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Grotesque Drawings and Spanish-Italian Empire

Introduction

With the coronation of a Flemish-born Spanish king as Holy Roman Emperor in 1520, a nation recently unified under the Catholic Monarchs became one of many states under the vast and multicultural Spanish Habsburg empire. Within this empire, Spanish interests aligned with those of the Italians culturally, economically, and politically in their shared quest for control over the Mediterranean. Palaces built in Spain and Italy by Charles V and his allies attest to this mutual interest. Decorated with grotesques and scenes of naval battle, these spaces gave visual form to the geopolitical union between Spain and Italy.

This study examines the role of drawings and their itinerant makers as instruments of Charles V's empire. Dispersed between the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Masson collection of the École des Beaux-Arts, and the University of Michigan Museum of Art is a set of twenty-six grotesque drawings attributed to the Spanish painter Andrés de Melgar. Annotated «Julio» and «flamenco» in the same hand, the artist depicts terms and caryatids, satyrs entwined in strapwork, swags, and canopies, hybrid beasts, and monstrous masks. Attributions remain tenuous. What is certain, however, is that the drawings were executed by an anonymous draftsman perpetuating and transforming a tradition of *all'antica* fresco painting developed in Rome and Granada. As intermediaries uniting imperial sites and their patrons, they provide a unique opportunity to examine the visual language of Charles V's empire

and the role of artists in its construction¹.

The Drawings

In 1952, Janoz Scholz sold twenty-two sheets of Spanish ornament drawings to the Metropolitan Museum of Art as part of a group of around 300 mostly sixteenth- and seventh-century Italian works. Four other drawings have since been associated with the group. Following the publication of the University of Michigan's catalogue of architecture and ornament drawings in 1965, Scholz identified a drawing at Ann Arbor attributed to a follower of Nicoletto Rosex da Modena as belonging to the Metropolitan group². Nicole Dacos identified two additional drawings in the Masson Collection at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, and another in an unspecified private collection; in 1997, she attributed the entire group to the Spanish painter Andrés de Melgar³. An unpublished anonymous drawing at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which was initially catalogued as the work of an anonymous Italian, can also be associated with this set⁴. Drawn on laid paper

¹ Research for this article was conducted with the support of a Jane and Morgan Whitney Fellowship at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It also benefited from participation in the Getty workshop, *Habsburgs in Tunis (1535–1574): The Conquest (Fath) of Tunis and New Mediterranean Order, the first of the Black Mediterranean / Mediterraneo Nero, Connecting Art Histories Initiative* sponsored by the Getty Foundation.

² R. WUNDER, *Architectural and Ornament Drawings of the 16th to the Early 19th Centuries in the Collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Art*, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor 1965; J. SCHOLZ, *Agostino Mitelli Drawings and Architectural and Ornamental Drawings*, in «*The Art Quarterly*», 29, n. 2, 1966, pp. 162-163.

³ N. DACOS, *Giulio Aquili, Andres de Melgar et leurs grotesques: Rome, Valladolid, Santo Domingo de la Calzada*, in «*Dialoghi di storia dell'arte*», 1997, 4/5, pp. 24-33.

⁴ This drawing, MMA 52.570.168, was not published by Dacos or Fernando Marías, who discusses the rest of the set in F. Marías, F. Pereda (eds), *Carlos V: Las armas y letras*, Sociedad Estatal para

in primarily pen and shades of brown ink, these twenty-six sheets belonged to a now dismembered sketchbook executed by mainly one hand over time⁵. Most of the pages, which are densely populated with fantastical creatures and classicizing subjects, have been heavily worked over, yet the artist's sketches vary in technique, ink, and finish. While it is impossible to reconstruct the original order of the sketchbook, several subgroups can be identified. The focus of this study is the first and largest set comprised of *all'antica* grotesques and inscribed with the name «Julio»—an artist whose identity can be conjectured through examination of the drawings themselves⁶.

«Julio» in Rome

Many of the subjects labeled «Julio» derive from the work of artists at the Vatican Loggia (c. 1519), Loggetta (1516-17), and Stufetta (1516). Raphael first incorporated grotesques modeled on the Domus Aurea in Cardinal Bibbiena's apartment, of which the Stufetta, which was inspired by ancient Roman *calidaria*, and a small loggia, now referred to as the Loggetta, survive⁷. Raphael adapted the grotesques developed at the Loggetta for the adjacent Vatican Loggia, an open-air corridor that once displayed ancient sculptures⁸. Bands of hanging garlands and

la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, Granada 2000, pp. 425-431. The Metropolitan Museum of Art has since attributed this drawing to Andrés de Melgar.

⁵ For further study of the drawings, see A. JIANG, *In the Manner of Silversmiths: Architecture, Ornament, and the Plateresque in Renaissance Spain*, PhD diss., Columbia University 2023.

⁶ A second series consists of candelabra designs that incorporate the ornamental vocabulary of Fontainebleau. A third series of fantastical creatures, satyrs, and masks are inventive interpretations of designs by Cornelis Floris and Cornelis Bos.

⁷ N. DACOS, *The Loggia of Raphael: A Vatican Art Treasure*, Abbeville Press Publishers, New York 2008, pp. 29-33.

⁸ On the Loggia, see EAD., *The Loggia of Raphael*, cit. and S. BORGHINI et al. (eds), *Raffaello e la Domus Aurea: L'invenzione delle grottesche*, Electa, Milan 2020.

fig. 1
 Attributed to
 Andrés de Melgar,
*Three sections, uppermost
 with a Term and garlands;
 middle section geometric band;
 bottom section grotesques and
 strapwork (recto),*
 ca. 1545–1560, pen and gray-
 brown ink, 33.5 x 23.5 cm,
 New York,
 Metropolitan Museum of Art
 (52.570.315).



vases atop fictive moldings adapted from ancient Roman wall painting in MMA 52.570.315 and 52.570.331 closely resemble those found in the Vatican Loggia and Loggetta (fig. 1). MMA 52.570.316r, 52.570.316v, 52.570.330, and 52.570.332 depict similar subjects: female figures in candelabra, which the artist describes as «col-gantes» (festoons or swags), terms, and canopies. The same colors noted in the Spanish ornament drawings – red, black and gold – cover the surfaces of the Bibbiena’s Stufetta and the Loggetta. École des Beaux Arts O.1426 provides additional information about what the artist saw, and whose designs the «Julio» drawings appear to have been modeled after. A frieze at the top of the verso is la-

fig. 2.
Anonymous,
*Three bands of grotesques,
masks (verso)*, 1500-1599,
pen drawing, 33.5 x 22.5 cm,
donation Jean Masson, Paris,
École nationale supérieure
des Beaux-Arts. Beaux-Arts
de Paris, Dist. © RMN-Grand
Palais / Art Resource, NY.



beled «Julio todo», with another frieze with a mask, bear, sphinx, and vase depicted below. Color annotations are inscribed throughout. The drawing's verso contains a revealing subject that is not represented in any other of the sheets. Along with a sketch of a turtle-like creature in pen and dark brown ink, the artist includes two chalk drawings of a wall lizard. The subject matter and handling of medium evoke the studies of birds and lizards executed by a pioneer of the sixteenth-century Italian grotesque: Giovanni da Udine (fig. 2).

