiniani urban palazzo. The master artisan Bernardo Spazio stood as a witness to the demands concerning the transfer of “calzina per fabrica domus” (“mortrar for the building of the house”) and sand by mule and boat to the home. Spazio notably served as one of the three masters under Alessi at Santa Maria Assunta in Carignano, which was commissioned concurrently with the villa’s construction in September 1549 and began in 1552 as Villa

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191 Ibid, p. 356. The sole known reference to a Genoese commission of Galeazzo Alessi appears here. The second document runs for two pages (pp. 355-56) and was dated August 14, 1548.

192 Alberti makes this suggestion through negation: “Do not offer your services to everyone who tells you that he is about to build, as do superficial people. Those who are consumed with greed or fame” (Alberti, p. 318-19).

193 Salzer, pp. 357-58.
Giustiniani-Cambiaso neared completion. Ecclesiastical design was present in Alessi’s mind as his first Genoese project was underway. Not only do the second and third documents denote the relationship between religious and domestic concerns, but they also validate a reading of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso as part of a more totalized Genoese sacred landscape conceived by both its patron and architect. The design of Santa Maria Assunta at Carignano indicates that Alessi related Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso to his more extensive experience with ecclesiastical architecture.

Although Sta. Maria Assunta at Carignano, visible in both a plan and elevation by Peter Paul Rubens (Figs. 47 and 48), remained incomplete until 1603, long after Alessi’s death, later architects followed his initial designs. Galeazzo Alessi made the church a tripartite structure whose internal spatial distribution and external massing parallels that of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso. Such formal alignments corroborate the idea that Alessi organized the earlier villa around principles of church rather than villa design to elaborate Luca Giustinani’s religious motives. A southern façade elevation (Fig. 46) of the villa emphasizes a recessed central entryway that consisted of three arches and windows on the respective first and second storeys. Two single window side bays flanked this central zone.

Sta. Maria Assunta in Carignano possessed only a single storey, but its frontal façade


196 These internal and external spatial distributions were not previously found in Genoese villa typology and generally do not appear in villa or palazzo precedents cited in relation to Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso.
accentuated a projecting staircase and entryway and was topped by a dome significantly larger than the towers on either of its sides. Though the massing of these two structures was inverted, both the villa and the church emphasize their central sections. Moreover, internal partitions in both plans correspond to the tripartite divisions of both façades. Including the villa’s staircase, its ground floor (Fig. 49) contained nine rooms, tripling the sections of its frontal façade behind each bay. From the loggia entryway, one entered a central reception hall on the piano terreno, which was suffused with light that streamed through the windows in the southern façade and led towards the ceremonial staircase. Sta. Maria Assunta followed a similar scheme that led from frontal staircase to a reception area that prefaced the principal space and provided a commanding view of the altar that culminated in an apse. This rounded conclusion was characteristic of church design and found its corollary in Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s staircase.\(^\text{197}\) As the main artery running between the piano terreno and piano nobile, the staircase granted visitors views of landscapes to the villa’s north and west.

The analogous internal and external divisions articulated at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso and Sta. Maria Assunta reveal not only a continued emphasis on tripartite spatial divisions more characteristic of church than villa or palazzo design but also Alessi’s keen awareness of Luca Giustiniani’s pious desires. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso transgressed allusion or reapplying formal precedents. It activated representational internal spaces through the Albertian analogy between architecture and nature.

The staircase (Fig. 50) played an integral role in this relationship and afforded Luca Giustiniani perspectives of Albaro’s sacred landscapes. Alessi inserted a loggia halfway through to encourage its users to contemplate the location much like Petrarca’s suggestion

\(^{197}\) Cf. Wolfgang Lotz, “Notes on the Centralized Church of the Renaissance,” in *Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977), pp. 66-73. Also, an apse was a semi-circle that echoed the domed central space and also alluded to transcendence of the earthly sphere.
that pilgrims consider their mountainous ascents. Alessi combined typical Genoese staircase convention, which connected a dark stairwell to a corner loggia, with a Roman palazzo type consisting of multiple flights and landings.\textsuperscript{198} A light above the landing fronting the villa’s northern wall directed one from the central hall to the north room, which opened onto the first flight of stairs. A second landing between the first and second flights of stairs opened through the western elevation (Fig. 51) and further drew one towards natural air and light. Following the relative time one took to survey the western Franciscan buildings and northern mountains, one turned back into the villa, climbed the second set of stairs, and entered the piano nobile loggia, which operated as the villa’s locus of symbolic representation. The stairwell corresponded to the larger design decision to place Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso atop a square platform that raised Luca Giustiniani’s gaze above visual obstructions and granted a three-hundred-and-sixty-five degree vista toward Albaro and the sea.\textsuperscript{199} Such a design maximized visual access to the complicated political and religious landscapes around the villa. Moreover, Alessi’s staircase imbued Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso with an Albertian sense of modernity. The Florentine architect-theorist disliked staircases. When they were necessary, he claimed they should be “broken up by well-lit landings, and given ample and spacious dimensions, appropriate to the importance of the building.”\textsuperscript{200} Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s staircase extended the analogy between nature and architecture by allowing Luca Giustiniani to interact with both internal and external environments.

A plan of the second storey (Fig. 52) reveals that the piano nobile loggia sat at the conclusion of the staircase. The room opened onto a terrace that faced the northern

\textsuperscript{198} Salzer, pp. 88-91.

\textsuperscript{199} Ibid, pp. 64-66.

\textsuperscript{200} Alberti, p. 31.
Apennine Mountains and led to the sala grande, which contained windows inserted into the southern façade that situated visitors above their point of arrival and looked towards the Ligurian Sea. On the piano nobile, the two primary features of Genoese topography joined in an invisible line that ran from the loggia’s northern terrace to the sala grande’s southern windows. This corridor integrated the natural sources of Genoese ethos into Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s internal axial progression: steep inclines associated with suburban expansion and, for Luca Giustiniani, spiritual retreat fused with the Gulf of Genoa, which fueled the city’s mercantile and naval ventures. The visibility of Genoese ships asserted the economic and political authority of their Republic and, for Luca Giustiniani, furnished the alum trade that linked him to the Holy See and provided the capital for the villa’s construction. The northern and southern faces of the villa connected Luca Giustiniani to public means of self-definition.

The piano nobile loggia embellished the representational relationship between the villa and its natural environment using an all’antica architectural vocabulary shared by patron and architect. Two large niches (Figs. 53 and 54) between the piano nobile loggia and the sala grande flanked the central portal that led from the northern to the southern room. A spiraling lozenge pattern covered the semi-domes spaces and, conjunction with the piano nobile loggia’s barrel vaulted roof, echoed the ancient Roman Temple of Venus and Roma (Fig. 55). The temple interested Renaissance architects such as Baldassare Peruzzi and Andrea Palladio, who both executed studies of the ancient site. In his I Quattro Libri dell’Architettura (1570), Palladio provided reconstruction drawings (Figs. 56 and 57) of the temple’s plan, section,

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201 Salzer, pp. 94-95. Salzer suggests the formal analogy between the villa’s piano nobile loggia and the Temple of Venus and Roma, known as the Temple of the Sun and the Moon during the Renaissance. The connections between mid-Cinquecento humanism, preoccupied with an all’antica Vitruvian style, and the sacred ideology of Luca Giustiniani represent my own contributions.
elevation, and individual details and discussed the astrological significance of the temple.  

Alessi’s allusion enriched a likely contemporary understanding of the piano nobile loggia: mid-Cinquecento visitors read Luca Cambiaso’s allegorical frescoes of Apollo and Diana as emblems of the sun and moon as well as the villa’s relation to the four cardinal directions. The piano nobile loggia provided Luca Giustiniani with a ceremonial space that inserted archaeological details into the internal architectural system, while linking its decorative frescoes to modern cartographic innovations.

Furthermore, figural herms (Fig. 58) inserted into the room recall Michelangelo’s 1513 designs for the Sistine Chapel (Fig. 59). Here Alessi explicitly integrated the human figure into his architecture. Unlike Michelangelo, Alessan interior design extended beyond

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202 Andrea Palladio, The Four Books on Architecture, trans. by Robert Tavenor and Richard Schofield (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), p. 248. “In the garden of S. Maria Nova near the Arch of Titus can be seen two temples of the same shape and with the same ornaments, of which one is believed to have been the Temple of the Sun because it was placed at the east, the other, the Temple of the Moon because it was placed at the west. These buildings were built and dedicated by T. Tatius, King of the Romans, and they are nearly round in shape (forma rotunda) because they are as broad as they are long, and were built that way bearing in mind the voyages of those planets, which follow circular trajectories around the sky. The loggias that were in front of the entrances of these temples are completely destroyed; neither can one see any decoration beyond that which is in the vaults, which have very carefully constructed and beautifully designed stucco compartments (compartimento). The walls of these temples are extremely thick, and between one temple and the other one can observe the remains of some stairs that must have led up to the roof at the side of the main chapels opposite the entrance. I have designed the loggias in front and the decoration inside as I imagined they would have been, taking into consideration what can now be seen above ground and the little that can be seen of the foundations.” Cf. Andrea Palladio, Palladio’s Rome: A Translation of Andrea Palladio’s Two Guidebooks to Rome, trans. Vaughn Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

203 Payne, pp. 15-33. The early and mid-Cinquecento concern with archaeology fed into an interest in Vitruvius’ De architectura. Moreover, archaeology allowed architects to establish individualized archives of classical details: they would visit ancient monuments and either store the structures to memory or draw sketches to later reference. Cf. Raphael, “A Report to Pope Leo X on Ancient Rome,” in A Documentary History of Art, Volume I: The Middle Ages and The Renaissance, ed. Elizabeth Gilmore Holt (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1958), pp. 289-296. Not only does Raphael essentially paraphrase passages from Vitruvius' treatise, signifying the incipient character of modern architectural discourse, but he also outlined an extensive archaeological research program that would be followed by an equally rigorous preservation program.

204 Cammy Brothers, Michelangelo, Drawing, and the Invention of Architecture (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 103-105. Brothers discusses Michelangelo’s emergent interest in architecture over
the architecture-body connection and included landscape to address Giustiniani’s relation to Genoa and Albaro. The herms rest in close proximity to Luca Cambiaso’s frescoes, both decoratively and structurally supporting the ceiling. Their locality demonstrated that Alessi, much like Michelangelo before him, conflated figure and architecture to frame an atavistic narrative (sunrise and sunset); like Michelangelo, then, Alessi’s designs demonstrated a modern character. Alessi’s piano nobile loggia contained details that forced visitors to realize that it sat at the center of the villa’s various visual corridors and gestured towards the political and religious topographies outside. In the piano nobile loggia, sacrality functioned in both modern and ancient contexts. Alessi bridged Genoa’s potential classical origins, embodied by Cambiaso’s frescoes and the two rounded niches, with innovative solutions, the figural herms, which enlivened a potentially antiquarian sensibility.

Beyond the piano nobile loggia and fronting the sea, the sala grande had no frescoes. Only sculptural frames on its doors and a heavy cornice separating its walls from the soaring cove vault above articulated the giant space. The Genoese adored lavish tapestries and, as suggested by Salzer, the walls were likely adorned with several to raise the cold temperature of the expansive room.205 Such luxury objects would have implicitly linked Luca Giustiniani to Andrea Doria’s villa, which overflowed with tapestries designed by Perino del Vaga. If this hypothesis is true, then Giustiniani likely commissioned allegorical representations like those on Doria’s tapestries, which connected the pater patriae to the mythological narratives

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205 Salzer, p. 97.
of the *Aeneid*, Neptune, and Jupiter. Tapestries signified luxury and would have provided Luca Giustinian with images of ancient Roman gods as well as Genoa’s fabricated Trojan origins. Moreover, tapestries would have built upon the architectural allusions and the two frescoes by Luca Cambiaso located in the adjacent piano nobile loggia. Yet the *sala grande* bore a level of abstraction that afforded its patron the ability to manipulate the room’s symbolic meaning based upon interior decoration choices as well as the view offered from its sea-facing windows. A dramatic southern view maintained Alessi’s intended equilibrium between nature and architecture, Giustinian and his surroundings. Abstraction, then, served as the primary means by which Alessi deviated from convention to fulfill the demands of his unique patron. The *sala grande* bore a paradoxical character because, like the eastern and western façades, it lacked conventional architectural details, but, unlike those two relatively private faces, its function was quite public.

From inside Villa Giustinian-Cambiaso, Luca Giustinian projected an authoritative gaze from the numerous overlooks around which Alessi centered his design. The internal axial progression redefined conventional Genoese villa typology by corresponding to spatial divisions signaled by the southern façade. In turn, the monumental front found more direct precedents in ecclesiastical rather than domestic forms and constructed a dialectical relationship between the pious Franciscan locality of Albaro and the patron Luca Giustinian. Here the patron did not so much desire Alessi reference religious structures to conceal a baser socio-economic motive, but instead situated one of his two permanent residences within a devotional landscape that his ancestors had previously supported.

