
The appreciation of Bosch's paintings in Spanish sources

Elena Vázquez Dueñas

Elena Vázquez Dueñas

Vázquez Dueñas is a postdoctoral researcher who holds a Juan de la Cierva Fellowship at the Carlos de Amberes Foundation in Madrid. Her PhD thesis, which focused on the life and work of the courtier and antiquarian Felipe de Guevara, was supervised by Prof Fernando Checa at University Complutense of Madrid. She has published several papers on this topic and participated in various international conferences. She has also worked on the transcription and study of inventories of the Habsburg royal family, taking part in projects such as the inventories of Charles V and the imperial family, the royal inventories of Philip II (with the study and transcription of Philip II's delivery books to El Escorial), and the royal inventories of Philip II's family (with the study and transcription of the inventories of Isabel de Valois). She is also a member of the research project "Spaces of art collecting in the House of Austria: sixteenth and seventeenth centuries", which involves the Royal Alcazar of Madrid, the Royal Palace of El Pardo and the Monastery of El Escorial, and has worked with the research groups "Art, Power and Society in the Modern Age" and "MAPA (Magnificence, Power and Art)".

Jheronimus Van Aken, generally known in Spain as El Bosco, never lived in Spain, even though the seventeenth-century art writer Jusepe Martínez (1600-1682) stated that he was born in Toledo. Although it is not true, it serves as a testimony that his work was particularly influential in Spain, reaching its peak in the sixteenth century and extending to today.

Indeed, in 1889, C. Justi pointed out that Bosch's most important paintings were in Spain.¹ However, little attention has been paid to the Spanish texts written by art writers and poets about this painter. In 1943 Xavier de Salas pointed out the existence of many of these texts in Spain, starting from the sixteenth-century commentaries by the courtier and antiquarian Felipe de Guevara (c.1500-1563)² and concluding in the eighteenth century with Antonio Ponz. Salas extended that text in 1956.³

It is important to bear in mind that the reception of Bosch's paintings varied, and that texts written at different times reflected the changing taste in each period. This paper will focus on the appreciation of Bosch's paintings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, through an analysis of different archival documents and art treatises. However, this is only a small part of a thorough study which will appear, in Spanish, in the book *El Bosco en las fuentes españolas*.

1. *The appreciation of Bosch's paintings in the sixteenth century*

The first Spanish document to cite a Bosch painting was the inventory of Isabel la Católica (1451-1504), preserved today in the *Archivo General de Simancas*. It describes the work as follows:

Otra tabla mas pequeña *que* la susodicha *que* tiene en el medio una mujer desnuda con unos cabellos largos las manos juntas y en lo baxo en el cerco dorado un letrado de letras negras *que* dize Jeronimus. Apreciose en cinco rreales.⁴ [A naked woman with long hair and hands together. At the bottom, encircled in gold, a text in black letters which says Jeronimus].

According to Brans, the painting may represent Mary Magdalene. It is important to take into account that the inventory did not describe most of the paintings in detail. A painter can only be identified for two works: the first is the Bosch painting mentioned above, and the second is a reference to a painter named 'Michel', who is clearly Michel Sittow, who began serving the Queen in 1492.

This is because, at that time, paintings were valued less highly than pieces of gold and silverwork, rich clothing or, above all, tapestries. The execution and rich materials used in those items were more highly valued than the artistic aspect. Moreover, devotional paintings predominated in the inventory and, consequently, Bosch's paintings must be considered in terms of their moral character.⁵

Although it is well known that Philip the Fair commissioned a *Last Judgement* from Bosch and that the inventory of Margaret of Austria included a *Saint Anthony* by him, the king who most appreciated Bosch's paintings was, without a doubt, Philip II. At first glance, it seems strange that one of the greatest defenders of the Catholic Counterreformation should admire these paintings so much, and not consider them heretical. The most likely explanation is that Philip II probably considered them to be manuals of meditation. Evidence of this is the fact that the *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins* was in his own room at El Escorial. The scholarly circle of Philip II (Ambrosio de Morales, Felipe de Guevara and, in the following century, Fray José de Sigüenza) emphasised this moral interpretation still further. These three authors considered Bosch's paintings to be an example of decorum, even giving them classical precedents. It is no coincidence that they only mentioned the paintings displayed by Bosch in religious settings such as El Escorial, while overlooking the profane subjects to be seen in the Alcazar and El Pardo. All these sources were analysed in my contribution to the last Bosch Conference.⁶ Sigüenza's writings had a great influence on other friars at El Escorial, such as Padre de los Santos (1657, 1667, 1681 y 1698) and Father Ximénez (1764), whose descriptions of the monastery continued to emphasise the moral character of these paintings.

