

PEASANTS  
AND  
PROVERBS





# PEASANTS AND PROVERBS

Pieter Brueghel the Younger as  
Moralist and Entrepreneur

Jamie L. Edwards, Ruth Bubb,  
Christina Currie and Robert Wenley

Edited by Robert Wenley

The Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham  
*in association with* Paul Holberton Publishing

First published to accompany the exhibition

*Peasants and Proverbs:*

*Pieter Brueghel the Younger as Moralist and Entrepreneur*

at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts

21 October 2022 to 22 January 2023

Text © the authors 2022

All rights reserved

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the written permission of the publisher, except for the purpose of research or private study, or criticism or review.

ISBN 978-1-913645-39-7

British Library Catalogue in Publishing Data

A CIP record of this publication is available from the  
British Library

Produced by Paul Holberton Publishing  
paulholberton.com

Designed by Laura Parker  
Printed by Gomer Press, Wales

FRONT COVER Detail of cat. 1  
FRONTISPICE Detail of cat. 9  
BACK COVER Detail of cat. 6  
PAGES 56–57 Detail of cat. 11

The Henry Barber Trust

UNIVERSITY OF  
BIRMINGHAM



# Contents

6

## **Preface**

Nicola Kalinsky

9

## **Pieter Brueghel the Younger**

Jamie L. Edwards

15

## **Peasants and Proverbs**

Jamie L. Edwards

41

## ***Two Peasants binding Firewood* and Pieter Brueghel the Younger's Workshop Practice**

Christina Currie and Ruth Bubb

56

## **CATALOGUE**

Robert Wenley and Jamie L. Edwards

102

## **Bibliography**

108

## **Photographic Credits**



# *Two Peasants binding Firewood* and Pieter Brueghel the Younger's Workshop Practice

Christina Currie and Ruth Bubb

The Barber Institute's *Two Peasants binding Firewood* is one of several versions of the composition attributed to Pieter Brueghel the Younger and his workshop. The 2014 restoration of the painting provided the rare opportunity to explore its technique, materials and style in the context of comparable works. Of the two other extant rectangular paintings of the same format, it was possible to examine that belonging to a Belgian private collection (cat. 2)<sup>1</sup> at the Royal Institute for Cultural Heritage (KIK-IRPA), Brussels, and to inspect high-resolution images including infrared reflectography (IRR) of the one in the National Gallery, Prague (cat. 3),<sup>2</sup> prior to the loan of both to the present exhibition.<sup>3</sup>

## **Panel Support: A Surprisingly Old Piece of Oak**

The painting is executed on a single piece of top-quality quarter-sawn Baltic oak (fig. 29). Bevelled edges and a smooth, planed finish on the reverse suggest that the panel had been professionally prepared. The wood grain runs parallel to the longer dimension of the panel, as usual. The dimensions, 36.6 × 27.3 cm, are similar to those of the other two rectangular versions.

However, this particular panel is older than it first appears. A few woodworm channels and flight

holes are visible on the reverse, but more are seen in the X-radiograph because they have been filled with a radiopaque material such as lead-white putty (fig. 30). Curiously, these holes do not correspond to losses in the pictorial layers or on the back of the panel. This suggests that the hidden fillings were applied by the panel-maker, and certainly before the application of the ground layer. Therefore, the panel was probably already worm-eaten when Brueghel acquired it. He may not even have known about the damage, since the panel-maker may have supplied the panel ready-grounded. Dendrochronology offers one explanation as to why the panel was already worm-eaten when it was first used: the tree providing the plank was probably felled between c. 1449 and c. 1481.<sup>4</sup> This means that the timber must have been stored for well over a hundred years before the panel-maker used it.

