

## Prince Charles's Purchases of Paintings in Madrid, 1623: New Findings on His Visit to the Don Jerónimo Funes Collection<sup>1</sup>

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### The Visit of the Prince of Wales to Spain in 1623

From March 15 to June 2, 2002, the Museo del Prado hosted an exhibition titled “La almoneda del siglo. Relaciones artísticas entre España y Gran Bretaña, 1604-1655.” This event, curated by Jonathan Brown and John Elliott, was accompanied by a comprehensive catalogue (2002) and stands as one of the most significant efforts to date in exploring the artistic exchanges between Spain and Great Britain in the early seventeenth century. The exhibition's timeframe, from 1604 to 1655, spanned from the peace treaty of 1604 to the Commonwealth Sale of 1649-1654, often called the “sale of the century,” incidentally, the title of the exhibition, where Philip IV of Spain was the primary purchaser. The sale featured many paintings previously acquired by Charles I of England from the Duke of Mantua about two decades earlier. These “Mantua pieces” included masterpieces by Titian, Correggio, Raphael, and Mantegna that the Gonzaga family had collected over the years. A significant number of these works can now be seen in the Museo del Prado, which is why the exhibition focused on the sale to examine the impact of Anglo-Spanish relations on the history of the museum's collections.

Between 1604 and 1655, one of the most significant political events connecting the Spanish and British monarchies was the visit of the Prince of Wales to Spain in 1623 to personally negotiate his marriage to Infanta María, the younger sister of King Philip IV. Although the marriage talks ultimately failed, the extended stay of the future king of England in Madrid had a profound impact on his artistic sensibilities. According to Jonathan Brown (44), this period served as an intense course on princely collecting, as Prince Charles developed a deeper appreciation for art during his five-and-a-half-month visit, marked by numerous festivities in his honor. Some of these events are represented in images (see fig. 1). The prince returned to England with a renewed admiration for the grand art collections he encountered in the Spanish court, particularly painting. This transformation in his artistic taste has drawn differing opinions. Jerry Brotton (9), for example, has challenged the notion that Prince Charles had limited knowledge of art before his visit to Spain. Despite these contrasting views, my article aims to contribute to the line of research established by Jonathan Brown and John Elliott through their 2002 exhibition, which explored the artistic connections between Spain and England during the early seventeenth century. I focus on a specific aspect of the Prince of Wales's visit to Madrid in 1623: his interest in seeing the art collection of Don Jerónimo Funes (c. 1574-c. 1663), a Valencian nobleman, who eventually gifted the prince several paintings and weapons. This article seeks to address two questions: first, what motivated the prince's visit to see Don Jerónimo Funes, and second, whether these gifts can be traced among the English royal collection in 1639.

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The Prince of Wales, later Charles I of England, visited Madrid from 7 March to 9 September 1623 (Brotton, 12 and 22). During this period, he engaged in various activities, including receiving gifts, buying, and commissioning numerous paintings, sculptures, drawings, and weapons, among other cultural objects. Two maritime scenes of the return of the Prince's entourage to England during those days in 1623 are now in the English royal collection. The first painting is noted in the royal inventory of 1639 as the embarkation of the Prince of Wales from the port of Santander in Spain (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> However, there is some doubt about its historical accuracy. It has been suggested that the scene is entirely imaginary, featuring an exotic-looking island, coastline, and Dutch-flagged ships.<sup>3</sup> The second painting appears in the inventory of the sale from 1649 to 1651 and is now in the Royal Collection Trust. It depicts the prince's successful return to England, with the fleet's arrival at Portsmouth on 5 October 1623. The painting depicts a fort on the right firing a salute, with the "Prince Royal" at the forefront, flying the Royal Standard, followed by other ships (fig. 3).<sup>4</sup>

These two maritime scenes are interesting because they allow us to imagine the shipment that would have been on board the ships carrying the Prince of Wales and his entourage back to England: the numerous art treasures that the prince and his advisors (Buckingham, Balthasar Gerbier, and Endymion Porter) had managed to collect in Spain. For instance, we know that the English prince received two masterpieces by Titian, one of the most esteemed artists of the time, as a gift from the Spanish king, Philip IV. The first, *Portrait of Charles V with Hound* (Museo del Prado) was later reacquired by the Spanish crown from the estates of Charles I during the Commonwealth Sale. The second, *The Pardo Venus*, now in the Louvre in Paris, also known as *Jupiter and Antiope*, one of the finest in the entire Habsburg collection. The court painter Vicente Carducho noted that upon hearing about a fire at the palace of El Pardo in 1604, the King Philip III's first question was whether this painting by Titian had been damaged, "y diziéndole que no, dixo, basta, que lo demás se volverá a hacer." (436) We also know from Carducho that Prince Charles was close to acquiring Titian's *Poesie*, the celebrated series of mythological canvases created for Philip II, but the negotiations fell through due to the breakdown of the marriage negotiations (436). As the English party made their way back to England, they stopped in Valladolid to visit the palace of La Ribera, a pleasure house that the Duke of Lerma (Philip III's prime minister) began to build on the banks of the Pisuerga River in 1601 to entertain and accommodate the king and his family. By the time of Prince Charles' stay, the residence and its interior decoration were already the property of the Spanish crown, as it was sold by Lerma to the monarch in 1607. During the visit, Prince Charles received additional gifts from the Spanish crown, from Lerma's original collection. These included the sculptural group *Samson slaying the Philistine* by Giambologna, a diplomatic gift to the Duke of Lerma<sup>5</sup> from the Grand Duke of Tuscany,

<sup>2</sup> The inventory of the English royal collection from around 1639, drawn up by its curator Abraham van der Doort, can be consulted online at <https://lostcollection.rct.uk/van-der-doort-inventory>. The reference to this painting in: "Porcellis; St Andrew's Harbour in Spain, where the King embarked from Spain, with some 4 big and 9 small ships." In <https://lostcollection.rct.uk/collection/st-andrews-harbour-spain-where-king-embarked-spain-some-4-big-and-9-small-ships> (accessed 1 April 2024).