Giovanni da Udine entered Raphael's workshop in about 1515, leaving a small number of drawings dated

to the 1520s⁹. Prior to moving to Rome, he trained in Udine under Giovanni Martini and Giorgione in Venice, where he honed his skill in depicting, in Vasari's words, «tutte le cose naturali, d'animali, di drappi, d'instrumenti, vasi, paesi, cassamenti e verdure»¹⁰. While in Rome, he merged the naturalism learned in the north with grotesques he observed firsthand from expeditions into the Domus Aurea's subterranean ruins¹¹. Using an ancient technique described by Pliny the Elder as *compendiaria* (roughly «abridged»), Giovanni and his assistants specialized in creating atmospheric representations of flora and fauna suffused with light, taking care to capture subtle gradients in tone¹². Unlike the fantastical creatures found elsewhere on the recto and verso of the «Julio» sheets, the two lizards are rendered to imitate the atmospheric effects of fresco painting – an effect Giovanni da Udine himself translated to paper through the use of wash, gouache, and red and black chalk (fig. 3)¹³. On the recto of MMA 52.570.324, the artist of the Spanish ornament drawings covers the wings of three birds with detailed notes about the colors of their plumage. Not only do the birds

⁹ C. BAMBACH, *An Italian Journey: Drawings from the Tobey Collection: Correggio to Tiepolo*, edited by C. Bambach and L. Wolk-Simon, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 2010, pp. 16. On the drawings of Giovanni da Udine, see DACOS, *Giovanni da Udine, 1487-1561*, Casamassima, Udine 1987, 3 vols.

¹⁰ G. VASARI, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori: nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, Vol. V, edited by R. Bettarini and P. Barocchi, Sansoni, Florence 1984, pp. 486-487.

¹¹ On this topic, see N. DACOS, *La découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance*, Warburg Institute, London 1969; D. SCHOLL, *Von den "Grottesken" zum Grottesken: Die Konstituierung einer Poetik des Grottesken in der italienischen Renaissance*, Lit Verlag, Münster 2004.

¹² DACOS, *The Vatican Loggia*, cit., p. 34.

¹³ A drawing of a wall lizard by Giovanni da Udine can be found in the collection of J.A. Gere, London; see *Italian 16th century drawings from British private collections*, Merchant's Hall, Edinburgh, 1969, note 39.



fig. 3.
Giovanni da Udine, *Bird Eating Grapes (recto)*, 1487-1564, brush and watercolor and gouache, 12.4 x 20.3 cm, © New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (80.3.302).

assembled in varying positions recall Giovanni's studies, color annotations indicate a desire to faithfully note their rose tipped wings, black crests and tail feathers, and white bellies streaked with blue («negro / blanco blanco / verde / negro / blanco / negro / negro / blanco / [a]zarcon / blan / co / azul / rosado / rosado / de / azul [?] / Encar/nado / verde / azarcon / azul / rosado»). Two sphinxes facing each other on the verso of MMA 52.570.324 similarly contain hallmark characteristics of Giovanni's iterations of the motif, which are often composed of a covered head of a woman depicted in profile¹⁴. The «Julio» in question thus appears to have been some-

¹⁴ Motifs such as sphinxes, wall lizards, and birds were used repeatedly by artists in the circle of Raphael. See DACOS., *Giovanni da Udine*, cit., pp. 138-48 and L. DE CASTRIS, *Polidoro da Caravaggio: l'opera completa*, Electa, Naples 2001, pp. 190-196; Bambach, *Tobey Collection*, cit., pp. 16-17.

one who worked closely with Giovanni da Udine at the Vatican and Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome. In her 1997 article on the author of the drawings, Dacos proposed an identity: Giulio de Aquili, or Julio Aquiles, as he would come to be known in Spain¹⁵. Mentioned consistently in the company of an «Alejandro», the two were brought to Italy to work on the palace of Francisco de los Cobos, Charles V's Secretary and Comendador de León¹⁶.

Knowledge of Giulio de Aquili's career is limited. In recent years, Nuria Martínez Jiménez, the expert on Giulio Aquili and fresco painting at the Alhambra, has reconstructed a hypothetical trajectory based on archival documentation and comparative study¹⁷.

¹⁵ DACOS, «Giulio Aquili, Andres de Melgar et leurs grotesques», cit., p. 25. Julio Aquiles, the Spanish version of the name, is used in documentation pertaining to the artist in the Archivo del Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife. F.J. Sánchez Cantón linked the «Julio Aquiles» named in documents to Giulio Aquili, the grandson of Antoniazio Romano in F.J. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, *Fuentes literarias para la Historia del arte Español*, Imprenta Clásica Española [u.a.], Madrid 1923, Vol. I, pp. 29, note 3. While this genealogy is accepted by historians, it has not been analyzed thoroughly. See N. MARTÍNEZ JIMÉNEZ, *La trayectoria Italiana de Julio Aquiles en el círculo de Rafael*, in «Archivo Español de Arte», 92, n. 365, 2019, pp. 1, 3.

¹⁶ Cristóbal Villalón mentions «dos ingeniosos», (Julio y Alejandro) brought from Italy by Francisco de los Cobos, and credits them with introducing an Italian mode of grotesques to Spain. Francesco Pacheco and Antonio Palomino similarly note that a «Julio y Alejandro» worked in Úbeda on Francisco de los Cobos' palace before moving onto Charles V's Royal Apartments at the Alhambra. Cristóbal de Villalón, *Ingeniosa comparación entre lo antiguo y lo presente* (1539), quoted in F. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN, *Fuentes literarias para la Historia del arte Español*, cit., I, pp. 9; F. PACHECO, *Arte de la pintura, su antigüedad y grandezas* (Seville, 1646), Imprenta de Manuel Galiano, Madrid 1886, Vol II, pp. 43. Palomino says the same in A. PALOMINO DE CASTRO Y VELASCO, *El Museo Pictórico y Escala Optica* (1712), Aguilar, Madrid 1947, p. 773.