In this rare case, we even know who manufactured the panel, thanks to a maker's mark on the reverse (fig. 31). The mark has been struck cold, using a branding iron. It is probably that of art dealer and panel-maker Hans Van Haecht (born 1557, active 1589–c.1621), whose symbol appears beside his name in a 1617 list of Antwerp panel-makers (fig. 32).<sup>5</sup> The same mark has been found on two other panels painted by Pieter Brueghel the Younger.<sup>6</sup>



29. Reverse of cat. 1, indicating location of panel-maker's mark, see fig. 31



30. X-radiograph of cat. 1. The red wax seal on the reverse (see p. 100, n. 6) is radiopaque and appears white

Interestingly, neither the Barber nor the two other panels display the 'Antwerp brand', a mark of quality control which usually accompanied the maker's mark. In Antwerp, after the panel-makers' petition of 13 November 1617, a set of rules was published, by which anyone making panels was required to have his finished products inspected and branded by the dean of his trade. Panels had to be free of sap wood, mould, white or red worms and must not be 'whitened' before inspection or they risked confiscation or a fine.<sup>7</sup> Given the presence of filled woodworm channels

hidden beneath the ground layer, it is very likely that the Barber panel would have failed its inspection. It may therefore pre-date 1617.

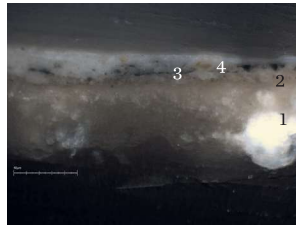
#### Preparing the Panel for Painting

The panel was probably first sized with animal glue to reduce its porosity. Analysis of a cross-section through the pictorial layers shows that this was followed by a white chalk ground, probably bound in animal glue, although the medium was not analysed (fig. 33a).<sup>8</sup> The ground extends

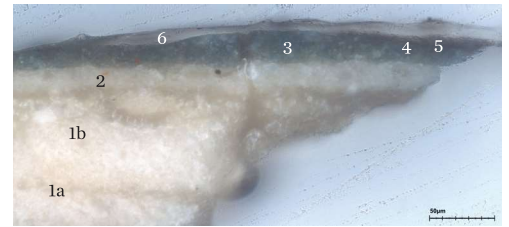




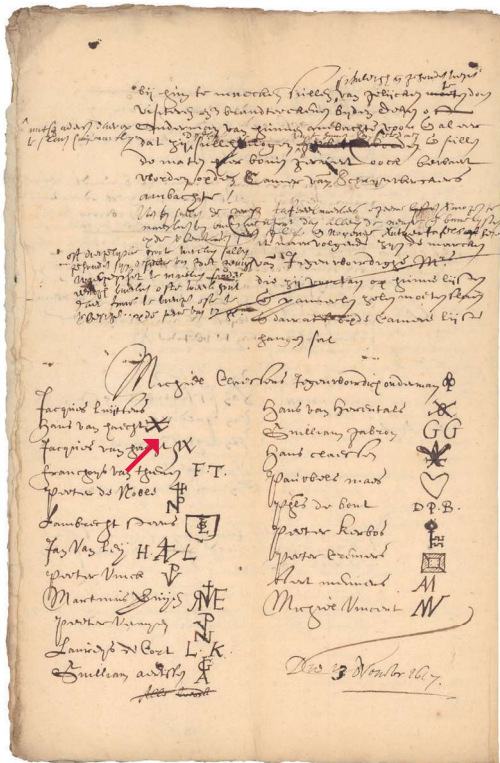
31. Panel-maker's mark on reverse of cat. 1



33a. Cross-section from cat. 1, taken from the thin peasant's white sleeve: 1. chalk ground 2. *imprimatura* (lead white, chalk, carbon black, red earth pigments) 3. graphite underdrawing 4. white paint (lead white, carbon black, yellow earth pigments)'



33b. Cross-section from cat. 2, taken from leaves just below the sky: 1a-b. chalk ground 2. *imprimatura* (lead white, chalk, earth pigments, bone white, minium) 3. green leaf paint (azurite, lead-tin yellow type I, lead white, chalk, ochre pigments) 4. varnish and patina 5. brown-blue layer (azurite, lead white, chalk, ochre) 6. varnish



32. *Petition of the Antwerp Panel Makers*, 13 November 1617. Antwerp City Archives, no. GA#4346

to the edges of the panel. Chalk grounds are found in the work of Pieter Brueghel the Younger, his father Pieter Brueghel the Elder, and indeed most northern European panel paintings from the fifteenth to the early seventeenth century. The ground was probably applied by the panel-maker. The 1627 estate inventory of Hans van Haecht's widow includes many ready-grounded panels.<sup>9</sup>