Philip II acquired two great collections of works by Bosch. The first, in 1570, was acquired from the heirs of his courtier, Felipe de Guevara. The Archivo Histórico de Protocolos in Madrid has the deed of sale documenting that Felipe de Guevara's widow, Beatriz de Haro, and their son, Ladrón, sold the following paintings by Bosch to the King: a *Haywain*⁷, *Dos ciegos que guía el uno al otro y detrás una mujer ciega*⁸ (Two blind men guiding one another), una *Danza a modo de Flandes*⁹ (a Flemish dance), *unos ciegos andan a caza de un jabalí*¹⁰ (Blind men hunting a boar), una *Bruja*¹¹ (a Witch) and a *pedra de la locura*¹² (The stone of madness).

The second collection came from the auction of the Prior Don Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (1527-1591), illegitimate son of the Duke of Alba. At that auction, Philip II bought the following paintings: *Variiedad del Mundo*¹³ (Variety of the World, which is identifiable as *The Garden of Earthly Delights*), *Tríptico de la Tentación* (a Tryptich of Temptation), *Disparates, Coronación de Cristo en redondo* (The Coronation of Christ) and *Un juicio* (A judgement).

Two of the most important documents for the study of Philip II's Bosch collection are the *Libros de entregas* of El Escorial¹⁴ and his *Post-mortem Inventory*,¹⁵ both housed today at the Archivo de Palacio in Madrid. The first document described everything Philip II gave to the Monastery of El Escorial, which included some of Bosch's paintings.

The first group of works sent to El Escorial (1571-1574) included the following paintings by Bosch: *Cristo camino del Calvario*¹⁶ (Christ on the way to Calvary), *Adoración de los Magos*¹⁷ (The Adoration of the Magi), three versions of the *Temptations of Saint Anthony*, a *Haywain*, *Bajada de Cristo al Limbo* (Christ's descent into Limbo), *Prendimiento de Cristo* (The Taking of Christ) and the *Mesa de los Pecados Capitales*¹⁸ (Tabletop of Seven Deadly Sins). The sixth lot of transferred paintings (1593) listed more of Bosch's paintings: *Jardín de las Delicias* (*The Garden*

of *Earthly Delights*, previously known as *The Variety of the World*), a Judgement, a triptych of the *Temptations of Saint Anthony*, a painting with *disparates* ('absurdities') and a *Crowning of Thorns* (*Coronación de espinas*).

In the Post-mortem Inventory, dated from 1600, the painter Juan Pantoja de la Cruz described and valued the paintings which were then in the Royal Alcazar in Madrid. The inventory mentioned the following works by Bosch: *una piedra de la locura* (The stone of madness), *unos ciegos andan a caza de un jabalí* (Blind men hunting a boar), and *una danza* (a dance) (paintings identifiable as amongst those acquired from the courtier Felipe de Guevara). Moreover, the inventory included two canvases that represent *Saint Martín and many poor with disparates*, a sketch of an elephant with *disparates*, a *Saint Anthony with Christ on the Cross*, a *Witch*, *Christ's descent into Limbo*, and a panel with *disparates* representing the seven deadly sins.

Furthermore, in his *Discurso sobre la montería* (1582), Gonzalo Argote de Molina mentioned eight panels in the Royal Palace of El Pardo which were painted by El Bosco, whom he considered 'famoso por los disparates de su pintura' [famous for the extravagances of his paintings]. He described one of them as:

A strange boy who was born in Germany and who, being but three days in the world, seems rather to be seven years old, and with his most ugly appearance and gestures is a figure of much admiration, with his mother wrapping him in swaddling clothes. The other panels are temptations of St Anthony.¹⁹

2. *The appreciation of Bosch's paintings in the seventeenth century*

In contrast to this moral reading of Bosch's paintings, there was a different interpretation in the seventeenth century. This was due, on the one hand, to a change in taste. In this period, other Flemish painters like Rubens and Van Dyck gained greater importance. As a consequence, Bosch's paintings started to be relegated to secondary positions in the monastery and Alcazar. Moreover, some of his paintings were in a bad state of conservation, old or broken and even dismantled, as the 1686 inventory, amongst others, revealed. The inventories also cited many paintings by Bosch's imitators. Amongst these, it must be highlighted that the 1686 inventory listed some paintings that are clearly identifiable as works by Arcimboldo (Fig. 1) as belonging to Bosch's school.²⁰

On the other hand, some people continued to suspect that Bosch's paintings hid a particular kind of heresy. As such, some art writers, like Pacheco, criticised them. However, the fact that Jusepe Martínez stated in 1675 that Bosch was born in Toledo indicates that his fame, though reduced, was still alive. The presence of Bosch's paintings continued to be cited in royal inventories, and there were also references to Bosch in different art treatises.