<sup>3</sup> "Porcellis; A View of a Bay with Shipping." In <https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/1/collection/405566> (accessed 1 April 2024).

<sup>4</sup> "Cornelis Vroom; Sea-piece of the King's ships bringing the Prince out of Spain." In <https://lostcollection.rct.uk/collection/sea-piece-kings-ships-bringing-prince-out-spain> (accessed 1 April 2024). "Cornelis Vroom; The Return of the Fleet with Charles I (1600-1649), when Prince of Wales in 1623." In <https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/1/collection/406193> (accessed 1 April 2024).

<sup>5</sup> The expenditure book of the English retinue in Madrid in 1623 also reports this gift. It notes that those who handed over the sculpture were rewarded with a gold chain and 50 doubloons: "In Valladolid delivered unto Gerbier a chaine of gold and – 50 doblones to give in rewarde to those that delivered in the statue that

now in the Victoria and Albert Museum; and the painting *Mars and Venus* by Veronese, now in the National Gallery of Scotland (Schroth, 549-550).

The ships carrying the English Prince of Wales and his entourage back to England after their visit to Spain in 1623 also carried artworks acquired in two new ways: direct commissions from artists at the Spanish court and purchases from existing collections in Madrid, both from living and deceased collectors. Regarding direct commissions, the expenditure book of the English retinue during their stay in Madrid in 1623 provides interesting details. For instance, the prince paid the court painter Eugenio Cajés a substantial sum of 2,000 *reales* “being for a picture of the Supper of Our Saviour,”<sup>6</sup> which may have been by Cajés himself. Additionally, the records suggest that he commissioned a portrait of himself from Velázquez for 1,100 *reales* (fig. 6), a subject I will revisit shortly. The expenditure book of 1623 also contains a great deal of information on direct purchases from collections, including auctions involving deceased collectors' estates. The Prince of Wales mainly acquired items from these estate sales, where goods from courtiers of the previous generation were available, as his negotiations with living collectors, were less fruitful (Brotton, 17).

The custom of holding *almonedas* (auctions) in Spain was recognized as a uniquely national practice. An anonymous Italian during the reign of Philip III noted, “quando muere algún señor y quier otra persona de qualquier estado y condición, usan los hijos, o herederos vender todos los muebles que deja sub hasta, y llaman esto almoneda.” (Marías & Manfrè, 278) This tradition, characterized by a general disregard for the preservation of family patrimony, likely worked to the benefit of Prince Charles, although often at high prices, as Vicente Carducho noted (435). This is how some of the finest works of Spanish origin entered the English royal collection. For instance, the *Allegory of Alfonso de Ávalos, Marquis of Vasto*, painted by Titian and currently in the Louvre, was bought by Prince Charles at an “almonedo”, according to the 1639 inventory.<sup>7</sup> In this context of intense eagerness to acquire the artistic treasures from prominent Spanish collections, we can better understand the Prince of Wales's visit to the house of Don Jerónimo Funes in 1623, which is the focus of this study.

### **“Que porque tuvo el príncipe de Gales noticia dellos fue a verlos a su casa”: Charles I, Jerónimo Funes and Painting**

Fuimos a casa de don Gerónimo Fures [sic] y Muñoz, cavallero de la orden de Santiago, gentilhombre de la boca del rei nuestro señor, y de su Consejo Supremo de Italia, conservador general de su Real Patrimonio de los Reinos de Nápoles, Sicilia y estado de Milán, y le hallamos pintando una de las muchas empresas morales que tiene hechas, en que muestra quan perito está en esta filosofía, y quan bien la practica y entiende. Y para disponer la pintura della sobran Pierio Valeriano y el Alciato; en la que estava ocupado era una nave con todas las velas tendidas que con viento próspero va navegando, con la letra de Periandro “ne credas tempori,” enseñando por ella la poca seguridad que de los sucesos humanos se

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was presented to his highness.” *Account-book, containing particulars of the expenditure of prince Charles (afterwards Charles I), the duke of Buckingham, and Sir Francis Cottington, on their visit to Spain* (April-September 1623), National Library of Scotland, ms. 1.879, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> *Account-book* (April-September 1623), National Library of Scotland, ms. 1.879, p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> “Titian; Marquis of Vasto, 5 life-size, half-length figures.” In <https://lostcollection.rct.uk/collection/marquis-vasto-5-life-size-half-length-figures> (accessed 2 April 2024). According to Burke and Cherry, this painting came from the Spanish royal collection, noting that different copies of Titian's original work circulated in Spain during the early seventeenth century (vol. I, 220).

puede tener. Enseñonos muchos y excelentes dibujos originales de mano de los más valientes pintores y escultores que tuvo Italia en aquella edad que estas artes tanto florecieron y dieron el fruto tan sazonado y perfecto, estimando en lo que es razón qualquiera pequeño rasguño o esquicio destes singulares maestros (como centellas arrojadas de la oficina de su saber) así por ser de suyo estimable como por entender que el verdadero y principal fundamento destas singulares artes es el dibujo. Vimos también muchos quadros de pinturas originales de grandes hombres, que con mucho cuidado e igual diligencia y no con poco gasto de su hazienda tiene recogido, que porque tuvo el príncipe de Gales noticia dellos fue a verlos a su casa, al qual le presentó ocho, los que el príncipe escogió con algunas espadas, montante, ballestas, arcabuzes de lo mejor que labraron los más primorosos artífices destas armas, así en España como fuera della, porque siempre se preciò de lo más escogido de todo aquello que fuere de un virtuoso cavallero.