¹⁷ N. MARTÍNEZ JIMÉNEZ, *La escuela de la Alhambra: de Aquiles y Mayner al florecimiento de la pintura mural en Granada*, in *Pintura mural en la Edad Moderna. Entre Andalucía e Iberoamérica*, edited

Like many artists, Giulio did not reside continuously in one city, and instead appears to have moved between worksites, likely in order to find work during pauses in construction. After living in Valladolid, where he is first mentioned in 1533, he may have passed through Úbeda to work on Francisco de los Cobos' palace on the way to Charles V's apartments at the Alhambra in Granada¹⁸. Echoes of the Vatican Stufetta and Loggetta can therefore be found not only in the Italian palaces built by Giovanni da Udine and his assistants, but also further afield in Spain.

The Alhambra

After his visit to Granada in 1526, Charles V began renovating the Alhambra to better accommodate the needs of a modern Christian emperor¹⁹. His interventions were symbolically charged, aimed at imposing his authority over an emblematic site of the golden age of Al-Andalus²⁰. This project included,

by J.M. Almansa Moreno, N. Martínez. Jiménez, F.Q. García, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Seville 2018, pp. 60-81; MARTÍNEZ JIMÉNEZ, *La trayectoria Italiana*, cit., 1-16; ID., *La bottega de Aquiles y Mayer y la difusión de la pintura mural del Cinquecento en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI*, in «Cuadernos de Arte de la Universidad de Granada», 52, 2021, pp. 187-204; ID., *Pintura mural del renacimiento en la Alhambra*, Patronato de la Alhambra y Generalife, Granada 2022.

¹⁸ He moved to Granada to work on Charles V's rooms at the Alhambra sometime in 1534. A.M. MENDOZA, *La pintura en la ciudad de Úbeda en el siglo XVI: una aproximación histórica*, in «Laboratorio de Arte» 15, 2002, pp. 87-89.

¹⁹ The classic work on the palace is E.E. ROSENTHAL, *The Palace of Charles V in Granada*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1985. On Rosenthal's work, see the chapter 10 in this volume.

²⁰ See P. GALERA ANDREU, *Carlos V y la Alhambra, Catálogo de la Exposición Carlos V y la Alhambra*, Patronato de la Alhambra y el Generalife, Granada 2000; J.C. RUIZ SOUZA, *El Palacio de Carlos V y la Alhambra. Relatos de continuidad*, in *Arte y globalización en el mundo hispánico de los siglos XV al XVII*, edited by M.P. López de Corselas and L.M. Palacios Méndez, Universidad de Granada, Granada 2020, pp. 17-43; C. RIPOLLÉS, *Relocating the Spanish Renaissance: Charles V, the Torre de La Estufa in the*

most famously, the construction of a monumental palace designed by the architect Pedro Machuca²¹. In addition to building a new palace, Machuca also renovated the Nasrid fabric, which included the fourteenth-century Torre de Abdul Abu l-Hayyay/Hachach located a short distance from the Arab baths of the Alhambra. Surrounded on three sides by *miradors*, the top floor of tower offered a space to enjoy the breeze and overlook the reconquered Albaicín, or old Muslim quarter. The most substantial change took form in the creation of the Peinador de la Reina, or Queen's Dressing Room, where smoking spices emanated from a perforated marble burner, thus earning the room the name la Estufa, or stove²². This area was further subdivided into two spaces: the loggia and Sala de Faetón (Hall of Phaethon), and the Sala de Túnez (Hall of Tunis), both of which derive their names from the subjects depicted on their walls. Supported by assistants, Giulio Aquili and Alexander Mayner executed the frescoes of the Peinador de la Reina between 1539 to 1546²³ (fig. 4).

Giulio focused on translating the grotesque decoration of ancient and modern Rome to this new space. First, the Peinador de la Reina's walls reproduced those of Bibbiena's Stufetta, both of which are both covered in red ground and black and gold

Alhambra, and the Islamic Past, in «Sixteenth Century Journal», 4, 2021, pp. 1063-1099.

²¹ Manfredo Tafuri attributes the palace to Giulio Romano, see: M. TAFURI, *The Granada of Charles V*, in ID., *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects*, translated by D. Sherer, Yale University Press, New Haven and London 2006, pp. 181-218.

²² R. LÓPEZ TORRIJOS, *Los grutescos de Rafael y Udine en la pintura Española. La estufa y la loggia de Carlos V*, in «Storia dell'arte», 60, 1987, pp. 171.

²³ LÓPEZ, *Los grutescos de Rafael y Udine*, cit., pp. 173-174. Essential essays on construction, decoration, and restoration of the Peinador de la Reina were published in the «Cuadernos de la Alhambra», 42, 2007 («Monográfico sobre el Peinador de la Reina»).



fig. 4.
Giulio de Aquili, Alexander Mayner, and assistants, *Sala de Túnez*, Alhambra, Granada, 1540-1546.

details. Second, he adopts Giovanni da Udine's sensitive observations of nature, many of which (such as American birds and ears of corn) can also be found in the Loggetta. The artist of the Spanish ornament drawings replicates candelabra, friezes, and other elements found in the Peinador de la Reina on multiple occasions. Moreover, in addition to noting similar colors (red and black), he alludes to the presence of smoking perfumes in the room with plumes that emanate from vases resembling those found in the decoration of the Estufa (fig. 5).

The Spanish ornament drawings, however, also contain motifs drawn from an intermediary between Rome and Granada. As Dacos noted, the Metropolitan drawings suggest Giulio's involvement in another project by artists in this circle: Perino del

fig. 5.
 Attributed to
 Andrés de Melgar,
*Term with a marine creature and
 putto*, ca. 1545-1560,
 pen and gray-brown ink,
 33.5 × 23.5 cm, © New York,
 Metropolitan Museum of Art
 (52.570.315).



Vaga's decoration of Andrea Doria's palace in Genoa²⁴. This commission, located in a city at the heart of Spanish-Italian exchange, provides the missing link between Giulio's training and his Spanish works, and a model for how and why artists transmitted grotesques throughout the Spanish empire.

Genoa

In 1530, Charles V visited Genoa, the final stop in his journey through Italy following his coronation as Holy Roman Emperor. In September 1528, Doria, who had previously fought for the French, changed

²⁴ DACOS, *Giulio Aquili, Andrés de Melgar, et leurs grotesques*, cit., p. 29.

allegiances and formally entered the service of emperor Charles V²⁵. It was with his role as the emperor's «Castilian arm of the Mediterranean» that he gained renown as a defender against the Turks²⁶. Amidst ongoing power struggles with the Ottoman Empire, Charles V made his triumphal entry into Genoa on March 28, 1533. He arrived from the outskirts of the city, where he would stay at Andrea Doria's suburban villa at Fassolo until April 9, 1533, accompanied by his secretary, Francisco de los Cobos²⁷.

