Contents

volume I	
Foreword	15.
Preface	17
Acknowledgements	21
Notes to the Reader	27
Abbreviations	27
Introduction	29
1. A Great Painter of the Renaissa	ınce,
his Heir and Copyist and the Antwerp Art Ma	
	2.7
A Brilliant Dynasty of Painters	37
Pieter Bruegel the Elder: his Life and Work Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Posthumous Fame	
The Proliferation of Copies after Pieter Bruegel the Elder at the End of the Sixteenth Century	42
Pieter Brueghel the Younger: his Life and Work	48
Inique facis nisi Patrem in Filio nosci: Pieter Brueghel the Younger as Continuator of his Father	
The Art Market in Antwerp at the Time of Pieter Brueghel the Younger	
Reconstructing the Organizational Practices of Antwerp Workshops	
Rechte princepalen! The Rise of Connoisseurship	67
The Works of Pieter Brueghel the Younger in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp Inventories	
Signatures and Dates in the Works of Bruegel the Elder and Brueghel the Younger	
ie Study a. The Adoration of the Magi (Winterthur, Dr Oskar Reinijart Collection 'Am Romelheile') 195	
2. The Painting Technique of Pieter Bruegel the E	
Four Case St	adies
Status Quaestionis	93
Preliminary Note on the Paintings Examined	
Case Study 1. The Census at Bethlehem (Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België	
Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique)	101
Provenance	102
Inscriptions Painting Support	103
Format and Construction - Barbes and Unprepared Lateral Borders - Condition	
Preparatory Layers	
Underdrawing Form and Function - Drawing Medium - Position of Underdrawing in the Layer Structure - The Role of the Underdrawing in the Creative Process	. 107

Paint Layer Condition - Palette - Layer Structure and Pigment Analysis - Sequence of Painting - Brushwork and Handling - Modifications during Painting	117
Conclusion	138
Case Study 2. The Sermon of St John the Baptist (Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum)	143
Provenance	143
Inscriptions	145
Painting Support	146
Format and Construction - Barbes and Unprepared Borders - Condition	
Preparatory Layers	148
Underdrawing	148
Paint Layer Condition - Palette - Pigment Analysis - Sequence of Painting - Brushwork and Handling - Gesture and Expression - Modifications during Painting	161
Conclusion	179
	1//
Case Study 3. The Winter Landscape with Bird Trap (Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten	
van België Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique)	185
Provenance, Rediscovery and Early Controversy	185
Inscriptions	192
Fingerprint	193
Painting Support Format and Construction - Provenance of the Wood and Dating - Condition	194
Preparatory Layers	195
Underdrawing	195
Paint Layer	205
Condition - Palette - Sequence of Painting - Brushwork and Handling	
Conclusion	219
Case Study 4. The Adoration of the Magi (Winterthur, Dr Oskar Reinhart Collection 'Am Römerholz')	225
Provenance	226
Inscriptions	226
Painting Support Format and Construction - Condition	227
Preparatory Layers	230
Underdrawing	231
Paint Layer Condition - Palette - Sequence of Painting - Brushwork and Handling	231
Conclusion	240
3. Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Painting Technique: a Reassessn	nent
Painting Supports	245
Format and Construction	245
Barbes and Unprepared Borders	246

Preparatory Layers	249 249
Imprimatura	251
Imprimatura	259
Underdrawing Drawing Materials	259
	263
Position of Underdrawing in the Layer Structure	
Underdrawing Styles and Modifications during Drawing and Painting	265
Painting Techniques	282
Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure	282
Sequence of Painting	286
Brushwork and Handling	294
Conclusion	313
olume II	
4. The Painting Technique of Pieter Brueghel the Younger and his Worksh	
Ten Case Stu	dies
Status Quaestionis	333
Preliminary Note on the Paintings Examined	
Tremmary rvote on the ramings Examined	341
Case Study 1. Copies of the Battle between Carnival and Lent after Pieter Bruegel the Elder	345
Inscriptions	346
Painting Supports	346
Format and Panel Construction - Provenance of the Wood and Dating - Barbes and Unprepared Lateral Borders	4.565
Preparatory Layers	347
Transfer of the Design to the Prepared Panel Surface: Evidence for the Use of Pricked Cartoons A Series of Smaller Cartoons rather than a Whole Sheet	348
Underdrawing	349
Form and Function - Modifications in Relation to the Pounced Design - Style	31)
Paint Layer	358
Condition - Palette - Sequence of Painting - Brushwork and Handling	
The Original Model and the Cartoon	361
The Possible Whereabouts of the Original Version at the Time of Brueghel the Younger - The Original Version and	
the Five Copies: a Comparison - The Christie's New York Version - The Portland Version - A Hierarchy of Copies -	
The Source of the Cartoons	
Conclusion	377
Case Study 2. Copies of the Census at Bethlehem after Pieter Bruegel the Elder	381
Inscriptions	381
Painting Supports	384
Format - Panel Construction and Tool Marks - Provenance of the Wood and Dating - The Panel-maker and Branding - Barbes and Unprepared Lateral Borders	304
Preparatory Layers	390
Underdrawing	
Form and Function - Modifications during Underdrawing and Painting - Stylistic Variation and the Question of Attribution	395