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206 Campbell, pp. 351-360.

207 My argument, then, runs counter to what I consider the reductive (but, for its time, groundbreaking and productive) reading of Bentmann and Müller. A hermeneutic lens only extends so far.
most personal façades—those most explicitly linking the historical devotion of the Giustiniani to the villa—were less publically visible and underscored the private devotional life Luca Giustiniani sought.

On the other hand, the southern face continues an analogy between the design principles of Alessi and Michelangelo’s unfinished façade for the Florentine church of San Lorenzo. Leo X demanded that the San Lorenzo façade consist entirely of marble, much like the villa’s loggia, and hoped Michelangelo’s design would announce the grandeur of his patronage through numerous sculptural and architectural elements. Michelangelo deviated from these requests and introduced an abstract emphasis on planar composition that rendered the façade a frame for the narrative enclosed within the building. In comparison, Luca Giustiniani likely wanted the most public element of his villa to dramatically announce his identity. Although Alessi designed the southern façade as a performative face, it lacks the degree of allusive architectural detailing many contemporaneous all’antica structures possessed. Cammy Brothers argues that such reductive designs on the part of Michelangelo established the structural clarity of San Lorenzo’s façade and imbued the single planar surface with depth and flexibility. Alessi inverted Michelangelo’s rhythmic interplay between recessed and projected spaces, pushing the central bay inward and extending the two side bays outward, but his approach nonetheless provided an abstracted rather than additive or busy ornamental system. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s frontal façade functioned as an emblem of the austere architectural system that referred to the analogy between nature, architecture, and man. The variation of triangular and segmental pediments on the second

208 Brothers, pp. 106-108.

209 “By giving the surface real depth—and not merely in the form of engaged columns or relief sculpture—Michelangelo asserted the potential structural independence of the façade” (Ibid, p. 114).
storey and the smaller windows above referred back to Raphael and Peruzzi’s respective
designs, however, they more directly connoted the diversity of Albaro’s landscape and its
relation to Giustiniani’s numerous talents.210 Unfortunately, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso lacks
the rich documentary archive of the Florentine project, so the relative liberty Alessi took in
regards to Giustiniani’s demands can never be known. The San Lorenzo analogy does,
however, suggest that Alessi, whose eastern and western walls bore a far more modern
sensibility than their northern and southern counterparts, modeled his most intimate designs
off of innovation rather than architectural precedent. These more private faces continued
the tripartite divisions and alternating triangular and segmental pediments found on the
southern front, but the comparatively empty walls eclipse such formal correspondences.
Regardless, the southern façade also produced a legible image of Giustiniani. It reduced the
number of potential architectural elements to a minimum and highlighted the ten large
windows that opened onto and forged a connection between Giustiniani and nature. The
eastern and western walls only embellish this central thematic concern by removing allusive
architectural details.

Therefore, in addition to its typological innovations, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso also
inverted the traditional thematics of Genoese villeggiatura exhibited by Jean Massys’ Flora with
a View of Genoa. All’antica allusions—presented by the painting’s nude allegorical goddess, the
midground nymphaeum, and Villa Andrea Doria at Fassolo were not foregrounded to
distant ecclesiastical concerns—indicated by Massys’ perspectival system, which concluded
with the Cathedral of San Lorenzo. Instead Alessi joined the sea and mountains, coded with

210 Cf. Frommel, pp. 152-54. The parallel between Raphael’s Villa Madama and Villa Giustiniani-
Cambiaso is commonly mentioned, but always notes the comparative flourish of Raphael’s design.
Peruzzi’s Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne had niches similar to those in the piano nobile loggia, but
located in its entrance loggia, while the salone fenestrate pattern in the sala grande also appeared at the
earlier palazzo.
respective economic and sacred meanings, to fabricate a *villeggiatura* tailored to the primarily private, pious demands of his patron. Luca Giustinianii examined Genoese topography from his warm weather home, which connoted both his public and private zeal for the Catholic faith and the modern economic forces behind his patronage. Without Alessi’s fluid design, however, the villa would have failed to realize its full potential.
CHAPTER 3. Topography and Architectural *Disegno*: Galeazzo Alessi and Mid-Cinquecento Genoese Architecture

Like Palladio and Vignola, Galeazzo Alessi (1512-72), a native of Perugia, is one of the great architects of the period. His buildings are of a typological and stylistic importance for Genoa and Milan equal to Palladio’s palazzi and villas for the Veneto. However, unlike his great contemporaries, Alessi wrote no treatise; this may be one of the reasons why we have no satisfactory account of his oeuvre and career.211

-Wolfgang Lotz, *Architecture in Italy, 1500-1600*

(a) The Hybrid “Intellectual-Gentleman-Architect”: Galeazzo Alessi and Ecclesiastical Vitruvian Studies in Mid-Cinquecento Rome

Born into the Perugian nobility, Galeazzo Alessi received minimal formal training. His hybrid character, an “intellectual-gentleman-architect,” empowered his designs because, after traveling in elite and learned circles, he was exposed to numerous ancient and modern architectural cultures.212 A portrait of Alessi renders the architect a work-worn aristocrat with a face chiseled away by age lines that reflect his intense intellectual activity. Dated the year of Alessi’s death, 1572, the portrait (Fig. 60) places Alessi within an oval. His heavy, almond shaped eyes look to his right, outside of the frame at an unknown subject, and suggest the dual burden and blessing of developing innovative architectural designs. A superimposed scroll bearing Latin text sits underneath his figure and describes the burdens weighing upon the portrait’s subject:

ALEATIVS DEALEXUS NOVVUS ARCHITTETTURAESVI SAECVI VITRUVIUS POST MULTA P.PRINCIPES ITALIAE VRBES EXIMU INO NV ELVGVBRATA MNVMENTA CATHOLICAE MAIESTATIS

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211 Lotz, *Architecture in Italy, 1500-1600*, p. 130. Lotz makes a common claim concerning Alessi—that the want for an architectural treatise by the Perugian native affected his legacy—but this claim has since been debunked and suggests that Alessi was footnoted by many architectural historians for more complicated reasons.

212 Salzer, p. 300. Alessi’s exposure thus paralleled that of his patron, Luca Giustiniani.
VOTO IN HISPANUAM REGIAE STRATCTURAE CACSA SVMMIS HONORIB EVOCATUS SEMP ADMIRAND INTRVT ANNO 1572

The text alludes to Alessi’s formative years, which he spent charming members of the Holy See and their aristocratic entourage with his extensive knowledge of philosophy and rhetoric from antiquity forward. His early teachers and mentors were, like most early and mid-Cinquecento architects and humanists, primarily concerned with Vitruvian exegesis.

Although he enriched this knowledge throughout his career, Alessi did not follow the path of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Raphael, Baldassare Peruzzi, and others. Instead, Michelangelo, a parallel already suggested, provided the primary template for Alessi’s career. Like Michelangelo, Galeazzo Alessi never published a formal architectural treatise, but his known drawings extensively work through structural concerns and architectural details prior to construction. Alessi followed the suggestion of Alberti, Serlio, and others

213 Paolo Belardi, *Alessi, Bernini, Borromini: tre relixi indicxiare* (Rome: Officiani, 2006), p. 22. This passage discusses the honor bestowed upon the innovative architecture Alessi employed when designing a Catholic monument for the Spanish crown.

214 Payne, pp. 15-69. Payne highlights the architectural literary culture that emerged in the mid-Cinquecento in response to a renewed interest in ancient architecture. Beyond visiting Roman monuments to draw both their sixteenth century forms as well as project their past totality, they also attempted to understand Vitruvius’ somewhat fragmentary *De architectura*, the sole architectural treatise remaining from antiquity.

215 Brothers, p. 67. Brothers claims that instead of reapplying well known architectural elements Michelangelo chose to adapt these motifs, making them his own, and forcing viewers to more directly interact with his buildings rather than relying upon a preexisting knowledge of classical forms. Alessi similarly distilled his knowledge of classical and modern architecture to produce Villa Giustiniani-Campano, which bears the traces of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Raphael, and others heavily influenced by Vitruvius but nonetheless rendered these precedents abstractly and in his own manner.

216 Galeazzo Alessi, *Galeazzo Alessi: Tratto di fortificazione*, ed. Alessandro Coppa (Milan: Guerni studio, 1999). Although this volume represents a second Alessian treatise in addition to *Il Libro dei Misteri*, it consists of several disparate documents compiled by its editors and therefore does not represent a totalized project like *Il Libro dei Misteri*. Moreover, an argument that runs throughout this chapter—that Alessi’s abstract design sensibilities, in part, stemmed from his sole reliance upon drawings rather than textual explanations—seemingly comes undone when faced with this document. Again, I consider its fragmentary nature indicative of the greater ease expressed in his drawings. Moreover, *Il Libro dei Misteri* should not be considered a formal treatise because it focuses on a single site and
in executing plans and elevations, but he seems to have solely relied upon drawings rather than text as well to realize his designs. Therefore, the scroll represents a misleading attempt to commemorate Alessi as part of an antiquarian milieu to which he did not belong.

Alongside his modern sense of abstraction and topographic awareness, Alessi also possessed a devout character fostered by his early papal appointments. All of these characteristics appealed to Luca Giustiniani, who wanted to make public his knowledge of and participation in the Roman humanist and papal circles Alessi also frequented. Alessi thus created a villa that diverged from Genoese and Roman precedents. The central Italian building culture that Alessi experienced in Rome furnished him with the seeds for such stylistic innovation. In turn, his acquisition of various architectural vocabularies combined with his social prowess to produce designs that met the needs of diverse patrons. Moreover, Alessi’s career began and concluded with designing religious structures that influenced his ideas for secular structures like Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso.

Despite the confluence between his varied commissions, the architectural education of Galeazzo Alessi remains contested by scholars. The Perugian painter and architect Giovanni Battista Caporali, who published an edition of Vitruvius’ architectural treatise, was his first teacher. Caporali emphasized both the rational character of classical architecture and stressed the analogy between music and architecture to promote the use of proportion in the visual arts. In highlighting these portions of the ancient Roman text, Caporali contains almost entirely unrealized designs. Cf. Loredana Oliviato, “Galeazzo Alessi e la trattatistica architettonica del Rinascimento,” in Galeazzo Alessi e l’architettura del cinquecento, pp. 131-40.


218 Cf. Vitruvius Pollio, Architectura, trans. Gianbatista Caporali (Perugia: Stamparia del conte Iano Bigazzini, 1536). Caporali published his translation in the mid-Cinquecento in conjunction with the peaking interest in Vitruvian exegesis. His primary emphasis, the analogy between music and architecture, was common during the Renaissance: Vitruvius initially suggested it and Alberti included the connection in De re aedificatoria.
focused on intellectual freedom—or, the ability to conceive of connections across disciplines. This open-mindedness was characteristic of Renaissance humanist thought.\textsuperscript{219} Alessi carried Caporalì’s methodology with him to Rome, where he moved in 1536 to join the Vatican’s curial service.\textsuperscript{220} Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso reflects both his absorption and interpretation of what he first learned in Perugia and gained a greater understanding of in Rome.\textsuperscript{221}

As a secretary and chamberlain for Cardinals Lorenzo Campeggi, Girolamo Ghinucci, and Agostino Parisani, Alessi was further exposed to the mid-Cinquecento, central Italian interest in Vitruvius. Cardinal Ghinucci was close friends with the Sienese humanist Claudio Tolomei, who, in 1542, founded L’Accademia della Virtù, or Accademia Vitruviana.\textsuperscript{222} The collective received funding from Cardinal Ippolito di Medici to re-translate and interpret the Latin *De architectura*. Marcello Cervini, later Pope Marcellus II, led the group of learned men, which included the architect and treatise author Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, the poet Francesco Molza, and the Archbishop of Chieti Bernardino Maffei.\textsuperscript{223} The collaborative effort aimed to learn why *all’antica* style pervaded Italian Renaissance designs as well as who both initially and subsequently encouraged the re-appropriation of classical

\textsuperscript{219} Bouwsma, pp. 1-19. The cultural community of Europe was unified by such associations.

\textsuperscript{220} Salzer, pp. 5-7.

\textsuperscript{221} Lionello Puppi, “Galeazzo Alessi nella problematica urbanistica del Cinquecento,” in *Galeazzo Alessi e l’architettura del cinquecento*, pp. 67-80.

\textsuperscript{222} Payne, pp. 26-27. L’Accademia della Virtù fostered “the development of architectural discourse in a literary ambience,” thereby encouraging the use of architectural treatises as one means to spread practical and theoretical knowledge of built forms to practitioners and laypersons. Cf. Claudio Tolomei, *Delle lettere libri sette* (Venice: Gabriel Giolito de’ Ferrari, 1547). Tolomei’s letters reveal the clear purpose of the collective’s founder.