Andrea Doria's palace, Villa Doria or the Palazzo del Principe, was the centerpiece of the admiral's artistic patronage and self-fashioning²⁸. Between 1528 and

²⁵ In 1525, Doria joined King Francis I's efforts to defend Marseille against Charles V. Displeased with his pay, he changed allegiances when his contract with Francis I expired in July 1528 during the French king's attempt to reconquer Naples. See S.A. EPSTEIN, *Genoa and the Genoese*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 1996, pp. 325-327, 958-1528; T.A. KIRK, *Genoa and the Sea: Policy and Power in an Early Modern Maritime Republic, 1559-1684*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 2005, p. 19.

²⁶ Bastien Carpentier describes Doria and the Genoese as «Le bras armé des Castellans en Méditerranée» in *Andrea Doria (1466, Oneglia-1560)*, in G. Buti, Ph. Hrodej (eds.), *Dictionnaire des corsaires et pirates*, CNRS Editions, Paris 2013, p. 215.

²⁷ On Charles V's visit to Genoa, including discussions of Perino del Vaga's drawings of the triumphal arch, see L. STAGNO, *Sovrani spagnoli a Genova: entrate trionfali e 'hospitaggi' in casa Doria*, in *Genova e la Spagna. Opere, artisti, committenti, collezionisti*, edited by P. Boccardo et al., Silvana editoriale, Milan 2002, pp. 73-79.

²⁸ Literature on Doria's artistic patronage is vast. For key studies, see E. PARMA ARMANI, *Perino del Vaga: l'anello mancante: studi sul manierismo*, Sagep, Genoa, 1986; G. GORSE, *La 'corte' di Andrea Doria a Genova*, in *Arte, committenza ed economia a Roma e nelle corti del Rinascimento 1420-1530*, edited by A. Esch, C.L. Frommel, Einaudi, Turin 1995, pp. 255-271; *Perino del Vaga tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, edited by E. Parma, Electa, Milan, 2001; L. STAGNO, *Committenze artistiche tra Genova e Loano: Giovanni Andrea I e Andrea II Doria*, in *Gli Orsini e i Savelli nella Roma dei papi. Arte e mecenatismo di antichi casati dal feudo*

1533, Doria hired Perino del Vaga, who had fled Rome during the Sack of 1527, to execute a fresco cycle featuring mythological subjects and allegorical representations of Doria as general of the sea²⁹. The majority of the works were likely completed by the time Charles V and his entourage visited in 1533³⁰. At the very least, Perino and his assistants had likely completed the fresco of the Fall of the Giants located in the same room as the emperor's throne³¹. The emperor's presence in Genoa was significant, for Doria's role as the general defending the Mediterranean against Ottoman incursion represented a pivotal moment in his career and key feature of his biography³².

While Doria's artistic program, on the one hand, served as a form of Habsburg propaganda in Genoa, Charles V and his associates also took inspiration from Palazzo Doria. The drawings at the Metropolitan Museum of Art help corroborate the hypothesis formed by Dacos that Giulio Aquili and Alexander Mayner trained in Perino del Vaga's circle in Genoa, and were hired following the emperor's stay at Palazzo Doria³³. A motif elaborated by the Spanish

alle corti barocche europee. Confronti e prospettive, proceedings of the conference (Rome, June 9-10, 2016), Silvana editoriale, Milan 2017, pp. 477-492; P. BOCCARDO, *Andrea Doria e le arti: committenza e mecenatismo a Genova nel Rinascimento*, Palombi, Rome 1989, pp. 166-170; C. ALTAVISTA, *La residenza di Andrea Doria a Fassolo: il cantiere di un palazzo di villa genovese nel Rinascimento*, Franco Angeli, Milan 2013.

²⁹ G. LELLI-MAMI, *Perino del Vaga, fiorentino, 'eccellentissimo pittore e molto ingegnoso'*, in «Studi Romagnoli», 45, 1994, p. 259.

³⁰ B.F. DAVIDSON, *Drawings by Perino del Vaga for the Palazzo Doria, Genoa*, in «The art bulletin», 41, 1959, 4, pp. 315-316.

³¹ STAGNO, *Sovrani spagnoli a Genova*, cit., p. 77.

³² I. STAGNO, *Triumphing over the Enemy. References to the Turks as Part of Andrea, Giannettino and Giovanni Andrea Doria's Artistic Patronage and Public Image*, in «Il Capitale culturale, Supplementi» 6, 2017, p. 158.

³³ DACOS, *Giulio Aquili, Andrés de Melgar et leurs grotesques*, cit., pp. 99-101; MARTÍNEZ, *La trayectoria italiana*, cit., p. 15.

draftsman and likely derived from Palazzo Doria is the figure of Diana of Ephesus, an ancient figure known in the time of Leo X through Roman replicas displayed at the Vatican Loggia³⁴. She appears as an ornamental motif at the Loggia in the fresco ornamentation of the sixth bay³⁵. At Palazzo Doria, Diana is similarly used as a motif in the building's decorative program, appearing, for example, in the stucco decoration of the Loggia degli Eroi. On a grander scale, the figure was the subject of one of approximately 200 tapestries designed by Perino del Vaga (fig. 6)³⁶. Though the Diana tapestry is the only one in Doria's inventory dedicated explicitly to the goddess, she nevertheless appears to have been associated with the palace. The anonymous draftsman of the grotesque drawings that were once part of the Cesare da Sesto album depicts two versions of the goddess on a sheet labeled «Genua» (Genoa): one at the center, surrounded by robed and winged figures (and crossed out), and another to the far left, standing atop a pedestal with winged creatures (likely griffons) at its base (fig. 7). Labeled simply with geographic indicators, drawings by this artist refer to contemporary buildings and prints made after them³⁷. The version on the left resembles the Diana used in the Doria tapestry and derived initially from the Vatican Loggia; the artist's inscription of «Genua» clarifies the referent.

³⁴ A period source describes «una idea della Natura quale è la statua della loggia, con duoi cane appreso», referring to the statue. J. FLETCHER, *Marcantonio Michiel: His Friends and Collection*, in «The Burlington Magazine», 123, 1981, p. 456.

³⁵ DACOS, *The Loggia of Raphael*, cit., pp. 44-45.