Paint Layer Condition - Palette - Layer Structure and Pigment Analysis - Sequence of Painting - Brushwork and Handling - Reflections on Attribution - Style and Brushwork in Comparison to Bruegel the Elder's Original Version	407
The Model for the Copies Key Elements in Bruegel the Elder's Original Painting that are Missing in the Copies - Key Elements Transformed in the Copies - Misinterpretation of Original Motifs - Elements in the Underdrawing of the Original Dropped during Painting but Repeated in the Copies - Colours - Placement of Signature - Pre-conclusion	424
Variants among the Copies	428
Copying Process The Use of Cartoons - Transfer Process - The Source of the Cartoons	433
Conclusion	440
Case Study 3. Copies of the Sermon of St John the Baptist after Pieter Bruegel the Elder	447
Inscriptions	447
Painting Supports Format - Panel Construction and Tool Marks - Provenance of the Wood and Dating - Branding - Barbes and Unprepared Lateral Borders	450
Preparatory Layers	452
Underdrawing	457
Paint Layer Condition - Palette and Paint Layer Structure - Sequence of Painting - Brushwork and Handling - Attribution	460
The Model for the Copies	468
Copying Process Use of Cartoons and Transfer Process - Partial Correlation with Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Budapest Version	474
Conclusion	479
Case Study 4. Copies of the Winter Landscape with Bird Trap after Pieter Bruegel the Elder	485
Inscriptions	485
Painting Supports Format - Panel Construction and Tool Marks - Provenance of the Wood and Dating - Branding	487
Preparatory Layers	489
Underdrawing Form and Function - Attribution	491
Paint Layer	495
The Model for the Copies	500
Copying Process Use of a Cartoon and Transfer Process - Two Additional Motifs in the Mayer van den Bergh and Coppée-le Hodey Versions	509
Brueghel's Competition: Contemporary Copies and Variants Produced by Other Workshops	512
Excursus: a Late Nineteenth- or Early Twentieth-Century Copy	517
Conclusion	518

Case Study 5. Copies of the Adoration of the Magi after Pieter Bruegel the Elder	525
Inscriptions	525
Painting Supports	525
Preparatory Layers	527
Underdrawing	528
Paint Layer Condition Palette, Paint Layer Structure and Pigment Analysis - Sequence of Painting - Brushwork and Handling - Attribution	529
The Model for the Copies	537
Copying Process Use of a Cartoon and Transfer Process - Differences among the Copies - A Copy from outside Brueghel the Younger's Workshop	540
Conclusion	542
Case Study 6. The Magpie on the Gallows: a Unique Copy after Pieter Bruegel the Elder	547
Inscription	547
Painting Support	548
Format - Panel Construction and Tool Marks	
Preparatory Layers	549
Underdrawing	551
Paint Layer Condition - Palette - Sequence of Painting - Brushwork and Handling	557
The Model for the Copy Bruegel the Elder's Original Version - A Version in the Former Bruno Donath Collection	562
Copying Process	564
The Original Version and the Copy: a Comparison	565
Conclusion	570
Case Study 7. Copies of the Wedding Dance in the Open Air probably after a Lost Painting by	
Pieter Bruegel the Elder	573
Inscriptions	575
Painting Supports Format - Panel Construction and Tool Marks - Provenance of the Wood and Dating - Branding	575
Preparatory Layers	578
Underdrawing	582
Paint Layer	585
Copying Process Use of a Cartoon and Transfer Process - Motifs not Included in the Cartoon - Colour	595
Regarding the Model The Engraving by Pieter van der Heyden - The Peasant Wedding Dance in the Detroit Institute of Arts - Evidence for a Lost Painting by Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Versions by Jan Brueghel the Elder and a Variant by Maerten van Cleve	598
Conclusion	609