According to court painter Vicente Carducho (421-422), the Prince of Wales did indeed visit the art collection of Don Jerónimo Funes during his stay in Madrid. This fact wasn't unknown to historians, as both Jonathan Brown (45) and Jerry Brotton (16) cited the same account in their respective studies on Charles I's Spanish journey. The future king of England, then Prince Charles, took the opportunity to visit Funes's collection, (the exact location of Funes's house is unknown), no doubt attracted by the renowned reputation of the art collection Funes had assembled. During his visit, the Prince of Wales was shown eight paintings by Titian and Juan Fernández de Navarrete el Mudo, according to chronicler Jerónimo Gascón de Torquemada (171-172):

El príncipe [de Gales] fue dos veces a casa de don Gerónimo Funes y Muñoz (cavallero de la orden de Santiago, gentilhombre de boca del rey, y de la cámara del señor príncipe Filiberto), a ver las pinturas de su casa (que desto, y de espadas, escopetas, montantes, vallestas y otras cosas, no ay en España quien le ygual). Fue Su Alteça dos veces, porque la una no le halló en casa; y haviéndole hallado la segunda, lo vio todo; y quanto le pareció bien, se lo presentó don Gerónimo de las cosas referidas. Llevó lindas pinturas del Ticiano y del Mudo, y lindas espadas, escopetas y vallestas, y un montante excelente cosa. Y con tan grande ánimo don Gerónimo, que se holgara mucho no le dejara en su casa cosa alguna, sino que se sirviera con quanto en ella tenía; estimariase lo que llevó en más de seis mil ducados. Y de allí a ocho días, embió a don Gerónimo una sortija de un diamante de valor de ochocientos ducados, y quinientos doblones en oro en un bolsillo; replicó don Gerónimo corrido, de que Su Alteça le tratase de aquella manera, pues su fin no era sino servirle, y no lo quiso tomar, pero hubo segunda réplica y Su Magestad le embió a mandar tomase lo que el príncipe le dava, pues no era por paga sino por memoria de haver entrado allí Su Alteça, que bien vía valía mucho más el servicio que él le havia hecho.

The accounts by Vicente Carducho and Jerónimo Gascón de Torquemada are significant not only because they suggest that Don Jerónimo Funes had connections with individuals in high positions of power, (such as the Prince of Wales and King Philip IV) but these accounts also provide a portrait of Funes as someone who was well-versed in the practical and theoretical fundamentals of painting (Carducho mentioned finding Funes painting moral emblems), and also because we can infer from them that he was one of the most prominent collectors of his time. He collected original drawings by renowned Italian Renaissance painters and sculptors, (“enseñonos muchos y excelentes dibujos originales

de mano de los más valientes pintores y escultores que tuvo Italia en aquella edad que estas artes tanto florecieron y dieron el fruto tan sazonado y perfecto”), also weapons and authentic paintings “de grandes hombres,” in the words of Carducho. These testimonies should be considered reliable, given Funes’s close relationships with both Carducho and Gascón de Torquemada. In 1628, the Valencian nobleman claimed to be “muy aficionado a la pintura” and to know all the court masters, including, naturally, Carducho. As to his relationship with Gascón de Torquemada, Funes was listed as one of the chronicler’s executors in his 1637 will and testament, a sign of their close ties (Gascón de Torquemada, 11-12). Nonetheless, both accounts indicate that the Prince of Wales’s visit to Funes’s collection was driven primarily by his interest in painting, (“que porque tuvo el príncipe de Gales noticia dellos [de los cuadros] fue a verlos a su casa” according to Carducho, and Gascón de Torquemada similarly stated that “el príncipe fue dos veces a casa de don Gerónimo Funes y Muñoz a ver las pinturas de su casa”). Naturally, he was looking for works by Titian, which he finally obtained, and also others by stylistically similar authors. The inclusion of works by Juan Fernández de Navarrete el Mudo in the gifts reflects this interest, as Navarrete had adopted the Venetian master’s style, and at the time, it was even thought that the Spanish painter had trained in Titian’s workshop (Sigüenza, vol. II, 583).

Who was Jerónimo Funes Muñoz and how did he become interested in painting, to the point of creating a famous art collection? As we have seen from the testimonies of Carducho and Gascón de Torquemada, Funes was a royal official residing in Madrid, of noble origin who held important court posts, such as gentleman usher to the king, curator general of the heritage of Italy, member of the Council of Italy, and gentleman of the bedchamber to the princes of Savoy (fig. 4). He must have been born in Valencia around 1574, evident by his testimony in support of the granting of the habit of Santiago to Velázquez (later quoted). He was the son and heir of Cristóbal Funes Muñoz, Baron of Ayódar in the Kingdom of Valencia, and his wife, Ana María Ribot. We know from his own testimony that he settled at court in 1597, and before that he likely spent the time until early adulthood in Valencia. Funes may have acquired his taste for painting as a result of growing up in this wealthy family, as I have recently argued (Campos-Perales 2023, 819). This hypothesis is based on the fact that his mother owned a considerable collection of 68 paintings. Inventoried in 1614, at the time of her husband’s death it was comprised mainly religious paintings (with the exception of a possible *Venus*), and with only one painting attributed, a *Virgin* by Joan de Joanes, the best Renaissance painter in Valencia. (Nothing is yet known of a collection of paintings belonging to his father.) His mother’s collection shows that Jerónimo Funes grew up in a family environment in which good painting was favored, something which is not known to have been common in other noble houses in the city. As his parents and Funes himself must have seen, the accumulation of quality paintings, plus the theoretical and practical understanding of the discipline, and his will to model a refined personal taste in the subject, were factors that conferred a halo of social distinction and nobility that was appreciated by his fellow citizens. In this respect, his passion for the works of certain masters, especially Titian, was instrumental in connecting him with the highest echelons of power, and in particular with the Prince of Wales. Gascón de Torquemada recounts that Philip IV pressured Funes to accept the prince’s reward as a token of gratitude for the gifts he had received, but not “por paga sino por memoria de haver entrado allí Su Alteça.” (172) In other words, not as remuneration but as a source of pride and satisfaction for the service rendered to the future sovereign. Obviously, Funes would not infrequently boast of such an event, pointing to his sophisticated personal taste as a source of nobility and distinction. However, it could also occur that artistic objects moved in the opposite direction, leaving the collections of kings and princes to end up in the possession of individuals from lower