\textsuperscript{223} Ibid, p. 27.
Greek and Roman architecture. Although the joint effort reached no definitive conclusions, architectural treatises and built forms reflected the group’s interests and influenced an emergent generation of architects, which included Alessi. Concurrent with the publication of Serlio’s treatises, the group built upon the precedent of Alberti and asserted the value of both textual and pictorial architectural knowledge.

The partially literary character of Alessian design, most visible on Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s southern front and in the piano nobile loggia, employed conventional antiquarian allusions. The incorporation of such details stemmed from his exposure to Roman humanist discourse. Alessi also likely augmented the knowledge he had gained from his teachers with texts in his family library, as well as those recommended by Caporali and others. The image of the bookshelf again comes into play: Alessi demonstrated a clear understanding of Vitruvius, Alberti, and Serlio and worked from their typological precedents as if he had spent years considering their ideas. As a result of their humanist educations, most members of the Italian upper class like Alessi understood conventional literary architectural formations and could detect ancient as well as modern Roman allusions in the buildings they encountered. Textual learning established which ancient buildings were significant and


225 Alberti did not illustrate his treatise, likely because he composed it before illustrations could be widely disseminated via print. His textual emphasis did not, however, hold past Serlio’s treatise, which provided practical illustrations of his extensive descriptions.

226 Payne, p. 71.

227 Mario Carpo, *Architecture in the Age of Printing: Orality, Writing, Typography, and Printed Images in the History of Architectural Theory*, trans. Sarah Benson (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), esp. pp. 16-22 and 42-78. Carpo foregrounds the role that technological innovation (and the increasing popularity of the printing press over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) played in defining architectural humanism. The printing press heightened the degree of knowledge both architects and patrons had about conventional forms and, in turn, established a canonical formal language of ancient and modern (Renaissance) designs, which were readily identified by learned men. As a result of the
highlighted architects who expanded upon or merely repeated notable forms.\textsuperscript{228} During his time in Rome, Alessi was exposed to both ancient monuments and recent architectural developments made under Pope Paul III (1534-1549). Paul III commissioned the Florentine Antonio da Sangallo the Younger for numerous projects including Palazzo Farnese, designs for St. Peter’s, and two additions to the Vatican Palace—the Sala Regia and the Pauline Chapel.\textsuperscript{229} The architecture of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger reflected the predominant beliefs espoused by conservative mid-Cinquecento architects—the mastery and reapplication of classical creations—and provided the counterpoint against which Alessi established his own style.\textsuperscript{230}


\textsuperscript{229} Christoph Luitpold Frommel, ed., \textit{The Architectural Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and His Circle}, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994). The two volumes contain drawings that correspond to their respective subtitles: “Volume 1: Fortifications, Machines, and Festival Architecture” and “Volume 2: Churches, Villas, the Pantheon, Tombs, and Ancient Inscriptions.” The second volume also contains two helpful essays; an introduction by Frommel (pp. 1-22) situates Antonio da Sangallo the Younger within the conventional architectural culture of his generation, while a discussion of the his church architecture by Manfredo Tafuri (pp. 45-58) suggests many parallels between da Sangallo the Younger’s ecclesiastical and domestic designs. Upon comparing the drawing styles of Alessi and his mentor, it becomes clear that the archaeological concerns of the latter were displaced in favor of the former’s more humanized approach. Cf. Carpo, pp. 67-71.

\textsuperscript{230} Payne, pp. 20 and 120. Payne characterizes Antonio da Sangallo the Younger as the most extreme Vitruvian of his generation. He supposedly wrote a treatise, now lost beyond a preface, that extended the Vitruvian project by describing total monuments rather than detailing significant parts.
In fact, Galeazzo Alessi executed his first recorded design under Antonio da Sangallo the Younger at Rocca Paolina in Perugia.\(^{231}\) The young architect began his career after following the newly appointed papal legate Agostino Parisnai to Perugia. At Rocca Paolina, Alessi established a relationship with da Sangallo the Younger that, at least superficially, reaffirmed his previous training. Although Antonio da Sangallo the Younger never completed his proposed commentary on *De architectura*, he drafted a preface in 1539 that exhibits the general interest in resolving the ambiguities of Vitruvius’ text.\(^{232}\) No known documents testify to the impression Antonio da Sangallo the Younger left upon Alessi, but it seems that his textual learnedness only expanded under the elder architect’s supervision. The widespread impulse to produce written and drawn architectural knowledge began with the efforts of men like da Sangallo the Younger, but the next generation of architects, including Alessi, expanded the discourse beyond Vitruvius to focus on more modern stylistic developments. Therefore, like Michelangelo, Alessi opposed a solely antiquarian architecture based upon an extensive knowledge of it.\(^{233}\)

Drawings and treatises significantly altered the potential of architecture just as Alessi’s practice came of age and encouraged architects to explore less codified means of structural expression. As a result of the increasingly significant role of the architectural treatise as a source of practical information, the generation of architects to which Alessi belonged underwent several significant changes in comparison to the previous one. Galeazzo


\(^{232}\) Cf. Christof Thoenes, “Vignola’s *Regola dell’Cinque Ordini*,” in *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* XX, pp. 345-76.

\(^{233}\) Brothers, p. 48.
Alessi and others less directly drew from their direct experience with antique architectural and sculptural forms. Instead, they rooted their designs in texts that absorbed and then reinterpreted early Cinquecento *all'antica* forms and, moreover, focused on modern Italian building culture. These architects removed themselves from precisely reapplying details and instead aimed to cultivate individual architectural styles.\(^{234}\)

Furthermore, once Galeazzo Alessi became an architect, he held no other professional titles.\(^{235}\) Unlike Raphael or Michelangelo, Alessi only practiced architecture and, rather than obtaining patronage from a single source like Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, he received individual private commissions that sustained his comfortable lifestyle. He owned property in Perugia, continuously entered designs into commission calls, and often worked on multiple projects at once.\(^{236}\) Despite his pioneering character, the reinterpretation of *all'antica* motifs became a common expectation of many patrons. This demand catalyzed Alessi to apply the classical orders in a unique fashion rather than rigidly adhere to textual precepts established by Vitruvius, Alberti and Serlio. A letter written by Alessi describes his now lost façade design for the Gesu’ in Genoa and attests to his formally rebellious character:

> …what I design seemed to have to do with the ordinary form while also including new things, provided that they would not take away from the rules

\(^{234}\) Brothers, p. 69. Brothers productively suggests the Petrachan influence upon such a humanist project. Petrarch, like Michelangelo and Alessi, encouraged the cultivation of individual authorial voices rather than imitating his predecessors.

\(^{235}\) Michelangelo, Alberti, Raphael, and many others held multiple professional titles. It was only with Alessi’s generation that the architect began to emerge as a distinct and respected profession, distancing itself from the medieval guild and artisan tradition.

and terms of architecture. And therefore you will see one of these three orders, the Doric, as well-suited to churched dedicated to our Savior and the other, the Corinthian, which I think pays tribute to the Virgin Mother. Between the two orders I inserted a statuary order, which not only helps resolve the building’s design, but also contributes a wonderful uncertainty to the design. The other (fourth) is no such statuary order and closer perhaps to ordinary forms. 237

Many scholars cite Alessi’s inventive classical orders as the key element of his designs, though, as visible at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso alone, this line of argument incorporates Alessi into a conventional architectural discourse rather than exploring his other overtly abstract details. The need to situate Alessi within a larger architectural culture probably leads most scholars in this direction: Alessi began his career only several years after the publication of Sebastiano Serlio’s treatise; Serlio canonized a five order columnar sequence that began with the strongest, least ornamental Tuscan order and concluded with the antithetical Composite order. The treatise exemplified the mid-Cinquecento belief that the orders were architecture. 238

Although Alessi likely read and enacted many of Serlio’s suggestions concerning the Tuscan and Composite orders, his creative use of the orders at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso more directly responded to his time in Roman humanist circles preoccupied with orthodoxy. Translations of Vitruvius by Cesare Cesariano (1521) and the French Guillaume Philandrier

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237 Howard Burns, “Le idée di Galeazzo Alessi sull’architettura e sugli ordini,” in Galeazzo Alessi e l’architettura del cinquecento, pp. 147-66. …qual disegno non mi e’ parso doverlo fare secondo la forma ordinaria pardendomi men grata, che le cose nove, purche elle non se togiano male regole e termini dell’Architettura. E pero’ vedra in uno d’essi, tre ordini, uno dorico, conveniente alla Chiese dedicata al Rendentore nostro; l’altro corintio, che cusi me pare convenga all’Vergine madre. Tra l’uno e l’altro d’essi ho inserito un ordine statuario, il quale oltre che aiuta a solevere l’edifico, rende maravigliosa vaghezza a’ tutta l’opra. L’altra e’ senza detto ordine statuario e piu’ retirato forse all’ordinaria forma.

both include the Tuscan and Composite, yet the ancient Roman author only peripherally discussed the Tuscan and never mentioned the Composite. Tolomei and his colleagues, among whom Philandrier worked on his edition of the treatise, celebrated the vernacular Tuscan language and order. Beginning with Alberti, Italians also claimed the Composite order originated on the peninsula. Alessi participated in this active discourse concerning the five orders and incorporated them throughout his career. His unorthodox application method distinguished him from his predecessors and contemporaries.

Conventional formal issues less productively illustrate Alessi’s unique architectural impulse when compared to his drawings from Il Libro dei Misteri. Drawing, according to Alberti and as demonstrated by Michelangelo, served as the most effective way of working through the architectural design process. The attention given to entire buildings, their particular details, and their surroundings in Il Libro dei Misteri confirms that Alessi defied expository expression in favor of pictorial representation to convey his intentions. Alessi demonstrated an acute responsiveness to landscapes surrounding the book’s proposed

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240 Payne, pp. 113-16.


242 Alberti, pp. 313-19. Cf. Brothers, pp. 1-7. Michelangelo never wrote a treatise and is not known to have made this statement. On the other hand, Brothers feels as though his activity implies this conclusion.
interventions for the Sacro Monte at Varallo. Moreover, maps of the entire complex preface individual chapel designs and suggest that Alessi conflated cartography and history; these totalized landscapes imply that previous architectural forms and human interactions upon the site influenced and affected his design process.\textsuperscript{243} Alessi considered siting rather than the orders or other architectural details as the key element of design; location infected and altered the ways both elite and common visitors experience space regardless of allusion’s relative abundance. The emphasis given to external, natural spaces indicates Alessi sought to design structures that performed in relation to rather than in defiance of their context.

Rocca Paolina (Figs. 61 and 5862 built from 1543 to 1548, exemplifies Alessi’s topographic concerns.\textsuperscript{244} Although Antonio da Sangallo the Younger served as the principal architect, Alessi designed the piano nobile loggia that consisted of five bays articulated in the Doric order. Alessi encouraged papal residents and their visitors to look onto the valley below the monumental structure. The building’s construction history demonstrates another salient feature of Alessian design: the architect often, if unintentionally, inserted architectural forms into historically troubled sites.\textsuperscript{245} Following a failed Perugian rebellion against a papal salt tax, the homes of the most active insurgents were destroyed and, on their former site, Rocca Paolina was constructed. Alessi’s intervention thus encouraged his empowered patron, Pope Paul III, to examine the setting of the rebellion and suggested that a closer visual relationship between Perugia and the Holy See could prevent future unrest.

\textsuperscript{243} Leatherbarrow, p. 204. In Alessi’s designs, Leatherbarrow claims to have found a reciprocal relationship between spatial and temporal shifts that allows “spatial indications of past events in the present moment.” More importantly, Leatherbarrow suggests that Alessi’s reductive designs bear potential—they not only foreshadow the future of architecture but also lend what would conventionally be considered the absence of conventional design an allusive, charged presence.

\textsuperscript{244} Salzer, pp. 8-13.

\textsuperscript{245} Villa Fieschi, for example, was supposedly located nearby the site chosen for Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso.
Demonstrative of such attention to historical context, *Il Libro dei Misteri* included multiple drawings for Alessi’s proposed chapels at the Sacro Monte di Varallo. Their façades correspond to their symbolic purposes: domed roofs frequently evoke anagogic ascent, while abstracted façades without classical orders, like those found on Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s eastern and western faces, allowed architecture to more directly conflate the preexisting natural setting with the structural elements of his design. Moreover, the chapel interiors expose visitors to natural landscapes through views that anticipate the pilgrimage’s progression as well as walls of illusionistic frescoes that further dissolve the barrier between interior and exterior space. Most importantly, Alessi frequently includes figures—visitors as well as biblical characters—that relate the human form to their architectural encasements. Indicative of proportional relationships between man, architecture, and nature, Alessi’s drawings suggest that he valued the lived experience within his structures.\(^{246}\) Individuals became mirrors for his designs, evaluating the effectiveness of their contextual associations as well as their ability to project innovative interior perspectives onto their surroundings. These characteristics pervade *Il Libro dei Misteri*, but they also appear in Alessi’s earlier works and provide a link between his secular and ecclesiastical commissions. At Rocca Paolina, the Perugian architect employed the Doric order, a conventional form, to unexpectedly open up internal space to surrounding landscapes much like his later drawings suggest.