Figure 1
Arcimboldo, *Vertumnus*, oil on panel, 70 × 58 cm, c. 1590-1591, Skokloster (Sweden)

2a. *Discursos apologéticos en que se defiende la ingenuidad del arte de la pintura que es liberal y noble de todos derechos* by Juan de Butrón (Madrid, 1626).

The defence of painting as a liberal art had been argued since the sixteenth century, but it reached its peak in the seventeenth century and was solved in favour of artists. The importance of this declaration is easy to understand if we consider that the payment (or lack of payment) of the “alcabalas”, a duty applied only to all mechanic activity, depended upon it.

This was the principal argument behind the treatise *Discursos apologéticos en que se defiende la ingenuidad del arte de la pintura*²¹ (Fig. 2), whose author, Juan de Butrón, was not a painter but a jurist. He stated that painting deserved to be considered amongst the liberal arts due to its high appreciation in ancient times.²² Regarding Bosch, he pointed out: ‘Y Geronymo Bosque pintó caprichos que le dieron mucha opinión, y quando fuessen lasciuos no se la quitarían’²³ [‘And Jheronimus Bosch gained recognition for the “caprichos” he painted, even though some were of a lascivious nature’]. Butrón used the word “capricho” to refer to Bosch’s work, but also conferred a lascivious character to the term. Despite this, according to him, Bosch’s paintings continued to be appreciated in Spain.

2b. *Diálogos de la pintura* by Vincenzo Carducho (1633)

Vincenzo Carducho (1576-1638),²⁴ an Italian painter (Fig. 3), travelled to Spain at an early age, accompanying his brother Bartolomé, who had been called by the king to work in the Monastery of El Escorial. Over the years, he developed his own artistic career, receiving important commissions, such as painting a gallery in the Royal Palace of El Pardo. The fact that he was a religious and learned man is clear from his library and his art treatise, published in 1633 under the title *Diálogos de la pintura*. Over eight dialogues, the master teaches his disciple about the artistic experience. It is in the second dialogue that he referred to Bosch, though very briefly, as an example of a prominent painter in Flanders, together with Jan Van Eyck, Michiel Coxcie, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Lancelot Blondeel and Frans Mostaert:

Diálogo segundo: Del origen de la Pintura. Quienes fueron sus Inventores; como se perdió, y se volvió a restaurar; su estimación, nobleza, y dificultad.

En Alemania, y Flandes, Polonia, Ungria, Suecia, y en todas aquellas partes Setentrionales, nacieron grandes hombres en esta facultad: en Flandes Iuan Lik de Brujas²⁵, Miguel Ceckisien²⁶, Geronimo Hertogkens²⁷, Pedro Bruguel de Breda²⁸, Lancilocto²⁹, que se señaló en pintar fuegos, noches, resplandores y cosas semejantes. Francisco Mostaret³⁰ pintó bazarrias de sueños, y imaginaciones. Siguieron su modo muchos.³¹

[Second Dialogue: On the origin of Painting. Who were its inventors; how was it missed and restored; its appreciation, nobility and difficulty.



Figure 2

Discursos apologéticos en que se defiende la ingenuidad del arte de la Pintura que es liberal y noble de todos derechos by Juan de Butrón (Madrid, 1626), title page

In Germany, and Flanders, Poland, Hungary, Sweden, and in all septentrional parts, great men were born in this field: in Flanders Iuan Lik from Bruges, Miguel Ceckisien, Geronimo Hertogkens, Pedro Bruguel of Breda, Lancilocto, who stood out by painting fires, nights, brightness and similar things. Francisco Mostaret painted strange things, from dreams and the imagination. Many followed his manner.]

2c. *El arte de la pintura* by Francisco Pacheco (1649)

The father-in-law of the painter Diego Velázquez, Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644),³² stood out more for his writing than for his painting (Fig. 4). However, the treatise which brought him the most fame was his *El arte de la pintura* [*Art of Painting*], published posthumously in 1649. Pacheco was also adviser to the Holy Office on iconographical matters, and perhaps this is why he was more sceptical about Bosch's work. He inserted his commentary on Bosch in chapter eight of his treatise, entitled *De la pintura de animales y aves, pescaderías y bodegones y de la ingeniosa invención de los retratos del natural* [On painting of animals and birds, fish markets and still lifes and on the ingenious inventions of portraits from life].