social strata. Any object with a connection to a distinguished source could evoke admiration and bring honor to its owner—including paintings. Carlo Ridolfi expressed this very well in 1648: “la pittura s’assomiglia ad una nobile donzella, che se si accoppia ad un re divien regina, e se ad un plebeo si marita, diventa vile.” (239) This was also the case with the collection of the Prince of Wales and a minor Spanish nobleman, the 10th Admiral of Castile, who in 1681 claimed to own a painting by Schiavone in Madrid that would have belonged to Charles I of England (Bouza Álvarez, 45). Unfortunately, it has not been possible to locate this painting among the English monarch's possessions. Finally, returning to Funes, we have no record of the maternal collection being sold at auction in Valencia (something extremely frequent during these years in Spain, as we have seen), which could be a symptom of the high regard in which both mother and son held the collection, and which Funes may have inherited.

Is it possible to identify the specific paintings and weapons from Funes's personal collection that he gifted to the Prince of Wales? While this task is complex and requires collaborative efforts, I would like to share new information and encourage scholars to continue exploring this line of research. Knowing the Valencian nobleman's interest in painting, I set about trying to locate new archival documents to confirm these suspicions. In the Archivo General de Simancas there is an inventory of Funes's personal estate, specifically of what was kept in 1607 in the Madrid house of Pedro Franqueza (1547-1614), his father-in-law (fig. 5). The intention was clear: to differentiate between the two estates in the context of the investigation into the corruption of Franqueza, 1st Count of Villalonga, Secretary of State in the time of Philip III and protégé of the Duke of Lerma. Funes was Franqueza's lawyer from 1608-1609 during the trial for such accusations, who finally died in 1614 in the prison of Las Torres de León after almost eight years of imprisonment. Franqueza's palace, where the inventory of 1607 was drawn up, was located in the centre of Madrid, a residence that had been inhabited in the sixteenth century by San Francisco Carracciolo, San Luis Gonzaga and Pedro de Medici, and which later became the property of the ducal house of Alba, as it is known today (Rivas Quinzaños, 156).

The 1607 inventory confirms what Carducho's account and other reports had already hinted: that Funes was interested in art collecting in general and especially in collecting painting from an early age. At least 180 paintings were inventoried, most of them unattributed, with very brief iconographic descriptions but some of them valued at very high amounts. The list of paintings has already been transcribed and published and can be consulted online (Campos-Perales 2023, 827-834). The main problem with the 1607 inventory lies in its chronology: it is 16 years before the visit of the Prince of Wales, 26 years before Carducho's account, and 56 years before the death of Funes himself. However, it is also enlightening in other aspects: It is very rich in all kinds of material culture, with tapestries, furniture, books, silver, jewellery, weapons, etc. In this respect, I have already argued that it is possible to identify some of the objects recorded with preserved examples. For example, I have argued elsewhere that manuscript 33733 in the British Library, with miniatures formerly attributed to Giulio Clovio and now to Simoncio Lupi, perhaps a diplomatic gift from the Duke of Urbino to Prince Philip (future Philip III of Spain) in 1593, could have belonged to Jerónimo Funes (Campos-Perales 2024). Is the same true of the paintings and weapons given to the Prince of Wales? As for the weapons, the 1607 inventory contains all the typologies mentioned by Carducho and Gascón de Torquemada in their writings: swords, shotguns, arquebuses, *montantes* (a large, long, straight sword), crossbows and other items, one of the best collections in Spain according to both of them. Here we offer a brief selection from the 1607 inventory,

a document that may allow us to identify in the future the specimens that travelled to England in 1623.<sup>8</sup> For instance:

- Una espada e daga de rroxo e dorado la guarnición, tiros y pretina de qüero con trencillas de oro e respunte colorado. [200 reales/fol. 7v]
- Otra espada e daga dorada, las guarniciones gravadas con tiros y pretina de terciopelo negro dorado con su funda de qüero blanco. [150 reales/fols. 7v-8r]
- Otra espada e daga, las guarniciones dorado e rroxo y tiros e pretina de terciopelo negro con trencillas de rroxo de oro, con su funda de qüero blanco. [200 reales/fol. 8r]
- Otra espada e daga, con sus tiros de terciopelo negro liso e la pretina de lo mismo con una trencilla por cavo e puños dorados. [10 ducados/fol. 8r]
- Un montante en tres ducados. [fol. 105v]
- Dos estoques largos guarnecidos anvos a dos, en quarenta rreales. [fol. 105v]
- Tres espadas guarnecidas, cortas, con guarniciones manquillas, en seis ducados todas. [fol. 106r]
- Una oxa de un montante sin guarnición, en doce rreales. [fol. 106r]
- Diez oxas d'espadas viejas a ocho rreales cada una. [fol. 106r]
- Quatro espadas de torneo con sus guarniciones, a dos ducados cada una. [fol. 106r]
- Otras cinco espadas de torneo sin guarniciones, a diez rreales cada una. [fol. 106r]
- Más otras dos guarniciones de torneo sueltas, con sus puños, en veinte rreales. [fols. 106r-106v]
- Más una daga de oxa colodrino, ocho rreales. [fol. 106v]
- Un alfanxe guarnecido morisco en ocho rreales. [fol. 106v]
- Más otro alfanxe sin guarnición, quatro rreales. [fol. 106v]
- Más un cuchillo de monte yndiano, veinte reales con su vayna colorada. [fol. 106v]
- Más otro cuchillo yndiano con vayna dorada y cavo verde en cinquenta reales. [fol. 106v]
- Más una oxa de daga de Ytalia buida sin guarnición, quatro rreales. [fol. 107r]
- Más otras tres espadas de torneo con sus guarniciones a diez rreales cada una. [fol. 107r]
- Más una espada valenciana con guarnición valenciana de dos manos en dos ducados. [fol. 107r]
- Más un taalí de terciopelo negro con trencillas de plata y baina de terciopelo negro, seis reales. [fol. 107r]
- Dos mosquetes grandes, anvos en doce ducados. [fol. 107v]
- Otro mosquete grande en seis ducados. [fol. 107v]
- Un arcabuz de maestre Simón en quatro ducados. [fol. 107v]
- Otro arcabuz de Ytalia en seis ducados. [fol. 108r]
- Dos pistolas de Ytalia en ocho ducados. [fol. 108r]
- Otro arcabuz de Ytalia en seis ducados. [fol. 108r]
- Un pistolete aragonés con dos llaves en tres ducados. [fol. 108r]
- Otro arcabuz aragonés en seis ducados. [fol. 108r]
- Otro arcabuz de maese Simón en seis ducados. [fol. 108r]
- Otro arcabuz de Ytalia en seis ducados. [fol. 108r]
- Otro arcabuz aragonés, quatro ducados. [fol. 108r]
- Un mosquete largo sin llave en cinco ducados. [fol. 108r]