Galeazzo Alessi continued to work in Perugia after Rocca Paolina was completed. In 1545, Cardinal Tiberio Crispo became the Perugian papal legate and instituted a period of urban renewal that provided Alessi with multiple projects. Although no documents formally

\(^{246}\) Alberti, pp. 301-4. Alessi’s understanding of proportion was not solely based upon an analogy between human figures and architectural orders as implied by the Albertian analogy between nature and architecture, which itself stemmed from the Vitruvian man who microcosmically represented his surroundings. Instead, Alessi defined architecture against convention, that is, he defined architecture through means other than the classical orders.
attribute the design to Alessi, Palazzo dei Priori’s Corso façade (Fig. 63) bears an upper storey loggia with a Doric order that highlights the apartment of Crispo. The design turned pre-existing interior space outward and granted his ecclesiast patron a powerful vantage point much like his work at Rocca Paolina. Alessi also oversaw the construction of S. Maria del Popolo in Perugia (1547) and, in early 1548, he received a documented payment for designing S. Giuliana in Perugia, renamed S. Caterina, though alterations conceal his efforts. His Perugian designs demonstrate the heavy influence of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger’s Roman structures, but, even in his earliest designs, Alessi began to overcome antiquarian prescription and innovatively employed the Doric order as a framing device rather than an ornamental order symbolic of masculine strength. By August 1548, Alessi’s early work in Perugia came to an end and he made his way to Genoa where Luca Giustiniani awaited his arrival.

What set Galeazzo Alessi apart from both the previous generation of architects as well as his contemporaries likely appealed to Luca Giustiniani. Although Cinquecento sources state that Alessi was commissioned only after Palladio declined the Genoese project, Galeazzo Alessi imbued Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso with an awareness of his patron’s ambiguous socio-economic standing, the ecclesiastical matrix that drew Giustiniani to


248 Aurora Scotti Tosini, "Alessi, Galeazzo," *Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T001682 (accessed 6 Apr. 2010). S. Maria del Popolo resembles the Pauline Chapel in the Vatican both in its entryway and its internal plan, which contains an aisleless nave covered by a coved vault that is crossed by barrel vaulting. More notably, several scholars have claimed that Alessi designed the Via Nuova, a street inserted between the Perugian thoroughfares of the Corso and the Sopramuro; though most historians now agree Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane designed the street, which opened up Perugia’s northern urban core, the misattribution to Alessi parallels the Genoese Strada Nuova around which a similar debate concerning Alessi’s unlikely but potential design has occurred.
Albaro, and an appreciation for the relation between architecture and landscape.\textsuperscript{249}

Furthermore, while in Rome, Alessi honed social skills that later strengthened his architectural practice. The intellectual opportunities offered by his elite birth joined with a sensitivity to the varied backgrounds of the diplomats, merchants, artists, architects, and humanists that frequented the court of Paul III along with Alessi and made the architect capable of fulfilling particular demands. Alessi absorbed the cultural and topographic conditions that his employer, Giustiniani, traveled through as well as lived in then synthetically expressed them in his design. Although the Genoese geo-political matrix presented a complex challenge to foreign architects because local building culture relied upon Ligurian artisans, Alessi mediated the repetitious impulse of vernacular tradition with his practical experience. He advanced the Vitruvian concerns of his two mentors and integrated mid-Cinquecento central Italian architecture into the villa’s design while also making divergent stylistic statements that individuated his architectural practice. At Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, Alessi addressed the contemporaneous concerns of his patron—relating the villa to the economic and religious histories embedded within Albaro’s soil—and his profession—reinterpreting classical, \textit{all’antica}, and modern structural and textual precedents.

\textbf{(b) The Scenography of Genoese Urban and Suburban Landscapes along the Strada Nuova and at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso}

Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso alludes to the textual history of architecture. Its scenographic siting harnesses perspectival systems found in the second book of Serlio’s treatise, but Alessi did not simply reapply Serlian prescriptions. Moreover, as discussed in chapter two, Alessi demonstrated characteristics of the architectural profession that Leon

Battista Alberti first articulated in *De re aedificatoria*. These two textual influences figured Alessi as a distinctly modern architect: he drew from new notions of professionalism and design that responded to classical precedent but made their own practical and theoretical arguments.

In *Tutte L'Opere d'Architettura et Prospettiva*, Sebastiano Serlio wrote self-consciously about his abilities, often claiming that strenuous tasks should be left for more naturally gifted architects.\(^{250}\) Serlio cultivated his authorial voice after spending many years in Rome before the Sack of 1527. Vitruvianists including Antonio da Sangallo the Younger influenced Serlio’s development much like they later affected Alessi and, though his treatise expanded antiquarian and archaeological concerns, it also contained modern buildings by Bramante, Peruzzi, and others.\(^ {251}\) Serlio emphasized *imitatio* while suggesting the importance of a designer’s ability to discern a patron’s demands and inventively articulate them prior to construction.\(^ {252}\) Unlike his major influences, however, Serlio defined himself as a “professore di architettura” that aimed to enhance architectural discourse through the disseminating his illustrations and, subsequently, his treatise to as broad an audience as possible.\(^ {253}\)

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\(^{250}\) Serlio, vol. 1, pp. xi-xxxv. Hart and Hicks provide an extended analytical biography of Serlio from which the following discussion draws.


\(^{252}\) Payne, pp. 123-24 and 136-39. *Imitatio*, according to Payne, is the primary thematic tenet of Serlio. The ability of the columns to appear and act like natural forms, as well as their replicable nature, over defines them. License, on the other hand, stems from how individuals determine their relationship to and build upon convention. According to Payne, Serlio employs two types of words—analytic and metaphoric—that were intended to make the human eye increasingly aware of architecture’s structural and organic character.

\(^{253}\) Serlio, vol. 1, p. xi.
The treatise consisted of seven books that handled various issues in Italian architectural culture. Only five were published before Alessi designed Villa Giustinian-Cambiaso in 1548. Book IV (Venice, 1537) updates Vitruvian precepts and corresponds to the general mid-Cinquecento interest in the ancient Roman treatise and Book III (Venice, 1540) addresses similar concerns. Books I and II (Paris, 1545) concern Serlio’s theories on geometry and perspective, while Book V (Paris, 1547) provides practical suggestions for the contemporary church architect. These didactic texts enabled both the trained and untrained architect to master basic architectural principles. In emphasizing the eye’s keen awareness of architectural expression, Serlio expanded the architectural field beyond the buildings and motifs he selected for his treatise. Serlio implicitly encouraged practitioners to create their own archive of structural details that they could draw upon in their designs.

Galeazzo Alessi demonstrated a similar knowledge through creatively integrating alternating triangular and segmental pediments, small secondary windows, and an abstract planar façade on Villa Giustinian-Cambiaso’s southern front. Alessi’s relationship to Serlian precedent presents a paradox. At the same time as Alessi contributed to a theory of architectural evolution, his designs bore unorthodox elements that did not adhere to the increasingly codified language of classicism that Serlio used.

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257 Payne, pp. 134. Payne asserts that “Serlio’s language displays his sharp eye for the expressive tectonics of ornamental assemblages.”

258 Ibid, pp. 141-42. Payne suggests that Serlio’s ornamental theory relied upon the natural sciences, specifically a theory of species evolution, in an attempt to classify which architectural hybrids were successful and unsuccessful. In turn, successful designs were hybrids that combined preexisting forms so they were rendered natural.
The most striking parallel between Alessian and Serlian design principles may be found in the second book on perspective and its related appendix on stage set design. Both Genoese topography and Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso enact descriptions in this chapter.\(^{259}\) Indeed, the coastal plain in which Genoa sits resembles Serlio’s amphitheatre design (Fig. 64), which the author places audience members along a rising vertical axis that situates the socio-economic elite at its top.\(^{260}\) The city of Genoa (Fig. 65) was a dense medieval cluster, but, from the 1550s, the wealthy began to colonize the three surrounding hills with homes and churches that asserted their authority over the city’s citizens. In turn, the nobili and others adhering to the doppia residenza scheme held two gazes, one of distance and the other proximity, that granted them a more totalized perspective than even the scenographic analogy implies. The elite were actors as well as observers able to look back into as well as live within Genoa.

Furthermore, the stage provided a small space in which endless potential scenes could occur. In such a performance arena, man-made architectural and spatial divisions created relationships between human figures and their structured environments. The limited space Serlio detailed resembles the topographic restrictions placed upon Genoese growth. As previously mentioned, a comparison of de Grassi’s map with Ignazio Danti’s fresco of Genoa depicts extensive expansion beyond its medieval walls (Fig. 66). The Genoese first confronted and then challenged Serlio’s conclusion concerning a given theatre’s potential: “The larger the place, the more the theatre can assume its perfect shape.”\(^{261}\) Thus, the Genoese embellished their city to conceal its physical limitations. Moreover, in De re

\(^{259}\) Serlio, vol. 1, pp. 37-93.

\(^{260}\) Ibid, pp. 84-85.

\(^{261}\) Ibid, pp. 84.
aedificatoria, Alberti claims that urban architecture should have a degree of austerity. Endemic to a city’s limited space, greater literal and symbolic adjacencies existed between public and private, elite and common concerns. Alberti subsequently contrasts urban and suburban homes. Villas do not occupy strictly bounded spaces and could cultivate a more playful, diverting aesthetic.\footnote{Alberti, 294. “The ornament to a town house ought to be far more sober in character, whereas in a villa the allures of license and delight are allowed. Another difference is that with a town house the boundary of the neighboring property imposes many constraints that may be treated with greater freedom in a villa.”}

The construction of both Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso and the Strada Nuova, a street inserted into the eastern city center, demonstrates the theoretical and practical differences between urban and suburban architectural interventions in mid-Cinquecento Genoa, while also elucidating the greater success of Alessi’s villa.\footnote{Marina Firpo, \textit{Via Garibaldi: la “strada nuova” rinascimentale} (Genoa: Sagep, 1997).}

The Strada Nuova (Fig. 67) was an urban intervention that broadened and ennobled a formerly compact medieval district within Genoa. Renovation of the street and the palazzi that lined its two sides (Fig. 68) began in 1550 and lasted until 1588. The design was intended to link the medieval core of Genoa with the city’s more peripheral eastern sections, forging a new space where nobles competed to construct the most elegant Renaissance palazzo. Vasari attributed the design to Alessi, but architectural historians have since questioned Vasari and several other sixteenth-century sources, while stressing Alessi’s influence on the Strada Nuova.\footnote{Vasari, pp. 7-9.} As noted by George Gorse, the Strada Nuova resembles Serlian tragic set design (Fig. 69).\footnote{Gorse, “A Classical Stage for the Old Nobility,” p. 301 and 303.} A receding linear perspective cut past numerous houses, which were owned by high-ranking citizens like the characters in a tragedy. Detail does not,
however, decline near the end of the street as if on a stage but rather extends for its entirety.²⁶⁶ Painted and rusticated, each palatial façade advertised its patron’s wealth and status for both visitors and passersby.

An ironic implication of the Serlian allusion stems from its tragic referent: along the Strada Nuova, Genoa attempted compete with Rome and other Italian cities, yet, in the view of historians, its aesthetic fell short of its stylistic predecessors because of its largely mimetic qualities.²⁶⁷ What truly distinguished the Genoese, in spite of their desire to surpass other regional Italian architectures, was their financial success. The Strada Nuova, then, allowed each home to function as an actor in a socio-economic drama enabled by an elite who could fund such grand projects. Exemplifying the pan-European influence of architectural treatises and their limiting proscriptive contents, totalizing designs like the Strada Nuova represented the initial stages of an architectural fossilization that halted stylistic evolution for several centuries. Indeed, Renaissance and Baroque innovation succumbed to a neoclassical taste that was preoccupied with the orthodox reapplication of preexisting forms, a concern that pervaded the continent until the nineteenth-century emergence of engineering.²⁶⁸ The Strada Nuova palazzi followed textual precedent rather than actualizing new designs, one of the many indications that Alessi did not design the street.

Palazzo Nicolosio Lomellino, constructed from 1563 to 1569 and designed by the Lombard architect Il Bergamasco (Giovanni Battista Castello), was one of many palatial

²⁶⁶ Serlio, vol. 1, p. 88.