³⁶ BOCCARDO, *Andrea Doria e le arte: committenza e mecenatismo a Genova nel Rinascimento*, cit., pp. 166-170.

³⁷ Morgan Library & Museum, New York, inv. II, 26a, 28a, 29a are inscribed with «Roma», «Florentia», «Genua», «Cremona», and «Tridenti». For II, 27a, the Genoa sheet, see <<https://www.themorgan.org/drawings/item/220912>> (last accessed 28 February 2023).

fig. 6.
Diana of Ephesus,
 after a cartoon by Perino
 del Vaga, tapestry woven in
 Brussels for the palace
 of Andrea Doria of Genoa,
 1545, Stockholm, National-
 museum. Bjoertvedt,
 CC BY-SA 3.0
 (Wikimedia Commons).



A version of Diana of Ephesus informed by both of these examples was, in turn, depicted by Giulio de Aquili at the Peinador de la Reina. Two highly deteriorated fragments remain³⁸. The draftsman of the Spanish ornament drawings appears to have encountered variations on Diana of Ephesus found at the Alhambra, the Vatican, and Palazzo Doria. On a sheet shared with a seated figure and two monsters labeled «flamenco», the artist devises his own Diana.

³⁸ For a digital reconstruction, see J.M. ASUNCIÓN, R. MARÍN VIADEL, *Pinturas murales de la habitación del emperador Carlos V en la Alhambra: una hipótesis visual*, Editorial de la Universidad de Granada, Granada 2021, pp. 160-173.

fig. 7.
 Italian School, verso:
*Sheet of Grottesques with a
 Dragon*, ca. 1538-1547,
 pen and dark brown ink,
 over red chalk, on paper,
 15.9 x 10.9 cm, © New York,
 Morgan Library & Museum
 (II, 27a). Photographic credit:
 The Morgan Library
 & Museum, New York.



Like the Doria versions, both hold objects, and wear wrapped headpieces. He removes her attribute of multiple breasts, and replaces her stags with dogs, but retains the shroud used at Vatican and again in the stucco ornamentation of Palazzo Doria (fig. 8). The artist adopts the same placement of animals on stairs found at Palazzo Doria, suggesting the possible use of this configuration at the Alhambra. Inscriptions by her head – «de Julio» and «Julio todo» – indicate the reinterpretation of the motif designed by Giulio for a commission in Spain. Comparison between the Spanish artist's annotations and drawings by Italian artists assisting Perino del Vaga at Palazzo Doria provides additional

fig. 8.
 Attributed to
 Andrés de Melgar,
*Female Term, seated figure, and
 fantastical creature (recto)*,
 ca. 1545-1560, pen and gray-
 brown ink on off-white paper,
 33.5 x 23.0 cm, © New York,
 Metropolitan Museum of Art
 (52.570.316).



evidence of a shared practice. The annotations communicate a key type of information: color. Similar annotations are found throughout Perino del Vaga's sketch for a frieze and ceiling at the Victoria and Albert Museum (E.613-1922), which is inscribed «colori» and «stucco» twice. His assistants employed a practice that is nearly identical to that of the Spanish artist's. In a study of a fragment of wall decoration at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1975.1.334) by Luzio Romano, a Roman painter and stuccatore employed at Palazzo Doria, the artist inscribes «campo rosso», «nero», «verde», «azzurro», «giallo», and «bianco» in fields containing grotesques and mythological figures (fig. 9). While not

fig. 9. Luzio Romano,
*Design for a Grottesque
Decoration*, ca. 1543-1545,
pen and brown ink, brown
wash, 27.3 x 22.4 cm,
© New York, Metropolitan
Museum of Art (1975.1.334).



necessarily unique, the anonymous Spanish artist's use of similar annotations suggests his familiarity with this practice.

This Spanish interest in the decor of both Genoese and Roman palaces and resonance between Spanish and Italian artistic practices is significant, for it indicates the presence of a shared visual language in two interdependent places. On the one hand, the Spanish granted the Genoese a network to extend their mercantile empire across Europe; on the other, the Genoese provided the Iberian monarchs the financing necessary to continue their imperial expansion in Europe and the Mediterranean under Phillip II³⁹. Their symbiotic relationship would be put

³⁹ Braudel proposed that the Genoese influenced Spanish politics with their control of the banking system. F. BRAUDEL, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip*

into stark relief in the Habsburg defense of the Mediterranean against the Ottomans in Tunis – a project that realized Doria’s role as the general of the sea, and Charles V’s aspirations to create a unified Christian Mediterranean empire⁴⁰.

The Conquest of Tunis

Tunis and the Habsburg Mediterranean

In 1535, Genoese, Roman, and Spanish fleets won a decisive victory in the Habsburg battle for control over the Mediterranean. For decades, Charles had faced the ongoing threat of Suleiman the Magnificent’s territorial expansion into the Western Mediterranean, a region that had long held symbolic and strategic importance to the Habsburgs⁴¹. The sea was an expanse that facilitated the flow of people and goods⁴². It was also a highly contested space. Tunis, a Western Mediterranean port city located at the northern tip of Africa, oscillated between Ottoman and Spanish rule for the majority of the sixteenth century⁴³. On August 16, 1534, Hayreddin

II, translated by S. Reynolds, Harper and Row, New York 1972, p. 393. See also C. DAUVERD, *Imperial Ambition in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Genoese Merchants and the Spanish Crown*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2014, pp. 134-159.

⁴⁰ Dauverd describes the relationship between Genoa and the Habsburgs as one of «symbiotic imperialism» with Spain’s dynastic imperialism on the one hand, and Genoa’s mercantile imperialism on the other in DAUVERD, *Imperial Ambition in the Early Modern Mediterranean*, cit., p. 4.

⁴¹ See S. Hanns, D. McEwan (eds), *The Habsburg Mediterranean 1500–1800*, Austrian Academy of the Sciences Press, Vienna 2021.

⁴² See F. BRAUDEL, *La méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l’époque de Philippe II*, Colin, Paris 1949 and P. HORDEN, N. PURCELL, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*, Blackwell, Oxford 2020.

⁴³ See S. SHAW, E. K. SHAW, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol. I, Empire of the Gazis: The Rise and Decline of the Ottoman Empire 1280-1808*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1976; L. TEMIME BLILI, *The Dismantling of the*

Barbarossa, an Ottoman corsair and vassal of Suleiman, conquered Tunis and wrested control from Muley Hassan, the Hafsid ruler and vassal to the emperor⁴⁴. On June 1, 1535, the emperor and his allies entered La Goletta and successfully recaptured Tunis, protected by the Genoese *condottiere* Andrea Doria's galleys, and Virgilio Orsini captaining the pontifical fleet.