Case Study 8. Copies of the <i>Crucifixion</i> probably after a Lost Painting by Pieter Bruegel the Elder	615
Inscriptions	617
Creation of a Compositional Variant and Collaboration with Joos de Momper the Younger	618
Painting Supports Format - Panel Construction and Tool Marks - Provenance of the Wood and Dating - Branding - Barbes and Unprepared Lateral Borders	619
Preparatory Layers	622
Underdrawing Form and Function - Attribution	623
Paint Layer Condition - Palette and Paint Layer Structure - Brushwork, Handling and Attribution - Sequence of Painting	627
Copying Process Common Cartoons for the Figures - Townscape and Landscape Backgrounds: no Evidence for a Common Cartoon - Colour Correspondence in the Figures	633
Regarding the Model A Lost <i>Crucifixion</i> by Pieter Bruegel the Elder: Source Documents - The Vienna Version of the Crucifixion by Jan Brueghel the Elder - Searching for the Appearance of a Lost Original by Pieter Bruegel the Elder	635
Conclusion	642
Case Study 9. Copies of the Massacre of the Innocents probably after a Lost Painting by Maerten	
van Cleve	647
Inscriptions	647
Painting Supports	648
Format - Panel Construction and Tool Marks - Provenance of the Wood and Dating	46
Preparatory Layers	648
Underdrawing Form and Function - Attribution	649
Paint Layer	651
Copying Process and Reflections on the Model Original Model - Transfer Process	658
The Version in the Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts	
de Belgique: Evidence of a Cover-up The First Painting - Re-use of Panels in the Sixteenth Century - Why this Re-use in Brueghel's Workshop?	662
Conclusion	667
Case Study 10. Copies of the <i>Peasant Lawyer</i> after an Anonymous Model	671
Inscriptions	671
Painting Supports	673
Format - Panel Construction and Tool Marks - Provenance of the Wood and Dating - Branding	
Preparatory Layers	675
Underdrawing	677
Paint Layer Condition - Palette and Pigments - Sequence of Painting - Brushwork and Handling - Attribution	683
Copying Process and Reflections on the Model The Lost Prototype - Two Variants - Use of Cartoons and Transfer Process	695
Copies by Pieter Brueghel the Younger's Contemporaries and Later Imitators	700
Conclusion	707