<sup>8</sup> On the collection of weapons of Charles I, see the study by A.V.B. Norman cited in the bibliographical section.

Dos pistolas de Ytalia en seis ducados. [fol. 108r]  
 Más otras dos pistolas de Ytalia en cinco ducados. [fol. 108v]  
 Otro arcabuz aragonés en seis ducados. [fol. 108v]  
 Otro arcabuz de Ytalia en quatro ducados. [fol. 108v]  
 Otro arcabuz sin llave ytaliano en tres ducados. [fol. 108v]  
 Otro arcabucillo de mecha, otros tres. [fol. 108v]  
 Un arcabuz ververisco, seis ducados. [fol. 108v]  
 Un arcabuz aragonés en cinco ducados. [fol. 108v]  
 Una caixa de arcabuz sin llave en ocho rreales. [fol. 108v]  
 Dos pistolas, la una sin llave y la otra con ella, de Aragón, en quatro ducados. [fols. 108v-109r]  
 Otra pistola aragonessa en tres ducados. [fol. 109r]  
 Doce ballestas de Juan Blanco a quatro ducados cada una. [fol. 110r]  
 Dos ballestas, la una de Pastrana y la otra de Alanís en ocho ducados anvas. [fol. 110r]  
 Una ballesta de Cristóbal de Azcudia en tres ducados. [fol. 110v]  
 Otra ballesta de bodoques en tres ducados. [fol. 110v]  
 Más dos vergas, la una de Juan Blanco y la otra de Alanís en diez y seis reales anvas. [fol. 110v]<sup>9</sup>

As we can see, some of Funes's weapons (especially firearms) came from Italy. Carducho already warned: "lo mejor que labraron los más primorosos artífices destas armas, así en España como fuera della." His court position as curator general of the heritage of Italy and his political position as member of the Council of Italy perhaps allowed him access to this type of luxurious assets created outside Spanish borders. The same could have happened with painting, since at least two Italian authors were present in his collection: Titian and Jacopo Bassano (Campos-Perales 2023, 827). But Funes was not unaware of the fertile pictorial atmosphere that existed at the Spanish court. Quite the opposite. We know that he maintained a close relationship with some court painters. In a document from 1628 about the lawsuit a year earlier that the painter Vicente Carducho had led against the payment of taxes on the sale of their products, Jerónimo Funes described himself as "muy aficionado a la pintura" and very close to all the courtly masters. The victory of the painters in this dispute entailed the defense of the liberality of painting, that is, the recognition that theirs was an intellectual and not a mechanical task. The aforementioned document from 1628 recorded the names and opinions of some painting enthusiasts who had joined the cause. Among them, the Valencian nobleman, who expressed his surprise at the idea of taxing painters in 1627, since it was a "muy noble" art and "privilegiado y estimado" by all the emperors and kings of the world:

En la villa de Madrid, a siete días del mes de hebrero de mill y seiscientos y veinte y ocho años, el dicho Andrés Carreño, pintor, para la dicha información portó a don Gerónimo Funes y Muñoz, caballero de la orden de Santiago, del Consejo del rey nuestro señor en el Supremo de Italia, y su conserbador general de su real patrimonio de los reynos de Nápoles y Cicilia y estado de Milán, gentilhonbre de su boca, vecino desta dicha villa, el qual abiendo jurado en forma de derecho puniendo la mano en su ábito y siendo preguntado por el dicho pedimiento, dijo que por ser muy aficionado a la pintura y conozer a todos los maestros della en esta corte, save que no an pagado el nuebo derecho de uno por ciento, antes al

<sup>9</sup> Archivo General de Simancas, Simancas (Valladolid, Spain), Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, 3ª Época, leg. 2.390, d. 6.



respecto se maravilla de que puedan intentar cosa semejante porque el arte de la pintura es muy noble y a sido sienpre muy prevallegiada y estimada de todos los enperadores y reyes del mundo, y que así a oydo decir al respecto que acudiendo los pintores a su magestad del rey nuestro señor y dádole un memorial sobre el agravio que se les hacía, no abiendo pasado adelante el molestarles por el dicho derecho entendi que su magestad debió de mendar alguna cosa en favor dellos, otra cosa ubiera en esto lo supiera. Y esto es la verdad so cargo de dicho juramento, y lo firmó. Declaró ser de hedad de cinqüenta y dos años.<sup>10</sup>