²⁶⁷ Mimesis here refers to the ways in which textually transmitted knowledge affected architecture.

structures along the Strada Nuova. Its internal and external decorative systems testify to the funnelling of newfound Genoese wealth into architecture. The palazzo’s primary façade (Fig. 70) sits on the Strada Nuova and places its four storeys underneath a conventional Genoese hipped roof. Each storey consists of five windows framed by ornamental all’antica figures, garlands, and other sculptural details, which were painted a deep blue to contrast the opaque stone carvings. These decorative elements only slightly project from the façade’s otherwise flattened plane rather than undulating to create a dynamic planar mass as at Villa Giustinian-Cambiaso. Cornices and pilasters further divide each storey.

Furthermore, the sculptural figures on the façade (Fig. 71) demonstrate an atavistic manipulation of the human figure; they do not follow the more realistic conventions of High Renaissance representation and reduce the forms to their most basic elements. This public front establishes motifs carried throughout the interior spaces. Stucco figures hanging from the roof of the oval entrance hall (Fig. 72) vaguely allude to an idealized classical past. Their forms do not bear the abstraction inherent to Alessian design. Rather, these internal sculptural elements demonstrate that the palazzo’s design and construction periods lacked both premeditation and the proper degree of artistic refinement.

Unlike Galeazzo Alessi, whose villa bore traces of the Albertian architect’s rigorous design process, Il Bergamasco and Palazzo Nicolosio Lomellino exhibit general reasons why Genoese architecture remains relatively undiscussed: both patrons and architects in the city

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270 Salzer, p. 29. The tetto alla Genovese, or the local hipped roof, was a hallmark of Genoese architectural design.
ignored practical precepts made clear in *De re aedificatoria*.\textsuperscript{271} Alberti demanded that every structural detail on a building undergo extensive consideration to be correctly placed and emphasized. Each element, in turn, relies upon its relation to the building as whole. Details bespeak the general success or failure of an entire building and, for Alberti, focusing on structural and functional concerns ensures that an executed design will not bear traces of deformity.\textsuperscript{272} At Palazzo Nicolosio Lomellino, the internal and external decorative systems create a negative effect because they contribute to a palace whose parts remain undifferentiated from one another. On a more personal note, Alberti advises architects to consider the implications of every commission upon his personal reputation.\textsuperscript{273} Such forethought goes hand in hand with the numerous intellectual capacities and extensive learnedness required during the planning process.\textsuperscript{274} The palazzo’s design does not indicate that Il Bergamasco worked through classical and modern precedents prior executing his design. In fact, Palazzo Nicolosio Lomellino demonstrates a preoccupation with overabundant details that undercut the principal functional role the building served—to

\textsuperscript{271} Alberti, pp. 313-19. Although Alberti discusses the architectural profession throughout *De re aedificatoria*, the conclusion to Book IX contains the most extensive suggestions for architectural practice. Alberti frequently wavers between theoretical and practical concerns, but here he strikes a salient, knowing tone unburdened by asides.

\textsuperscript{272} “Although the prime concern of such precautions seems to be structure and use, they are almost all such that if ignored they will lead to considerable deformities. The method of decoration ought to be precies and, above all, unencumbered...Moreover, make sure that no part of the work is neglected or wanting in craftsmanship; but I would not make everything uniformly ornate and rich in ornament—variety is as useful as quantity...Here you should avoid mixing worthless with precious, large with minute, or tight and narrow with diffuse and expansive...All should be composed with such method and order that not only do they view one with another to ennoble the work, but one could not exist on its own, nor maintain its dignity without the other” (Ibid, pp. 313-314).

\textsuperscript{273} Alberti, p. 318-19.

\textsuperscript{274} Ibid, p. 317. Alberti stresses the importance of an architect’s knowledge of painting and mathematics.
house its residents and their guests. Although Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s southern front announced the significance of Luca Giustiniani, Alessi’s design highlighted the private functional demands of a villa immersed in a natural and sacred landscape. Palazzo Nicolosio Lomellino, on the other hand, acted much like the other palaces along the Strada Nuova and dramatically presented their patrons. While the various palaces’ architects adhered to the difference between urban and suburban styles—inserting a less innovative, more planar architecture into Genoa proper—the desire for fame over function rendered the palazzo less effective that Alessi’s earlier villa.

Both the Strada Nuova and Palazzo Nicolosio Lomellino established one half of a new Genoese relationship between city and country. In suburban Albaro, the design and construction of Villa Giustinian-Cambiaso signified an impulse to modernize the existent medieval aesthetic of Genoa, which became more widespread along the Strada Nuova. The doppia residenza scheme reified the interconnected character of Genoese urban and suburban architecture during this period. A more modern style first appeared in Albaro and then moved into the city. Genoese financial gain supported this stylistic evolution to assert Genoa’s re-emergent prosperity.

Upon comparing the villa’s southern, sea-facing façade (Fig. 73) with Palazzo Nicolosio Lomellino’s Strada Nuova front, the desires of Genoese patrons crystallize and the Serlian influences upon the villa come into focus. Not only does the hilltop siting of the villa

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275 “Even if everything has to be done for the sake of ornament, yet he should furnish the building in such a way that you would not deny that utility was the principal motive. And I would approve of any new invention that incorporates the established rules of ancient buildings as well as the ingenuity of modern contrivance” (Ibid, p. 316).

276 Ibid, pp. 318-19. Alberti warns architects against projects with patrons who desire fame and, moreover, against projects through which an architect explicitly seeks to establish fame.

277 Ackerman, The Villa, pp. 9-34. Typically architectural innovation moved from the city to the country and villa architecture was emblematic of urban wealth spreading into former agricultural land.
reflect the high seats occupied by elites within an amphitheatre, but Alessi also ironically situated villa at the conclusion of a conventionally natural, or satiric, visual corridor. This set design precedent (Fig. 74) associated Giustiniani with the lowly rather than elite classes. The character of the Serlian scene indicates the villa’s removal from dense urban surroundings and subverts its appropriateness “for generous, liberal, and wealthy noblemen who hate foul avarice” in favor of the rustic characters found in satires. In doing so, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso was further removed from potentially threatening members of the traditional nobility. Moreover, Alessi gave the villa a legible architectural system that hewed closer to Serlio’s suggestions than the aforementioned palazzo. Ornamentation, for sixteenth-century architects the classical orders, creates beauty based upon a given project’s potential, which is determined by the skill of the architect, successful siting, and proportional perspectival relations to its surroundings as well as its total form. Alessi’s design attests to a successful execution of these tasks and starkly contrasts the rich but undifferentiated mass of Palazzo Nicolosio Lomellino.

Only the frontal façade of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso bears a high relief that constructed a reciprocal view between the sea and the villa. Shadows cast across the southern façade as well as the surrounding greenery (Figs. 75 and 76) further render the villa visible from afar. Here Alessi contrasted the central bay with two flanking sides through a

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278 Serlio, vol. 1, p. 90.

279 Ibid, pp. 78-9. Serlio provides two generalized suggestions for ornamentation that relate to Alessi’s design. The first tenet, one which runs throughout his treatise, states that “the extent of its (a given design’s) utility—great or small—is dependent upon the extent—great or small—of a man’s judgment” (Ibid, 78). The second tenet relies upon the relative placement of ornamentation in relation to its position within a perspectival system: “He (the architect) should always use his discernment and judgement in choosing the members, which will, on the works, give a more beautiful result to the eye, because (in fact) there may be some cornices whose ‘view’ is so high that the members below the corona get lost…” (Ibid, 79).
rhythmic interplay between masses. The recessed center was distinguished from the two sides through the creative application of the classical orders. Superimposed, doubled pilasters frame the side bays’ windows, while single pilasters divide the arches and windows of the central bay. The orders were hybridized and did not reflect either their conventional placement or forms. The lower level bears modified Doric columns with Tuscan bases, but retains the canonical Doric entablature with alternating triglyphs and metopes that sit between the architrave and cornice.\textsuperscript{280} The second storey’s Composite pilasters also rest on pedestals and support an entablature. Alessi skipped from the most basic orders, the Roman Tuscan and Doric Greek, to the most complex, the Roman Composite. The resulting façade combines austerity and luxury as well as the columns’ Greek and Roman ancestry on a single surface.\textsuperscript{281} Alessi’s orders construct a symbolically charged plane that projects a dual image—as implied by the columns, of classical influence and of modern invention—onto approaching viewers.\textsuperscript{282} The absence of identifiable orders on the eastern and western façades only undergirds the unorthodox character of the southern face and suggests that Alessi expressed his patron’s private demands through subversive stylistic means. The orders indicate the hybrid style that Alessi runs throughout the villa, alternating \textit{all’antica} and abstracted modern walls and rooms.


\textsuperscript{281} As mentioned in chapter two, Alessi likely drew inspiration for such a design from Michelangelo’s unexecuted façade for the Church of San Lorenzo in Florence.

\textsuperscript{282} This motif of doubling represents the hybrid architectural system as a whole—\textit{all’antica} and modern—that Alessi alternated on the villa’s public, ceremonial (northern and southern) and private (eastern and western) sides. Cf. James S. Ackerman, “Style,” in \textit{Distance Points}, pp. 3-22.
On the other hand, the stairs and arches on the frontal façade correspond to examples from Serlio’s second book, which demands both forms to be constructed in a proportional relationship with human figures.\(^{283}\) Two stair types (Fig. 77), part of a single structure, lead to the villa’s formal entrance. The first permits ascent from three potential directions; the second leads from the left and right sides of the first flight along two axes and more rigidly defines the movement as well as perspectives of individual visitors.\(^{284}\) These two linear progressions conclude beneath an arched entryway, which conflates architecture, human figure, and topography.\(^{285}\) Each of the three arches in the entrance loggia has a corresponding door, while a coffered, rounded niche hangs between each arch and doorway. Alessi juxtaposes the blocky doors, overhung by cornices supported by paired herms, with subtly curving niches to create an elastic yet compressed entrance portico that radiates energy and reflects the other doubled formal relationships on the façade. A dynamism partially engaged with antiquarian architectural culture dominates the villa’s public front and lends it a lively character that first draws individuals up the hill and then encourages them to enter the villa.

Despite parallels between Serlian and Alessian design, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso actively engages with architectural culture beyond the textual influence. Alessi constructed a southern façade that plays upon the potential of a single plane to forge a face redolent of its patron, location, and their historical positions. Paradoxically, the front façade does not establish an archive of details that Alessi extensively employed on the other three sides, which suggests that more conventional elements were intended to seduce viewers. The stark,

\(^{283}\) Serlio, vol. 1, p. 62.

\(^{284}\) Ibid, pp. 70-76.

\(^{285}\) Ibid, p. 62. The “arch as a body” here functions as an entrance.
reductive linearity of the eastern and western walls more explicitly articulates the ambiguous and modern socio-economic position held by Luca Giustiniani. Moreover, these two façade types indicate that the villa feeds into the *doppia residenza* scheme because the home bore two distinct functions as a personal oasis, legible on the eastern and western fronts, and as a public forum for his beliefs, legible on the southern and northern fronts. Surprisingly, the frontal façade holds no clear precedents in Italian villa or *palazzo* typology. Alessi thereby indicates the Genoese dialectic between city and country necessitated an atypical architecture in the case of its unique patron.

Instead, Alessi, as discussed in chapter two, gave the villa a commanding presence more characteristic of church design. A drawing for Michelangelo’s unexecuted façade for the Florentine Church of San Lorenzo (Fig. 78) handles both the corners, with pilasters that hang over actual columnar supports, and the application of orders, superimposed on a raised wall plane that sits set out from its two side corners, similarly to Alessi’s southern façade. Although Michelangelo moved the second storey inward from the entablature line unlike Alessi, the parallel suggests the religiosity of the villa far more than other residential precedents emphasize aspects of the patron’s leisure or professionalism. Therefore, the southern façade functions like an applied mask or plane that intimates its proximity to ancestral connections between the Giustiniani clan and Franciscan piety. The eastern and western walls function much like the side walls of a church—less public and ceremonial—and bolster the villa’s topophilic implications.

On a more conceptual level, the emergent modernity of mid-Cinquecento Genoa actualizes itself on Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s front face. Its doubled forms signal the transition of Genoa, Italy, and Europe from the medieval to the modern era. The fiscal capital that fueled its construction came from both papal and diplomatic positions and
further establishes the home’s function as a bridge between periods conversely dominated by pan-European Catholic hegemony and international political expansion. Moreover, the bookishness exhibited by the southern façade, which comes from Alessi’s access to textual and built templates, figures the villa as a product of the printing press, which expanded the amount of accessible information.\footnote{“Buildings do not travel, so people had to. A new availability of trustworthy, portable, and inexpensive printed images of architecture greatly facilitated the imitative task of Renaissance architects” (Carpo, p. 6).} The Strada Nuova resulted from similar forces, but its \textit{palazzi} remain less complicated because of their singularly self-aggrandizing purpose. The Genoese dialectic between urban and suburban locales reflects a dynamic movement from overt self-presentation to elusive self-definition, at least at Villa Giustinianian-Cambiaso where the most personally expressive architectural elements were not included on the public front. Ironically, the subtler, more cohesive Villa Giustinianian-Cambiaso prefaced the Strada Nuova and demonstrated not only the inability to integrate formal play into an urban context but also the overpowering Genoese desire for fame above function.