The second preparatory layer, which is referred to as the *imprimatura*, is much thinner than the ground. It is greyish in tone, containing mainly lead white with some particles of carbon black and red earth pigments. IRR shows that it has been applied with a broad bristle brush, probably made of hog hair. The pigments would usually be bound in a drying oil to seal the porous chalk-glue ground in readiness for painting. A tinted *imprimatura* is entirely typical of Brueghel the Younger and indeed of the period.<sup>10</sup> A comparable layer structure was found on the Belgian version (fig. 33b).<sup>11</sup>



34. Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino, called Raphael (1483–1520), *Study for The Dream of the Knight*, c. 1504, pen and brown ink, pricked for transfer, 182 × 214 mm. The British Museum, London, 1994, no. 0514.57



35. Unidentified artist, *A Woman pouncing a Design on to another Sheet*, c. 1532, woodcut, 212 × 149 mm (sheet), from Alessandro Paganino, *Il Burato, Libro Quarto, de rechami per elquale se impara in diuersi modi lordine e il modo de recamare ... Opera noua* (fol. 2v, detail). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, no. 48.40(4)

### The Transfer of the Composition to Panel

The painting is probably not an original composition by Brueghel the Younger as he was mainly a copyist. So, the next step after the application of the imprimatura was to transfer the design from a preparatory drawing and/or cartoon to the panel. To produce faithful copies, artists traditionally used cartoons, drawings made to the scale of the final painting. No actual cartoons by Brueghel the Younger have been preserved, but surviving sheets by Raphael illustrate their appearance (fig. 34). Cartoons were transferred on to the prepared painting support either by tracing or by pouncing. Pouncing – Pieter Brueghel the Younger’s preferred method – involved pricking through an outline drawing and rubbing black pigment through the

holes (fig. 35).<sup>12</sup> IRR provides clear evidence of pouncing in an autograph version of *The Battle between Carnival and Lent* (fig. 36).<sup>13</sup>

IRR of the Barber painting revealed a detailed, unwavering underdrawing in the foreground figures. This certainly suggests the use of a cartoon for these areas (fig. 38a). The outlines of the Barber and Belgian versions were traced on to transparent film for comparison. Overlaying the tracings results in a perfect match, confirming the use of a common cartoon for both paintings (fig. 37a). When the Barber tracing was laid digitally over a scaled image of the Prague version, there was no match for the whole composition, and although the peasant figures



36. Infrared reflectography image (detail) of Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *The Battle between Carnival and Lent*, date unknown, oil on panel, 121.3 × 171.5 cm. Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels, no. 12045. See also fig. 23

37a. Image of tracings of cat. nos. 1–2 overlaid

37b. Image of tracing of cat. 1 laid digitally over a scaled image of cat. 3



could be aligned individually, the match was not as close as between the Barber and Belgian versions (fig. 37b). Previous studies of other paintings have shown that Brueghel always used the same cartoon for multiple versions of the same scenes, and that he used single sheets for small compositions. The Prague painting cannot therefore have been produced from the same cartoon as the other two.

### The Underdrawing

The whole composition, including the three figures, the flute, hat and bag, and the background vegetation,<sup>14</sup> was precisely drawn, freehand,<sup>15</sup> following the dotted outlines left by pouncing (fig. 38a). The dots, being nothing but black powder, would have been wiped away afterwards, leaving just the drawn lines. The drawing material was identified as graphite by Raman spectroscopy (a non-destructive analytical technique that provides information on chemical structure).<sup>16</sup> In the five paintings by Brueghel for which



38a. Infrared reflectography detail of cat. 1



38b. Underdrawing detail of Pieter Brueghel the Younger, *The Good Shepherd*, 1616, oil on panel, 42.3 × 57.0 cm. Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels, no. 10830

underdrawings have been analysed by this method, graphite was identified in four cases and black chalk in one.<sup>17</sup>

The underdrawing is stylistically very similar to that of underdrawings given to Brueghel the Younger's own hand by Currie and Allart.<sup>18</sup> It can be compared, for example, with that in a version of *The Good Shepherd*, another small-format work, signed and dated 1616 (fig. 38b).<sup>19</sup> Similar features include the wiry outline for the main forms, the hooks at the end of fold lines, the broken line to indicate the light side of the bridge of the nose, crease lines on the forehead, and the sets of short hatching or squiggles to indicate shallow folds.