Volume III

5. Demystifying the Process: Pieter Brueghel the Younger's Workshop Practice

Painting Supports Format and Provenance of the Wood Format and Provenance of the Wood Format and Provenance of the Wood Format and Unpainted Lateral Borders, with Corresponding Rebates on the Reverse 732 The Antwerp Brand and Panel-makers' Marks 733 Quality 738 Preparatory Layers 742 Ground 742 Imprimatura 742 Imprimatura 746 The Role of Cartoons 746 The Role of Cartoons 746 Single or Partial Pricked Cartoons 746 The Nature of the Cartoons: an Original Master Cartoon and Working 'Substitute Cartoons' 750 Underdrawing 752 Graphite and Black Chalk as Underdrawing Media 752 The Position of the Underdrawing in the Layer Structure 755 The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Pelette 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings outside the Core Group 779 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803 Paintings outside the Core Group 809 Paintings outside the Core Group 809 Paintings outside the Core Group 809		700
Barbes and Unpainted Lateral Borders, with Corresponding Rebates on the Reverse 732 The Antwerp Brand and Panel-makers' Marks 733 Quality 738 Preparatory Layers 742 Ground 742 Imprimatura 742 The Role of Cartoons 746 The Transfer Process 746 Single or Partial Pricked Cartoons 746 The Nature of the Cartoons: an Original Master Cartoon and Working 'Substitute Cartoons' 750 Underdrawing 752 Graphite and Black Chalk as Underdrawing Media 752 The Position of the Underdrawing in the Layer Structure 755 The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Bruegh	Painting Supports	729
The Antwerp Brand and Panel-makers' Marks 733 Quality 738 Preparatory Layers 742 Ground 742 Imprimatura 742 The Role of Cartoons 746 The Transfer Process 746 Single or Partial Pricked Cartoons 746 The Nature of the Cartoons: an Original Master Cartoon and Working 'Substitute Cartoons' 750 Underdrawing 752 Graphite and Black Chalk as Underdrawing Media 752 The Position of the Underdrawing in the Layer Structure 755 The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing 755 Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Palette 760 Palette 760 Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 786 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 796	Format and Provenance of the Wood	
Quality 738 Preparatory Layers 742 Ground 742 Imprimatura 742 The Role of Cartoons 746 The Transfer Process 746 Single or Partial Pricked Cartoons 746 The Nature of the Cartoons: an Original Master Cartoon and Working 'Substitute Cartoons' 750 Underdrawing 752 Graphite and Black Chalk as Underdrawing Media 752 The Position of the Underdrawing in the Layer Structure 755 The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing 755 Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Pegment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 </th <th>Barbes and Unpainted Lateral Borders, with Corresponding Rebates on the Reverse</th> <th></th>	Barbes and Unpainted Lateral Borders, with Corresponding Rebates on the Reverse	
Preparatory Layers 742 Ground 742 Imprimatura 742 The Role of Cartoons 746 The Transfer Process 746 Single or Partial Pricked Cartoons 746 The Nature of the Cartoons: an Original Master Cartoon and Working 'Substitute Cartoons' 750 Underdrawing 752 Graphite and Black Chalk as Underdrawing Media 752 The Position of the Underdrawing in the Layer Structure 755 The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing 755 Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796	The Antwerp Brand and Panel-makers' Marks	
Preparatory Layers 742 Ground 742 Imprimatura 742 The Role of Cartoons 746 The Transfer Process 746 Single or Partial Pricked Cartoons 746 The Nature of the Cartoons: an Original Master Cartoon and Working 'Substitute Cartoons' 750 Underdrawing 752 Graphite and Black Chalk as Underdrawing Media 752 The Position of the Underdrawing in the Layer Structure 755 The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing 755 Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796	Quality	
Imprimatura 742 The Role of Cartoons 746 The Transfer Process 746 Single or Partial Pricked Cartoons 746 The Nature of the Cartoons: an Original Master Cartoon and Working 'Substitute Cartoons' 750 Underdrawing 752 Graphite and Black Chalk as Underdrawing Media 752 The Position of the Underdrawing in the Layer Structure 755 The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing 755 Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 The Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 786 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 796 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings	Preparatory Layers	
The Role of Cartoons 746 The Transfer Process 746 Single or Partial Pricked Cartoons 746 The Nature of the Cartoons: an Original Master Cartoon and Working 'Substitute Cartoons' 750 Underdrawing 752 Graphite and Black Chalk as Underdrawing Media 752 The Position of the Underdrawing in the Layer Structure 755 The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing 755 Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 The Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 786 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803	Ground	742
The Transfer Process	Imprimatura	742
Single or Partial Pricked Cartoons 746 The Nature of the Cartoons: an Original Master Cartoon and Working 'Substitute Cartoons' 750 Underdrawing 752 Graphite and Black Chalk as Underdrawing Media 752 The Position of the Underdrawing in the Layer Structure 755 The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing 5tep-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger 786 The Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803	The Role of Cartoons	746
The Nature of the Cartoons: an Original Master Cartoon and Working 'Substitute Cartoons' 750 Underdrawing 752 Graphite and Black Chalk as Underdrawing Media 752 The Position of the Underdrawing in the Layer Structure 755 The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing 755 Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Palette 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 Carton Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step 750 Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Palette 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Layer Structure 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803	The Transfer Process	746
Underdrawing 752 Graphite and Black Chalk as Underdrawing Media 752 The Position of the Underdrawing in the Layer Structure 755 The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing 755 Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803	Single or Partial Pricked Cartoons	746
Graphite and Black Chalk as Underdrawing Media 752 The Position of the Underdrawing in the Layer Structure 755 The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing 755 Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 8803	The Nature of the Cartoons: an Original Master Cartoon and Working 'Substitute Cartoons'	750
The Position of the Underdrawing in the Layer Structure 755 The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing 755 Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings 0utside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 8803	Underdrawing	752
The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing 755 Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803	Graphite and Black Chalk as Underdrawing Media	752
The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing 755 Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803	The Position of the Underdrawing in the Layer Structure	755
Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step 757 Painting Techniques 760 Palette 760 Palette 760 Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings 0 utside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803	The Extent and Character of the Underdrawing	
Painting Techniques760Palette760Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure760Sequence of Painting763Brushwork and Handling763Mimicking his Father's Brushwork773Late Additions7786. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the YoungerThe Underdrawings785A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master788Underdrawings outside the Core Group796The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger797The Painting Stage802A Core Group of Paintings by the Master803	Cartoon Transfer and Underdrawing Step-by-Step	
Palette 760 Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803	Painting Techniques	
Pigment Analysis and Layer Structure 760 Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803		
Sequence of Painting 763 Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803		
Brushwork and Handling 763 Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803		
Mimicking his Father's Brushwork 773 Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803	Brushwork and Handling	
Late Additions 778 6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings 785 A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803	Mimicking his Father's Brushwork	
6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Underdrawings		
The Underdrawings	Late reductions	//0
The Underdrawings	ther Preparatory avasterial Employed by Dringel with the Contract of the Article States of the State	
The Underdrawings	6. Searching for the Hand of Pieter Brueghel the You	noer
The Underdrawings785A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master788Underdrawings outside the Core Group796The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger797The Painting Stage802A Core Group of Paintings by the Master803		1501
A Core Group of Underdrawings by the Master 788 Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803		785
Underdrawings outside the Core Group 796 The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803		788
The Attribution of Independent Drawings to Pieter Brueghel the Younger 797 The Painting Stage 802 A Core Group of Paintings by the Master 803		
The Painting Stage		
A Core Group of Paintings by the Master		
Tunitings dutilite the Core Group		
Significance of a Signature		