From other sources we also suspect that Funes could have established himself as an important patron at court. In 1624 he acquired a funerary chapel in the cathedral of Alcalá de Henares, behind the main altar and in front of the chapel of Saints Justo y Pastor. He decorated it with his portrait, an altarpiece of the *Immaculate Conception*, (to which it was dedicated) and with other paintings by Eugenio Cajés: most certainly the six paintings of the Passion of Christ referred to by the principal sources (Campos-Perales 2023, 824). Also during those years, perhaps around 1623, Funes could have been portrayed by Velázquez, as I have argued (Campos-Perales 2023, 824-825). As we have seen, in the 1628 document Funes claimed to “conocer a todos los maestros de ella [la pintura] en esta corte.” Among them was, obviously, Velázquez, for whose granting of the habit of Santiago he testified in favor in Madrid on December 22, 1658, that is, at the age of 84. Such a statement is one of the best primary sources to know some of the biographical aspects of the Valencian nobleman, such as, for example, that his long relationship with the king's painter dated back to before 1628, “desde el tiempo que aquí vino [Velázquez] a esta corte, que habrá más de treinta años.” That is, specifically, since more or less October 1623, when Velázquez was appointed royal painter:

Testigo 82. En la dicha villa de Madrid, dicho día, mes y año [December 22, 1658], para esta ynformación reçibimos por testigo a don Jerónimo Muñoz, cavallero de la orden de Santiago, de el Consejo de su magestad en el Supremo de Italia, y conserbador general de su Real Patrimonio de los reinos de Italia, y gentilombre de su boca, natural de la ciudad de Valencia y residente en esta corte de sesenta y un años a esta parte [since 1597]. Juró en forma de decir verdad y guardar secreto, y preguntado a el tenor de el auto antecedente en raçón de el lustre y porte de el pretendiente, el tiempo que a residido en esta corte y si a tenido alguna ocupación yndeçente o algún ofiçio de los que contiene la pregunta y en particular de el pintor, dijo que conoçe a Diego de Silba Velázquez, pretendiente, desde el tiempo que aquí vino a esta corte, que abrá más de treinta años [since before 1628] y siempre le a visto tratarse con lustre y porte de ombre noble y prinçipal, sustentándose de su açienda y oficios onrrosos que tiene en el real palaçio y sin aver tenido ofiçio vil bajo ni mecánico, y que en quanto a el de pintor, dijo sabe lo a exerçitado para haçer gusto a su magestad y para su real palaçio, sin aver sido examinado para exerçer este ofiçio ni averse valido de él para vender sus obras ni sabe que aya tenido tienda por sí ni por sus recaudadores y que esto la verdad y que es de edad de ochenta y quatro años [born in 1574]. (Pita Andrade, Aterido Fernández & Martín García, vol. I, 380-381)

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<sup>10</sup> Funes' testimony is from February 7, 1628 in Madrid, when he declared that he was 52 years old. Therefore, he could have been born in Valencia around 1576. It can be consulted at: Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid, Madrid (Spain), Diego de Ledesma, Protocolo 5.927, fols. 208v-209v.

Therefore, we can affirm that Funes was an important supporter and promoter of painting among the courtier class in the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV: connoisseur, collector, patron and also practitioner of the art of painting. Carducho says that when he went to visit him at his house “le hallamos pintando una de las muchas empresas morales que tiene hechas, en que muestra quan perito está en esta filosofía, y quan bien la practica y entiende.” That is, bringing together his intellectual passion for painting and for the creation of moral emblems in one exercise. Moral emblems were complex hieroglyphics with figurative representation and text that contained a valuable moral teaching. In doing so, he imitated other Spanish nobles with similar interests in emblematic art and painting, such as Juan de Borja (1533-1606), son of San Francisco de Borja, who during his time as ambassador in Prague at the imperial court of Rudolf II published his famous *Empresas morales* (Prague: Jorge Nigrin, 1581). Symptomatically, Funes’s inventory of 1607 lists some books related to emblematic culture, such as a “Gerolífica de Juan” which could be the aforementioned work by Juan de Borja or the *Emblemas morales* by Juan de Horozco y Covarrubias (Segovia: Juan de la Cuesta, 1589).<sup>11</sup>

Which brings us back to the focus of this study: the visit of the Prince of Wales to the collection of Don Jerónimo Funes in 1623. Having made this brief parenthesis on the figure of the Valencian nobleman, it is time that we ask ourselves again if it is possible to identify the paintings that Funes gave to Prince Charles. To reconstruct the prince's steps in Madrid, there are three fundamental sources: Spanish testimonies such as that of Carducho or Gascón de Torquemada; the 1623 expenditure book of the English delegation in Spain; and the inventory of the English royal collection from around 1639, drawn up by its curator Abraham van der Doort (Brown, 44-45). Unfortunately, the expenditure book kept by Sir Francis Cottington in 1623 does not mention Jerónimo Funes in its 80 folios. It is understandable that, since the paintings were gifts and not purchases, there was not any mention of this acquisition. However it is surprising that I have not been able to locate in this document the “sortija de un diamante de valor de ochocientos ducados, y quinientos doblones en oro en un bolsillo” that the prince gave in exchange as a reward (Gascón de Torquemada, 172). In other cases, such as the gift of the sculptural group of *Samson slaying the Philistine* by Giambologna, mention was made of financial rewards (see, for example, note 5 of this study). The compilation of expenses kept in the National Library of Scotland is the most revealing document of all the available sources, since its pages even mention direct commissions from the Prince of Wales. For instance, as mentioned above, the possible allusion to a payment of 1,100 *reales* to Velázquez for his portrait stands out (fig. 6). As Jonathan Brown indicated (49), this information coincides with that provided by Francisco Pacheco, the painter’s father-in-law, who assured that “[Velázquez] hizo un bosquejo del príncipe de Gales, que le dio cien escudos [almost 1,100 *reales*].” (102)

The third main source to reconstruct the Spanish purchases of the Prince of Wales is the inventory of the English royal collection from around 1639, drawn up by its conservator Abraham van der Doort. It provides numerous details about the Spanish origin of numerous artistic objects, but it is not limited only to those that can be related to the trip of 1623. There are also works of Spanish origin obtained by ancestors of Charles I. In this sense, for those who study the artistic relations between Spain and England at the beginning of the seventeenth century, this is a document of great relevance. An example of this, which I note as a curiosity, has not been paid much attention by the History of Art in Spain. In the inventory of 1639, a panel of *The Calling of St Matthew* that was recorded, it was believed to have been made by Van Eyck and to have come from

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<sup>11</sup> Archivo General de Simancas, Simancas (Valladolid, Spain), Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, 3ª Época, leg. 2.390, d. 6, fol. 74r.