Visual and textual records of the Conquest of Tunis spread throughout Europe. In 1536, the Council of Brabant granted a privilege to Vermeyen to publish his *Conquest of Tunis* series narrating the event. Prints and contemporary accounts, such as Onofrio Panvinio's festival book, celebrated the battle as a strategic and symbolic victory over the infidel, and the final crusade⁴⁵. Banners raised during the emperor's triumphal entries compared Charles to Scipio Africanus, Hannibal, Alexander the Great, and Caesar, asserting the link between the Habsburg Holy Roman Empire and the empires of Antiquity⁴⁶. By far the most famous and spectacular form of visual propaganda produced in the battle's aftermath was the monumental tapestry cycle Charles commissioned in 1546 with the help of his sister,

Hafsid Territory by the Spanish, Turks, and Marabouts: 1535–57, in *The Regency of Tunis, 1535–1666: Genesis of an Ottoman Province in the Maghreb*, American University in Cairo Press, Cairo 2021. pp. 55-68.

⁴⁴ On Muley Hassan and Habsburg-Hafsid relations, see C. BASKINS, *Hafsids and Habsburgs in the Early Modern Mediterranean: Facing Tunis*, Springer International Publishing, Cham 2022.

⁴⁵ O. PANVINIO, *Fasti et Triumphi Rom. a Romulo rege usque ad Carolum V Cæs. Aug., sive, Epitome Regum, Consulium, Dictatorum, Magistrorum, equitum, Tribunorum militum consulari potestate, Censorum...*, Impensis Iacobi Stradae Mantuani, Venice 1557.

⁴⁶ A. KOHLER, *Representación y propaganda de Carlos V*, in *Carlos V y la quiebra del humanismo político en Europa (1530-1558)*, edited by J. Bravo Lozano and F. Labrador Arroyo, Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, Madrid 2001, pp. 14, 21.

Mary of Hungary. The twelve tapestries traveled to England in 1554, where they formed the backdrop of the festivities celebrating the marriage of Phillip II and Mary Tudor of England, and to Antwerp in 1555, for the celebrations for the Order of the Golden Fleece, before arriving in Spain to be hung at the Real Alcázar in Madrid⁴⁷.

Upon returning to their homes, Charles V and his associates memorialized the event in another medium: fresco. Along the walls of the innermost room of the Peinador de la Reina in a small room in the tower of Abu l-Hayyay, Alexander Mayner – the painter named in historical accounts alongside Giulio de Aquili at the Alhambra – executed eight illusionistic frescos of the Conquest of Tunis (fig. 4). The panels narrate the entirety of the event in key episodes: the imperial fleet departing from Cagliari, the fleet sailing toward Africa, the bombardment of la Goletta (the outport situated between the Gulf and Lake of Tunis), the terrestrial attack on la Goletta, the capture of Tunis, departure, ships along the coast of Sicily, and finally, the arrival of the fleet in the Port of Messina, which he reached after landing in Trapani and traversing Sicily.⁴⁸ Just outside of Rome, Virgilio Orsini decorated his baronial palace in Anguillara Sabazia with aerial views of the battles of la Goletta (1535), Corfu (1538), and other naval scenes too deteriorated to identify⁴⁹. Once Doria returned to Genoa, Perino del Vaga (who had started working on the decorations of his palace in 1528) executed the Sala dei Giganti – a ceiling fresco depicting an episode from Ovid of Jupiter smiting the rebellious Giants, which can be interpreted as an

⁴⁷ K. SCHMITZ-VON LEDEBUR, *Emperor Charles Captures Tunis: A Unique Set of Tapestry Cartoons*, in «Musées et Archives de la Ville de Bruxelles», n. 11, 2019, p. 391.

⁴⁸ VISCEGLIA, *Il viaggio cerimoniale di Carlo V dopo Tunisi*, p. 9.

⁴⁹ M. IULIANO, *Napoli a volo d'uccello: Un affresco per lo studio della topografia aragonese*, in «Mélanges de l'école française de Rome», 113, n. 1, 2001, pp. 88-89.

allegory for the Doria and Charles (figured as Jupiter/Zeus) defeating the Turks in Tunis⁵⁰. These decorative programs combined grotesques derived from the Domus Aurea with scenes of naval battles that historicized the immediate past, integrating the Conquest of Tunis into a visual language that connected Iberia to Italy, and the present era to ancient empires.

Although the relationship can be simply dismissed as the transmission of Italian artistic models according to a standard narrative of influence, the adaptation of Genoese motifs in Charles V's Spain was politically charged. Built on the foundations of ancient Rome and spread through artists traveling between Spain and Genoa, the form of grotesques recorded in the Met's Spanish ornament drawings surpassed emulation: they unified the decor of palaces built by Charles V and his secretary with their papal and Genoese allies. Artistic patronage thus solidified an imperial symbiosis built on shared cultural, political, and financial interests. In the palaces of Charles V and his allies, grotesques defined the contours of space, both literally framing naval scenes representing territorial control, and giving form to the symbiotic relationship between the imperial powers of Spain, Rome and the Vatican, and Genoa.

Imperial Networks

Fresco Painting in Granada and Beyond

Mural painting enabled popes, admirals, and princes to not only celebrate the idea of empire, but lay claim to their place within the larger Holy Roman Empire⁵¹. In the frescoes of the palace in Anguillara Sabazia of Virgilio Orsini, Luzio Romano depicts

⁵⁰ See B.F. DAVIDSON, *The Furti di Giove Tapestries Designed by Perino del Vaga for Andrea Doria*, in «The Art Bulletin» 70, n. 3, 1988, pp. 445-446; STAGNO, *Triumphing over the Enemy*, cit., p. 150.

⁵¹ R. GREGG, *City views in the Habsburg and Medici Courts: Depictions of Rhetoric and Rule in the Sixteenth Century*, Brill, Leiden 2019, p. 13.

Orsini's participation in the 1535 Conquest. In this unusual composition, galleys fly the pontifical standard of Paolo Farnese III's six lilies, Charles V's double-headed eagle, and Orsini's own flag of white and red lines symbolizing his role as captain of the papal fleet⁵². Compositionally, the frescoes of Anguillara Sabazia resemble those of the Peinador de la Reina; Palazzo Doria is once again a likely candidate for the link between Romano in Genoa, and Aquili and Mayner in Spain⁵³. Federico Gonzaga's palace near Mantua (now lost) provides yet another example: his addition to Palazzo Marmirolo included the 1535 battle among views of port cities like Constantinople, Naples, Venice, Genoa, Rome, Florence, Cairo and Paris⁵⁴.