The Barber painting's underdrawing also corresponds precisely to the style of the privately owned version (fig. 39b).<sup>20</sup> The drawn lines in the Belgian painting are somewhat faint but they show the same 'handwriting'. The depiction of the corner of the mouth and forehead creases in the face of the left-hand peasant are alike in the delicate lifting of the drawing tool along the way. The joined hatching strokes to indicate the fold just below the chin are identical and the vertical crease in the thin peasant's forehead is marked in both works by two slightly curved lines. The bones of his scrawny neck are drawn with similar squiggles and broken lines. Although Brueghel's assistants and students would have imitated his drawing technique closely, it would be hard for them to achieve such a close stylistic match.<sup>21</sup> The aim would have been to join up the dots correctly, not to copy every single idiosyncrasy of touch. It is worth pointing out that no modifications at all are observed in the underdrawing of the Barber and Belgian versions, which underlines their purpose as faithful reproductions of the composition and guides for painting.

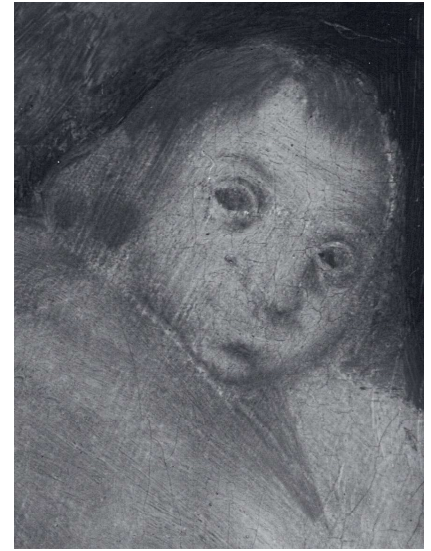
The Prague version reveals little, if any, underdrawing (fig. 39c). The paint layer absorbs most of the infrared and the painting's appearance in IRR is different from that of other paintings from Brueghel's workshop.<sup>22</sup> Drawing could be present but in a medium that is invisible in IRR, such as red chalk or iron-gall ink, never known to have been used by



39a. Infrared reflectography detail of cat. 1



39b. Infrared reflectography detail of cat. 2



39c. Infrared reflectography detail of cat. 3

Brueghel. As for the tracing, this may be another indication that the painting was not executed in his workshop.

#### **The Sequence of Painting**

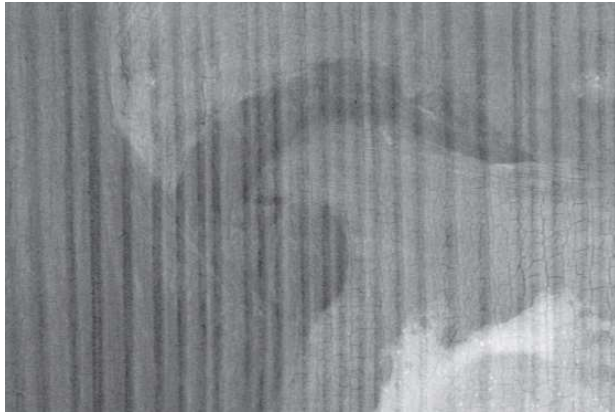
The artist painted the background first, starting with the sky. The X-radiograph reveals that he left reserves in the sky for the tree-trunk and the woodcutter up the ladder, guided by his underdrawing (figs 40a-b).

When he painted the dark areas of vegetation to the right, the artist left reserves (unpainted areas) for the figures. The grass seems to have been painted in next, then the figures. The purpose of leaving reserves in the background paint for the main forms was to avoid the unnecessary build-up of multiple paint layers, which might have led to premature cracking, as well as to avoid painting light colours over darker ones, which would eventually show through.