After citing two anecdotes about painters – one ancient (Parrasius) and the other contemporary (Pablo de Céspedes) – Pacheco emphasised the importance of figures in painting, based on their difficulty, and he advised the painter to avoid “divertimentos” (amusements) in painting, disregarded by great masters. In contrast, according to him, other painters looked to these amusements on purpose, as occurred in the caprices of Jheronimus Bosch, and which contained such a variety of devils whose invention was very much admired by King Philip II. However, Pacheco stated that Sigüenza praised Bosch too much, and that he interpreted Bosch's ‘licentious fantasies’ as mysteries.

This critique of Bosch's work reflected a change of taste. The aesthetic of his works had ceased to interest collectors. Instead, there was a preference for works of greater naturalism, such as still lifes and grotesques paintings that reproduced popular scenes from reality, such as those produced by Teniers or Adriaen Brouwer. In effect, Pacheco included his criticism in the chapter dedicated to these kinds of paintings. Nonetheless, Pacheco recognised Bosch's ingenuity, but disapproved of his excessive use of fantasy.

2d. *Origen e yllustracion del nobilissimo y Real Arte de la Pintura y Dibuxo* by Lázaro Díaz del Valle (1656-1659).

Lázaro Díaz del Valle (León, 1606–Madrid, 1669)³³ was a musician, singer at the Royal Chapel, historian and genealogist. He was also very interested in art, collecting not only paintings, etchings, books and manuscripts, but also including his own drawings of emblems, coats of arms and portraits in some of his manuscripts. He entered the service of Philip IV in November 1622, when he was already in Madrid as a pupil at the school of palace singers. In 1633, he entered the Royal Chapel as *cantor tiple*. From 1651, he was a priest. He was also a chronicler of the courts of Castille and León, writing his *Historia y Nobleza del Reino de León*, the first volume of which dates from 1657 and the second from 1665. In

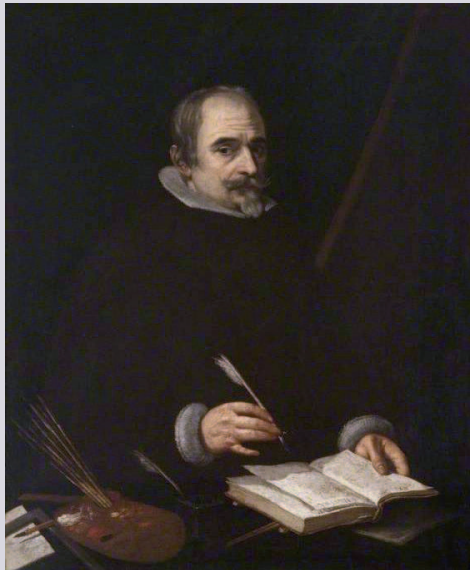


Figure 3
Vincenzo Carducho, *Selfportrait*, oil on canvas, 92 × 85 cm, c. 1633-1638, Pollock House, Glasgow



Figure 4
Diego Velázquez, *Portrait Francisco Pacheco*, oil on canvas, 41 × 36 cm, c. 1622, Museo del Prado, P1209

addition, he wrote works about heraldry, history and painting, but none of his manuscripts were published. Between 1656 and 1662, he wrote *Origen e yllustracion del nobilissimo y Real Arte de la Pintura y Dibuxo*, a manuscript which is housed today in the library of the Diego Velázquez Institute in Madrid. It included biographies of Spanish and foreign artists. Amongst the latter, he inserted his commentary on the work of Bosch.

According to him, El Bosco was a strange painter who was very well-known for his many singular works displayed in El Escorial and the Royal Palace of El Pardo. Sigüenza, too, stated that he was a strange man in painting. Moreover, like Sigüenza, Díaz del Valle pointed out that Bosch chose a different way of painting from the other painters, which was why his paintings were so singular and admirable.

2e. *Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura* by Jusepe Martínez (1675).

Jusepe Martínez (1601-1682)³⁴, born in Zaragoza, received his first artistic training from his father, a Flemish painter of Spanish origin (Fig. 5). Between 1622 and 1633, he completed his training by travelling through Italy, coming into contact with important artists such as Guido Reni, Domenichino and Ribera. In 1632, he returned to Zaragoza and received several commissions from his patron, Vincencio Juan de Lastanosa. In 1634, he travelled to Madrid to see the court paintings, and probably visited El Escorial and El Pardo on this trip. However, likely due to the death of his father, he had to return to Zaragoza in 1636. In 1644, he was appointed Royal painter to Philip IV, but was not given any salary. He was also made the teacher of Juan de Austria, Philip IV's son who became Viceroy in Aragón in 1673. It was to him that Jusepe Martínez dedicated his treatise *Discursos practicables del nobilísimo arte de la pintura*, written in 1675 but not published. It is in this text that he referred to Bosch.