Cádiz: “Acquired in Elizabeth I's time at the taking of Cadiz and given to the King.”<sup>12</sup> However, it is now quite reasonably believed to be the work of Jan Mertens II (1530s), and it is preserved among the holdings of the Royal Collection Trust (fig. 7). According to what is noted in the inventory, this painting was obtained during the time of Elizabeth I (1533-1603), more specifically, in the Capture of Cádiz in 1596 during the Anglo-Spanish War (1585-1604). The next steps in research should focus on the original provenance of the altarpiece of Jan Mertens II, almost surely stolen as a trophy from a chapel in the Andalusian city that was dedicated to Saint Matthew. This case serves as an example of how it is possible to determine the Spanish origin of many pieces in the English royal collection through the inventory of 1639, and in particular those related to the voyage of 1623. The *Allegory of Alfonso de Ávalos, Marquis of Vasto* by Titian (Louvre) has already been mentioned, but there are more examples. Titian's *Girl in a Fur* (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien) (fig. 10) was (“bought in Spain”), a painting that came from the auction of the Count of Villamediana according to Brown (46) and Haskell (211).<sup>13</sup>

Is it possible to recognize the paintings given by Jerónimo Funes in the inventory of the English royal collection of 1639? This question requires contrasting the information from Funes's 1607 inventory with the testimonies of Carducho/Gascón de Torquemada and the English inventory of 1639. First, we must consider only the works of clear Spanish provenance or unknown provenance in the 1639 inventory, and to try to relate them to the paintings that Funes owned in 1607. Now I will present different possibilities, with more or less success in the identification process, since there are usually iconographic, material or economic estimation discrepancies. One of the masterpieces of Charles I's collection was Titian's *Saint Margaret*, a supposedly signed version of the original kept in the Museo del Prado. It has been identified as the same painting auctioned at Sotheby's in 2018 from the Heinz Kisters collection, in Kreuzlingen, now attributed to Titian and workshop (fig. 8).<sup>14</sup> Although the work of Charles I is signed (TITIANV[S]), some authors, such as Miguel Falomir (258), have noted its discreet quality, even suggesting that it was actually the work of Michael Cross, who copied numerous paintings by Titian from the Spanish royal collection to be sent to the English monarch as Carducho wrote (100-101). It is not known where King Charles I acquired this supposed Titian, which opens the door to the possibility that it may have been one of the paintings given by Jerónimo Funes in 1623. However, the only work in Funes's 1607 inventory with an iconographic relationship, which is described as “otro cuadro mediano de santa Marta con la sierpe a los pies e una cruz en la mano, con su cuadro dorado,” had a notably low valuation for an original canvas by Titian (110 *reales*), and it was a “mediano” painting and not “grande” like the one at Sotheby's (Campos-Perales 2023, 832). Be that as it may, it could have been a smaller copy of Titian's original, or a version of Raphael's *Saint Margaret* (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien). The identification of the saint as “Saint Martha” and not as “Saint Margaret” could have been due to the repeated confusion between the two saints, as Panofsky explained, who shared iconographic attributes such as the cross and the dragon (66-67).

<sup>12</sup> “Van Eyck; Calling of St Matthew out of the Custom House, 10 large figures less than half-life-size and 22 smaller far off, curious altarpiece.” In <https://lostcollection.rct.uk/collection/calling-st-matthew-out-custom-house-10-large-figures-less-half-life-size-and-22-smaller> (accessed 8 April 2024).

<sup>13</sup> “Titian; Italian Woman, holding with both hands a fur gown on her naked shoulders, life-size, half-length figure.” In <https://lostcollection.rct.uk/collection/italian-woman-holding-both-hands-fur-gown-her-naked-shoulders-life-size-half-length> (accessed 8 April 2024).

<sup>14</sup> “Titian; St Margaret, with a little red cross in her left hand triumphing over the Devil in a dragon's shape, life-size, full-length.” In <https://lostcollection.rct.uk/collection/st-margaret-little-red-cross-her-left-hand-triumphing-over-devil-dragons-shape-life-size> (accessed 10 April 2024).

There is also the possibility that Titian and Juan Fernández de Navarrete el Mudo were not the only painters represented in Funes's gift package described by Gascón de Torquemada. In the inventory of the English royal collection of 1639 a *Saint John the Baptist* then attributed to Correggio, is listed as “from Spain when Prince of Wales.”<sup>15</sup> It is currently still in the royal collection but is considered the work of a follower of Correggio (fig. 9). In the 1607 inventory of Funes's collection, three paintings with this same iconography were noted, although it would be extremely difficult to determine with certainty that they any one of them were the same as the one today preserved in the royal collection without more precise details (Campos-Perales 2023, 830 and 833). The same goes for another *Venus* by an anonymous painter from 1639 and currently unidentified, about which it is noted that “was brought from Spain by the King.”<sup>16</sup> In 1607, Funes owned a “lienzo de la diosa Venus sin guarnición, grande,” which unfortunately was not appraised. (Campos-Perales 2023, 828) Could this be the same work that Prince Charles obtained in Spain? We may never know. Furthermore, it is possible that the 1639 inventory did not accurately note the Spanish provenance of all the works, which adds to the complication in identification. For example, in van der Doort's inventory a painting is listed attributed to Schedoni, *The Virgin, Christ and Saint John*, on canvas, with unknown provenance, and with an iconography highly appreciated by Funes according to his inventory of 1607.<sup>17</sup>