#### **Brueghel's Workshop and Attribution**

Attribution within Pieter Brueghel the Younger's workshop is not straightforward. He had a large studio and could not have executed all his paintings himself. His students and assistants would have imitated his techniques and painterly style as closely as possible, using his cartoons for the designs and painted models for the colours. This gives the works produced under his direction a technical 'fingerprint' which distinguishes them from copies produced outside the workshop.<sup>23</sup>

The identification, within the workshop, of works by the hand of Pieter Brueghel the Younger himself is a subjective exercise, but one that has been tackled by two main experts in the past, Georges Marlier and Klaus Ertz, and more recently by Currie and Allart. Many of the best-quality works are signed, and these are mostly, but not all, by the same hand, which Currie and Allart identify as Brueghel the Younger himself.<sup>24</sup> The Barber painting is not signed, nor is



40a. X-radiograph detail of cat. 1



40b. Detail of cat. 1

the privately owned Belgian version. Nonetheless, this does not exclude them from being by Brueghel the Younger, as some of his best works are not signed.

It is worth citing other opinions before laying out our own case for the attribution of the Barber painting. In his pioneering study on Pieter Brueghel the Younger (1969), Marlier relates the following in relation to the Barber painting:

Friedländer had attributed this little painting (wood, 36.7 × 27.3 cm) to Pieter Bruegel the Elder,<sup>25</sup> but was not followed by Tolnay or Gluck; these authors rightly saw one of the most beautiful works of Pieter the Younger, which by its quality is very close to works by his father .... Perhaps the large round eyes of the peasant also led Friedländer to attribute the painting to the father. In our opinion, it must be given back to Pieter the Younger, as suggested, amongst other things, by the leaves in the middle ground. The way in which he represents the woodcutter, whose silhouette is framed by the light sky while he brandishes his axe, gives an obvious poetic meaning.<sup>26</sup>

Klaus Ertz lists the Barber Institute painting as number E129\*, the ‘E’ denomination referring to paintings that he considers ‘*eigenhändig*’, i.e. autograph.<sup>27</sup> The star beside the number means that he saw the painting himself. Ertz’s catalogue entry reads as follows:

Because of the weaker quality we consider cat. 129 to be a workshop replica after cat. 128.<sup>28</sup> A second, even weaker copy in Prague (cat. 132). Like cat. 128 probably created at the beginning of the 1590s.<sup>29</sup>

In our opinion, the Barber painting compares favourably in style with paintings given to Brueghel the Younger’s own hand by Currie and Allart.<sup>30</sup> The painterly style in faces, draperies and even in the landscape corresponds to what is found in a ‘core group’ of paintings attributed to the master himself. For instance, the faces of the Barber peasants show similar modelling, outlining and softly blended translucent reds to those of the protagonists in the Brussels version of *The Battle between Carnival and Lent* (figs 41a-c).



41a. Detail of cat. 1



41b. Pieter Brueghel the Younger, after Pieter Brueghel the Elder, *The Battle between Carnival and Lent*, date unknown, oil on panel, 121.3 × 171.5 cm. Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels, no. 12045 (detail)



41c. Pieter Brueghel the Younger, after Pieter Brueghel the Elder, *The Battle between Carnival and Lent*, date unknown, oil on panel, 121.3 × 171.5 cm. Royal Museum of Fine Arts of Belgium, Brussels, no. 12045 (detail)

It seems to us that the painting style of the Barber painting, as with the underdrawing, is identical in all respects to that of the version in the Belgian private collection, and is by the same hand, which we consider to be that of Pieter Brueghel the Younger. Both paintings have similar, nuanced modelling in the rounded face of the plump peasant, with a minimum of blending, white dabs and fine lines for highlights and sparse touches of red (figs 42a-c). Both have painted hatching and cross-hatching defining shadows and contours in the thin peasant's white shirt. Both employ thick dabs of pink paint to emphasize the bony features of the hands of the thin peasant. In the background landscape, they both show similar translucent brushstrokes for dark green leaves against the sky and thicker blobs of yellowish paint for sunlit highlights (figs 43a-c). Both display comparable, slightly looser brushwork for the foreground bundle of branches.