After writing that El Greco settled in Toledo, he surprisingly said that El Bosco was born in the same city. According to Jusepe Martínez, El Bosco was a Spanish artist, born in Toledo, who had studied for a long time in Flanders. Like Sigüenza, Martínez stated that Bosch chose a singular way of painting to distinguish himself from other artists, who were better at depicting stories and figures. This was so unusual and new that it became common to speak of the 'Disparate of Jerónimo Bosco', although behind the unusual appearance there were things of great consideration and morality. As examples of paintings with this 'rare caprice and productive ingenuity', he cited a panel which represented the Temptation of Saint Anthony and another one showing the Seven Deadly Sins. Moreover, Jusepe Martínez pointed out that Bosch's paintings inspired the satirical work by the Spanish poet Francisco de Quevedo entitled *Sueños* (Dreams). Finally, Jusepe Martínez made reference to Bosch's many followers in Italy, France, Flanders and Germany, none of whom he considered to be as good at invention as their master.

Once more, Jusepe Martínez used the term 'caprice' to refer to Bosch's paintings, but without failing to recognise his great ingenuity. His commentary also testified to the fact that the painter's fame was still alive in Spain, even more than a century after the artist's death, to such an extent that he considered Bosch to have been born in Toledo.



Figure 5

Jusepe Martínez, *Selfportrait with the portrait of his father Daniel Martínez*, oil on canvas, 74 × 93 cm, 1630, Museo Provincial de Zaragoza

3. Conclusions

By analysing different texts and archival documents, I have studied the evolution of the appreciation of Bosch's paintings in Spain. At first glance, Bosch's paintings are not easy to define and require detailed analysis; consequently, they have been interpreted in different ways over the centuries. *Caprichos* and *disparates* are the most commonly used words to define these particular paintings, whose real meaning remains in many cases enigmatic. Perhaps this is why they have fascinated spectators so much over the course of time. This study has focused on only two centuries, but it would be possible to extend it through the present. However, now is the moment to finish with a final reflection.

The interest in Bosch's paintings reached its peak in the sixteenth century and decreased in the following century. Sigüenza's moral interpretation of these paintings had a great influence on subsequent authors, though other writers were more critical of Bosch's work. This was due, in part, to a change in taste, but also to the fear that these singular paintings hid some kind of heretical content. Despite this, Bosch's paintings left no one indifferent. Even authors like Pacheco, who criticised these paintings, recognised their value and singularity. And the truth is that although their importance decreased in some periods, Bosch's fame is still alive, even today.

- 1 Justi 1889, pp. 121-144. Reprinted with some additions in Justi 1908, pp. 63-93.
- 2 Salas 1943 and see Vázquez Dueñas (ed.) 2016.
- 3 Salas 1956, pp. 108-113.
- 4 Archivo General de Simancas, *Libro de los cargos que se hizieron a Juan Belazquez de las cosas de horo y otras cosas que fueron a su cargo de las que quedaron de la Recamara de la Reyna doña Ysabel*, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas (CMC), 1ª época, leg. 192, fol. LXVIII. About Isabel la Católica's art collection, see Sánchez Cantón, 1950; Silva Maroto 2004, pp. 115-126; Yarza Luaces 2005.
- 5 Zalama 1988, pp. 45-66.
- 6 Vázquez Dueñas 2014, pp. 284-304.
- 7 There are two signed versions of this painting: one preserved in Museo Nacional del Prado, and another in the Monastery of El Escorial. According to Pilar Silva, the latter was the painting that Philip II brought to the heirs of Felipe de Guevara. By then, the other artwork in Prado's Museum was already in Philip II's collection, as is testified to by Ambrosio de Morales in his commentary (c. 1549) where he compares the *Haywain* with the Tabula of Cebes. Therefore, Philip II acquired another version of *Haywain* to send to El Escorial. F. Checa Cremades (dir.) 1998, pp. 451-452. According to C. Garrido and R. Schoute, the painting preserved in El Escorial is a copy. Garrido and Van Schoute 2001, p. 156.
- 8 This painting has not been preserved. Displayed in Alcázar of Madrid, it must have been lost in the fire of 1734.
- 9 This painting has not been preserved. It was listed in the Post-mortem Inventory of Philip II with the following description: 'Un lienço de pintura al temple de mano de Hieronimo Bosco, en que ay una