Galeazzo Alessi’s design proudly inscribed both textual influence and stylistic innovation onto the southern marble as well as eastern and western stone façades rather than succumbing to the doubt characteristic of the late Renaissance.\footnote{Bouwsma, pp. 179-97. Such doubt led to architectural repetition rather than innovation.} Alessi’s villa was built in a period plagued by the anxiety of classical influence while also subsuming the limitations presented by his Genoese patron under a dualistic architectural frame.\footnote{Brothers, pp. 52-60. A productive discussion of Michelangelo’s relation to archaeological investigations of classical monuments reveals further parallels between Alessi and his better-known counterpart. Indeed, “it is not so much that he [Michelangelo, but, by implication, Alessi as well] is subtracting information as dragging the forms away from their specific associations” (Ibid, 52). Although this analysis, at least in part, runs counter to my discussion of the \textit{piano nobile} loggia in chapter 2, I would counter that the implication of antiquarian allusion concerned Luca Giustinianian far more than Alessi based upon the innovative synthesis present on the southern façade.} When compared to
Palazzo Nicolosio Lomellino, the lack of figural decoration suggests that Alessi sought to more creatively construct proportional relationships between visitors, architectural space, and nature: he doubled columns, stairs, and pediments to signify a dually classical and modern intention and, moreover, he emphasized window and loggia openings to favor nature over enclosure. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiasso’s topographic relation to the ecclesiastical matrix in Albaro undergirds its stylistic significance, which bore a primarily sacred allusiveness related to spiritual purgation via ascent. These issues point one towards a closer inspection of Alessian design and its ability to express Luca Giustiniani’s demands.

(c) The Alessian Gaze: Il Libro dei Misteri and a Cartographic Vision of Landscape

An obvious historical disjunction occurs when considering Il Libro dei Misteri, which was composed between 1563 and 1568, in relation to Villa Giustiniani-Cambiasso.289 The Milanese Giacomo d’Adda commissioned Galeazzo Alessi to redesign the Sacro Monte at Varallo, a site established by the Franciscan monk Bernardino Caimi in 1486.290 Il Libro dei Misteri


290 Many Anglo-Saxon and Italian art and architectural historians have handled the Sacro Monte at Varallo, especially its early Franciscan history. The following articles and books represent several but certainly not all productive sources concerning the first sacro monte: Alessandro Nova, “Popular Art in Renaissance Italy: Early Response to the Holy Mountain at Varallo,” in Reframing the Renaissance: Visual Culture in Europe and Latin America, 1450-1640, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 112-126 and 319-321; William Hood, “The Sacro Monte of Varallo: Renaissance Art and Popular Religion,” in Monasticism and the Arts, ed. Timothy Verdon and John W. Cook (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1984), pp. 291-311; Damiano Pomi, La parola si fa arte: luoghi e significati del Sacro Monte di Varallo (Milan: Jaca Book, 2008); Ryan Gregg, “The Sacro Monte of Varallo as a Physical Manifestation of the Spiritual Exercises,” Athanor 22 (2004): 49-55. This brief but effective article signals a historiographical gap in scholarship on the Sacro Monte at Varallo. Gregg posits that the post-Tridentine addition of grilles follows tenets proposed by Carlo Borromeo’s aesthetic treatise, Instructiones fabricae et supellectilis ecclesiasticae (1577). Claiming that the intervention altered pilgrims’ spatial experience, the grilles established a new hierarchy of artistic forms that paralleled divisions between ecclesiasts and laypersons that were mandated by the Council of Trent and further discussed in the 1577 treatise. The emphasis placed upon the experiential history of the site provides a significant gateway for my own research for Borromeo implemented reforms that directly contradict those proposed by Alessi in the 1560s.
Misteri contains drawings and descriptions of these designs. Although the majority of Alessi’s designs were not executed because post-Tridentine reform opposed them, the two volumes demonstrate a clear understanding of ecclesiastical architecture and its relationship to landscape as well as the human figure. Sited atop a hill like the villa, the chapels also conflate visitors, architectural enclosures, and topography. At Varallo, Alessi forged a totalized system that furnished pilgrims with the means to individual repentance. The sacred implications desired by Luca Giustiniani received more direct attention in the later books; however, given that Alessi was designing several ecclesiastical structures concurrent with the villa, principles similar to those employed in Il Libro dei Misteri factored into his conception of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso. Not only detailed catalogs of the hillside at Varallo and the relationship between individual buildings but also internal and external elevations of the chapels reveal that Alessi included earlier stylistic choices in later designs. Alessi’s experience had extensively grown since 1548 and, as a result, Il Libro dei Misteri reflects the mature forms of many incipient elements found at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso. As the sole complete text attributed to Alessi, Il Libro dei Misteri provides a key to understanding the design principles that led to Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s successful realization.

The initial pages of Il Libro dei Misteri illustrate the entire mountain, beginning with an entryway and the Chapel of Adam and Eve, and track the ascent pilgrims would make to the mountaintop (Fig. 79). Alessi situated both his proposed chapels and the pre-existing

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structures along interconnected paths that suggest His Sacro Monte complex would enhance preexisting symbolic and formal relations. In following the biblical narratives of Christ and the Virgin, the Sacro Monte already adhered to a clear iconographic program that Alessi furthered by making each chapel visible from the previous one (Fig. 80). The Sacro Monte culminated in a Chapel of the Resurrection. After pilgrims left this chapel, they walked into a piazza from which they could look down at the hill they climbed and the chapels through which they passed. The visual corridors constructed at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso remain far less direct: the villa was Alessi’s sole intervention into the landscape and its relative success hinged upon implicit connections to distant natural and structural referents like the sea and San Francesco d’Albaro. The 1548 design suggests that Alessi hoped the villa’s allusive potentials would not have gone unnoticed by Luca Giustiniani or other Genoese citizens. In fact, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s siting resembled that of the Sacro Monte at Varallo because the villa sat atop a hill and near a piazza fronted by both San Francesco d’Albaro and Santa Maria del Prato. Farther down the hill, on the cusp of the sea, were two more ecclesiastical structures. Nothing beyond the gaze offered from the villa’s façades integrated the earlier site with these four structures and the natural surroundings, but the patron’s desire for pious leisure at the conclusion of a physically demanding journey connects Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso to the Sacro Monte. Il Libro dei Misteri demonstrates that Alessi

292 Leatherbarrow, pp. 200-234. The seventh chapter of Topographical Stories concerns the redefinition of topography in relation to Alessian praxis (the expressive potential of his drawings), which, Leatherbarrow argues, demonstrates a keen awareness of previous inscriptions upon the landscape and proposes radically productive means to embellish Varallo.

considered siting and the relation between structures prior to designing buildings themselves, thereby fulfilling Albertian precepts concerning the relation between natural and architectural proportions as well as an extended pre-construction phase.\textsuperscript{294} Such foresight was integral at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso because Luca Giustiniani appears to have desired that Alessi make his association with nearby buildings and landscapes explicit. The villa occupied a position that indicates Alessi considered the topographic and architectural matrix into which the villa would be inserted to maximize its potential.

Moreover, the private devotional character that typified Genoese citizens from the late medieval period undergirds the siting.\textsuperscript{295} Although the Archbishop of Genoa retained a significant amount of sovereignty during the Renaissance, residents of the Republic increasingly resisted public worship as a result of the close ties between corrupt Genoese political authorities and local ecclesiasts. Luca Giustiniani’s villa sits at the conclusion of a visual corridor that suggests that he his private devotional life transcended the proximate but less elevated religious structures. Similarly, the designs for Varallo encouraged an individualistic understanding of pilgrimage, but reasoning displeased post-Tridentine ecclesiasts that wanted to separate Catholic authorities from laypersons. Therefore, Alessi’s most salient design principle—his keen eye for creating structures individualized for a patron but dynamically engaged with most if not all visitors—was ironically the reason Catholic authorities halted construction of the proposed chapels. Although Michelangelo conflated architecture and the human figure in designs like the Laurentian Library (Fig. 81), Alessi extended these experiments to more directly relate visual experience to the fluid boundary he

\textsuperscript{294} Alberti, pp. 301-5 and 313-19.

\textsuperscript{295} Epstein, p. 187.
constructed between internal and external architectural systems.\textsuperscript{296} Therefore, it comes as no surprise that \textit{Il Libro dei Misteri} contains numerous chapel designs without the orders (Fig. 82). These drawings reduce the attention paid to pre-existing styles and emphasize a reductive linear geometry fluidly interacting with topography rather than mediated by the orders.

\textit{Il Libro dei Misteri} contains multiple figural representations, including one pilgrim kneeling in prayer outside a chapel (Fig. 83), demonstrative of Alessi’s primary architectural value, which was making space accessible and expressive. The solitary nature of the pilgrim’s communion exhibits an ideology directly opposed to the communal, ritualistic, and institutional character of Catholic worship following the Council of Trent. Cardinal Carlo Borromeo and others sought to divide the spaces that ecclesiasts and laypersons occupied within churches to assert the supremacy of Catholic dogma and the ability of the Church to withhold worship from dissidents.\textsuperscript{297} The figure looks heavenward, contemplating divine subjects and his mortal fate without the aid of an ecclesiast. Moreover, imbedded within the surrounding natural landscape, the pilgrim aims to attain spiritual revelation outside of institutional chapel space. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso articulated a similar understanding of devotional space by placing the villa in relation to preexisting sacred sites, applying ecclesiastical architectural motifs to the frontal façade, and allowing the villa to exist at the culmination of an arduous climb that evoked both the contemporary \textit{sacro monte} craze in addition to medieval and ancient notions of pilgrimage. The villa invoked the power of landscape as a call for political engagement and devotion like Alessi’s Perugian work. Villa

\textsuperscript{296} Brothers, pp. 154-203. The fourth chapter, “Architecture as Subject,” demonstrates the paradoxical relationship embodied by the Laurentian Library design, which functions more as a subject than an encasement for visitors. Its dynamism is, however, entirely internal, whereas Alessi’s designs tend to extend similar architectural systems from interior to exterior or natural spaces.

\textsuperscript{297} Gregg, pp. 50-51.
Giustiniani-Cambiaso furthers such ideologies internally by inserting vistas that encouraged individuals to refer to nature instead of relying upon conventional architectural forms to acquire meaning from their spatial experience. Beyond their chronological and geographical distance, the desires of Luca Giustiniani and Milanese Catholic authorities represent the primary disjunction between Alessi’s first Genoese villa and his proposals for Varallo.

Whereas Luca Giustiniani chose Alessi for his integrative understanding of architectural style and his responsiveness to topography, Carlo Borromeo rejected Alessi along the same lines. *Il Libro dei Misteri*, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, Rocca Paolina, and other Alessian designs open traditionally inward-looking spaces onto their external environments. Alessi calls upon the patrons and visitors of these sites to comprehend how the outside world penetrated interior spaces that enclose everyday and religious rituals. Drawings of the interior of Cappella del Paralitico from *Il Libro dei Misteri* (Figs. 84 and 85) illustrate the three conventions Alessi employed to open interior space at Varallo. Although not all of these elements appear at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, they demonstrate the mature stage of Alessian design. First, Alessi called for illusionistic images and windows to be frescoed on the chapel’s walls. Rolling hills on either side of the doorway from the preceding chapel (Fig. 78) depicted idealized natural settings that resembled the environment beyond the walls. Actual windows also opened the chapel up and imbued the biblical scene with natural light through both the wall behind the frozen sculptural narrative (Fig. 84) and above the aforementioned doorway. Finally, Alessi provided each chapel with two doors that led pilgrims along a predetermined path. A drawing of an entryway from Cappella della Vedova (Fig. 80) develops these motifs. It includes two painted windows, which look onto pastoral antiquarian landscapes littered with Roman bridges in addition to chapels like those

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298 Only the door from the preceding chapel was included for this example.
at Varallo. Moreover, the illusionistic windows frame a door that opens onto the Sacro
Monte’s terrain.

Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso less literally demonstrates the characteristics illustrated in
*Il Libro dei Misteri*. Alessi designed an axial progression that emphasized movement and
began with a monumental entryway that marked the conclusion of one’s approach. Every
room looked onto surrounding landscapes. One’s succession through the villa culminated on
the *piano nobile* and stressed the relation between the staircase landing, the *piano nobile* loggia,
and the western wall that faced San Francesco d’Albaro. Moreover, on the second storey, the
visual connection between the mountains behind and the sea in front of the villa concluded.
Alessi had, however, indicated the significant relation between topographic meaning and the
villa through the four façades’ differentiated massing and the benches adjacent to windows
on the *piano terreno*. At Albaro, Alessi stressed the accessibility and allusiveness of nearby
Franciscan structures, the northwestern Apennines, and the seascape to reference the
political, economic, and religious character of his patron. The primarily public function of
Varallo was accompanied by the complicated motives that preoccupied its Catholic patrons.
The unrealized designs imply that Alessi’s sensibility was better suited to private patrons who
did not have the ideological imperatives of a religious institution influencing their
architectural taste.

Regardless, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso encouraged both the Giustiniani family and
their visitors to experience and then consider the implications of the villa’s direct—adjacent
or visible topographic and architectural sites—and indirect—the meaning imbedded within
the various sites—referents. Only from inside Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso could visitors
realize the full reality of its architectural system: the villa integrated rather than removed its
patron from Albaro’s suburban fabric. Such interior revelations contrasted the emphasis
placed on exterior relationships in *Il Libro dei Misteri*. While Varallo hinged upon the interconnection of multiple chapels, as well as the experience pilgrims had progressing from chapel to chapel, the Giustiniani estate consisted of a single building and invested its meaning within four structural walls from which an implied gaze integrated nature and architecture. The two designs converge at the concept of movement: Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso and Varallo were contingent upon the experience individuals had as they approached, entered, and progressed through Alessi’s designs. Galeazzo Alessi thus aimed to create an architecture so suffused in and responsive to nature that individual experience acquired a narrative quality.

Whereas the Sacro Monte at Varallo site delineates biblical stories and conflates them with the archetypal Christian narrative of ascending a mountain, the Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso follows a simple topographic progression that builds upon the visual connections created by its architectural system and references the same allusive ascent as Varallo. One first climbed the hill to reach the villa and, upon entering through the southern front, underwent a progression that reenacted its geographic location, which was alluded to by Luca Cambiaso’s *Diana and Apollo* frescoes and highlighted by the vistas from the staircase and the *piano nobile* loggia. On the second storey, northern and southern light cuts through the *piano nobile* loggia and *sala grande*. This invisible axis draws the two primary features of Genoese topography, the southern sea and northern Apennine Mountains, into Luca Giustiniani’s villa and connects one to the other. Added to these general meanings was the western San Francesco d’Albaro. On the whole, the eastern and western axes serve both a more functional and more intimate symbolic purpose: they contained stairs that one ascended and descended much like the diurnal movement of the sun and the moon. Therefore, Alessi constructed an architectural compass rose, relating internal spatial
dynamics to geographical conditions that determined the historical Genoese ethos and the
caracter of Luca Giustiniani. This distinctly Alessian impulse brings one back to the maps
at the beginning of Il Libro dei Misteri. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso inserted itself into Genoese
mental maps with a commanding frontal façade that captured the attention of both visitors
and passersby. Furthermore, the villa forged visual links from its interior to architecturally
and topographically significant sites in Albaro and Genoa. The axial progression reflected its
relative openness to these proximate locales, while allegorical frescoes and abstracted designs
further delineated the four cardinal directions.

Galeazzo Alessi, then, demonstrated a cartographic impulse at Villa Giustiniani-
Cambiaso. With Rocca Paolina and his other Perugian commissions, Alessi opened the
domestic space of ecclesiasts onto natural and built environments to dissolve authoritative
barriers between laypersons and Catholic officials. Il Libro dei Misteri extended the diffusion
of interior and exterior space across a landscaped architectural system. These drawings
document Alessi’s unique means of making his architecture accessible and legible: he altered
the predetermined narrative progression of the pilgrims to allow individuals moments of
self-reflection. He began with an impulse to relate his designs to their surroundings and then
chose details that related his structures to a predetermined relation between topography,
arhitecture, and individual experience. Even if Alessi never explicitly drew a complex
schema for the villa, his oeuvre displays the impulse to map a landscape and then place a
building within its most advantageous potential position.

Therefore, Alessian design hinged upon a redefinition of topography that follows an
argument recently made by architectural historian David Leatherbarrow. For both the
contemporary historian and Alessi, the concept of topography extends beyond its equation
with land and “incorporates terrain, both built and unbuilt, but more than that, for it also
includes practical affairs, or their traces...traces [are] of past performances that have sedimented themselves into its [the landscape or topography's] fabric. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso was attuned to the Franciscan as well as subversive secular histories previously enacted on Albaro’s soil; Alessi ensured the architecture would reflect as well as surpass these histories to make a statement worthy of his patron’s demands.

Accomplishments such as the insertion of the villa into suburban Genoa were few and far between even during paradigmatic periods like the Renaissance. Yet, despite its demonstration of a distinct architectural voice, Il Libro dei Misteri suggests one reason why Alessi and his buildings fell out of historical favor: Alessian design relied upon drawing to express his purpose. Architectural knowledge conversely attained codification through publications like Serlio’s treatise, which clearly explicated practical measures for laypersons, architects in training, and masters of the trade. Galeazzo Alessi demonstrated a degree of learnedness and adaptability unrivaled by his predecessors and contemporaries in Il Libro dei Misteri and at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso. Both commissions required a contextual understanding of the topographic conditions and the demands of Alessi’s individual patrons before one could fully appreciate his abstracted designs. Moreover, as suggested by his privileging drawing over written explanations of his design process and his patrons demands, Alessi worked by implication. The legibility of his forms immediately allowed individuals to interact with landscape and architecture, but the motives behind his design decisions

299 Leatherbarrow, p. 13. Alessi further advocates an architecture that, according to Leatherbarrow, bears a strong relation to this definition of topography: “Architecture can discover its topographical sense if it acknowledges essential aspects of landscape phenomena: material variation, temporal unfolding, recessive potential, and an unmatched capacity for unexpected figuration” (Ibid, 14). Leatherbarrow’s introduction sets the stage for his philological approach to questions of architectural phenomenology, a field of academic research that emerged from the University of Essex in the 1970s and centers around the individual sensory experience of buildings and their materials.
remained far less apparent than those conveyed by classical allusions that pervaded mid-
Cinquecento Italian architectural culture.

(d) An Architect at His Structure: Galeazzo Alessi at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso

Beyond its inclusion in Palazzi di Genova, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso appeared in
Massaroli’s 1648 map of Genoa (Fig. 86). The representation does not depict the villa’s
actual form, however, it situates the villa as the sole structure atop a hill in Albaro. The villa’s
placement implies its progressive styles, which emphasized the landscapes of Albaro and
Genoa, revolutionized vernacular tradition and ensured that both Alessi and his villa would
retain a position within the city’s historic fabric. Moreover, Luca Giustiniani was concerned
with the authoritative public and subtler private relationships his villa conveyed. Galeazzo
Alessi executed particular details that lent the villa such meaning: the four façades bear
differing levels of abstraction, while the villa’s internal articulation fluctuates between
flourish and simplicity much like its four faces.

The seaward, southern front playfully undoes conventional motifs, while the three
remaining façades employ abstracted, linear structural elements that contrast the sculptural
refinement of the villa’s most public face. Beyond the previously discussed classical orders,
entry staircase, and tripartite division, Alessi placed triangular pediments above each first
storey window but alternated triangular and segmental pediments above each second storey
window to contrast the lower, Doric order and the upper, Composite order. Smaller
mezzanine windows rested above each larger window and provided an additional natural
light source. Detailing was applied to these mezzanine windows. Three recessed mezzanine
windows, located within the lower storey entryway, contain figural representations that curve
outward, while the lower storey’s remaining, seven smaller windows look like sculpted
picture frames. Furthermore, Alessi trabeated only the southern façade and thus figured it as
a symbolic rather than a functional element of the villa. This decision promoted reading the façade as a discretely applied plane. As previously mentioned, such designs more frequently appeared in church architecture and emphasized the ecclesiastical model that Alessi followed to fulfill his patron’s demands.

The eastern and western façades bear more simplified forms and therefore value function over the declarative monumentality. Their explicit relation to religious and natural leisure—San Francesco d’Albaro to the west and a garden to the east—demonstrates that Alessi characterized the personal needs of Luca Giustiniani as distinctly modern. Nonetheless, the eastern and western façades follow the general axial and symmetrical design Alessi imposed on both the elevations and plan for Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso and exhibit his overall desire for an ordered, geometric structure. Therefore, the abstract, rectangular eastern and western fronts employ slightly projecting panels rather than classical orders or pilasters. This flat pier network upholds an equally reduced entablature; the two became the primary foci of the villa’s eastern and western faces. The eastern wall fronted a garden, no longer extant, and demonstrated the dialogue between architecture and a manicured and regimented landscape. Both the garden and the eastern façade were visible to those traveling west from Pisa to Genoa.\textsuperscript{300} From this perspective, Alessi ensured that the general axiality of the villa was apparent, but withheld the arresting frontal façade until travelers were closer to Genoa. More importantly, Alessi gave Italian travelers a private definition of Luca Giustiniani before they were exposed to his more public face.

Function further overcomes formal precision on the western front, which does not have a tripartite division like its southern and eastern counterparts. The southern and central bays of the western façade follow the established organizational divisions, but its

\textsuperscript{300} Salzer, pp. 59-60.
northernmost bay does not. Looking towards San Francesco d’Albaro and the mountains that separate Genoa from its eastern suburb, the staircase interrupts the western wall’s lower entablature with two marble Doric columns that open into a loggia. Here Alessi clearly demonstrates the purpose of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s design: he sought to expose the interior to its surroundings and willingly sacrifices a regular architectural system to do so. Therefore, the complete unity of four analogously axial, symmetrical, and proportional façades is lost in favor of an abstract analogy between Luca Giustiniani and the pious western topography.  

The northern façade (Fig. 87) extends Alessi’s functional purpose. Although a tripartite division appears here, the piano nobile loggia, which looks north to the Apennine Mountains, dominates the stucco wall. The plasticity of the southern front reappears in paired marble columns on either side of the central bay, signaling the transition from the planar flanking bays to the centralized loggia. Beyond opening to the north, the central bay also reflects the southern entryway one storey below and on the villa’s opposite side with arches and half-domed, semi-circular. These various reverberations emphasize the internal axis forged between views from the northern and southern façades. The piano nobile loggia represents a notable achievement because it introduced the arcaded loggia into the Genoese vernacular. Its potential textual precedent contributes to Alessi’s modernizing impulse by relating stylistic and technological evolutions. Such bookishness would seemingly produce

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301 Subsequent modifications to the structure covered this landing with windows and undid many of the details that Rubens articulated in Palazzi di Genova.

302 Salzer, p. 82. Alessi’s inspiration could have come from Serlio’s first book (1537), which employs an arch motif with proportions similar to those used by Alessi. Serlio also incorporated paired columns connected by a linear entablature through introducing a rectangular motif into the spandrels.

303 Carpo, pp. 11-13.
an inward, self-reflective architecture, yet it ironically opened both Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso to the Albaro’s topography and Genoese style to new means of expression.

Although vernacular villa typology had long looked onto natural landscapes, Alessi added variation, suggestive formal analogies, and abstraction to Genoese architectural vocabulary at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso. He also established a newly regimented relationship to landscape. The loggia openings in the western and northern façades create a visual association between nature and architectural form, but their views are decidedly framed by the architecture enclosing them. Moreover, deep contours run across the front façade and create a contrast between architectural abstraction and natural order that ties Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso to its surroundings more than previous Genoese villas. The interplay of shadow and light isolates the villa from its surroundings, emphasizing the platform and hill atop which it sits, and demands that Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso be read as a meaningful insertion into the fabric of Albaro. Further against vernacular typological precedents, Alessi granted the villa’s interior rather than its garden or an outdoor loggia the most direct connection to Genoese topography.

Moreover, Alessi designed a representational route through the villa that underscores the statement made by its four façades. He had notably arrived in Genoa without having designed either a complete interior or exterior space. His previous interventions at Rocca Paolina and his church designs thus heavily influenced Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s plan. Alessi’s limited previous experience underlines the importance of religious devotion to Luca Giustiniani because all of the architect’s previous patrons held positions in the Catholic Church. The relative degree of internal ornamentation reflects the same principle Alessi employed on the exterior: symbolically charged public forms receive a greater detailing and are interspersed between comparatively restrained connecting spaces. The recessed piano
terreno loggia bears high relief details before giving way to a stark central hall and north room. These two reductive spaces draw visitors forward using light and lead them towards the stairs. On the other hand, when Alessi opens the villa’s interior up to nature, he utilizes a greater degree of ornamentation. The staircase and piano nobile loggia thus contain the most detail of the villa’s internal representational spaces. Although the sala grande concludes the representational axial progression, it minimizes decorative plasticity in favor of planarity and suggests that Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso ultimately finds meaning in implicit visual corridors like the one that runs between the two primary rooms on the piano nobile. A paradoxical relationship between Alessi’s articulation of internal and external spaces thus emerges: where an interior area was lavish, like the stairwell, its corresponding external enclosure, like the western wall, was reductive.\footnote{Likewise, the sala grande bore almost no details, but was fronted by the rich southern façade.} Unfortunately, the non-representational space of the villa, which included living quarters for Luca Giustiniani, his family and his servants, were heavily altered during the subsequent centuries and no longer reflect the Alessian design depicted by Peter Paul Rubens. Scholars have struggled to determine these rooms’ precise functions as a result of the limited documentary history concerning the villa.\footnote{Salzer, pp. 98-102.} Yet an inspection of the identifiable representational rooms indicates that Alessi intended visitors to experience a sacred communion with nature from inside the villa. Galeazzo Alessi created an architectural equilibrium between abstraction and detail that reflected the analogy between architecture and nature.