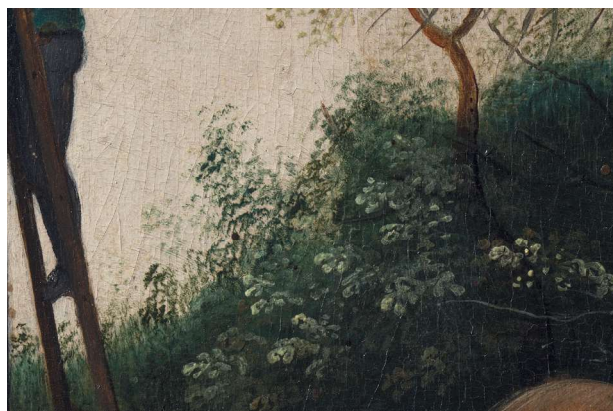
Ertz noted differences in the peasants' facial expressions in the various versions, positing a progressive loss of iconographic meaning in the course of copying. He describes the thin peasant's mouth in the Belgian version

as open 'in a crooked grimace', as if speaking, or in pain, or both. He sees the Barber peasant's grimace as 'restrained', while the Prague mouth is completely closed. In fact, the thin peasant's mouth in the Barber painting is much nearer to that of the Belgian one than it first appears: the underdrawn outline for the mouth is identical in both paintings in IRR, except for a loss from the proper right corner of the mouth in the Barber version. The Barber mouth is certainly open, showing three teeth. What is now readable as the lower lip, giving the impression of a downturned, half-open mouth, may be understood by comparison with the Belgian painting as the man's tongue. A spot of white paint, apparently representing saliva, lies near his lower lip in both paintings (figs 44a-b). Perceived differences in this sensitive area seem then to stem more from the respective condition of the paintings than the artist's intention. It therefore makes sense to see the Barber and Belgian panels as multiples or twins, rather than one following the other in succession.

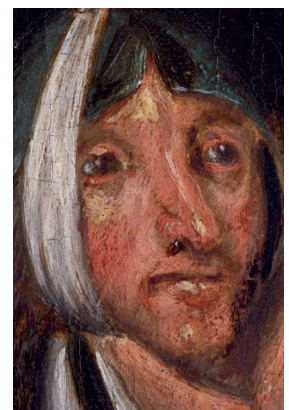
On the other hand, although it was only possible to examine photographs of the Prague version, and these



42a-c. Head of left-hand figure  
from cat. nos. 1-3



43a-c. Foliage to right of man on ladder  
from cat. nos. 1-3



44a-c. Head of right-hand figure  
from cat. nos. 1-3



certainly showed evidence of discoloured restorations, it appears to possess few if any of the stylistic features common to the other two. It is much more thickly painted. The somewhat crude colour-blending in the faces does not recall Bruegel's subtle play of thin opaque and translucent paint layers. The incisive graphic modelling in paint, so characteristic of the Barber and Belgian versions, is absent, and the brushwork of the background leaves is more approximate. Furthermore, the copyist has chosen light blue rather than pink for the jacket of the plump peasant, perhaps based on one of the tondo versions of the composition.

**The Model for the Composition:**

**Bruegel the Elder or Marten van Cleve?**

The composition of *Two Peasants binding Firewood* is unlike any of the anecdotal, decorative and derivative 'Bruegelian' scenes that Bruegel the Younger created from about 1617. The artificial, somewhat telescoped viewpoint of *Two Peasants binding Firewood*, which seems to rotate around a point just below centre, echoes the vortex-like effect that Bruegel the Elder created in *The Land of Cockaigne* (fig. 45).<sup>31</sup> The stylized, bulbous bottoms and legs of the peasants on the left in both paintings are also comparable. The plump peasant in the Barber painting recalls the strangely foreshortened figure in Bruegel the Elder's *The Peasant and the Nest Robber* (fig. 46).<sup>32</sup> Their bland expressions, wispy hair, wide open eyes, reddish cheeks and slightly upturned mouths are particularly alike.<sup>33</sup> The juxtaposition of a stout figure and a thin bony one is typically Bruegelian and no doubt conveys an underlying meaning, as it does in Bruegel the Elder's *Battle between Carnival and Lent* (see p. 32 above).