- dança de hombres y mugeres *que* tiene una bara de alto y dos de largo. N° 30 tas(s)ado en tres ducados' (fol 809r).
- 10 This painting has not been preserved. It must have been lost in the fire of Alcazar in 1734. However, the same topic is represented at the bottom of one of the Bosch's Tapestries, called *Feast of San Martin*. In the Post-mortem Inventory, it is described as follows: 'Un lienço de mano de Hieronimo Bosco al temple, en que esta pintada una monteria con un jabali y muchos ciegos. Tiene de alto una bara y dos tercias y bara y media de ancho. N° 31 tassado en seis ducados' (fols. 808r-808v).
 - 11 This painting has not been preserved. In the Post-mortem Inventory of Philip II, it is described as follows: 'Otro lienço de pintura al temple, de mano de Hieronimo Bosco, en que esta pintada una bruja desenboluiendo una criatura, que tiene de alto una bara y de ancho bara y tercia. N° 32 Tasado en ocho reales' (fol. 813v).
 - 12 This painting is not that one preserved nowadays in the Prado Museum. The painting acquired by the Guevara's was bigger and square in size. It must be displayed in Alcazar in Madrid: 'Un lienço de mano de Hieronimo Bosco maltratado pintado al temple, en que ay un surujano (*sic*) que esta curando a un hombre la caueça, que tiene de alto bara y media y de ancho otro tanto, sin marco. N°33 tasado en ocho reales' (fol. 797r).
 - 13 Nowadays, known as *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. See Falkenburg 2011; Belting 2016; Vandenbroeck 2016.
 - 14 Archivo General de Palacio, Madrid (AGPM), Patronato El Escorial, Cajas 82 and 83. Checa Cremades (dir.) 2013.
 - 15 AGPM, Registros, n° 235, 236 and 237. Sánchez Cantón 1959.
 - 16 Nowadays, this painting is still in the Monastery of El Escorial.
 - 17 The triptych was commissioned between 1491 and 1498, probably around 1495, by Peeter Scheyfve and his wife Agnes (Agneese) de Gramme from Antwerp; in 1574 sent to the Escorial by Philip II of Spain. Moved from the Escorial to the Prado on 13 April 1839. The painting was then sent to the Prado Museum (n° P02048). See Brand-Philip 1953: 267-293; Yarza Luaces 2006, pp. 359-374; Ilsink et al. 2016, pp. 198.
 - 18 It has been displayed in the Prado Museum since 1939.
 - 19 La una de ellas de un extraño muchacho que nació en Alemania, que, siendo de tres días nacido, parescia de siete años, que ayudado con feísimo talle y gesto, es figura de mucha admiración, a quien su madre esta envolviendo en las mantillas. Las otras tablas son de tentaciones de Sant Anton.' Argote de Molina 1991, pp. XLVII, 245; Silva Maroto 2001, p. 42.
 - 20 'Una caueça en tabla conpuesta de frutas y espigas de la escuela de Geronimo Bosco'. AGPM, Administración General, Inventario de pinturas desmontadas en diferentes partes del Palacio Real de Madrid (1686), leg. 768, Expte 6.
 - 21 See Sánchez Cantón, t. II, 1933, pp. 21-31; Gaya Nuño, 1975, p. 35; Gállego, *op.cit.*, 1995, pp. 73-81; Calvo Serraller 1991, pp. 195-199.
 - 22 See Portús, 1999, pp. 87-88.
 - 23 Butrón 1626, fol. 82r.
 - 24 Sánchez Cantón, t.II, 1933, pp. 61-115; Gaya Nuño 1975, pp. 36-38; Palomino, t. III, 1988, pp. 147-151; Calvo Serraller 1991, pp. 261-269.; Pascual Chenel and Rodríguez Rebollo 2015.
 - 25 Jan Van Eyck (c.1390-1441).

- 26 Michiel Coxcie (c. 1499-1592).
- 27 Bosch (c.1450-1516).
- 28 Pieter Brueghel the Elder (1528/30-1569).
- 29 Lancelot Blondel (1496-1561).
- 30 Frans Mostaert (1528-1560).
- 31 Carducho 1979, pp. 123-124.
- 32 See Stirling-Maxwell 1891, pp. 537-57; Rodríguez Marín 1923; Salazar, Concepción 1928, pp. 155-60; Sánchez Cantón, t.II, 1933, pp. 119-217; Sancho Corbacho 1955, pp. 121-46; J. de las Cuevas 1955, pp. 9-65; Calvo Serraller, Francisco, *op.cit.*, 1991, 367-72; Ceán Bermúdez, t. IV, 2001, pp. 3-23; Asensio y Toledo 2007.
- 33 See Sánchez Cantón, t.II, 1933, pp. 323-93; Calvo Serraller, Francisco, *op.cit.*, 1991, pp. 461-2; Riello, 2004, pp. 105-32; Riello 2007; García López 2008.
- 34 See González Hernández 1978, pp. 65-99; González Hernández 1981; Pérez Sánchez, Alonso E.; Buendía, J. Rogelio y Morales y Marín 1982; Palomino, t. III, 1988, pp. 378-9; Manrique Ara 2000; Manrique Ara 2001; Ceán Bermudez t. II, 2001, pp. 77-8.