7. Pieter Brueghel the Younger's Models and Variants

Dideglief the Touriget's Wodels	01/
Paintings for which Bruegel the Elder's Original Versions still Survive	817
Paintings Presumed to be after Lost Works by Bruegel the Elder	822
Paintings after Missing Works by Other Artists	822
Variants and Variation in Brueghel the Younger's Production	823
Compositional Variants	823
Variation in the Later Years	825
Organizational Practices under Brueghel the Younger's Direction	825
8. Outside Brueghel the Younger's Works	hop
Deceptive Resemblance: Copies in the Manner of Pieter Brueghel the Younger	831
Distinctive Features in Copies by Jan Brueghel the Elder	834
Solving a Famous Controversy: Two Versions of the Fall of Icarus	844
The Version in the Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts	
de Belgique	846
Provenance - Support - Radiocarbon Dating - Underdrawing - Paint Layer - Conclusion	
The Version in the Van Buuren Museum in Brussels	864
Provenance - Support - Underdrawing - Paint Layer - Conclusion	073
Last Word	872
9. Understanding the Father through the S Lost Secrets of Pieter Bruegel the Elder's Working Prac	
Evidence from the Copies: Bruegel's Lost Compositional Drawings	879
Evidence from the Copies: Bruegel's Lost Cartoons	880
Evidence from the Originals: the Nature of the Lost Cartoons	882
Other Preparatory Material Employed by Bruegel	884
Record Copies?	884
Model Drawings and Preparatory Cartoons in the Southern Netherlands	886
From Drawing to Painting: Bruegel's Creative Process Reconstructed	890
Conclusions	900

Bibliography	907
Appendices I. Paintings by Pieter Bruegel the Elder and from the Workshop of Pieter Brueghel the Younger: Inscriptions and Key Technical Features	926
II. Historical Copying Techniques Cartoons - Squaring-up - Pouncing - Tracing - The Counterproof Method - The Proportional Compass - The Pantograph	935
III. Practical Reconstructions (Christina Currie and Bob Ghys) Preparation of Test Panels and Drawing Materials - Squaring-up - Tracing - Pouncing - Pantograph - Alternative Methods - Discussion	957
IV. Identifying Pieter Brueghel the Younger's Underdrawing Media (Christina Currie and Steven Saverwyns) Historical Context	981 982
Black Chalk - Graphite - Metalpoint Identification of Underdrawing in Paint Samples Analysis of Underdrawing in Brueghel the Younger's Paintings Experimental Conditions - Crucifixion - Massacre of the Innocents (medium format) - Wedding Dance in the Open Air - Massacre of the Innocents (large format) - X-ray Fluorescence Analysis of Two Small-format Paintings by Brueghel the Younger	985 986
Conclusion	998
V. Dendro-archaeological Examination of Paintings by Pieter Brueghel the Younger (Pascale Fraiture) Provenance of the Wood, Mechanical and Technical Characteristics - Planks from the Same Tree in Different Paintings - Dating - Pieter Bruegel the Elder and Pieter Brueghel the Younger: a Changed Economic Context	1002
VI. Attribution in Pieter Brueghel the Younger's Production	1017
Core Group of Underdrawings by Brueghel the Younger Core Group of Paintings by Brueghel the Younger	1017 1019
VII. Charts of Variants	1022
a Variable Motifs and Colours in the Census at Bethlehem Series	1022
b Variable Motifs and Colours in the Sermon of St John the Baptist Series c Variable Motifs and Colours in the Peasant Lawyer Series	1026 1030
Index of Works	1035
Illustration Credits	1057