Finally, another tactic that we could use to determine the paintings given to the Prince of Wales is related to the painting appraisals of 1607. If the future king of England looked at works of high artistic quality, isn't it also true that they might be related to the paintings with the greatest economic value? In this year of 1607 Funes had very well valued pieces, of which the following stood out, for example: “un retablo de Cristo Nuestro Señor cuando le llevaron al sepulcro” (100 *ducados*/1,100 *reales*); “otro lienzo de música con tres personas, con su cerco dorado” (1,060 *reales*); “un retablico de san Francisco con dos ángeles” (1,000 *reales*); “un retrato de un cardenal sentado con su cerco dorado” (1,000 *reales*); “otro lienzo con su cuadro dorado del milagro del ciego a quien le dio Dios vista e los discípulos” (1,000 *reales*); “otro cuadro con un hombre que tiene un espejo en el pecho e dos mujeres e un niño e Cupido, con su marco dorado de hasta una vara” (1,042 *reales*); and “otro cuadro de cuando Cristo echó los judíos del templo, con su marco dorado” (1,000 *reales*), whose authors we ignore (Campos-Perales 2023, 830, 831 and 832).

### Conclusions: Present and Future of this Line of Research

As we have seen, tracing the provenance of works from artistic groups of the past is an arduous process that requires collaborative efforts which still does not always guarantee success, and it can lead to mistakes and the formulation of hypotheses that are difficult to verify. The future of this line of research on the gift of artistic objects by Jerónimo Funes to the Prince of Wales, lies in the archives that can answer all the open questions. It is necessary to form a common front from Spain and England to answer all

<sup>15</sup> “Antonio Correggio. A high narrow piece, standing John the Baptist, holding cane cross in his left hand and pointing forwards with his right, almost-life-size, full-length.” In <https://lostcollection.rct.uk/collection/high-narrow-piece-standing-john-baptist-holding-cane-cross-his-left-hand-and-pointing> (accessed 15 April 2024).

<sup>16</sup> “Venus in drapery with a shrouded face with a stooping Cupid.” In <https://lostcollection.rct.uk/collection/venus-drapery-shrouded-face-stooping-cupid> (accessed 15 April 2024).

<sup>17</sup> “Schedoni; Madonna, Christ and St John, life size, half-length.” In <https://lostcollection.rct.uk/collection/madonna-christ-and-st-john-life-size-half-length> (accessed 16 April 2024).

the unknowns that still shroud the trip of the Prince of Wales to Spain in 1623. Documents must have existed, and they must be found. In Funes's inventory of 1607, a book was named "donde está la memoria de los vestidos e xaece y pinturas y otras cosas" that were property of the Valencian nobleman.<sup>18</sup> That is, a personal inventory of his estate that our protagonist would certainly have updated at the same time of the departures and arrivals of artistic objects, such as the paintings given to the future king of England. It is easy to imagine Jerónimo Funes being proud of the two visits of the Prince of Wales to his house, and noting in his handwritten book about his heritage that certain paintings had been given to his illustrious visitor, so that it would be recorded in the future that his exquisite taste in painting had allowed him to rub shoulders with princes and kings. He would also likely have noted among his assets the reward received, the diamond ring and the doubloons, which "no era por paga sino por memoria de haver entrado allí Su Alteça."

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<sup>18</sup> Archivo General de Simancas, Simancas (Valladolid, Spain), Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, 3ª Época, leg. 2.390, d. 6, fol. 76r.

## Figures



**Fig. 1.** Juan de la Corte, *Horse tournament in the Plaza Mayor of Madrid held to honour the prince of Wales* (c. 1623), Museo de Historia de Madrid, Madrid.



**Fig. 2.** Jan Porcellis, *A view of a bay with shipping (Santander, Spain?)* (c. 1624), Royal Collection Trust, Hampton Court Palace, George II's Private Chamber.



**Fig. 3.** Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom, *The return of the fleet with Charles I, when prince of Wales in 1623* (c. 1623-1630), Royal Collection Trust, Unknown location.



Fig. 4. Pedro Villafranca, *Don Jerónimo Funes* (1654), Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

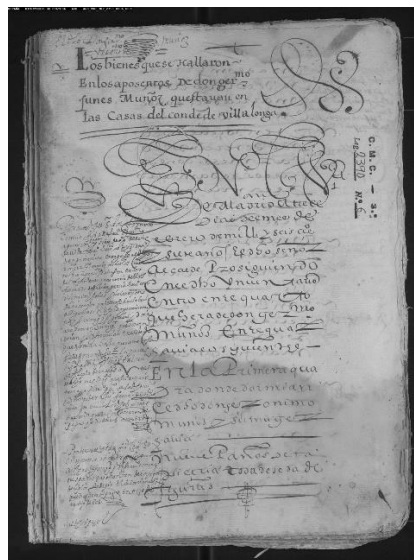


Fig. 5. *Inventory of goods of Don Jerónimo Funes* (13 February 1607, Madrid), Archivo General de Simancas, Simancas (Valladolid, Spain), Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, 3ª Época, leg. 2.390, d. 6.

account	8,000
Paid unto a Painter for drawing the Princes Picture. Signified by Mr Porter from the Prince	1,100

Fig. 6. *Account-book, containing particulars of the expenditure of prince Charles (afterwards Charles I), the duke of Buckingham, and Sir Francis Cottington, on their visit to Spain* (April-September 1623), National Library of Scotland, ms. 1.879, p. 50, showing the possible allusion to a payment of 1,100 reales to Velázquez for the portrait of the prince of Wales.



**Fig. 7.** Jan Mertens II, *The Calling of St Matthew* (1530s), Royal Collection Trust, Unknown location.



**Fig. 8.** Titian and workshop, *St Margaret* (mid-1560s), Sotheby's, New York, 1st February 2018, lot. 27.



**Fig. 9.** After Correggio, *St John the Baptist* (c. 1600), Royal Collection Trust, Unknown location.





**Fig. 10.** Titian, *Girl in a Fur* (c. 1535), Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Gemäldegalerie.

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