References

- Archivo General de Palacio, Patronato, El Escorial, *Libros de entregas de Felipe II a El Escorial*. Cajas 82 and 83.
- Archivo General de Palacio, Madrid, Registros, *Inventory Postmortem of Philip II*. n° 235, 236 and 237.
- Archivo General de Palacio, Madrid, Administración General, *Inventario de pinturas desmontadas en diferentes partes del Palacio Real de Madrid (1686)*. leg. 768, Expte 6.
- Archivo General de Simancas, *Libro de los cargos que se hizieron a Juan Belazquez de las cosas de horo y otras cosas que fueron a su cargo de las que quedaron de la Recamara de la Reyna doña Ysabel*. Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas (CMC), 1ª época, leg. 192, fol. LXVIII.
- G. Argote de Molina, *Discurso sobre la montería*. Madrid, ed. moderna Casariego, 1991.
- J. M. Asensio y Toledo, *Francisco Pacheco: Sus obras artísticas y literarias, especialmente el Libro de Descripción de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones*. Imprenta: Litografía y Librería Española y Extranjera de D. José Mº Geofrin, 1867 (modern ed., La Coruña, Editorial Orbigo, 2007).
- H. Belting, *Garden of Earthly Delights*. Prestel, 2016.
- L. Brand-Philip, "The Prado Epifany by Jérôme Bosch", in: *The Art Bulletin*, XXXV, n° 4, 1953, pp. 267-93.
- J. de Butrón, *Discursos apologeticos en que se defiende la ingenuidad del arte de la Pintura que es liberal y noble de todos derechos*. Madrid, por Luis Sanchez impressor del Rey, 1626.
- F. Calvo Serraller, *La teoría de la pintura en el Siglo de Oro*. Cátedra, Madrid, 1991.
- V. Carducho, *Diálogos de la pintura. Su defensa, origen, esencia, definición, modos y diferencias* (F. Calvo Serraller, ed.). Ediciones Turner, Madrid, 1979.
- J. A. Ceán Bermúdez and J. Agustín, *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las Bellas Artes en España*. Madrid, En la Imprenta de la viuda de Ibarra, Madrid, 1800 [modern ed., Akal, Madrid, 2001].
- F. Checa Cremades (dir.), *Felipe II: un monarca y su época. Un príncipe del Renacimiento*, catalogue exhibition (13 October 1998-10 January 1999). Madrid, Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de

- los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, Madrid, 1998.
- F. Checa Cremades (dir.), *Los libros de entregas de Felipe II a El Escorial*. Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid, 2013.
- J. de las Cuevas, "Francisco Pacheco y 'El Arte de la Pintura'", in: *Archivo hispalense*, t. XXIII, n° 72-73, 1955, pp. 9-65.
- R. Falkenburg, *The land of unlikeness. Hieronymus Bosch, The Garden of Earthly Delights*. Wbooks, Zwolle, 2011.
- J. Gállego, *El pintor, de artesano a artista*. Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1995.
- D. García López, *Lázaro Díaz del Valle y las Vidas de pintores de España*. Fundación Universitaria Española, Madrid, 2008.
- C. Garrido and R. Van Schoute, *El Bosco en el Museo del Prado (estudio técnico)*. Aldeasa, 2001.
- J.A. Gaya Nuño, *Historia de la crítica de arte en España*. Iberico Europea de Ediciones, Madrid, 1975.
- V. González Hernández, "Documentos para una biografía incompleta: Jusepe Martínez, pintor", in: *Seminario de Arte Aragonés*, XXV-XXVI. Institución Fernando el Católico, Zaragoza, 1978, pp. 65-99.
- V. González Hernández, *Jusepe Martínez (1600-1682)*. Museo e Instituto de Humanidades 'Camón Aznar', 1981.
- M. Ilsink, J. Koldeweij, R. Spronk et al., *Hieronymus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman: Catalogue Raisonné*. Vol. 1 of *Hieronymus Bosch, Painter and Draughtsman*, 2 vols. Bosch Research and Conservation Project (BRCP), 's-Hertogenbosch and Brussels, 2016.
- C. Justi, "Die werke des Hieronymus Bosch in Spanien", in: *Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, X, Berlin, 1889, pp. 121-44. Reprinted with some additions in C. Justi, *Miscellaneen aus Drei Jahrhunderten Spanischen Kunstlebens*, Berlin, 1908, pp. 63-93.
- M. E. Manrique Ara, *Jusepe Martínez (1600-1682). Una vida consagrada a la pintura*. Centro de Estudios Cinco Villas de la Institución Fernando el Católico, Zaragoza, 2000.
- M. E. Manrique Ara, *Jusepe Martínez. Un pintor zaragozano en la Roma del Seicento*. Institución Fernando el Católico, Zaragoza, 2001.
- A. Palomino, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica*. Editorial Aguilar, Madrid, 1988.
- A. Pascual Chenel and A. Rodríguez Rebollo, *Vicente Carducho. Dibujos, catálogo razonado*. Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, Madrid, 2015.
- A. E. Pérez Sánchez, J. R. Buendía and J. L. Morales y Marín, *Jusepe Martínez y su tiempo*, catalogue exhibition. Museo e Instituto de Humanidades 'Camón Aznar', 1982.
- J. Portús, *Pintura y pensamiento en la España de Lope de Vega*. Editorial Nerea, Guipúzcoa, 1999.
- J. Riello, "Lázaro Díaz del Valle y de la Puerta. Datos documentales para su biografía", in: *De Arte*, n°3, 2004, pp. 105-32.
- J. Riello, *Un caso singular de la literatura artística española del siglo XVII: Lázaro Díaz del Valle*. PhD thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2007.
- F. Rodríguez Marín, *Francisco Pacheco, maestro de Velázquez*. Tip. de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, Madrid, 1923.
- X. de Salas, *El Bosco en la literatura española*. Imprenta J. Sabater, Barcelona, 1943.
- X. de Salas, "Más sobre El Bosco en España", in: *Homenaje a J.A. Van Praag*, Librería Española Plus Ultra, Amsterdam, 1956, pp. 108-13.
- C. Salazar, "El testamento de Francisco Pacheco", in: *Archivo español de arte y arqueología*, n°10, t. IV, 1928, pp. 155-60