A closer examination of Alessi’s architectural detailing reveals the success of this system. The dynamic plasticity of the piano terreno loggia leads to the minimal sculptural detail found in both the central hall and north room of the piano terreno. Both rooms emphasize...
structural features that correspond to their primarily functional purpose, leading individuals towards significant viewpoints. In the central hall, paired brackets uphold a cornice above which springing vaults rise. Alessi stresses the significance of light by interrupting the cornice’s vaults along the southern wall where the three mezzanine windows are located. A similar design appears in the north room where thin pilasters support the cornice and semi-circular barrel vaults are decorated with plain coffering. The resulting, grid-like form creates a pared down, geometrical vault and pilaster system that defies the lavish internal support systems often found in villas.\footnote{Villa Madama includes such intricate internal support systems.} Alessi’s later design for the altar barrel vault at the sacristy of San Vittore al Corpo in Milan (Fig. 88) employs a similarly reductive geometry and demonstrates that Alessi considered Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s axial progression akin to movement through ecclesiastical spaces. From the north room, one enters the staircase, whose unconventional design transgresses the church plans Alessi was more used to designing.

The previously discussed staircase contains paired Doric columns on its loggia landing that connect its form to the frontal façade. The inventive application of classical orders characteristic of Alessi here receives further articulation and subverts conventions his mentor Antonio da Sangallo the Younger would have carefully followed. According to Vitruvius’ \textit{De architectura}, the Doric was the first classical order to be created and therefore represented the robust, enduring, and elemental nature of all five orders.\footnote{“…Doric was the first to occur and did so in ancient times./ Dorus, the son of Hellen and the nymph Phthia, ruled Achaea and all of the Peloponnese, and in the ancient city of Argos he built a temple to Juno, a shrine whose shape chanced to be of this type. Thereafter, in other cities of Achaea he built other temples of the same type, although the principle of its symmetries had not yet come along”\cite[Vitruvius, p. 54].} Vitruvius stresses the mythological origins of the Doric order and relates it to sites of pagan religious worship
as well as nodes of governmental authority. The sacred and sovereign uses of the Doric constructed a visual control over a landscape that connected Luca Giustiniani’s gaze to San Francesco d’Albaro.

At Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, Alessi does not follow the descriptions of Vitruvius and instead liberally interprets the ancient Roman author’s intentions.  

He hews close to the column’s symbolic potential and synthesizes the political and religious meanings initially described by Vitruvius to make the Doric order fit the representational demands of Luca Giustiniani. Alessi rejected earlier Renaissance architects’ orthodoxy and read Vitruvius, whose descriptions rarely allowed one to reconstruct an entire structure, for open-ended suggestions of how to employ various forms. In turn, the staircase landing’s Doric orders embodied progress rather than stagnation; the Doric order was not traditionally used on landings or second storeys. The appearance of Ionic pilasters in the subsequent piano nobile loggia advances such a reading. The Ionic order corresponds not only to the higher degree of decorative ornamentation in the piano nobile loggia but also the implications of its position as the villa’s geographic centerpiece. Alessi’s Ionic pilasters carry an entablature with a simple pulvinated frieze above which springing arches support a barrel-vaulted ceiling. The all’antica allusions, pervading this room, tie Alessi’s design to the primordial Apennine Mountains through temporal relationships. Both the classical past and the formation of Genoese topography exist in a temporality distinct from the modern present of 1548. Through contrast, Alessi gestures beyond architectural forms to the landscape.

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308 Ibid, pp. 54-55. In Chapter 3 of Book 4, Vitruvius claims that some architects do not like the Doric order when designing temples because its “proportional system was inevitably faulty and inharmonious…it is restrictive and inconvenient in working out the distribution of triglyphs and the spaces between them” (Ibid, 54). He spends the next page and a half delineating the proportional relationships one may construct between the Doric columns as well as their corresponding triglyphs and metopes.
The most elaborate sculptural relief and one of Alessi’s primary stylistic advances at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso occurs in the horizontal zone between the lower entablature and barrel vault of the piano nobile loggia, suggesting that all’antica styles could not exist without adjacent innovations. Alessi inserted paired herms here that extend the vertical support provided by the Ionic pilasters to the upper entablature and barrel vaulting. Both decorative and structural, these herms represent the general purpose of the piano nobile loggia: part of a room connecting the various visual corridors from the villa to nature, they harmonize Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso’s thematic intentions by combining figural and architectural forms. Alessi relieved the herms to a greater degree than was necessary to provide support because the room itself relies upon flourish to emphasize its purpose. Stuccoed decorative motifs (Fig. 87) similarly run throughout the piano nobile loggia and evoke further grandeur. As indicated by these details, Alessi furnished his patron with a representational spatial progression to first stress that, through varying conventional forms, he could create meaning particular to his commission and, then, to manifest the traditional Genoese desire for a relation between villa and landscape in a starkly modern fashion.

Alessian design principles receive both internal and external articulation. Galeazzo Alessi was exposed to mid-Cinquecento Roman architectural culture, particularly the demands of ecclesiasts that commissioned churches and villas. Luca Giustiniani craved a suburban home that delineated the various sources of his wealth and authority, which came from his papal appointments and his private sense of devotion. If Rubens’ drawings represent the original design as presumed here, then Alessi attempted to control public perception of the villa through his commanding frontal façade design and northern piano nobile loggia. The eastern and western walls bore a contrasting sense of abstraction because they had a more personal purpose and subtly defined the modern character of Luca
Giustiniani. The villa afforded Alessi with the unique ability to actualize his understanding of site planning, as demonstrated in *Il Libro dei Misteri*, and his social prowess, exhibited by his understanding of Luca Giustiniani’s complex socio-economic position. At Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, he articulated his awareness of architectural and social fabrics while creating a form whose abstraction suited the hybridity not only of his role as an “intellectual-gentleman-architect,” but also the dually public and private functions Luca Giustiniani wanted to define architecturally.
CONCLUSION. The Misconstrued Legacies of Galeazzo Alessi and Luca Giustiniani’s Villa

It is likely that Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso was initially considered a monstrosity—an illogical combination of forms—by the Genoese. Alberti and Serlio, among others, railed against monstrous structures in their treatises and, despite the praise critics may now lavish upon elements of Galeazzo Alessi’s design, it makes sense that the villa would have been received as a formally incongruous whole. Not only did it defy vernacular typological conventions, but it also railed against pan-Italian villa typologies. No detail better represents the unique character of Alessi’s design than the vertical linear strips on the eastern and western façades because no contemporaneous precedent exists for these reductive, abstract elements that foreshadow the logic of modernist architecture more than they echo mid-Cinquecento Italian building culture. They enact a functional dynamism that the southern, public, and representational façade lacks, gesturing towards the private religiosity that drove Luca Giustiniani to live in Albaro and immerse himself in a natural setting. Moreover, mid-Cinquecento architectural culture valued all’antica allusion above almost all else; architectural treatises may explicitly state converse opinions, but the contemporaneous reception of Galeazzo Alessi’s 1548 design suggests otherwise.

Alessi constructed both conventional and innovative proportional relationships between the human figure, architecture, and nature at Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso. The

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309 “When even the smallest parts of a building are set in their proper place, they add charm; but when positioned somewhere strange, ignoble, or inappropriate, they will be devalued if elegant, ruined if they are anything else. Look at Nature’s own works: if a puppy had an ass’s ear on its forehead, or if someone had one huge foot, or one hand vast and the other tiny, he would look deformed” (Alberti, p. 312). “And because these theories are not so well understood by those who do not have acute ‘judgement’ in architecture, I shall put before them a common comparison from nature…However, if many jewels were placed around her temples, on her cheeks and other parts superfluously, tell me please, would she not be monstrous? Yes, unquestionably. But if a beautiful and well-proportioned woman is, in addition to her beauty, ornamented in the way first mentioned, she will always be praised by men of ‘judgement’” (Serlio, vol. 2, p. 280).
former elements continue to receive praise from architectural historians, while the latter, which gesture at the more complex socio-historical elements of the Genoese context, remain unsung. Further complicating the villa’s initial reception was the relatively conservative nature of Genoese architecture. Still stuck in the medieval mindset when Alessi arrived in 1548, Genoese visitors likely met both the all’antica and modern elements of the villa with opposition. The city’s subsequent architectural history reveals as much: only small details from Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso were repeated in later Renaissance villas and palazzi, while the overall structure was never employed again.\textsuperscript{310} Yet the villa does not represent a monstrosity. It defied Genoese and pan-Italian conventions, but its formal merits come into focus after considering the particular meaning of Albaro’s topography to Luca Giustiniani. Put more simply, the Genoese initially ignored the villa because it was ahead of its time; only once Genoese taste progressed did the villa become accepted as part of the city’s architectural fabric.

The common conception of monstrous births further suggests how and why the Genoese chose to ignore Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso. During the Italian Renaissance, many considered monstrous births—individuals with physical or mental deformities—emblems of divine wrath. Rather than representing the sins of one’s parents, monsters resulted from collective sin and served as God’s means of punishing an entire population.\textsuperscript{311} Physicality, then, mirrored morality and typified an epistemological worldview that pervaded the peninsula until the Counter Reformation.\textsuperscript{312} Although Genoa existed peripherally in Italian mental maps, it was subject to such widespread mindsets. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso

\textsuperscript{310} Salzer, pp. 105-7.


\textsuperscript{312} Ibid, 183.
functioned as an emblem of its patron’s public and private selves; both his ancestral history and his individual successes deviated from Genoese social convention. The villa’s embodiment of Luca Giustiniani corresponded to moral gaps in the city’s government that permitted his transgressive achievements. Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso thus reminded the Genoese of the social, economic, and political forces that prevented a progressive architecture from taking root in Genoa as a whole. Yet, again, this sense of monstrosity falls short when considered in relation to Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso. The Genoese eventually naturalized the villa. They chose to no longer ignore it or, if they read the villa as an emblem of the decaying medieval social hierarchy, they accepted it after recognizing that change had occurred in Genoese society.

The social histories that undergirded contemporaneous opposition to Alessi’s stylistic choices were potent. Luca Giustiniani attained unlikely success in Rome and Genoa after receiving the support of Andrea Doria. The frontal façade of his villa announces his achievements, drawing visitors up the hill and into his home. Genoa existed in a constant state of flux even during “the Age of the Genoese.” Corruption was endemic to the city’s nobili and, though men like Luca Giustiniani signaled a new fluidity in socio-economic classes, the political power conventionally held by the medieval nobility never waned. In the mid-Seicento, Peter Paul Rubens wrote to a friend about these issues:

> The nobility has, in fact, assumed a tyrannical domination, contrary to the oaths and pacts which were solemnly sworn in the late agreements between the nobles and the people, and concluded after long and cruel struggles. …thus they do not want their numbers to increase, lest their new authority be weakened by the participation of many of their equals.313

Taken in light of the continuous political corruption of the Genoese, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso was more than just a unique building. It enacted a history that countered the general course of its broader context. It was not an emblem of a lavish self-presentation that concealed greed or even the self-conscious inferiority endemic to Genoese ethos. In the form of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso, confidence and honesty rested atop a suburban hill.

Galeazzo Alessi’s primary achievement was a topographic one. As a compass rose, the north-south and east-west axes of Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso reflect the public and private mentalities Luca Giustiniani sought to cultivate in relation to various Genoese landscapes. The mapping impulse inherent to the design and present in the finished villa was a mental process that inscribed social meaning upon physical space. Against contemporaneous assumptions, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso did not represent a monster. It signified the transition from the medieval to the modern, from authoritative and unwavering social hierarchies to fluid, talent-based societies, and from an archaeological humanism to a scientific cartography. Above all, Villa Giustiniani-Cambiaso synthesized the demands of a patron with the talents of an architect. History neglected the villa, Giustiniani, and Alessi not because the product of their joint effort failed but because the particularity of their efforts did not easily fit within their historical context.
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