Marlier thought *Two Peasants binding Firewood* might derive from a lost model by Marten van Cleve (1527–1581), an Antwerp painter and contemporary of Pieter Bruegel the Elder.<sup>34</sup> Van Cleve made several pastiches of Bruegel the Elder's compositions, which were sometimes copied by



45. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Land of Cockaigne*, 1567, oil on panel, 78 × 52 cm. Alte Pinakothek, Munich, no. 8940



46. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Peasant and the Nest Robber*, 1568, oil on panel, 68.3 × 59.5 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, no. GG1020



47. Marten van Cleve (1527–1581), *The Massacre of the Innocents in Bethlehem*, date unknown, pen and brown ink, sheet 216 × 356 mm. Art Collection of the University of Göttingen, Graphic Collection, Uffenbach Collection, no. H31

Brueghel the Younger. Van Cleve's invention of a smaller variant of Bruegel's *Massacre of the Innocents in Bethlehem* is known from an autograph drawing and from several attributed paintings (figs 47, 48), and this design was copied several times by Brueghel the Younger.<sup>35</sup> The body of the left-hand peasant is strongly reminiscent of the work of Van Cleve. Such mannered figures with peculiarly swollen limbs and twisting poses are typical of his style. It would not be surprising, then, if Van Cleve had produced a small painting of *Two Peasants binding Firewood* after an original design by Bruegel the Elder.

### The Tondo Versions

There are several much smaller versions of the composition, painted on round panels about 17–20 cm in diameter. Ertz gives four of these to Brueghel and his workshop, lists two he had not seen and rejects three entirely.<sup>36</sup> Unlike the rectangular versions, one of the tondos is signed with the 'Breughel' spelling of his name

(see p. 12), indicating a dating after 1616, and one is signed and dated *BREVGHEL 1625* (figs 49, 50). The composition is the same as the rectangular versions but there are differences. For example, the two figures are similar in size, minimizing the contrast between the fat and thin peasants. Their heads are smaller, the flute faces the other way or is missing entirely, and the plump peasant's jacket is blue rather than pink. Ertz asks whether such modifications might suggest that Brueghel the Younger had not fully grasped the underlying meanings of the original composition.<sup>37</sup>

The plump peasant in the tondos has a less rounded face, with smaller eyes and more graphic modelling than in the Barber and Belgian paintings. The painting style is more typical of Brueghel the Younger's natural, more anecdotal manner when he was not directly copying his father's work. The tondos were probably made after a different model from that used for the rectangular versions, possibly a drawing with colour notes. Since the Barber panel is



48. Marten van Cleve (1527–1581), *The Massacre of the Innocents in Bethlehem*, 1627, oil on panel, 73.5 × 105.5 cm. Art Collection of the University of Göttingen, Painting Collection, no. GG L001

stamped with what appears to be the mark of Hans van Haecht, who died around 1621, the rectangular panels may pre-date the tondos.

#### **Conclusion**

The Barber Institute's *Two Peasants binding Firewood* is a typical example of Pieter Brueghel the Younger's production. Its oak support is marked with the same panel-maker's stamp as two other paintings from the workshop,



49. Cat. 4

probably that of Hans van Haecht. This suggests the painting was produced in Brueghel's early or mid career. The model for the composition is lost, but was probably an original painting by Pieter Brueghel the Elder or possibly a reworking of it by Marten van Cleve.

The layer structure and underdrawing are typical of Brueghel's studio. Comparison with another version of the composition in a Belgian private collection suggests that a common cartoon was used in both paintings for the transfer of the design, as was customary. The build-up of the paint



50. Pieter Brueghel the Younger and workshop, *Two Peasants binding Firewood*, 1625, oil on panel, about 17–20 cm diameter. Private collection, Germany

layers, starting at the back and working forwards leaving reserves for forms yet to be painted is part of Brueghel's usual technique, and has ensured the continued vibrancy of the colours to this day.