Patrons of an extended network of palaces continued to proclaim their participation in Charles V's empire, and used the followers of Giulio de Aquili to do so. Within Spain, the Peinador de la Reina contained not only the most complete fresco cycle, but also proved to be fertile space for the next generation of Andalusian artists. Pacheco described Giulio de Aquili as the artist whose paintings at the Alhambra continued the legacy of painting in fresco established by Raphael and Giovanni da Udine, and laid the foundation for the art of naturalistic mural painting in Spain⁵⁵. After the Alhambra, Aquili continued to work on commissions in Úbeda with

⁵² N. MARTÍNEZ JIMÉNEZ, *La perpetuación de una victoria efímera: las pinturas murales de la Batalla de Túnez en Marmirolo, Anguillara Sabazia y Granada*, in *Eikón Imago*, 15, 2020, pp. 133-159: 141.

⁵³ EAD., *La perpetuación de una victoria efímera*, cit., 141; V. NORMANDO, *L'iconografia della Loggia Orsini: una celebrazione delle gesta del Capitano Gentil Virginio*, in *Il Palazzo Baronale Orsini di Anguillara Sabazia*, edited by Almamaria Tantillo, Società Tipografica Romana, Anguillara Sabazia 2000, p. 68.

⁵⁴ MARTÍNEZ JIMÉNEZ, *La perpetuación de una victoria efímera*, cit., pp. 139-140; M. BOURNE, *Francesco II Gonzaga and Maps as Palace Decoration in Renaissance Mantua*, in «*Imago Mundi*» 51, 1999, p. 52.

⁵⁵ PACHECO, *Arte de la pintura*, cit., Vol. II, pp. 41-42.

grotesques «al romano» executed «sobre en lucido de cal y arena» (i.e. fresco)⁵⁶. Aquili died in Úbeda in 1556, leaving behind a son named Julio Antonio de Aquili, whose work is obscure, and, more importantly, a Spanish tradition of all'antica fresco painting. The careers of Aquili's followers intersects with those of Spanish nobles with ties to Genoa, and roles in the protection of the Mediterranean under the legacy established by Charles V and continued by Phillip II. Pacheco lists the Andalusian painters Pedro de Raxis, Antonio Mohedano, Blas de Ledesma, Antonio de Arfian as followers of Aquili and Mayner; according to the author, «algunos se aficionaron tanto á los grutescos, que no contentándose con adornar los retablos en los frisos, pilastras y recuadros, revestían todas las figuras de bulto y ropas de ellas de este género de follaje»⁵⁷. Antonio Mohedano worked on an exceptional example of a Spanish palace decorated with grotesques and city views for a patron whose family was involved directly in the 1535 and 1573 Conquests of Tunis, collaborating with the Peroli brothers on the grotesques of the palace of Don Álvaro Bazan, the Marquis of Santa Cruz, in El Viso⁵⁸. Like Andrea Doria, the Marquis' father, Don Álvaro the Elder, protected the Spanish coast against Ottoman incursions. Over the course of his life, he defended the Bay of Biscay, coast of Galicia, and Strait of Gibraltar on behalf of Charles V; in 1532, he was in charge of transporting money for the defense of Suleiman's attack on Vienna, and warned Cobos about the need to arm Granada against Barbarossa⁵⁹.

⁵⁶ MENDOZA, *La pintura en la ciudad de Ubeda en el siglo XVI*, cit., pp. 89-90.

⁵⁷ PACHECO, *Arte de la Pintura*, cit., Vol. II, p. 43.

⁵⁸ On the palace, see R. LÓPEZ TORRIJOS, *Entre España y Génova: el palacio de Don Álvaro de Bazán en el Viso*, Ministerio de Defensa, Madrid 2009 and EAD., *En un lugar de la Mancha... y en el palacio del Viso: imágenes históricas y simbólicas de un marino y un imperio*, Ministerio de Defensa, Madrid 2020.

⁵⁹ *Ivi*, p. 30.

At the same time, he developed a relationship with Andrea Doria, whom he accompanied on trips to Spanish coasts in 1530, and visited in Genoa in 1532 and 1536⁶⁰. Five years later, Don Álvaro played a key role in the 1535 Conquest of Tunis by leading the Spanish galleys on behalf of the emperor alongside Doria's Genoese fleet. No stranger to the Genoese, Don Álvaro took direct inspiration from Palazzo Doria when it was time to build his own residence. In 1536, in the immediate aftermath of the battle, he issued contracts detailing the purchase of materials and sculptural pieces from Genoa for the construction of a palace in Granada modeled on Palazzo Doria⁶¹. The project stalled and never came to fruition. Genoa's influence would instead survive through the palace renovated by his descendants. In 1538, Don Álvaro purchased the señorío of El Viso y Santa Cruz, and moved into the *casas del palacio* in El Viso⁶².

When his son, Álvaro de Bazán «El Mozo», inherited the palace, he similarly renovated it with a decorative program centered on mythological subjects and depictions of territories of the Mediterranean under Phillip II. From 1581 to 1586, the artist Giovanni Battista Perolli, whom Antonio Mohedano assisted, served as Master of Works overseeing an elaborate program of stucco, fresco, and marble decoration⁶³. In the galleries of the patio, the artists executed a *cursus honorum* of Álvaro de Bazan from the capture of English ships in Marbella to journeys to Tunis and Tangier and the Italian cities of Bologna, Genoa, Naples, Rome, Venice, Messina, and Milan⁶⁴. The

⁶⁰ *Ivi*, p. 30.

⁶¹ LÓPEZ, *Las casas de la familia Bazán en Granada*, in «Archivo Español de Arte», 79, n. 313, 2006, pp. 23-42.

⁶² LÓPEZ, *Entre España y Génova*, cit., p. 42.

⁶³ A. BUSTAMANTE, F. MARÍAS, *La estela de El Viso del Marqués, Esteban Peroli*, in «Archivo Español de Arte», 55, n. 218, 1982, p. 174.

⁶⁴ LÓPEZ, *En un lugar en la Mancha*, cit., pp. 163-198.

fig. 10.