- F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte español*. t. II. C. Bermejo Impresor, Madrid, 1933.
- F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Libros, tapices y cuadros que coleccionó Isabel la Católica*. CISC, Madrid, 1950.
- F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Inventarios Reales: bienes muebles que pertenecieron a Felipe II*. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1959.
- A. Sancho Corbacho, "Francisco Pacheco, tratadista de arte", in: *Archivo hispalense*, t. XXII, n° 70, 1955, pp. 121-46.
- P. Silva Maroto, "Bosch in Spain: On the works recorded in the royal inventories", in: J. Koldeweij, B. Vermet and B. van Kooij (eds.), *Hieronymus Bosch: New insights into his life and work*. Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, London: NAI, 2001, pp. 41-46.
- P. Silva Maroto, "La colección de pinturas de Isabel la Católica", in: F. Checa (dir.), *Isabel la Católica. La magnificencia de un reinado*. Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, Junta de Castilla y León, 2004, pp. 115-26.
- Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, *Annals of the artists of Spain*, vol. II. John C. Nimmo, London, 1891.
- P. Vandenbroeck, "High stakes in Brussels, 1567. The Garden of Earthly Delights as the crux of the conflict between William the Silent and the Duke of Alva", in: J. Koldeweij, B. Vermet and B. van Kooij (eds.), *op.cit.*, 2001, pp. 87-90.
- P. Vandenbroeck, "The Spanish inventarios reales and Hieronymus Bosch", in J. Koldeweij, B. Vermet and B. van Kooij (eds.), *Hieronymus Bosch: New insights into his life and work*, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen Rotterdam, NAI Publishers/Ludion, 2001, pp. 49-63.
- P. Vandenbroeck, *Utopia's doom. Hieronymus Bosch' Grail*. Peeters, Leuven, 2016.
- E. Vázquez Dueñas, "Bosch: More than just an inventor of monsters and chimeras", in: J. Timmermans (ed.), *Jheronimus Bosch. His patrons and his public*. Jheronimus Bosch Art Center, 2014, pp. 284-304.
- E. Vázquez Dueñas (ed.), *Felipe de Guevara. Comentario de la pintura y pintores antiguos*. Akal, Madrid, 2016.
- E. Vázquez Dueñas, *El Bosco en las fuentes españolas*, Editorial Doce Calles, 2016.
- J. Yarza Luaces, *Isabel la Católica. Promotora artística*. Edilesa, León, 2005.
- J. Yarza Luaces, "La Adoración de los Reyes Magos, Museo del Prado", in: *El Bosco y la tradición pictórica de lo fantástico en el Museo del Prado*. Galaxia Gutenberg-Círculo de Lectores, Barcelona, 2006, pp. 359-74.
- M. A. Zalama, "La infructuosa venta en almoneda de las pinturas de Isabel la Católica", in: *Boletín del Seminario de Estudios de Arte y Arqueología*, LXXIV, 2008, pp. 45-66.