Stylistic comparisons of the underdrawing and painting with the Belgian version also suggest that the two works were drawn and painted by the same hand. Their painting style compares favourably with paintings assigned to the hand of Brueghel the Younger himself by Currie and Allart and situates them among his best works.

- 1 33.5 × 26.5 cm, panel, Belgium, private collection.
- 2 36 × 24.5 cm, panel, National Gallery, Prague, no. O-10010.
- 3 See also p. 100, n. 17, in this catalogue.
- 4 Ian Tyers, Dendrochronology Consultancy Report 691, May 2014.
- 5 Petition of the Antwerp panel-makers, 13 November 1617, Antwerp City Archives, Guilds and Trades, 4346; Van Damme 1990.
- 6 *The Procession to Calvary*, 121.2 × 162.7 cm, Copenhagen, National Gallery of Denmark, no. KMS1645, signed *P-BRVEGHEL*, undated. (We thank Jørgen Wadum for pointing this out). *The Massacre of the Innocents*, 115.2 × 163.7 cm, Sibiu (Romania), Brukenthal Collection, no. 148, signed *P-BRVEGHEL*, undated. See Currie and Allart 2012, p. 735, fig. 515, nn. 34–35, 51.
- 7 Davies and Moortgat 2021 and Ingrid Moortgat, 'Joiner's ordinance (11 December 1617)', in Jordaens Van Dyck Panel Paintings Project (ed. Joost Vander Auwera and Justin Davies); <http://jordaensvandyck.org/archive/joiners-ordinance-11-december-1617> (accessed 20 September 2022).
- 8 Steven Saverwyns, KIK-IRPA Laboratory Analyses Report 2014.12184.
- 9 Wadum 1998, pp. 165–68.
- 10 Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 742–45.
- 11 Alexia Coudray, KIK-IRPA Laboratory Analyses Report 2022.14822.
- 12 Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 746–52, appendix II, pp. 924–55.
- 13 Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 2, pp. 348–57.
- 14 IRR of the Barber version was carried out by Tager Stonor Richardson, UK, using an Osiris Camera [www.opusinstruments.com](http://www.opusinstruments.com).
- 15 Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 3, p. 755.
- 16 See n. 9 above.
- 17 Currie and Allart 2012, appendix IV, pp. 980–1001; Allart, Currie, Fraiture and Saverwyns 2018.
- 18 Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 785–97.
- 19 42.3 × 57 cm, Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, no. 10830; Allart, Currie, Fraiture and Saverwyns 2018.
- 20 IRR of the Brussels version was carried out at KIK-IRPA by Sophie De Potter, using an Apollo Camera [www.opusinstruments.com](http://www.opusinstruments.com).
- 21 Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 3, ch. 6, pp. 785–97.
- 22 IRR of the Prague version was carried out at the National Gallery, Prague, using an Osiris Camera [www.opusinstruments.com](http://www.opusinstruments.com). We are very grateful to Zuzana Žilková for supplying the image.
- 23 Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 728–82.
- 24 Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 784–814, appendix VI, pp. 1017–21.
- 25 Friedländer 1935, p. 90.
- 26 Marlier 1969, p. 165; translation from French by Christina Currie.
- 27 Ertz 1998/2000, vol. 1, pp. 211–12.
- 28 Ertz's cat. 128 is the Belgian privately owned version discussed here.
- 29 Translation from German by Ruth Bubb.
- 30 Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 3, pp. 1017–21.
- 31 1567, oil on panel, 52 × 78 cm, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, no. 8940.
- 32 1568, oil on panel, 1568, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, no. GG1020.
- 33 For high-resolution photography of *The Peasant and the Nest Robber*, see [www.insidebruegel.org](http://www.insidebruegel.org).
- 34 Marlier 1969, pp. 165–66.
- 35 For Van Cleve's variant of *The Massacre of the Innocents*, see Ertz and Nitze-Ertz 2014, pp. 26–28; 133–34; 239. For Brueghel the Younger's versions after Van Cleve, see Currie and Allart 2012, vol. 2, case study 9, pp. 646–69.
- 36 Ertz 1998/2000, pp. 211–13.
- 37 Ertz 1998/2000, p. 153.