Giovanni Battista Perolli,
Stefano Perolli, and others,
Journey to Tunis,
Palacio del Viso del Marqués
del Viso, fresco, completed
by 1575.
(Photo by Santiago Abella).



second of four naval battles — the Tunis scene — depicts events associated with the 1573 Conquest of Tunis in which John of Austria, the half-brother of Phillip II and commander of the Holy League, recaptured Tunis from the Ottomans for a short-lived victory until the Ottomans reconquered the city just a year later. In a recapitulation of events, Don Álvaro de Bazán provided support to John of Austria — a moment commemorated in a scene depicting Don Álvaro de Bazán handing him the keys to the city, with Tunis' city walls and Spanish fortifications visible in the background (fig. 10)⁶⁵.

⁶⁵ I. RODRÍGUEZ MOYA, *La ciudad en los frescos del Palacio de El Viso del Marqués*, in *El Sueño de Eneas: Imágenes utópicas de la ciudad*, edited by V. Mínguez, I. Rodríguez, V. Zuriaga, Uni-

The Melgar attribution

The artist of the Spanish ornament drawings was a direct product and agent of the cultural and political alliance between Rome, Genoa, and Granada established by Charles V. A question remains: who made the drawings? Dacos based her attribution of the drawings to Andrés de Melgar on her observation of visual similarities between the drawings and the grotesque decoration of the retablo of Santo Domingo de la Calzada⁶⁶. Dacos believes Melgar copied the designs sometime after 1539 from a lost *taccuino* created by Aquili and Mayner for the palace of Francisco de los Cobos in Valladolid⁶⁷. As Fernando Marías rightly points out, her proposed dates weaken her attribution, as Melgar was already in Santo Domingo de la Calzada in 1539⁶⁸. Moreover, the retablo's grotesques are hardly unique⁶⁹. Despite chronological problems, a lack of secure

versitat Jaume I, Biblioteca Valenciana, Valencia 2009, pp. 89-120.

⁶⁶ DACOS, *Giulio Aquili, Andres de Melgar et leurs grotesques*, cit., 26-27. Melgar, a painter from Benavente who worked for Alonso Berruguete, is named in the retablo's documentation as an *estofador* in 1539. T. RAMÍREZ PASCUAL, *La construcción del retablo mayor de Santo Domingo de la Calzada*, in *Damián Forment escultor renacentista. Retablo mayor de la Catedral de Santo Domingo de la Calzada*, Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, Zaragoza 1996, pp. 49-72: 56. For the archival documents, see J.G. MOYA VALGAÑON, *Documentos para la historia del arte del archivo catedral de Santo Domingo de la Calzada (1443-1563)*, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, Logroño 1986.

⁶⁷ N. DACOS, 'Julio y Alejandro': *Grutescos italianos y cartografía flamenca en el Peinador de la Reina*, in «Cuadernos de la Alhambra», 42, 2007, p. 102.

⁶⁸ MARÍAS, *Dibujos de grutescos*, cit., p. 431, note 8.

⁶⁹ Similar examples can be found on the retablo of the Capilla de Sancti Spiritus in Onati, executed by Gaspar de Tordesillas, Jerónimo Rodríguez, and Cristóbal de Bustamante. For illustrations, see P. ECHEVERRÍA GOÑI, X. MARTIARENA LASA, *Retablo de la Capilla de la Universidad de Oñati: historia y restauración*, Diputación Foral de Gipuzkoa, Donostia-San Sebastián 2006.

evidence, and the ubiquity of the grotesque in this period, the Melgar attribution has been upheld by subsequent historians, and used as the basis for further attributions⁷⁰. There is a simpler explanation: that a follower of Giulio de Aquili studied Aquili's grotesques in preparation for another building decorated in this manner⁷¹.

While Nuria Martínez Jiménez believes that the «Melgar» drawings were preparatory sketches for the Peinador de la Reina intended to be adapted into full-scale cartoons, their annotations strengthen the hypothesis that the drawings represent experimental material⁷². The artist has taken great care to note and critique the compositions, revealing that the drawings have been workshoped with a critical eye: on one sheet (52.570.331v), he writes («este mascarón a de ser mejor dibuxado y más feo y a de ser bisoxo [bizco]») («this mask should be drawn better and be more ugly and should be cross-eyed»). Other reflective remarks similarly suggest that the artist was revising his inventions⁷³. As Marías notes, in addition to Francisco de los Cobos' palaces in Valladolid and Úbeda, there must have been a number of other grand residences decorated with mural painting by followers of Aquili and Mayner who were trained at the Alhambra⁷⁴. Collaborators,

⁷⁰ See M.C. HEREDIA MORENO, *Dibujos de Alonso Berruguete, Julio Aquiles y Andrés de Melgar en la Fundación Lazaro Galdiano*, in «Goya», 306, 2005, pp. 132-144.

⁷¹ Dacos hypothesized that the drawings provide the only, albeit partial, visual evidence of the palace of Francisco de los Cobos. DACOS, 'Julio y Alejandro', cit., p. 102.

⁷² MARTÍNEZ, *Pintura mural*, cit., p. 83.

⁷³ For instance, «Este colgante es ermano de otro q[ue] tiene un termino y este termino tiene en las manos hunos idolizes y en los brazos unos paxaros y unos cebeçillos» (MMA 52.570.316). Marías notes that «más que un copista, podría ser un véedor». MARIAS, *Dibujos de grutescos*, cit., p. 430.

⁷⁴ ID., *Dibujos de grutescos*, pp. 430-431. On mural painting in southern Spain, see MORENO, *La pintura en Úbeda*, cit., pp. 83-109; J.M. ALMANSA MORENO, *Pintura mural del Renacimiento*

after all, enabled Giulio de Aquili to be absent for periods of time. A possible scenario is that the artist executed the «Julio» drawings at the Peinador de la Reina as workshop experiments, returned at some point to fill in the «flamenco» subjects and Fontainebleau material, and kept the sketchbook to serve as inspiration for future designs he completed.

What is certain is that the drawings were executed by an artist studying the work of Giulio Aquili developed in Genoa and Granada, and executed ultimately in Spain, where Aquili continued to have a long career. These drawings record not only the process of an anonymous artist and provide an insight into his sources and milieu, but were themselves agents of the same network of exchange, cultural ties, and political motivations that unified Italy and Spain in this period. The number of palaces decorated with grotesques and frescoes of conquests that can be connected to Giulio Aquili and his followers demonstrates the reach and utility of this ornamental language. As one of undoubtedly many others, this anonymous artist responsible for the Metropolitan's Spanish ornament drawings connected Rome and Genoa to the Alhambra, where a new generation of artists would continue this legacy.

en el Reina de Jaén, Instituto de Estudios Giennenses, Jaén 2008; J.M. Almansa Moreno, N. Martínez Jiménez, F. Quiles García (eds), *Pintura mural en la Edad Moderna*, Universo Barroco Iberoamericano, Seville 2018.